

UNIVERSITY OF BUEA

**FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND
MANAGEMENT SCIENCES**

**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
AND ANTHROPOLOGY**

**HOUSEHOLD MULTILINGUALISM AND INTERCOMMUNITY RELATIONS:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC APPRAISAL OF LOWER FUNGOM AREA IN MENCHUM
DIVISION OF THE NORTH-WEST REGION OF CAMEROON**

By

Kum Marius Kebei
B. Sc. Sociology &
Anthropology, M. Sc.
Anthropology

A Thesis Submitted to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology,
Faculty of Social and Management Sciences of the University of
Buea in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the
Award of the Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)
Degree in Sociology

September, 2021

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DEDICATION

To

Dr. Pierpaolo Di Carlo and Professor Jeff Good

UNIVERSITY OF BUEA

**FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND
MANAGEMENT SCIENCES**

**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
AND ANTHROPOLOGY**

CERTIFICATION

The thesis of **Kum Marius Kebei (SM16P414)** entitled; “**Household Multilingualism and Intercommunity Relations: An Ethnographic Appraisal of Lower Fungom Area in Menchum Division of the North-West Region of Cameroon**”, submitted to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Faculty of Social and Management Sciences of the University of Buea in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) Degree in Sociology has been examined and approved by the examination panel composed of:

- Joyce B. Endeley (Ph.D), Chairperson (Professor of Agricultural Extension and Gender)
- Ibrahim Mouiche (Ph.D.), Rapporteur I (Professor of Political Science)
- Emmanuel Yenshu Vubo (H.D.R.), Rapporteur II (Professor of Sociology)
- Akoko Robert (Ph.D.), Member I (Associate Professor of Anthropology)
- Ayu’nwi Neba (Ph.D.), Member II (Associate Professor of Linguistics)
- Tassang Celestine (Ph.D.), Member III (Senior Lecturer of Sociology)

Efuet Simon Akem (Ph.D.)
(Head of Department)

Assoc. Prof. Robert Mbe Akoko
(Supervisor)

Assoc. Prof. Ayu’nwi Ngwabe Neba
(Co-Supervisor)

This thesis has been accepted by the Faculty of Social and Management Sciences.

Date: _____

Prof. Emmanuel Yenshu Vubo
 (Dean)

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ABSTRACT

In the history of language and conflict, experience has shown that when there is multilingualism in very restricted communities like Lower Fungom, issues of identity manifest as many people assert their identity. This has often resulted to conflict. Yet, there seem to be this apparent calm in multilingual Lower Fungom with the communities co-existing peacefully and in harmony. The question therefore is, how do these languages cohabit with the people such that there seems to be this relative calm? This study set out to investigate the micro ethnographic factors that account for household and community multilingual practices in a micro multilingual conflict prone rural area in Cameroon's Lower Fungom. A sociolinguistic survey was carried out with an ethnographic interview guide that handled both linguistic and ethnographic information. Data were collected through in-depth interviews from ten households in each of the four chosen communities. The information collected through in-depth interviews was later verified through focus group discussions where the participants refuted or confirmed what was provided as information during in-depth interviews. The analysis of the data collected was based on the information consultants provided during focus group discussions. The data from indepth interviews was verified during the Focus Group Discussions. The data collection and analyses revealed that significant rates of multilingualism in the area are explained socially in terms of blood relations, marriage, perceived proximity and similarity, religion, education, individual relations and movements. Also, the data suggests that household multilingualism transmitted from one generation to another has become a culture and is responsible for the peaceful community and intercommunity coexistence in the area. The ethnographic approach employed in data collection revealed that there is no identity crisis but there is a new way of negotiating identity which begins from the household where there is tolerance and consensus in the use of different languages. This tolerance and consensus is extended to the entire community and even beyond the community. Furthermore, household and community multilingualism should be a national responsibility for reasons other than those of international politics. This is because language crisis often tends to breed other crisis such as economic, political, and social crisis which in turn create dysfunction in the society

Keywords: Household Multilingualism, Intercommunity Relations, Intergenerational Relations, Peaceful Coexistence, Conflict.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CERDOTOLA	Centre International de Recherche et de Documentation sur les Traditions sur les langues africaines
ICC	Intercultural Communicative Competence
KPAAMCAM	Key Pluridisciplinary Advances in African Multilingualism
LWD	Language of Wider Distribution
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
RCT	Realistic Conflict Theory
RGCT	Realistic Group Conflict Theory
SIL	Societe International de Linguistiquess
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNO	United Nations Organization

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Cameroonians, like all other peoples are inseparable from their history and their culture. According to Briton et al. (1991), while their history records what they did, thought and said, their culture is the totality of the ideas, concepts and values of their societies.

Unfortunately, in the transition from the ‘village globalized to the world villagized,’ Cameroonians like most of the world (see Gardener et al., 2012) have modernized at the expense of their cultural continuities. That is, they have looked forward to posterity at the detriment of their ancestral origins. This has been done in utter disregard for the multilingual/multiethnic and multicultural diversity of the society. As Gardener et al. (2012) note, this disregard for its diversity spells eminent severe political, economic, social and cultural crisis.

The multilingual/multicultural nature of Cameroon (although officially treated as bilingual in English and French) and its corresponding multi-ethnic complexity (with over two hundred identified ethnic groups) is a favorable context for identity crisis. As Giles and Coupland (1991) underscore, language plays a central role in constructing a particular identity. Culture for instance, “can be viewed as derived from, if not constituted in, communication and language practices.” Briefly put, language is the vehicle of culture. Given the context in Cameroon, one cannot help asking: Which identity should the Cameroonian assert? That of the exoglossic English or French language; That of their native language (which number up to about 285 languages (Erberhard et al. 2021) or both? These questions are inherent in the subtle linguistic discords witnessed in the country since its independence

Chumbow,(1996). It becomes a truism that interpersonal relationship in any cultural grouping is first of all expressed through language. Therefore, people will be easily accepted within some local cultural communities when they express themselves in the languages of that culture. In the literature, it is easy to see evidence that multilingualism/multiculturalism breeds conflict and that where it has worked, the solutions have come with language policies and management. To set the background to the present work, we briefly look at these two perspectives, beginning with evidence that multilingualism/culturalism breeds conflict before demonstrating that these conflicts have been managed by addressing the language question. The section then presents the research problem (1.2), the research questions (1.3), the aim and objective (1.4), the significance of Study (1.5), definition of terms (1.6), delimitation of of Study (1.7), structure of work (1.8) before the conclusion.

1.1 Background to the Study

William (1947), notes that, most contact between ethnic groups does not occur in peaceful, harmoniously coexisting communities. Instead, it exhibits varying degrees of tension, resentment, and differences of opinion that are characteristic of every competitive social structure. Under certain conditions, such generally accepted competitive tensions can degenerate into intense conflicts, in the worst case, ending in violence. He further elucidates that the possibility of conflict erupting is, however, always present, since differences between groups create feelings of uncertainty of status, which could give rise to conflict. Sociologists who have dealt with contact problems between ethnic groups define conflict as contentions involving real or apparent fears, interests, and values, in which the goals of the opposing group must be opposed, or at least neutralized, to protect one's own interests (prestige,

employment and political power among others). This type of conflict often appears as a conflict of values, in which differing behavioral norms collide, since usually only one norm is considered to be valid. Conflicts can arise relatively easily if, as is usually the case, interests and values vary.

In the view of Edwards (1994), the need for communication around boarder areas, political unions between different language groupings and migration among others, leads to linguistic contact and thus multilingualism. Multilingualism today is a norm and monolingualism is the exception (Di Carlo, 2011). It is a blessing rather than a biblical curse.

Erhard et al. (2021), posits that Cameroon has over 275 languages, Nigeria has over 500, Papua New Guinea has over 800 languages and over 600 have been developed and are being used in schools. Viewed from this perspective, multilingualism is therefore a resource for identity construction at the personal and group levels, as well as resources for participating in society.

On the one hand, the decision to speak more than one language especially in the elitist milieu is often seen as a mark of prestige. Here, English, French, Dutch, Spanish, Chinese or Arabic are used to express one's level of social sophistication or advancement. On the other hand, ethno-multilingualism is employed as a means for survival or for reasons of security within a particular cultural milieu. Such domains as the family, belief systems, marriage, and interpersonal as well as intercommunity relationships are the areas where language use is recurrent, (Di Carlo, 2011)

The influence of colonial policies for state formation has led to several languages being spoken within the borders of one African states: borders of many African states

were mapped rather falsely by colonial captors and therefore different ethnic groups speaking different languages have ended up living within the borders of one state.

Said (1978) in his seminal book *Orientalism* which focused on the pervasiveness of the Western perspective of viewing “the other” in a culturally imperialistic way, notes that, wherever multilingualism and multiculturalism are present, questions of identity are at stake.

Wesley (2005), emphasizes language and identity as follows “the loss of language is the loss of the ability to describe the landscape... and your place in it. ‘Our language helps us with our identity and our culture, and helps us work out where we fit in society, for example who we are related to.’”

Despite a less than ideal research situation essentially limited to empirical case studies of language conflict, language conflict can occur anywhere there is language contact, chiefly in multilingual communities where language conflict arises from the confrontation of differing standards, values, and attitude structures, and strongly influence self-image, upbringing, education, and group consciousness.

Laitin (1997) notes that a Tower of Babel in a single country in which groups of people speak radically different languages is all too often portrayed as incendiary. Harrison (2000) wrote ominously about the “dangerous decades” that India would face because of its conflicts over language.

Popular representations on conflicts of multilingualism in Belgium, Quebec, and Catalonia suggest that cultural issues of this sort unleash irrational passions, leading otherwise sober people away from the realm of civic engagement.

Until the beginning of the 1960s, Belgium witnessed ethnic tensions because of its multilingual nature arising from the personality principle, which permitted French speakers to use their mother tongue freely in most daily situations. It was not until the linguistic legislation of the years 1962–3 that a precise demarcation of linguistic territories was effected by administratively establishing a linguistic border.

Unlike Belgium, Canada's official language groups are far from equal in size. The French-speaking population of Canada, concentrated in Quebec, is clearly a minority, at 26 percent of the Canadian population. French-speaking Canadians demanded services in their language. The federal government was facing the threat of secession by French speakers disadvantaged by Canadian institutions after a century of federalism. French speakers in Quebec demanded increased protection of their language. The linguistic problem posed in the 1960s was in the area of provincial jurisdiction, since it concerned the language of education. The system of education in Canada, divided on the basis of confession (Catholic or Protestant), offered a choice of language of instruction at the time. In fact, the laws of supply and demand gradually brought about the substitution of English for French, as new immigrants and some of the French speakers wanted to benefit from the upward mobility to be derived from bilingualism, and so chose English as the language of instruction for their children. The debate about free choice led to the progressive elaboration of an exhaustive linguistic policy, which took eight years.

In Spain, late nineteenth and twentieth century Catalan nationalists point to the decree of the New Foundation, issued by King Philip V of Spain in 1716 as signaling the death of the Catalan nation. This decree required that all legal papers submitted to the king's court be written in Spanish. This has led to the threats of Catalan to break away from Spain.

In late 1999, for example, the leader of the Kurdish rebels in Turkey, Abdullah Ocalan, referred to the restrictions on the Kurdish language as the principal motivating factor for the war against Turkish rule. He told the judges:

“These kinds of laws give birth to rebellion and anarchy. The most important of these is the language ban. It provokes this revolt. The way to resolve this problem is to develop Kurdish as a normal language for private conversation and broadcasting.” (BBC World Service march 24th 2000)

Language difference is perceived here as one of those symbolic cultural realms in which conflict can all too easily leave the realm of politics and become a threat to peace. Warnier et al. (1997) puts down the Rwanda genocide of 1994 to ethnic tensions between the Hutu and the Tutsi. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, ethnic tension between the Banyamulenge Mulenge and the Kinyarwanda speaking Mai Mai is a constant source of violent conflict and confrontation due to language differences.

In the Northern regions of Cameroon, the Arab Shoa and the Kotokos live a vicious cycle of violent confrontations because of ethnic differences. In the North West region of Cameroon, apparent Tower of Babel of the country, violent confrontations have been rife in the region (Bawock vs Bali, Bambili and Babanki, Bambili and Ndop, the Aghems and Akus, among others).

While the above overwhelming evidence correlating multilingualism and conflict exists, arguments have equally been advanced to the effect that some ethnic groups live peacefully together. However, as we will realize this peaceful coexistence results from conscious efforts to resolve the conflicts by managing the languages of the people in contact

Laiti (2000) argues that language conflict is not a prescription for violence but has its own particular dynamics and under certain potentially incendiary conditions, language conflict can help to contain violence.

In Belgium, the witnessed ethnic tensions of the 1960s led the administration to effect a precise demarcation of linguistic territories by establishing a linguistic border. Despite all the resulting negative criticisms, it can now be affirmed that Belgium owes a certain sociopolitical and economic stability to the principle of territoriality.

In Canada, equal status was accorded to the French and English languages in the federation. These two measures adopted by the federal parliament had the effect of establishing institutional bilingualism. They provided the French-speaking minority with more access to services in French and more proportional representation in the public service.

Conflicts between ethnic groups however occur only very rarely as openly waged violent conflicts, and usually consist of a complex system of threats and sanctions in which the interests and values of one group are endangered.

The Cameroon language repertoire constitutes various indigenous languages spoken by various ethnic groups which is a potential source for breeding of identity conflicts. Let us summarise the nature of the identity crisis in Cameroon with some examples. There is the desire to manage the relationship between indigenous Cameroon and the forces of Westernization in order to cope with the rapid and bewildering social change which Cameroon is presently undergoing; there is the need to manage the identity between French speakers and the English speaker identity; there is a subtle North West/South West identity conflict, and finally, the identity

which comes with each ethnic group/indigenous language. While these identity differences are evident, developing an effective management equation for them is challenging. Any existing community with these potential identity crisis but which has successfully managed its identity diversity so that conflict is evaded will be an obvious attraction to research. This study sought to probe one of such communities, Lower Fungom, to identify practices which encourage peaceful coexistence despite the potentials of the characteristic multiple identity crises. The unit of focus in this study is the family. As Kheirkhah (2016) observes, citing Canagarajah (2013), globalization has made intercultural communication, characterized by multilingualism, a norm and as Wei, (2012) underscores, multilingual encounters start already in the family. Kheirkhah (2016) recommends that observations of family language practices employing a micro perspective provide a particular analytical focus on the study of family language use and the practices through which language maintenance and shift are being shaped.

Guardado (2017) motivates the need to study the family in multilingual settings by observing that despite the increase in heritage linguistics, families of mixed linguistic background are minimally represented in the literature. This is incompatible with the current global increase and social reality of this family type. He notes that the ethnolinguistic diversification of family composition worldwide calls for more targeted research with a growing demographic that grapples with an amplified complexity of issues. Language research with the children of parents who do not share a mother tongue, he argues, has begun to establish key foundational knowledge regarding the factors that impact their linguistic lives but also reaffirms the recent call made by scholars about the need for further research around interlingual family language policy, socialization, and related issues. Language

management in interlingual families is viewed as significantly more challenging and complex for interlingual parents –emotionally demanding, time-consuming, and labor intensive (Blum-Kulka 2008; Minami 2013; Okita 2002; Tsushima and Guardado 2016). These families must contend with several languages in daily life, coupled with the potential for conflict that cultural differences in beliefs and practices may pose around child-rearing and other issues. If linguistic diversity can be effectively managed in such families, then language diversity management in the society is imminent. This explains why the present research was designed to target the family as a unit of studying ideologies and attitudes in Lower Fungom as a means of understanding societal harmonious multilingual practices.

The Bamenda plateau in general and Lower Fungom area of the North-West region of Cameroon in particular, has a cluster of 13 languages concentrated in a settlement for centuries.

Di Carlo and Good (2014) observe that the languages of Lower Fungom have a density averaging one language per 30 square kilometers, making Lower Fungom one of the linguistically most diverse micro-areas of the Cameroonian Grassfields – itself a well known area for its remarkable degree of linguistic diversity.

Di Carlo (2011) asserts that an individual speaking a different language can be accepted in that community and as such, receives protection from the invisible world by the chief. In other words, being multilingual can fetch a golden ticket of protection to invisible threats by a chief representing that ethnic community.

Good et al (2011), Di Carlo and Good (2014), Di Carlo (2015), Di Carlo (2016) among others focus their study of multilingualism in Lower Fungom on the

individual and the community with little attention paid to the household which is the base of the community.

Agwara (2013) described the degree of individual multilingualism in Lower Fungom with individuals speaking up to 17 languages and more. The local language ideologies of the Lower Fungom people which consist of creating the maximum number of social networks for their own benefits (economic, political and social) underlie whatever sociological factors that account for high rates of multilingualism in Lower Fungom.

The scholarly linguistic classification of the speech varieties of this area suggests: that seven languages, or small language clusters, are spoken in its thirteen recognized villages (Good et al. 2011:102). However, this characterization is at odds with the local conception of linguistic distinctiveness which treats each of the region's thirteen villages as having its own "talk". These "talks" identify a community which needs to interact with another for cultural or economic purposes which we call intercommunity interaction. Yet the household is not given any attention in the intercommunity interaction.

Ojong (2015) studied how individuals make use of their multilingual repertoires in Lower Fungom while Nsen (2014) assessed individual multilingualism. Di Carlo (2011) further stresses that Lower Fungom is a very restricted multilingual geographical area, to the extent that the network of multilingualism is so interwoven that you might not even know who the native speaker of which language is.

Warnier & Laburtholra (1994) merge the social and the individual and brings out the society's common perceptions concerning the different languages and their use.

Language practice in families involves the varieties and patterns of language use that are established in the context of particular language ideologies. The language to use both as an individual in a household as well as within the community and beyond the community where people can have a repertoire of up to seventeen languages makes it difficult to characterize rural multilingualism as a single, coherent phenomenon. It however does point to the utility of linguistic diversity as a tool for social cohesion in multilingual communities.

Di Carlo et al. (2017) opine that, sociolinguistic research on multilingualism has concentrated mostly on urbanized areas, even though the majority of Africans still live in rural areas, yet rural multilingualism is clearly of much older provenance than its urban counterpart. Wolff (2000) claims that in African societies, multilingualism among individuals is more the norm than the exception.

Lehtonen (1996) describes the long history of academic discussion concerning the relationship between language and society. In the background of this discussion are the opposing views that language is either a fundamentally linguistic or a fundamentally social phenomenon. This division is connected to the discussion about the meanings of words: are the meanings created in relation to each other within the grammatical “language system” or in relation to the social context in which they are used? (Ibid...108-110.)

With the above intensive multilingualism in Lower Fungom, one will with experience elsewhere, expect an explosion of conflicts in the area. Yet, the people here coexist peacefully, using many languages as a tool of strength with no negative attitudes to ethnic difference. The question that this research set out to answer therefore is: what formula of multilingualism is practiced in Lower Fungom that

leads to such peaceful coexistence and what lessons can we learn from this type of multilingualism to be able to generalize it to other multilingual contexts especially Cameroon? We explored these questions by studying the household to uncover attitudes and practices of multilingualism therein and then correlate these household behaviors to the widely studied community. We think that household attitudes within the household account for intercommunity positive attitudes towards multilingualism in the Lower Fungom community

1.1.1 Statement of the Problem

Areas with high language density and consequent multilingual practices like Lower Fungom are conflict prone because people assert various identities. This has been the case among several communities in the North-West Region of Cameroon, other parts of Cameroon, Africa, Europe and the world at large where multilingual practices lead to conflicting intercommunity relations. Yet there is peaceful cohabitation in multilingual and potentially conflict prone Lower Fungom area. Given that the family is the nucleus of the society, this study investigates the practice of multilingualism within multilingual households to understand the intercommunity practices and attitudes towards multilingualism. To carry out the study, we posed some research questions, and a methodology of study.

1.1.2 Research Questions

1.1.3 Main Question:

1. How is multilingualism practiced in Lower Fungom households such that there is peaceful co-existence and harmony in the household and the community?

1.1.4 Specific Questions

1. What perceptions do people in multilingual households have about multilingualism?

2. What attitudes do people have towards multilingualism in Lower Fungom multilingual households?
3. How do people use the languages in their linguistic repertoires within multilingual households?
4. What are the intergenerational language policies in mixed marriage households?
5. How does multilingualism in households influence intercommunity relations among the people of Lower Fungom?
6. Which are the social structures that enhance the practice of multilingualism within the Lower Fungom communities?
7. What challenges do they face in their quest for intercommunity interaction through multilingual practices?

1.1.5 Aim of research

The study aimed at investigating household multilingualism practices in order to explain peaceful intercommunity coexistence in Lower Fungom despite multilingualism and multiculturalism. The study was guided by the following research objectives

1.1.6 Research Objectives

To achieve the above aim, the study set out to:

1. Explore the perception of multilingualism in Lower Fungom multilingual households;
2. Determine and describe the attitudes of people towards multilingualism in Lower Fungom multilingual households;
3. Describe how people use the languages in their linguistic repertoires within multilingual households;
4. Investigate the covert or overt intergenerational language policies in mixed marriage households;
5. Examine the household practices and social structures that enhance the practice of multilingualism in Lower Fungom communities;
6. Explain the role of multilingualism in the socio- cultural and economic cohesion of the Lower Fungom area;
7. Describe the challenges in the practice of multilingualism in Lower Fungom communities

1.1.7 Significance of Study

This research resorted to several research methodologies but focused on ethnographic case study on how culture and language use (multilingual practices) within the family circles can contribute to peaceful social co-existence within the enlarged community. This focus seemed justified, as Cameroon is currently experiencing a sociocultural and political unrest due to differences in cultures between Anglophone regions and Francophone regions.

Results will deepen scientific comprehension of the role of social responses from households to conflict and consensus in multilingual communities. Also, more light will be shed on such themes as intergenerational relationship in multilingual societies, the individual and community security in such a context and their effects on short, medium and long term resilience. This will also support policy makers and other social sciences to better handle such social shocks and enhance resilience while enriching the current theoretical and empirical literature on multilingualism. The study will also suggest different social approaches to the management of linguistic differences across different cultures, socio-economic levels and in communities where state and established methodologies have been inadequate.

1.2 Definition of Terms/Conceptual Review

With the rapid expansion of communication, the mobility of people and the expansion of immigration, it is generally agreed that ‘intercultural communicative competence’ (ICC) should be an essential component of ‘language competence’ or vice versa. It also implies that there could not be intercultural communication without the integration of intercultural competence in language. Thus, there is a need to study this issue logically and coherently. Language competence needs to address not only the

linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic/discourse elements of language but should integrate (inter)cultural interactions and transactions between individuals within and beyond a community. Accordingly, this section reviews existing concepts that will be used within the context of this study. It also captures the interrelations that are embedded in language, thought and culture.

1.2.1 Multilingualism

Clyne (1997) defines multilingualism as “the use of more than one language” or “competence in more than one language”. Research has elaborately demonstrated that multilingualism is an integral part of human society. First of all, there are many existing understandings of multilingualism, depending on whether the perspective is sociolinguistics, communication, identity, cognition, translation, learning, or agency and participation. The older conceptualizations saw multilingualism as multiplied monolingualism, where languages were present as bounded entities, each with a defined system of its own, and one language was used at a time. Recent views see languages as resources for social and other actions, in other words, people use their multilingual resources in their local contexts, often simultaneously, interacting with the context. Where ever multilingualism and multiculturalism are present, questions of identity are at stake. The issue of identity or rather identities have figured predominantly in recent years in various disciplines in poststructuralist approaches to the discussion of self and the other. Issues of identity were particularly made salient through Said’s (1978) seminal book *Orientalism* that focused on the pervasiveness of the Western perspective of viewing “the other” in a culturally imperialistic way.

In academic spheres, “multilingual and multicultural competence is regarded as an individual’s communicative and interactive repertoire, made up of several languages

and language varieties including first language(s) at different levels of proficiency, and various types of competence, which are all interrelated. The repertoire in its entirety represents a resource enabling action in diverse use situations. It evolves across time and experience throughout life, and includes growth in intercultural awareness and ability to cope with, and participate in, multicultural contexts of academic study and working life (Lenz, Berthele, 2010). In this study, we consider multilingual and multicultural competence as an individual's communicative and interactive repertoire, made up of several languages and language varieties including first language(s) at different levels of proficiency, and various types of competence, which are all interrelated.

The term "lingua franca" denotes "a language which is used in communication between speakers who have no native language in common" (Trudgill, 2003) or to use the SIL International definition: "the language people use to communicate across language and cultural boundaries." A lingua franca is understood as a synonym of "language of wider distribution" (LWD). Both terms refer to inter-languages, both European and African. They are therefore used here as synonyms denoting equivalent concepts, i.e. the role of a language which enables speakers of different languages to communicate with each other. This communication could be used by individuals (individual multilingualism) or by the community (community multilingualism). In this study, we examine how multilingual practices both through the individual or the entire community enhance harmony and peaceful coexistence.

1.2.2 Intergenerational Relationship

Multiple meanings have been attributed to the term "generation" among which are generation as a principle of kinship descent; generation as cohort; generation as life

stage; and generation as historical period. The notion is central to the work of Ortega Y. Gasset and richly analyzed by Marias (1967). Several sociologists, under the stimulus of Mannheim, have considered the question of generational change, character, duration, and identity. Riesman (1950) began by identifying generations in American culture in terms of their social character. Unlike sociologists, social anthropologists use "generation" in referring not so much to parent-child relations but to the larger universe of kinship relations. White et al (2008) say generation is a relational term that refers to familial reproduction but by extension may denote categories of seniors and juniors in society at large. Focusing on the active version of generation, they refer to 'generations' as groups and categories of people *belonging to* a certain period of time, social category, or position in descent line with specific rules and conventions. To them, members of a generation are not surrendered to their cultural and societal position, but are able to use that position to bring about new ideas and practices and pursue their own interests within the historical circumstances in which they live. Schwartz et al (1975) think "Generation" may be defined as those individuals in the flow of population through time who see themselves or are seen by others as culturally distinguished from others who preceded or followed them. Berger (1971) notes that even for the same age group, there exist a plurality of "generations" or cultural style. In this study, we consider intergeneration relationship as the interaction between individuals in the flow of population who are culturally distinct from others (categories of seniors and juniors in society at large).

1.2.3. Intercommunity Relationship

Inter community relationship is the interaction which exists between two or more communities. Nfi (2014) refers to it as interactions between people who had formed separate entities with different languages and customs but who entertain various

relations between themselves Yenshu (2001) explains that apart from colonial arrangements that led to intercommunity interaction in the Bamenda Grassfields, other factors such as, mutual exchange, identity, competition and use of a common language among others, are root causes of intercommunity interaction. In this study, we explore how these factors enhance intercommunity interaction in Lower Fungom.

1.2.4 Ethnographic Appraisal

The ethnographic approach can be traced back to centuries ago, in the Mediterranean world, with Herodotus being its most famous proponent (Hymes, 1996). Ethnological questions were traced back in the Americas with the first discovery of the new world (Hymes 1996). Researchers over the years like Hymes (1996) and Dornyei (2007) have underscored the controversies involved in defining ethnography. Hymes (1996) attempts to define the traditional approach to ethnography as participating and observing the study of people in question not ourselves, with the use of methods other than those of the experimental design and quantitative measurement. Hamersley and Atkinson (1995) have called “ethnography” in other words ‘qualitative research’. Dornyei (2007) describes a classical ethnographer as one who goes ‘into’ the community and becomes immersed in the culture by living among ‘natives’. Nunan (1992) maintains that ethnography places great store on the collection and interpretation of data. Indeed, the researcher supports Nunan’s claim that using an ethnographic-informed questionnaire is a positive start in the process of data collection, alongside observations. In addition to these definitions, an ethnographer should have a democratic mind when collecting data. By this the researcher means taking into consideration the opinions of the participants which then lead us to Geertz approach to ethnography. He states that ethnographic studies require an intellectual effort and an elaborate venture, what he terms in other words; “thick description” (Geertz, 1973).

1.2.5 Tribe

Huttunen (2005) describes how due to its connections to colonialism, the word 'tribe' is considered problematic in Anthropology. It was used around the turn of the 20th century by early Anthropologists, who researched the “primitive” societies of the 'tribes.' At the time tribes were seen as the static and clearly distinguishable entities which stood in contrast with the “modern”, industrial states. But after the colonized countries became independent around mid-20th century, it was not possible to divide the world into modern and pre-modern like the conception of tribe presumed. In Anthropology the concept of tribe was replaced with the concept of ethnic group, and this is still the main concept used. Today, it is agreed that ethnicity, a dynamic form of consciousness and ethnic identity with a certain group, can be formed in many ways. For example, the experience of ethnic identity with a certain group does not always necessitate knowledge of the language associated with the group in question. (Jerman,1997; Legère, 2002). In this study, we use the words 'tribe' and 'ethnic group interchangeably.

1.2.6. Dialect

We use the term dialect instead of mother tongue (language) because the meaning the people of Lower Fungom give to dialect is different from the meaning usually given to the concept. While on the field, we noticed that to them, dialect is the first language you grow up to learn while mother tongue is another language you have learnt because of your relationship with a people. Yet we know that mother tongue is the language a person has learned as the first language as a child in the community of the parents and in which a person feels he can express him/herself the best (Legère 2002; Wolff 2000).

Despite the somewhat problematic connotations described above, we also use the concept of the ‘language of the tribe’, because just like the concept of tribe, it is used by the people themselves. The local languages are also called the vernacular languages by some consultants.

1.2.7. Identity

In recent years, “the subject of identity has gained prominence as dominant theoretical frameworks prove inadequate in explaining the crisis of development and the complexities of present day conflicts” (Bangura, 1994; Jega, 1999). As a socio-political concept, “identity” has both an individualist and a collective meaning: According to Erickson (1962), it is a process located in the core of the individual and yet in the core of his community culture, a process which established, in fact, the identity of these two identities. In other words, it can simply be defined as a person’s sense of belonging to a group if (it) influences his political behavior (Erickson, 1968 pg 134-126). It is said to be “always anchored both in physiological ‘givens’ and in social roles” (ibid). Its attributes comprise “commitment to a cause”, “love and trust for a group”, “emotional tie to a group”, as well as “obligations and responsibilities” relating to membership of a group with which a person identifies. Most general studies of identity emphasize that identity implies sameness and difference at the same time (Jenkins, 1996). Identity refers to the progress of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, or a related set of cultural attributes, which is given priority over other sources of meaning. For an individual, or for a group, there may be a plurality of identities. Yet, such plurality is a source of stress and contradiction in both self-representation and social action. This is because identity must be distinguished from role-sets. Roles are defined by norms structured by the institutions and organization of society. Their relative weight in influencing people’s

behavior depends upon negotiations and arrangement between individuals and these institutions and organizations. Identities are sources of meaning for themselves, and by themselves, constructed through a process of individualization (Giddens, 1991). Identities come into existence only when and if social actors internalize them, and construct their meaning around internalization (Castells, 2004). Although some self-definition can also coincide with social roles, identities are stronger sources of meaning than roles because identities organize the meaning, while roles organize the function. For most social actors, meaning is organized around a primary identity (that is an identity that frames the other), which is self-sustaining across time and space (Lasch, 1980).

Yet, identity is neither uniform nor stable among groups or individuals. The importance and strength of identity varies among groups, and may fluctuate considerably over time. In other words, while identities are more or less fixed, identity consciousness is also dynamic and shifting, reflecting the changing role of identities and the heightening or increasing magnitude and consequences of politics in terms of who gets what, when and how. Hence, mobilization, provocation and agitation are central to the formation of a requisite identity consciousness which, in turn, is critical to identity-based politics. Also, at any given time, a person may have multiple identities, each of which may always have some bearing on his or her political conduct and social roles in society. According to Larsh and Friedman, the formation or construction of identity space is “the dynamic operator linking economic and cultural processes” in modern societies (Larsh and Friedman, 1992). In competition or struggles over societal resources, especially in situations of scarcity, collective demands tend to be predicated and organized on shared interests, which in turn tend to be hinged on either physiological ‘givens’ or, as is more often the case,

on shared sociocultural identities. Thus, what can be termed as identity politics is nothing more than, to use Joseph's (1987.P:52) phraseology: "the mutually reinforcing interplay between identities and the pursuit of material benefits within the arena of competitive politics."

Since the social construction of identity always takes place in a context marked by power relationships, Castells (2004) proposes a distinction between three forms and origins of identity building namely: *Legitimizing identity*, *Resistance identity* and *Project identity*. *Legitimizing identity* is introduced by the dominant societal institutions to extend and rationalize their domination over social actors (Sennett, 1980; Anderson, 1983).

Resistance identity according to Calhoun (1994) is generated by those actors who are in a devalued position and are stigmatized by the logic of domination. They build trenches of resistance on the basis of principles different from, or opposed to, those permeating the domineering institutions of society.

Project identity comes into existence when social actors, on the basis of whatever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by so doing, seek the transformation of overall social structure.

1.2.8 Culture

Culture is the broadest concept in ethnography. From a materialistic interpretation, it is the sum of a social group's observable patterns of behavior, customs and way of life. From the Idealist interpretation (cognitive, ignores behavior), culture comprises ideas, beliefs and knowledge that characterize a particular group of people. Cultural

interpretation is a researcher's ability to describe things heard and seen within a framework of the social group's view of reality. According to Fetterman (2010), it is ethnography's primary contribution to understanding human adaptation.

1.2.9 Conflict

Conflict theory suggests that human behavior in social contexts results from conflicts between competing groups. Conflict theory originated with the work of Karl Marx in the mid-1800s. Marx understood human society in terms of conflict between social classes, notably the conflict in capitalist societies between those who owned the means of economic production (factory or farm owners, for example) and those who did not (the workers). Subsequent thinkers have described different versions of conflict theory: a common theme is that different social groups have unequal power, though all groups struggle for the same limited resources. Conflict theory has been used to explain diverse human behavior such as educational practices that either sustain or challenge the *status quo*, cultural customs regarding the elderly, and criminal behavior among others. In this study, we look at the conflict in cultural customs regarding the elderly and the practice of multilingualism.

1.2.10 Language

Language has been defined in divergent ways for example by Nordquist (2013) as: (1) a body of words and the systems for their use to a people of the same community or nation, the same geographical area or the same cultural tradition; (2) a communication using a system of arbitrary vocal sounds and written symbols, signs, gestures in conventional ways with conventional meanings; (3) any system of formalized symbols, signs, sounds or gestures used or conceived as a means of communication. However, language is not only a system of symbols used to codify

meanings and communicate between speakers, say in a particular society or nation. Kyrou & Rubinstein (2008) say language is a flexible complex system of communication that incorporates structure, sound, meaning, and practice and which can be used to describe conditions internal or external to people. Language is more spoken than written language. Language is also a social tool (social meaning) used to do many things beyond "mere" communication of meanings: for instance, through language, one can construct his own social identity (identities).

1.2.11 Language Ideology

Linguistic Anthropologist Kroskrity (1993) describes language ideology as a cluster concept, consisting of a number of converging dimensions with several “partially overlapping but analytically distinguishable layers of significance,” and cites that in the existing scholarship on language ideology “there is no particular unity, no core literature, and a range of definitions.” One of the broadest definitions is offered by Rumsey (1990), who describes language ideologies as “shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world.” This definition is however seen by Kroskrity (1993) as unsatisfactory because “it fails to problematize language ideological variation and therefore promotes an overly homogeneous view of language ideologies within a cultural group.” Emphasizing the role of speakers’ awareness in influencing language structure, Silverstein (1979) defines linguistic ideologies as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use.” Definitions that place greater emphasis on sociocultural factors include Shirley’s (1983) characterization of language ideologies as self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group. There is also Irvine’s (1989) definition of the concept as

“the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests.” In every culture, there is an elaboration, perception judgment or attitude associated with how language should be used or not. Language ideologies are shared by speech communities and when backed up by strong political power, language ideologies create biases and influence linguistic hegemony. In Africa, language ideologies are translated through formal education, administration, colonial language, tribal language and the family. In this study we look at language ideology as shared bodies of commonsense notions among the people of Lower Fungom

1.2.12 Household

Several scholarly definitions have been given for household. This study considered household from the Latin word *mansio*, "residence" which refers to a group of people sharing the same dwelling and participating in its economy. It is most often a family or a single person. Considered as a unit participating in the national economy, each household is generally assimilated from this point of view to a fiscal household. In everyday language, the household designates the couple, for example in the expression “young household” for a married couple newly installed in their home. By extension, the expression "getting together" is often synonymous with living together without being married.

1.3 Delimitation of Study

This study aimed at highlighting the influence of multilingual practices on rural dwellers in Lower Fungom. Following the theories of identity and that of conflict it shows how multilingual practices impact the culture on which humans depend for their continuous adaptation to their environment. Since culture is a complex whole,

the research investigated how multilingual practices influence the intergenerational relationship, intercommunity relationship and cultural heritage in Lower Fungom.

Although the entire Menchum Division and Lower Fungom in particular is dotted all over with multilingual communities, this study concentrated in Buu (Earliest settlers of Lower Fungom and least populated), Abar (Central Community in Lower Fungom), Khosin (last settlers), and Marshi (border community with Nigeria)

The study does not delve into linguistic levels like phonetics, phonology, syntax, lexicon, discourse analysis, stylistics, and pragmatics or morphology of the languages but rather concerns with how multilingual practices within households enhance social cohesion in an area of eminent language conflict. This scope is based on the timeframe between 2016 and 2019 when data for this study were collected and analysed.

1.4 Structure of Work

This work is partitioned into seven chapters. Chapter one is the general introduction which lays the foundation of the thesis. Chapter two reviews relevant theoretical, conceptual and empirical literature. In preparation for the discussion of data, the empirical literature we examines, summarizes and evaluates works of other authors on the sociolinguistics and multilingual practices in Lower Fungom.

Chapter three looks at the community from an ethnographic perspective to actually give a microcosm of that community for people to understand the complexity in these communities. An ethnographic review of the communities is given so that the reader can understand the complexity that lies in the background of this study. This explains why the information for the study area is presented in this chapter rather

than in a different chapter. Chapter four presents the methodology adopted for the study and instruments of data collection. Chapter five accounts for the peaceful coexistence in these communities despite the complexities that have been presented in chapter three. It discusses the interaction between these communities and how they transmit multilingual competences to younger generations. Chapter six comes back to the complexity to demonstrate that despite the complexity, there is peaceful coexistence due to the traditional and cultural practices. It shows that in Lower Fungom, there is still evidence of the characteristics that disunite people in multilingual settings, yet there is still peaceful coexistence among the people here. Chapter seven sums up the study by demonstrating that the data points to the fact that peaceful coexistence is explained by the interwoven and embedded cultural practices explained in chapter five

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the entire thesis by presenting the background to the study, the research problem, the research questions and the aims and objectives. The next chapter presents an ethnographic overview of the study area. Here, information about Lower Fungom is provided as well as the works that justify this study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

The literature reviewed in this chapter focuses on multilingualism and as mentioned in the previous chapter, situates Lower Fungom and its multilingualism. The aim of this section is to expose the gap in the study of rural multilingualism and demonstrate that a lot of research has been done on multilingualism whether on rural or urban multilingualism without any focus on the family as a nucleus of the society. In this direction we shall therefore exploit literature in various domains including amongst others, multilingualism, family multilingualism, intercommunity relations, intergenerational relations, conflict and consensus, identity, as well as the challenges in the practice of multilingualism.

2.1 Current trends in Sociology and Anthropology: From the self to the society

Family multilingualism has been studied from a multidisciplinary perspective. Anthropology has taken up interest in this area and more and more there is growing interest and desire to incorporate Anthropological practices. This section examines perspectives and motivations for the adoption of an Anthropological and sociological perspective in the research leading up to this thesis.

To begin with, a sociological approach to self and identity begins with the assumption that there is a reciprocal relationship between the self and society (Stryker, 1980). The “self” influences society through the actions of individuals thereby creating groups, organizations, networks, and institutions. Reciprocally, society influences the self through its shared language and meanings that enable a person to take the role of the other, engage in social interaction, and reflect upon

oneself as an object. The latter process of reflexivity constitutes the core of selfhood (McCall & Simmons, 1978; Mead, 1934). Because the self emerges in and is reflective of society, the sociological approach to understanding the self and its parts (identities) means that we must also understand the society in which the self is acting, and keep in mind that the self is always acting in a social context in which other selves exist (Stryker, 1980). African communities are peculiar in avoiding individual conflicts as much as possible precisely because of the propensity of these conflicts to become group conflicts if they are not contained. Some of such conflicts arise from language use within and between communities as demonstrated in the background in chapter one.

To study this self, various authors have opined on different perspectives. The evolving Anthropology has been widely recommended and besides, although Anthropology has long diversified its fields of studies to the study of concrete human problems like the aetiology of disease or habitation, there is still need for the description of endangered small communities for the sake of other disciplines.

Bodley (1985) observes that although research on the effects of cultural practices on people, nature and culture is not new, such research has not focused on specific goals such as providing solutions to human crisis. He opines that the principles of Anthropology can illuminate the social process. Bidney (1964) on his part thinks that even if Anthropological overviews may not provide all the desired answers as Bodley observes, it can at least trace the sources of societal problems and proffer solutions about the way out of such problems. He recommends ethnography, a characteristic of Anthropological practice, which can reveal graphic descriptions of a variety of

culturally specific ideologies enacted by people through language, action or technology.

Thus classic ethnographic studies of performance and ritual, of socialization and status, describe not merely kinds of speech but kinds of speakers, who produce and reproduce particular identities through their language use for security purposes. This study undertook an ethnographic appraisal of multilingual practices in multilingual households in Lower Fungom to discover language production and identity management. This will enable the understanding of societal positive attitudes towards multilingualism.

One concept often associated with conflict in multilingual contexts for Anthropological research is identity. Chilver and Kaberry (1967) evokes the question of identity in multilingual settings, especially in agglomerations such as those in the Grassfields and argue in favour of ethnography as a strategy of uncovering such identity complexities and how to manage them. In a similar vein

Mannheim (1968), notes that *“The principle thesis of the sociology of knowledge is that there are modes of thought which cannot be adequately understood as long as their social origins are obscured.”*

He identifies the symbolic resources available for the cultural production of identity, one of which is language which he finds most flexible and pervasive. The interconnections between language and identity are multiple, complex, and contextually specific (Hall 1995; Hall and O’Donovan 1996). Identities being as a product of situated social action may shift or recombine to meet new circumstances especially when it comes to language use.

Kopytoff (1992) takes up the issue of identity noting that the ethnically ambiguous society is an indication of the general fluidity of ethnic identity in Africa. This dynamic perspective contrasts with the traditional view of identities as unitary and enduring psychological states or social categories.

Kopytoff (1987) had opined that African cultures are suffused with a sense of hierarchy in social, political and ritual relations and most especially in the acephalous or stateless societies that are sometimes labelled as egalitarian. The measure of hierarchy in such acephalous societies lies not in the relations between autonomous groups but in relations within them. Hierarchy in relations within a group is accompanied by corporate unity in its relations without arising from the submergence of the social identity of the individuals in the group. This means that social and political positions held by individuals, *chiefships*, titles, administrative posts, councillorships, ritual offices etc. remain vested in the kin group of the first incumbent and remain so vested becoming part of the corporate estate of the kin group.

The drive to acquire relatives, adherents, dependents, retainers, and subjects and to keep them attached to oneself as a kind of social and political capital has often been remarked upon as a characteristic of African societies and of African political processes (Goody 1971, Kopytoff and Miers 1977).

Nsamenang (1992), writing on the cultural context of human development following a psychological perspective observes that the contextual boundaries of cultural phenomena do not always reside in observable feature of settings or in the demographic characteristics of their occupants. Instead, the effective context of certain phenomena may be better represented in terms of more covert, abstract

dimensions of the relationships between people and their surroundings. This is common in multilingual communities such as Lower Fungom.

Warnier *et al* (1997) commenting on man and his environment from an Anthropological perspective relates that humans possess not only a genetic inheritance, which determines our animal nature, but also a cultural inheritance of knowledge and customs transmitted by languages and symbols. As with other animals, we however occupy a habitat, which exists in both space and time and forms our environment. Although these are physical, chemical and biological environments, they are also a cultural environment with social, political, economic and technological dimensions.

Fortes (1949), notes that the importance of kinship, belonging and mutual support pervades everyday life in Africa. Everywhere, whether among farmers or herders, in urban spaces or in transnational family constellations, kinship relations determine people's lives and survival. They are vital to the production and distribution of resources; caring for children, the old and the sick; and securing biological and social reproduction. He further stresses that the kin group is also a source of emotional and spiritual belonging. Being a part of the web of kinship is still of critical importance for most people in Africa. In view of the poor development of social security systems outside the family, hardly anyone would wish to escape the power of kinship ties. This is evident not only in ceremonies or during crises, but also in countless everyday situations. However, the concrete organization and expression of kinship relations in Africa can take on various forms. There are different socio-spatial units, such as houses or compounds, different forms of marriage, different childrearing practices, and different ways of providing social security for elderly people. The

nature of interpersonal relationships and the flow of resources within kin groups also vary, and they belie oversimplified images of the family in Africa, such as the (still widespread) image of the "African extended family". Such variety is not least a result of the fact that African societies, including their kinship and family practices, are subject to continuous processes of change.

Dalby (1970) opines that the linguistic diversity in sub-Saharan Africa is suggestive of contrasting scenarios such as the huge Bantu continuum as opposed to the so-called sub-Saharan Fragmentation Belt. By contrast, when one comes to consider individuals' linguistic competence, it soon becomes evident that multilingualism is the norm in most African contexts (Bangbose 2000 P.). Although we lack documentary evidence, it is impossible not to regard this as a proof that "multilingualism has been a fact of social life in Africa for a very long time" (Di Carlo, 2014). Any Africanists would endorse such a statement. Yet, only few scholars seem ready to actually integrate this perspective into their own research.

2.2 Multilingualism

Clyne (1997) defines multilingualism as "the use of more than one language" or "competence in more than one language". Research has elaborately demonstrated that multilingualism is an integral part of human society. First of all, there are many existing understandings of multilingualism, depending on whether the perspective is sociolinguistics, communication, identity, cognition, translation, learning, or agency and participation. The older conceptualizations saw multilingualism as multiplied monolingualism, where languages were present as bounded entities, each with a defined system of its own, and one language was used at a time. Recent views see languages as resources for social and other actions. In other words, people use their

multilingual resources in their local contexts, often simultaneously, interacting with the context. Where ever multilingualism and multiculturalism are present, questions of identity are at stake. The issue of identity or rather identities have figured predominantly in recent years in various disciplines in poststructuralist approaches to the discussion of self and the other. Issues of identity were particularly made salient through Said's (1978) seminal book *Orientalism* that focused on the pervasiveness of the Western perspective of viewing "the other" in a culturally imperialistic way.

In academic spheres, "multilingual and multicultural competence is regarded as an individual's communicative and interactive repertoire, made up of several languages and language varieties including first language(s) at different levels of proficiency, and various types of competence, which are all interrelated. The repertoire in its entirety represents a resource enabling action in diverse use situations. It evolves across time and experience throughout life, and includes growth in intercultural awareness and ability to cope with, and participate in, multicultural contexts of academic study and working life (Lenz and Berthele, 2010). In this study, we consider multilingual and multicultural competence as an individual's communicative and interactive repertoire, made up of several languages and language varieties including first language(s) at different levels of proficiency, and various types of competence, which are all interrelated.

Defining multilingualism has resulted in a lot of controversy amongst researchers. This controversy has increasingly come into focus with, for example, studies emphasizing trilingualism and how it may differ from bilingualism (cf. Hofmann and Ytsma, 2004: cited by Di Carlo 2011). Lanza (2007) uses bilingualism as the understanding of two or more languages similar to general literature. Cook (2002, 2003) argues that any language acquired after the first one can be labeled language

two (L2) and one person can possess several L2s. He further explains that a person might have acquired a language at different stages in the individual's life up to varying degrees of proficiency, but numbering is not really important. Hofmann (2001) asserts that the differences between bilingualism and trilingualism are mainly quantitative in nature as the same processing mechanism operates.

Nevertheless, Dewaele et al (2003) treats multilingualism on a broader scale and he asserts that, the perfect bilingual does not probably exist. Clyne (1997) conflates the above differences by assuming a common definition of multilingualism as "the use of more than one language" or "competence in more than one language". We adopt Clyne's (1997) definition in this work.

2.3 Family Multilingualism

Language practice in families involves the varieties and patterns of language use that are established in the context of particular language ideologies.

In recent years, intercultural communication is the norm Canagarajah, (2013) and multilingual encounters start already in the family (Wei, 2012). However, despite the increased interest in raising children multilingually in social contexts (Gafaranga, 2010), even when parents require the child to speak in a specific language, children usually become passive multilinguals or dominant in the societal language (Gafaranga, 2010; Luykx, 2005; Tuominen, 1999).

According to the language socialization paradigm (Duranti et al., 2012), children, through participation in a broad range of language practices, are socialized into and acquire the social values and expectations associated with different linguistic codes. However, socialization is not a static topdown process of intergenerational

transmission of knowledge. Rather, as recently emphasized in research paradigms, it is dynamic and dialectic (Cekaite, 2012; Duranti et al., 2012; Goodwin, 2006).

In most communities, children attend early educational institutions, and children with parents born outside of their residing communities come in contact with the societal language at an early age, as they start attending pre-school when they are 3-5 years old. The heritage language(s) is thus primarily used in family interactions and for the second generation in family contexts, the children developing multilingualism and maintaining the heritage language is more demanding. However, family interactions, which are the children's first and main contact with the heritage language(s), have been given little attention in research.

Children themselves are active agents in forming and negotiating the language policy around them, and their willing participation in adult-initiated practices cannot be assumed (Luykx, 2005). Members of the community multilingual/monolingual speakers and as family members: parents, children, siblings use shared linguistic and embodied resources to index and negotiate dynamic, heterogeneous, linguistic and social identities, as well as social relations (Cekaite, 2012; De Fina, 2012; Ochs, 1996). Language acquisition and social and cultural socialization are interrelated and they begin the moment someone enters a social community Ochs (1996). This socialization process, together with language acquisition, constitutes language socialization (Ochs, 1996). In other words, language socialization (Schieffelin & Ochs 1996), is the process through which children and novices are socialized through language to use language appropriately and meaningfully

Therefore, raising children multilingually and maintaining familial language(s) are parallel concerns of increasing numbers of families. Because access to the heritage

language in social contexts is usually limited to the immediate family members and family interactions as the child's first and main site for encounters with the heritage language provide a rich context for the study of language maintenance and shift.

As demonstrated by Kirsch (2012), parents' own multilingual language experiences have been shown to have an impact on families' language approach and management; mothers usually have positive attitudes toward multilingualism because of their own multilingual experiences and competencies, formed by the language environment.

King & Fogle (2006), in their study of family Multilingualism, show that cultural notions concerning what is regarded as a 'good' or 'bad' parent affected parents' views and plans for children's (linguistic) upbringing. Some parents considered bilingualism as an advantage and also a benefit for maintaining the cultural background and promoting economic opportunities King and Fogle (2006). They viewed themselves as good parents who offered their children the 'gift' of multilingual opportunities.

Curdt-Christiansen (2013), demonstrates that language management in families is also motivated by parents' expectations about their children's language and literacy development. As a language management resource, parents can enrol children in educational institutions that promote certain languages, provided such institutions are available where they live. According to Schwartz & Moin (2012), such decisions can be made on the basis of the parents' assessments of their children's language development and their notions of what constitutes good conditions for children's language acquisition

Insofar as language use provides an interactional site for language (including heritage language) learning and the development of multilingualism, a detailed analysis of recurrent language practices between family members, including parent child multiparty and community interactions, would seem to be useful in deepening our understanding of the processual aspects of language maintenance or loss. Relatively little work on family multilingualism and family language policies, however, has examined in detail the interactional practices through which parents' and children's goals and expectations regarding multilingualism are instantiated as concrete efforts to shape language use and learning outcomes

2.4 Present-day Multilingualism in Cameroon

Cameroon belongs to those sub-Saharan countries which have the highest number of African languages and a far-reaching fragmentation. It is hard to state the exact number of languages in Cameroon as illustrated by the following controversies. "Ethnologue" the SIL International reference publication (2020), lists 283 living languages. Other sources state a lower number. Echu (2003a) refers to 247 languages, claiming that some of the languages in Ethnologue are varieties of the same language. Further, Onguene Essono (2004) finds the SIL figures to be too high. For him, the number is likely to be around 250 languages instead of nearly 300. In the findings of the project Atlas linguistique du Cameroun (ALCAM) initiated in 1974 and published in 1983 lists 248 national languages. Bitjaa Kody (2004) of the Department of African Languages and Linguistics, Yaoundé I, claims that the present number of identified national languages is 282. This point of view was strongly contested by Jean-Marie Essono (2004), who suggested that there are only 20 different national languages in Cameroon. The rest of the languages were considered inter comprehensible variants of these twenty different African languages. A large

number of glossonyms may thus linguistically be reduced to a reasonable number of dialect clusters.

To be able to fully understand the present situation, it is necessary to outline the basic historic development of the linguistic situation and the colonial history, the latter reflected in policy documents. The colonial past has substantially shaped the present day linguistic situation of Cameroon; there are two ex-colonial languages, English and French, as official languages; a rather unique situation in Africa. Cameroon is however, in particular, interesting due to its multitude of African languages belonging to three of the four language phyla existing in Africa. These languages are called national languages in official documents. The Cameroonian language policy which takes just English and French into account (hence called a bilingual policy in official documents) is often referred to as a unifying measure (Echu 2003a). This unification policy is said to avoid ethnic rivalry.

Earlier studies such as Stumpf (1979) and Chumbow (1980) outline the pre-independence language policy. The choice of a bilingual language policy was, as stated by Chumbow (1980:289), necessary as a temporary measure. It was both a pragmatic and a political decision, not reflecting active language planning. Both authors describe in particular the initial efforts and initiatives of promoting the national languages in the educational system in Cameroon in the 1960s and early 1970s. Later publications as Chumbow and Bobda (1996; 2000) have discussed language policy in Cameroon. Issues such as possible strategies of development and integration of the national languages in education have been treated by Tadadjeu (1995) and Tabi-Manga (2000). In addition to an analysis of language policy and

planning, Bitjaa Kody (2005) has studied the use and vitality of Cameroonian languages in contact with French both in rural and urban areas.

In 2012, the United Nations held a forum on ‘the role of languages and culture in the promotion and protection of the rights and identity of indigenous peoples’. The importance of language is summed up in the following quote: Language is an essential part of, and intrinsically linked to, indigenous peoples’ ways of life, culture and identities. Languages embody many indigenous values and concepts and contain indigenous peoples’ histories and development. They are fundamental markers of indigenous peoples’ distinctiveness and cohesiveness as peoples. Language is central to cultures - the two are intertwined UN (2012. p8).

Wesley (2005) emphasizes that “the loss of language is the loss of the ability to describe the landscape... and your place in it. Our language helps us with our identity and our culture, and helps us work out where we fit in society, for example who we are related to.” Cameroonians are aware of the particularities of their languages and cultures especially when they travel to places where languages and cultures differ from theirs. Even when we might understand the language, differences in accents, phrasing and colloquial terms can reaffirm our sense of identity through the use of unique elements of culture. Often, we recognize other Cameroonians by the style of English or French language that is used. Most Indigenous people identify strongly with a traditional language identity. The tribe with which they identify is a language group and in the great majority of cases, the tribal name is the language name.

Cultural heritage and knowledge is passed on throughout each generation by language. Language is integral in affirming and maintaining wellbeing, self-esteem

and a strong sense of identity. Languages contain complex understandings of a person's culture and their connection with their land. There is a wealth of evidence that supports the positive associations of health, education and employment outcomes as well as general wellbeing with language and culture. Indigenous languages keep people connected to culture and this strengthens feelings of pride and self-worth.

Cameroon is therefore not a monolingual society. The linguistic ecosystem is varied. Since British and French settlement, English and French have been the main languages in Cameroon. The importance of learning and speaking English and French competently for all Cameroonians is not disputed. Besides these exoglossic languages several hundred unique indigenous languages that were spoken for tens of thousands of years in Cameroon exist. These languages have not always received due recognition in the rural settings, where the importance of colonial legacy, at least in terms of social structure and associated ideologies, have remained nearly untouched by the handful of sociolinguistic studies some of which are Connell (2009), Lüpke (2010a, 2010b), Cobbinah (2010), Good *et al* (2011) as well as (Di Carlo & Good 2014, Di Carlo, 2015; 2016).

Dealing with speakers' conceptualizations of language boundaries, requires the adoption of ethnographic methods of inquiry and may yield unexpected insights. An exemplary case is offered by the work of Di Carlo and Good (2014) on the languages of Lower Fungom. He elucidates multiple identity constructions in relation to multilingualism, solidarity and magic. He argues that in contrast to indexical ideology, indexing social identity implying personal prestige is obvious in exogenous language market. However, in the local language market, prestige is not of importance. It is with this in mind that there is a shift from indexing personal prestige

to indexing the desire to be affiliated to a group or numerous groups. Di Carlo further suggests that the top priority on Africans list is fear of the unknown. Reason why Ashforth (2005: cited and emphasized by Di Carlo, 2014) states “ no one can comprehend life in Africa without understanding witchcraft and other related aspects of spiritual insecurity”.

To Di Carlo, (2014) a semi-centralized model of political organization is practiced in Lower Fungom. Those who have political powers are responsible for handling the occult within the society. This will mean the chief is regarded as a sacred figure that is required to protect his own. The locals hold that, each ethnic group speaks a separate linguistic form, especially with the case of single villages. With this in mind, Di Carlo asserts that an individual speaking a different language can be accepted in that community and as such, receives protection from the invisible world by the chief. In other words, being multilingual can fetch a golden ticket of protection to invisible threats by a chief representing that ethnic community. Finally, Di Carlo and Pizziolo (2012) in their study of Lower Fungom, showcase the importance of multi-disciplinarily approaches in probing linguistic issues. How then dose the household accept a member speaking a different language?

Angwara (2013) seeks to define the macro sociological factors that account for individual multilingualism in Lower Fungom and attempts an exposition of multilingualism in pre-colonial times in Lower Fungom while highlighting the importance of gathering data from an ethnographic perspective thus revealing possible language choices. The local language ideologies of the Lower Fungom people which consist of creating the maximum number of social networks for their own benefits (economic, political and social) underlie whatever sociological factors that account for high rates of multilingualism in Lower Fungom.

The scholarly linguistic classification of the speech varieties of this area suggests: that seven languages, or small language clusters, are spoken in its thirteen recognized villages (Good et al. 2011:102). However, this characterization is at odds with the local conception of linguistic distinctiveness which treats each of the region's thirteen villages as having its own "talk". These "talks" identify a community which needs to interact with another for cultural or economic purposes which we call intercommunity interaction.

Ojong (2014) has studied how people make use of their multilingual repertoires in lower Fungom while Nsen (2014) has worked on the assessment of Individual Multilingualism. Dicarlo 2011 further stresses that LF is a multilingual very restricted geographical area, to the extent that the network of multilingualism is so interwoven that you might not even know who the native speaker of which language is. In this study, we focus on the cultural domains in which interactions lead to the transmission of multilingual competences both in the household and within the community or beyond.

2.5 Language policy in Cameroon

Language policy in Cameroon has witnessed several mutations across the years and the effects have been determinant in the process of identity building in Cameroon. We examine the Cameroon language policy in this section across the continuum

2.5.1 Pre-independence period

During the German colonial period, German was used as the language of administration. Throughout the German colonial rule, African languages were described to have had "a somewhat comfortable position as far as linguistic

communication is concerned" Echu (2003a:3), as German and American missionaries preferred Cameroonian languages as Basaa, Bulu, Duala, Ewondo and Mungaka for evangelism and teaching. Bamum and Fulfulde were used for propagating the Muslim faith.

As mandate and trusteeship administrations respectively, Great Britain and France preferred different principles of rule. The British administration practiced indirect rule, which implied the use of indigenous authorities and languages. The French administration applied a policy of assimilation which excluded African languages from most formal domains. The French language policy of Cameroon is reflected in official documents from the period. Bitjaa Kody (2001a) refers to directives from 1920 and 1924 which sharply prohibit the use of African languages in education. The French rule had, and still has, a major influence on the status and use of the national languages, as shown by Bitjaa Kody (2001a; 2001b; 2005).

2.5.2 Post-independence Period

In 1960, at independence, French was adopted as the official language in the part of the country that was earlier administered by France. English was given the same status in the former British territory which was re-unified with Cameroon. In 1961 the new federal republic institutionalized bilingualism, ignoring the multilingual reality. Schools were encouraged to offer the official language not used in the province, and bilingual secondary schools were established. The academic results were rather poor; less than fifty per cent enrolled in exams in both languages Chumbow (1980). The Constitution of the Federal Republic of 1961 and of the United Republic of 1972 had the same spirit as the French policy of the 1920s, but was based on the idea of national unity Bitjaa (2001a). Bilingualism was propagated as the solution to nation building.

Cameroon thus followed the prevailing idea of the nineteenth century of achieving national integration through a single common language or a foreign language. Due to the rather unique history of Cameroon of being administered by two European powers and the cultural and linguistic impact of the colonial past, both English and French were chosen as a unifying instrument. Since the early years of independence the national languages have been restricted to informal domains mainly being used at home. Their use in education, which existed in some private schools during the foreign rule in spite of the official French assimilation policy, disappeared almost totally after independence.

From the 1970s on, scholars and language experts have been working in favor of mother tongue education. These early initiatives are reflected in laws and decrees that were promulgated during the last decade.

2.5.3 Multilingualism in Lower Fungom

Lower Fungom language ideology holds that, there is a coincidence of political units (villages) with language communities. What a linguist will define as dialects of the same language is, for LF people, separate languages, though similar to one another and what they will define as languages, for LF people are lects. “A language is a coding system and a means by which information may be transmitted or shared between two or more communicators for purposes of command, instruction or play” Lockerby (2009). Language has rules which involve sound production (phonetics) word structure (morphology), grammar and sentence structure (syntax), word meaning (semantics) and social appropriateness (pragmatics). ‘Lects’ likewise called ‘dialects’ can be defined as a variety of the same language. They form a kind of language cluster. Researchers used this term in the descriptive sense of linguistics i.e. purely theoretical,

whereby the distinction between languages and dialects comes from linguistic variables; phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics of the languages.

However, the inclusion of lects in this study is due to the local language perception already mentioned. The second reason why multilectalism is considered is explained by local ideologies and identity construction. Individuals in LF decide to speak other varieties although they can be understood if they communicate with people of the same language cluster. The reason simply is because to them by speaking lects other than theirs, they can represent and identify themselves in villages different from theirs. In line with the above mentioned reasons there is immense need to consider multilectalism because not only are language ideologies revealed but, also, issues of identity construction are construed. Nevertheless, the main concern in this work is broader, it is “multiplicity of codes” available to an individual or a group, irrespective of the mutual relationship existing between these codes.

Linguists who fully acknowledge the potential consequences that widespread individual multilingualism may have on the definition of language communities and on the description of language themselves are still a minority such as, (Childs, 2003, P. 20-23, 175-176).

Jean-Marc Dewaele & Li Wei (2012) opine that most interestingly, a small but significant positive correlation exist between multilingualism (operationalized as advanced levels of proficiency in several foreign languages and frequent use of these languages) and cognitive empathy. Also, the frequent use of multiple languages was linked to higher levels of cognitive empathy, which could be interpreted as an indication of multi competence.

As for Africanist sociolinguists, no doubt all of them condemn the application of what Silverstein (1996) termed “the monoglot view of language in society”, especially in African. Nonetheless, most of them have led research on multilingualism in urban environments, that is, in contexts whose linguistic ecologies have been largely shaped during colonial times and where non-African languages take on prominent social functions (e.g., Juillard, 1995; McLaughlin 2001; Myers-Scotton, 1993).

This research gap has brought to implicitly identify African multilingualism as a mostly urban phenomenon tightly connected with social processes that took place in colonial and post-colonial periods. Such a distortion has meant losing sight of the historical, i.e. pre-colonial, roots of African multilingualism. Such a teleological difference necessarily correlates with some methodological divergence between this and most of the mainstream sociolinguistic studies mentioned above. The latter, due to their urban orientation, have largely applied the same concepts and interpretive categories used in Western urban contexts. This study, will explore the potential fruitfulness how a non-superficial ethnographic knowledge of the target communities can shape the tools to be used to interpret the social motivations of language choice so as to adhere more closely to the observed sociocultural realities.

Documentary linguists have often been urged to integrate language ideologies and other topics more closely to ethnography than to linguistics in their research, but these recommendations have seldom coincided in literature with practical directions for their implementation. This study will contribute to filling this gap. An ethnographically-informed sociolinguistic survey on multilingualism can lead to progressively deeper insights into the local language ideology. The methodological implications that this research perspective brings to both documentary linguistics and

language support and revitalization projects are discussed. A number of practical suggestions are finally proposed, illustrating the importance of language documentation projects being carried out by multidisciplinary teams. Anecdotal observations made over the years by the different linguists who had visited the Lower Fungom area all pointed to the fact that, as a result of the spread of CPE from the 1960s onward, older generations seemed to show higher rates of competence in a number of local vernaculars than younger ones did.

For instance, if a language is conceptualized as one of the outward manifestations of something more fundamental, such as an ethnicity or a nation, the loss of that language will be taken to imply the loss of that deeper thing, including the ‘culture’ shared by its speakers. By contrast, if language is conceptualized first and foremost as an index of group identity and, hence, primarily as a symbolic resource allowing a group to claim political independence and, through multilingualism, for an individual to maintain multiple affiliations with different groups, then it is legitimate to wonder just what would be ‘lost’ when such a language disappears. We can examine this issue in both synchronic and diachronic terms. (Di Carlo & Jeff Good 2014) Di Carlo et al (forth coming) opine that, sociolinguistic research on multilingualism has concentrated mostly on urbanized areas, even though the majority of Africans still live in rural regions, and rural multilingualism is clearly of much older provenance than its urban counterpart.

In urban domains, individual language repertoires are dominated by the interplay between European ex-colonial languages, African lingua francas, and local languages, and language ideologies emphasize the ordering of languages in a hierarchy that is tied to social status. The situation in rural areas is clearly distinct,

though it has yet to be thoroughly investigated, and the goal of this study is to summarize what is currently understood about rural multilingualism in Africa, highlighting, in particular, the ways in which it varies from better-known urban multilingualism. The case studies document the presence of individuals with linguistic repertoires that are primarily oriented around local languages, ideologies, and practices and that do not clearly fit with what is known from urban environments. The most important theme that emerges is the extent to which rural multilingualism is linked to the specific dynamics holding among communities that are near to each other rather than being a reflection of a more general, externally-imposed value system.

While this result makes it difficult to characterize rural multilingualism as a single, coherent phenomenon, it does point to the utility of a shared toolkit of research strategies for exploring it in more detail. In particular, ethnographic methods are required in order to ascertain the major local social divisions which language choice both reflects and constructs in these areas, and it is additionally important to focus on how individual repertoires are tied to specific life histories rather than to assume that groupings that are salient to the outside researcher (e.g. “villages” or “compounds”) are the relevant units of analysis. The survey concludes by considering the ways in which the investigation of multilingualism in rural Africa may yield important insights for the study of sociolinguistics more broadly.

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multilingualism, solidarity and magic. He argues that in contrast to indexical ideology, indexing social identity implying personal prestige is obvious in exogenous language market. However, in the local language market, prestige is not of importance. It is with this in mind that there is a shift from indexing personal prestige to indexing the desire to be affiliated to a group or numerous groups. Di Carlo further suggests that the top priority on Africans list is fear of the unknown. Reason why Ashforth (2005: cited and emphasized by Di Carlo, 2014) states “[n]o one can comprehend life in Africa without understanding witchcraft and other related aspects of spiritual insecurity”. In LF, there is a semi-centralized model of political organization being practiced. Those who have political powers are responsible for handling the occult within the society. This will mean the chief is regarded as a sacred figure that is required to protect his own. The locals hold that, each ethnic group speaks a separate linguistic form, especially with the case of single villages. With this in mind, Di Carlo asserts that an individual speaking a different language can be accepted in that community and as such, receives protection from the invisible world by the chief. In other words, being multilingual can fetch a golden ticket of protection to invisible threats by a chief representing that ethnic community. Finally, Di Carlo and Pizziolo (2012) in their study of LF, showcase the importance of multi-disciplinarily approaches in probing linguistic issues. They use ethnographic plus geographical instruments among others in collecting data. They demonstrate clearly the relationship between research items in tracking historical developments of the hyper diversified linguistic situation in Lower Fungom. Inhabitants of the region show high degrees of individual multilingualism; with many speaking three or more local languages as well as Cameroonian Pidgin English and some claiming to speak more than ten local languages Agwara (2013).

Angwara (2013) seeks to define the macro sociological factors that account for individual multilingualism in Lower Fungom and attempts an exposition of multilingualism in pre-colonial times in Lower Fungom while highlighting the importance of gathering data from an ethnographic perspective, thereby revealing possible language choices. The local language ideologies of the Lower Fungom people which consist of creating the maximum number of social networks for their own benefits (economic, political and social) underlie whatever sociological factors that account for high rates of multilingualism in Lower Fungom.

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2.6 Intercommunity Relations

Intercommunity relationship (inter group relations) is the interaction which exists between two or more communities. Writing on *Intercommunity Relations and the Politics of Identity in the Nso Chiefdom, Bamenda Grassfields, Cameroon*, Nfi (2014) refers to intercommunity relations as interactions between people who had formed separate entities with different languages and customs but who entertain various relations between themselves. Yenshu & Ngwa (2001: 163-190) in *Changing Intercommunity Relations and the Politics of Identity in the Northern Mezam Area Cameroon*, explain that apart from colonial arrangements that led to

intercommunity interaction in the Bamenda Grassfields, other factors such as, mutual exchange, identity, competition and use of a common language among others, are root causes of intercommunity interaction. Zaoro (2015) notes that the origins of intercommunity relations remains a myth but can be traced to ancestral knowledge. This stems from the desire of the communities for peaceful cohabitation, sociocultural harmony and a living together despite sociocultural differences. Such desires help to shed light on an open social and integration frame where violence is managed. Fouéré (2008) follows in the same line and points out that wars, mutual assistance, trade relations, migration and marriage are the basis for intercommunity relations. Muzafer (1965) notes that "Whenever individuals belonging to one group interact collectively or individually with another group or its members in terms of their group identification, we have an instance of intergroup behavior."

Mauss (1968: P.278) says intercommunity relations arise when a people oppose emotion and reason, and decide to replace war and brutal madness or isolation and stagnation with peace and alliances of trade.

Intercommunity relations, has long been a subject of research in social psychology, political psychology, and organizational behavior. Scholars have put forward some theories to explain why intercommunity interactions occur. These include, the Contact hypothesis by Gordon (1954), Conflict Theory (Realistic conflict theory) by Donald T. Campbell and the Social Identity Approach by Henri Tajfel and John Turner. Tajfel (1978), through his experiments, brought to the fore 'achieving and maintaining a positive social identity' as an important process influencing intergroup relations. A part of a person's self-concept is related to the value and emotions that he/she attaches to being a member of a group or a set of groups. Through the experiments conducted by him and his associates, he could notice that the mere

perception or awareness of being categorized into a group (in-group) and not the other (out-group) creates a favorable attitude towards members of the in-group and a negative attitude towards the out-group members. Recent research has shown that such an inter-group discrimination is more associated with situations where people perceive that the social order or the sociopolitical hierarchy in which their groups are placed is unstable or illegitimate. We briefly examine some of these concepts below.

- **Contact Hypothesis**

Gordon Allport developed this hypothesis, which states that contact with members of another social group in the appropriate circumstances can lead to a reduction of prejudice between majority and minority group members. There are three psychological processes underlying the contact hypothesis: learning about the out group through direct contact, fear and anxiety reduction when interacting with the outgroup, and increased ability to perspective take and empathize with the outgroup which results in reduced negative evaluation. These processes take place optimally when four conditions are met. Groups must:

- **Have Relatively equal status**

This is based on the assumption that a person or a group desires that justice prevails in the relationship with other person or group. People feel distressed once they perceive injustice in the relationship. This justice or injustice is based on the comparison of the ratio of outcomes and inputs of one group with the other. Following is the diagram for the conditions of equity and inequity:

Figure 2.1 Conditions of Equity and Inequity in Community Relationships

$$\frac{\text{Outcome for group A}}{\text{Inputs by group A}} = \frac{\text{Outcomes for group B}}{\text{Outcomes for group B}}$$

Or

$$\frac{\text{Outcomes for group "A"}}{\text{Inputs by group "A"}} > (\text{or } <) \frac{\text{Outcomes for group "B"}}{\text{Outcomes for group "B"}}$$

- **Have shared goals**

This means that inter-group harmony is maintained until neither of the groups dominates the other. In case of a relative inequality due to the dominance of a group, the groups may return to any of the earlier stages.

- **Be able to cooperate with each other**

This implies that a group's satisfaction about its position in the society is not related any objective situation. It is rather associated with comparison with other group's position. The group's dissatisfaction is rooted in the its comparison with a 'better off' group especially when the group members feel that they are capable of achieving a better position and that they deserve to do so

- **Recognize an authority or law that supports interactions between the two groups.**

This tries to explain the relationship between the majority and the minority groups. It assumes that the society is governed by the elites and those who are ruled are the non-elites. In societies where the talented members of a non-elite group have equal opportunity to become the elites who can govern, the conflicts may not arise between

the elites and the non-elites. However, if such an openness of flow of talented members to power is not there, then inter-group conflicts may arise. Some researchers have critiqued the contact hypothesis, specifically its generalizability and the fact that intercommunity contact can result in an increase rather than decrease in prejudice.

2.7 Current Trends in Intercommunity Relations

Early research on intercommunity relations focused on understanding the processes behind group interactions and dynamics, constructing theories to explain these processes and related psychological phenomena. Presently, intercommunity relations is characterized by researchers applying and refining these theories in the context of modern social issues such as addressing social inequality and reducing discrimination based on gender identity, sexual orientation, race/ethnicity, and religion.

2.7.1 Prejudice Reduction

Theories from intercommunity relations research have informed many approaches to prejudice reduction. Researchers have focused on developing theoretical frameworks for understanding how to effectively reduce intergroup conflict and prejudice. This is seen in a recent intervention developed by Patricia Devine and colleagues focused on training individuals to overcome cognitive biases and reduce implicit bias. Other prejudice reduction research has investigated intergroup interaction techniques including cooperative and making group identity less salient or a superordinate identity more salient in addition to individual techniques such as encouraging

perspective-taking with a member of a stigmatized group and building empathy with stigmatized groups.

Meta-analyses of implicit bias reduction studies have shown that many produce limited effects that do not persist outside of a laboratory setting. Some researchers have called for more field research and studies that employ longitudinal designs to test the external validity and durability of existing prejudice reduction techniques, especially workplace diversity programs that may not be informed by empirical research.

2.7.2 Addressing Social Inequalities

Social scientists have examined phenomena related to social inequality such as poverty, disenfranchisement, and discrimination since the early days of social psychology. However, researchers have only recently begun developing theories on the psychological consequences and impacts of social inequality. Current research on social inequality has explored the psychological effects of racially disparate policing practices on minorities, whites' tendency to underestimate the pain of blacks due to false beliefs in biological differences, how increasing belonging among students from stigmatized backgrounds can boost their GPAs and retention rates, and how social class influences pro-social behavior.

A majority of research on social inequality has principally focused on single categories such as race and gender. Increasingly, more researchers are exploring the effects of how the intersection of identities affects individual and group psychological processes.

To get a sense of what intercommunity relations signify, one needs to study, investigate and scrutinize real interactions between members of different social groups Demoulin et al., (2009). This is because human action does not occur in a vacuum. Individuals are influenced by a series of situational factors that influence the course of their interaction.

Contemporary theories of group attachment depart from this proposition in substantial ways. Most, if not all, of today ' s dominant theories consider group affiliation and belongingness not as a motivation in itself, but rather as a means for the fulfillment of other significant individual and collective needs Correll & Park, (2005). Put differently, groups are instrumental to individuals and mainly serve to overcome the deficiencies associated with solitary human existence. Among the functions that groups fulfill, some are more cognitive, whereas others are largely motivational. Universal processes of intercommunity relations and social identity are constrained by societal belief structures, which in turn are responsive to the identity and generational processes involved in collective remembering.

At present, it is too early to be speculative about whether this approach can bring new solutions to perennial problems of intercommunity relations. Most of the work has been done by social psychologist not Anthropologists or sociologists and is more descriptive than prescriptive. But the process of constructing and reconstructing consensus about history appears to be an important tool to locate social psychological research into the specific contexts where they can be most profitably applied. The introduction of alliances in Intercommunity relations within the process of sociocultural reconciliation do not only help to catch up with the wishes of the conflicting parties, their families as well as their communities, but it also helps to

link the communities through peace pacts through marriage and other relations. These relations are managed between and beyond generations as we see below.

2.8 Intergenerational Relations

For many millennia, in cultures around the world, the concept of generation has prospered. Its privileged place in Western societies is reflected in its codification in the Bible, while the most disparate societies of Africa, Asia and Australia have incorporated the generational concept in their notions of the social order. The concept of generation is important to future sociological research, but progress can only be made if an acceptable definition of generation is employed and other usages are abandoned.

The question of intergenerational relationship in Africa and most especially in Cameroon needs more attention. This phenomenon largely concerns the situation of elderly persons and the modification of the social structure linked to aging in the populations. But in a broader sense, intergenerational relations is concerned with the intergenerational transfer of mutual assistance, power relations and most especially the power of elders and the social roles they play in the control of social life.

The grouping of age into three groups was derived from the model of European societies. Patrice Bourdelàis (1994) says it is the British; Gregory King 1694 who was among the first to distinguish the three major age groups counting from 0-15 years, 15-69 years and 60 years and above. This distinction was based on the distribution of ages where only the adults (16 – 59 years) were able to fight. Bourdelàis notes that the number 60 was imposed from the 15th century in France and several European countries who were especially inspired by the works of Cicéron who during Ancient Rome had proposed this age as the beginning of old

age. Apart from some variations (5- 10 years) 60 years is still regarded nowadays as the time mark of getting into old age. Several centuries have gone by, the progress in medicine and public health have greatly increased life span, family structures have changed and there has been prolonged schooling with active life starting a little late yet the schema of the three ages of life implicitly or explicitly persists. With the extension of life span, it is not uncommon today to find four or five generations coexisting.

The vision of every society is thus marked by the partition of life into three ages; childhood, adult and old age. Bourdelais (1994) explores the cycle and reciprocity of mutual assistance within and between generations and remarks that we spend our maturity taking care of our children and when we are old, they too will have to give us the assistance we gave them during their tender ages. Donfut & Rosenmayr (1994) add that the youth contract a debt from their parents which they will have to pay back when they are adults. Among some African social groups, a generation can extend up to forty years gap. Beside the generation, some societies have a social construction of time; that of age groups where one can belong to the same generation but in a different age group. This type of time construct is often specific to each society and makes it difficult to make comparison.

The interpersonal relationship in any cultural grouping is first of all expressed through language. The methods of expressing these relationships can be cordial or hostile depending on the peer groups, gender or cultural norms of the group. Some cultures prescribe the protection of the younger generations and female gender while others protect the elder generations and give no room for the younger one or female gender to express themselves irrespective of family ties. Some cultures encourage strong family ties such that a family member feels secured and protected in a group

or society where they have their members in charge. Other cultures give preference to the peer group members such that even a family member does not have any advantage before their family members.

Multiple meanings have thus been attributed to the term "generation" among which is generation as a principle of kinship descent; generation as cohort; generation as life stage; and generation as historical period. The notion is central to the work of Ortega Y Gasset and richly analyzed by Julián Marias (1967).

In its sense of kinship descent, the concept of generation has a long tradition in social anthropology. Unlike sociologists, social anthropologists use it in referring not so much to parent-child relations as to the larger universe of kinship relations (Fox 1967; Baxter & Almagor 1978; Fortes 1974; Foner & Kertzer 1978; Jackson 1978; Kertzer 1978; Legesse 1973; Needham 1974; Stewart 1977). Demographers have utilized this sense of the term in attempting to develop measures for "length of generation." Here the interest is in population replacement, based on the reproduction of females (Preston 1978; Krishnamoorthy 1980).

Usage of "generation" to denote cohort is widespread. Demographers also had considerable influence in propagating this usage, with the term cohort only fully replacing this usage of generation among demographers in the past decade Jacobson (1964). Here, "generation" refers to the succession of people moving through the age strata, the younger replacing the older as *all* age together. This usage is widespread beyond sociology as well and *finds* frequent expression in intellectual history, where, for example, "literary generations" may succeed one another each 10 or 15 years (Cowley 1978). This cohort notion of generation has been extended beyond that of birth cohorts to apply to any succession through time, so that we find reference to

first, second, and third "generations" of health behavior studies (Weaver 1973; Farge 1977) or to marital "generations" (Hill 1977). In its life-stage usage, we find such expressions as the "college generation." Sorokin (1947: 192-93) discusses the conflict between "younger and older generations" to the differential response of people of different ages to the same events. Eisenstadt (1956) combines the descent and life stage meanings of generation. To him, the use of "generation" to characterize the people living in a particular historical period is less common in sociology than in history, where books bearing such titles as *The Generation of 1914* (Wohl 1979) and *The Generation before the Great War* (Tannenbaum 1976) are numerous. In this sense, "generation" covers a wide range of cohorts. However, though it is the great historical event that defines such "generations," they are often linked in practice to the cohorts of youths and young adults thought to be particularly influenced by such events. Various usages of the generation concept are commonly mixed together, sometimes intentionally. Laslett's (1977) *Family Line and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations*, profits from the descent and period meanings of "generation." Moreover, the generation idea has great popular appeal (e.g. the "generation gap" concept of the 1960s); the term is thus used in many social scientific books written for the mass market (Cohen & Gans 1978; Franzblau 1971; Jones 1980).

While the roots of the current confusion in generational studies can be traced back to millennia, the proximate intents can be identified in the works of Karl Mannheim and Jose Ortega y Gasset. Mannheim's writing has heavily influenced sociological works on generation, and his own confounding of the genealogical meaning of "generation" with the cohort sense of the term continues to be reflected in current research. Mannheim (1952: 290) wrote that the "sociological phenomenon of generations is ultimately based on the biological rhythm of birth and death."

Several sociologists, under the stimulus of Mannheim, have considered the question of generational change, character, duration, and identity. David Riesman (1950) began by identifying generations in American culture in terms of their social character. Unlike sociologists, social anthropologists use "generation" in referring not so much to parent-child relations but to the larger universe of kinship relations.

White et al (2008) say generation is a relational term that refers to familial reproduction but by extension may denote categories of seniors and juniors in society at large. Focusing on the active version of generation, they refer to 'generations' as groups and categories of people *belonging to* a certain period of time, social category, or position in descent line with specific rules and conventions. To them, members of a generation are not surrendered to their cultural and societal position, but are able to use that position to bring about new ideas and practices and pursue their own interests within the historical circumstances in which they live.

Schwartz et al (1975, 312) looks at "Generation" as those individuals in the flow of population through time who see themselves or are seen by others as culturally distinguished from others who preceded or followed them. Bennett Berger (1971) notes that even for the same age group, there exist a plurality of "generations" or cultural style. Social scientists have traditionally looked upon the diverse popular meanings of "generation" as an opportunity for extension of the term *in* social science, rather than as a source of imprecision to be avoided. Over time, a succession of waves of new individuals reach adulthood, coming at that time into contact with the prevailing culture and remodeling what they find. Mannheim refers to it as "fresh contact." He identified these waves with generations but distinguished between those individuals within such generations who shared a common outlook on the basis of their common experience and those who did not. The former he labeled "generation

units." A fuller discussion of Mannheim and Ortega y Gasset's influence on generational studies may be found in Kertzer (1982).

Ortega y Gasset formulated a similar concept of generation based on the notion that people born at about the same time grow up sharing an historical period that shapes their views. Arguing that generation "is the most important conception in history," Ortega y Gasset (1933: 15,19) wrote that each generation has its "special mission," though this mission might be left "unachieved." Such followers of Ortega y Gasset as Marias (1968) have renounced the kinship descent definition of generation, championing the historical cohort meaning alone. Once the concept was thus cut loose from its genealogical anchor, followers of Mannheim and Ortega y Gasset could claim that a new "generation" might appear as frequently as every year, depending on the rapidity of change new cohorts face as they come of age in their society (Rintala 1968; Berger 1959)

The polysemous usage of generation came under attack by Ryder (1965), who argued for restricting generation to its kinship descent meaning. There exists an unambiguous term-cohort-to refer to the succession of individuals who pass through a social system, and there exists a similarly clear term-life stage-to refer to a particular segment of the life course. Processes of family transmission should not be confused with processes of cohort succession and social change.

Ryder's argument found favor among demographers, who have for the most part embraced the cohort terminology, but it has not been heeded by many other social scientists (cf. Troll & Bengtson 1979). Ironically, many of the sociologists who employ "generation" in the sense of cohort cite Ryder's article as their authority. Only slowly, too, is the use of "generation elect" as a synonym for "cohort elect" dying out

(Baltes 1968; Riley 1973, 1976). Riley et al (1972: 5), in one of the most influential works on age in sociology, reiterate Ryder's plea that generation be restricted to its kinship reference. Generation, then, is a relational concept bound to the realm of kinship and descent; it is not an appropriate tool for dividing societies into segments or populations into aggregates. In this study, we consider Intergeneration relationship as the interaction between individuals in the flow of population who are culturally distinct from others (categories of seniors and juniors in society at large).

Schapera (1940:265-66) writing about intergenerational relations more than half a century ago about Botswana society notes that: "Nowadays, in fact, complaints about the behavior of the children have become very common. It is said that they are cheeky and ill mannered, showing little respect for their parents and still less for other elderly people; ... they have no morals in matters of sex, and their promiscuity is ruining the tribe, and filling it with bastards; they have lost all discipline and think only of their own pleasure."

Kezilahabi (2001) writing on the interpretation of greetings among the Kerebe of Northern Tanzania notes that intergenerational relation is revealed through the four variables on which greetings are based: time, age, gender and relationship

Core to the migration experience is the stretching and reshaping of intergenerational relations and the restructuring of family life in a new socio-cultural setting. While research has increasingly focused on familial and extra-familial inter generationality (Vanderbeck 2007), significantly less attention has been paid to the impact of migration on intergenerational relationships and conversely the role that familial ties play in shaping post-settlement experiences. Much of the existing work in this field focuses on remittances, with a small body of studies starting to explore the impact of

rural–urban migration on informal support for, and the vulnerability of, older parents (Apt, 1996; Attias-Donfut and Wolff, 2008; Ferreira, 2004; Nabila, 1986; Nxusani, 2004; Sagner, 1997 Wolff, Spilerman and Attias-Donfut, 2007). Research on older generations caring for their grandchildren when their children migrate is still in its infancy. Even less has been written on international migration in relation to intergenerational relationships, with Aboderin's (2008) work on migrant nursing professionals from Nigeria to the UK and Attias Donfut and Wolff's (2008) research on intergenerational transmission among migrants from various origins living in France among the few studies with this focus.

Within Cameroonian families, intergenerational relationships are thriving. Contrary to the belief that the nuclear family is most important and leads to isolation from other family units within a kinship network, intergenerational relationships are alive and well. Younger generations marry and establish nuclear family units, but they continue their relationships with the older family members. Older generations watch their children develop, marry and have their own children and the older generation continues to be involved in the lives of newer family affiliates. An altered extended family pattern describes families within societies and other diverse heritages, families are intergenerational.

As individuals live longer, their opportunities for multiple generational contact increases. For example, there is a 60 percent chance that a 60 year old female will have a living parent (Watkins, Menken, & Bongaarts, 1987), and it is likely that she is also a grandparent (Robertson, 1996). These intergenerational relationships are characterized by respect, responsibility, reciprocity and resiliency. Regardless of the generation (older, middle, and younger) of focus, respect, responsibility, reciprocity,

and resiliency are evident within the relationships, and these characteristics are relevant to individuals who work with older people and their families. These characteristics can be used as foundations on which to further strengthen intergenerational bonds.

2.8.1 Respect

Younger generations evidence respect for older generations in numerous ways. As younger generations experience the usual levels of growth such as getting married, living independently, becoming parents, and developing a work pattern, relationships between the generations tend to become closer (Belsky & Rovine, 1984; Suito & Pillemer, 1988; Roberts, Richards, & Bengtson, 1991). The challenges and joys of marriage, independent residence, employment and adulthood encourage younger generations to recognize the strengths and weaknesses of older generations and, as a result, many younger family members develop a respect for their parents and grandparents.

During the adolescent and early adult years, younger persons may not be cognizant of the respect they hold for their elders. They may minimize the relevancy of the older generations' information because the younger generation feels more contemporary. But, as the younger generation experiences typical life events (marriage, work, parenthood), a renewed respect for family elders often ensues. Requesting advice from parents and grandparents, visiting grandparents, inquiring about parents' and grandparents' lives, and valuing relationships with older members of the family are manifestations of the respect younger generations have for older family members.

It is respect for intergenerational relationships that provides some explanation for the importance younger family members place on relationships with older generations. Some young adults consistently indicate that relationships with grandparents are important to them. They respect their lineage, and younger persons have emotional ties to their older generations. For example, deference to older persons at family meetings, expressed by placing them in seats of honor or preparing meals as the elder generation prepared meals are demonstrations of the respect younger generations have for older generations.

2.8.2 Responsibility

For several decades, research in gerontology and family studies has reported younger generations' feelings of responsibility for older generations who are their kin (Suitor, Pillemer, Keeton, & Robison, 1996). Filial responsibility defined as "a sense of personal obligation for the well-being of aging parents" (Hamon, 1996, p. 2), is felt by younger generations. In other words, adult children and grandchildren have a sense of obligation for their parents and grandparents. It is typical for young adults to express a desire to provide assistance if their parents need it in the future. Within families in the U.S., it is typical for the younger generation to believe that they are responsible to provide some support to their older relatives, and many are conscious of this responsibility when they make major life decisions such as where they will live.

Adult children make extraordinary sacrifices in supporting older relatives because they feel responsible to provide care. Responsibility may be grounded in a feeling of obligation or "payback" for all the older generation previously did for the younger generation. For some, parenting is rewarded by the receipt of care in the later years,

and the responsibility for such care is embedded within the family's values. For others, the sense of responsibility is based upon feelings of affection for the older persons. Feelings of love are translated into a sense of responsibility to care for an older parent. In a study of caregivers for older parents with dementia, Briggs (1998) reported finding that some caregivers feel that the sense of responsibility is basic to their parent-child relationship. "It is not a responsibility that can be mitigated by extenuating circumstances in the adult child's life. Other things may need to be worked out, but this caregiving responsibility becomes the priority" (Briggs, 1998, p. 8). Regardless of the motivation (obligation, affection, or a combination of both), it is clear that younger generations have a sense of responsibility to provide assistance to older relatives.

This responsibility may differ depending on the need. For example, most middle class persons within the U.S. hold a sense of responsibility for the socio emotional needs of older relatives. Visiting, corresponding, telephoning, and e-mailing are a few examples of ways in which younger generations fulfill the responsibility that they feel. In so doing, they provide socioemotional support to their older relatives. The attention given to older persons informs them that they are important to the younger generation. When an older relative has physical limitations, it is expected that younger relatives will be willing to provide transportation, help with meals and other personal needs, mow the lawn, shovel the snow, and do other tasks that assist the older person with daily living. Feelings of intergenerational responsibility are translated into action within many families in the U.S.

2.8.3 Reciprocity

Throughout most of life, intergenerational relationships are characterized by reciprocity. While younger generations support older relatives, older relatives are assisting younger persons. In short, intergenerational relationships in the later years are a two-way street. The classic example that many people readily observe is the child care provided by many grandparents and the emotional support adult children and grandchildren give to the grandparents.

Even in intense caregiving situations, reciprocal relationships exist. Parents tell their adult caregivers that they love and appreciate them, and such emotional reinforcement can ease the burden of caregiving. Burton (1992) reported that urban African American grandmothers sacrificed to provide care for their grandchildren and they received love and attention from their grandchildren. The reciprocal relationship between the generations is illustrated by the effects one generation has on another. Sutor, et al., (1996) report that life transitions (e.g., marriage divorce, child birth) experienced by adult children affect the lives of older persons and, in return, life changes (e.g., retirement, widowhood) have an impact on the younger generations. Intergenerational relationships are characterized by interdependency. Consequently, the relationships between the generations are often reciprocal.

2.8.4 Resilience

The resiliency of intergenerational relationships can be illustrated by the ways in which families develop strategies to deal with change within the family. For example, when divorce and remarriage occur within any generation, the intergenerational relationships are affected. Johnson (1988) found that middle class families experienced different kinship patterns after divorce. Paternal grandparents

experienced a decline in support. However, in another study Johnson & Barer (1987) reported that paternal grandmothers increased their kin networks because they continued contact with the former daughters-in-law and added the new daughter-in-law to the kin network. The differing ways of dealing with the changes because of divorce underscore the resiliency of intergenerational relationships.

Provision of care for older generations and the times when older generations become primary caregivers for grandchildren demonstrate the resiliency of intergenerational relationships. Burton (1992) and Minkler, Rose and Price (1992) provide data on surrogate parenting by older generations. Older persons, who have already parented, step in to parent when the younger generation is unable to do so. The resiliency of the intergenerational relationships provides a continuous emotional and physical support system to the youngest generation.

2.9 Implications for Practice of Intergenerational Relations

Service provision to intergenerational families requires an awareness of the respect, responsibility, reciprocity, and resiliency which characterize older family relationships. Service providers working with intergenerational families benefit from viewing those families from social systems and continuity paradigms.

The social systems perspective acknowledges the frequent changes to which social systems must successfully respond in order to maintain their structure as a system. Intergenerational families are constantly placed in situations which call for adaptation and adjustment so that they can continue their functioning as a family. For example, the illness of an older family member may result in the adaptation of caregiving by a younger family member, most likely a daughter. The older family

member must also adjust by accepting the help of the daughter. The daughter may need to make adaptations at her place of employment and in her own family, with her spouse and children, in order to provide the caregiving needed by her mother. As older families experience changes through life transitions and occasional crises, they evidence resilience through their ability to change the balance they have retained throughout their families' lives while retaining their family structure. It is through intergenerational cooperation and the working together of many parts of the family unit that this occurs.

Viewing intergenerational families from a continuity perspective guides the professional to gather information about how an older individual and his or her family have adapted and responded to crises and transitions throughout the life of the family. This knowledge provides the practitioner with information about a particular intergenerational family's past history and can, therefore, assess their present ability to: (a) deal with life transitions and crises while evidencing respect for one another; (b) adapt to crises and life transitions by working together responsibly; (c) respond to life changes by giving to one another in a reciprocally; and (d) make necessary changes yet maintain family structure in a resilient manner. Families that in the past have responded to life situations with respect, responsibility, reciprocity, and resilience will likely continue those coping mechanisms in their present situations.

Service providers who view intergenerational families from social systems and continuity perspectives are facilitated in their work with older families as they practice. Through the delivery of services, the respect intergenerational family members hold for one another can be solidified by knowledge of family history. In

the following case example, older family members are reminded of their respectful treatment of one another and supported to continue that behavior in the present.

2.9.1 Respectfulness and Responsible Behavior

The home health aide reminded family members of their past cooperation and respectful work together. In addition, she did not join in by blaming the brother but, instead, provided him with an opportunity to explain why he had not checked on his mother. Through modeling respectful behavior, the service provider facilitated the family in showing respect. Present family crises can be reframed as opportunities to solidify family members' respect for one another. As noted above, intergenerational families engage in caregiving activities for a variety of reasons. The responsible behavior that family members show to one another can be supported by service providers. First, service providers must acknowledge that intergenerational families may differ in the manner in which they evidence responsibility to their older members. One type of care is not necessarily better than another. As Rowe and Kahn note, "No single type of support is uniformly effective; effectiveness depends of the appropriateness of the supportive acts to the requirements of the situation and the person" (1997, p. 438).

Second, and along these same lines, different populations carry out responsible behavior in different ways. Cultural backgrounds, ethnicity, racial experiences, and religious heritages all contribute to the manner in which responsibility to other generations of family members is enacted. Diller (1999) suggests that service providers engage in work with African American families that celebrates their uniqueness and strengths, rather than pressuring those families to engage in supportive behavior similar to other populations. Diller stresses the importance of

identifying the particular traditions of each individual family within a specific population to find the roles they play in caregiving, but warns that the service provider will need to have established a trusting relationship before this can be accomplished.

Third, service providers need to be aware of each client's definition of family. Although many caregivers are women (Hamon, 1996) who are relatives (Briggs, 1998), it is not safe to assume that the primary caregiver in a particular situation is a woman, a daughter, or even a blood relative. The caregiver may be a daughter-in-law, or even fictive kin. The caregiver may also be a neighbor or church member, but with emotional and responsibility ties that resemble those of family members. The professional's support of these relationships of responsibility can result in continued or added intergenerational support for the recipient of care.

Some types of family responsibility should not be encouraged. Families may define responsible behavior as caregiving that does not result in the best care for the older member. Montenko and Greenberg suggest that "when families have a history of violence, abuse, or neglect, continued dependence may not be advisable" (1995, p. 385). Whether the service provider encourages family caregiving in these situations would depend on the level of dependence and type and extent of family behavior. Older parents may still desire to see and have a relationship with a child who has abused them, and adult children who are or have been abused or abusive may have this desire as well. The service provider needs to know family history and allow for self-determination to the extent possible, based on (a) who is the client, and (b) whether or not the client is able to give informed consent. If an abusive child wishes to continue caring for an older parent, the service provider has a responsibility to

protect an older client. Also, if the older client is not able to give informed consent to the relationship, the service provider must take steps to provide service delivery in a manner which protects that client. In these cases, the best relationship may be a limited, monitored one in which the past abuser is educated and the abused individual is protected.

However, in most situations, the service provider's role is to support intergenerational responsibility among family members. Not only does this provide support that can facilitate the well-being of the older client, but it also provides rewards for younger family members, including an enhanced self-concept, feelings of worth, and a sense of belonging to the family. At the same time, caregiving can create role strain for family members, particularly women (Moen, Robison, & Fields, 1994), and they can benefit from the service provider's involvement and encouragement.

2.9.2 Reciprocal Relationships

Intergenerational families engage in reciprocal relationships. A service provider who assumes that old age means unreciprocated dependence demeans the older person and his or her ability and desire to give to family members. A role that older individuals can play in the caregiving process is to become a partner in choosing and determining the types of service they receive. The service provider who facilitates self-determination on the part of older clients will frequently find clients who are able to become partners in the service delivery process.

Programs which provide education and knowledge about quality caregiving to intergenerational families will foster self-determination and enhance the ability of

members of those families to engage in reciprocal relationships with one another. The more actively family members can participate in quality caregiving, the better able they will be to provide care, encouragement, and support to one another.

Service providers with knowledge of a family's history of reciprocity can utilize that information to facilitate families in dealing with current crises and transitions by working together. In addition, the service provider can remind an older parent (who is currently receiving care from an adult child) of the care that parent provided to the child's own family at an earlier time.

2.9.3 Resiliency

The resilience of intergenerational families must be acknowledged in service provision. In social systems terms, response to a crisis requires reorganization within the family. Older families have repeatedly shown the ability to accomplish this. Family members are more able to carry out activities of respect, responsibility, and reciprocity. Denying a family's resilience may foil the family's ability to provide care and may create feelings of failure for family members rather than a sense of success.

Resiliency in later life may be an acceptance of the dependence which an older person encounters. Montenko and Greenberg (1995) have suggested that dependence in older adults differs from dependence in earlier years. "Late-life dependence is characterized by mutually enhancing relationships and by the reciprocal responsibilities evident in adulthood" (1995, p. 387). These authors suggest that adjustment to dependence is most successful when older persons embrace their dependence and evidence autonomy by choosing when to ask for care and by becoming involved in decisions which will affect their future. "The role shifts and

transitions that accompany the acceptance of dependence contribute to the ongoing growth and development of the family as a whole." (Montenko & Greenberg, 1995, p. 382)

Family resilience may be most threatened when family members become overwhelmed with caregiving activities. If caregiving responsibilities have occurred suddenly, the family's attempts to reorganize may not occur quickly enough to provide the care necessary. Family members may feel that they cannot provide the care or even become involved to the necessary extent. For example, an unexpected illness of an elderly parent may have resulted in necessary, immediate, and all-encompassing care. Family members may feel that the required tasks are beyond their abilities and resources.

On the other hand, family caregiving responsibilities may have developed slowly, over a long period of time. Younger family caregivers who ran errands two years ago for older parents may currently find themselves driving their parents to doctor's appointments; in several more years, they may become involved in grocery shopping and house cleaning. Professionals need to be aware that those family members whose tasks have suddenly increased may experience feelings of being overwhelmed and need immediate information about resources to allow for shared caregiving. The support they require may differ from the less charged, but ongoing supportive services required by older families whose caregiving responsibilities have grown incrementally. By the same token, the second type of intergenerational caregiving family may experience feelings of never-ending hopelessness not yet acknowledged by the family with sudden caregiving responsibilities. In both of these situations,

programs to support both the younger and older family members can function to enhance the resiliency that exists in intergenerational families.

Intergenerational relationships are generally marked by respect, responsibility, reciprocity, and resiliency. Throughout the family history, younger, middle, and older generations develop ways to support one another in the later years. In fact, as the generations age, the intergenerational connections become more important. The intergenerational bonds provide a framework for relatives to support families in the later years.

Service providers who recognize intergenerational families' abilities to reorganize in order to deal with life transitions in a respectful, responsible, reciprocal, and resilient manner can enhance the intergenerational relationships of their clients. Practitioners and programs which support intergenerational families in their endeavor to deal with later life caregiving issues will find that family members, old and young, are valuable partners in the service delivery process as they identify with an age group creating the concept of identity.

2.10 Realistic Conflict Theory

Realistic Conflict Theory (RCT), also known as Realistic Group Conflict Theory (RGCT), is a model of intergroup conflict that describes how conflict and prejudice between groups stems from conflicting goals and competition for limited resources. Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, (2006) refer to it as intergroup threat. Intergroup threat has traditionally been depicted as competition for resources or status, but also occurs under conditions of social comparison (Brown, 1978; Shipley, 2008). Groups may

compete for concrete resources such as money and land or abstract resources such as political power and social status which leads to hostility-perpetuating zero-sum beliefs. When resources are scarce, the group that feels threatened by the lack of resources finds itself motivated to compete for the resources in order to maintain its identity or to achieve its goals (Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006). This competition promotes negative attitudes towards those in the group utilizing the resources (Aberson & Gaffney, 2008). The RCT was originally proposed by Donald T. Campbell and was later elaborated on in classic experiments by Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn Wood Sherif. The Sherifs' Robbers Cave experiment provided evidence for the RCT by arbitrarily assigning boys at a summer camp with similar backgrounds to different groups. The boys in these groups then competed with each other and elicited hostile outgroup beliefs until a superordinate, cooperative goal was imposed that required the groups to work together resulted in decreased feelings of hostility. Sherif maintained that group behavior cannot result from an analysis of individual behavior and that intergroup conflict, particularly those driven by the competition for scarce resources, creates ethnocentrism.

2.10.1 Social Identity Approach (Social identity approach, Self-categorization theory, and Social identity theory)

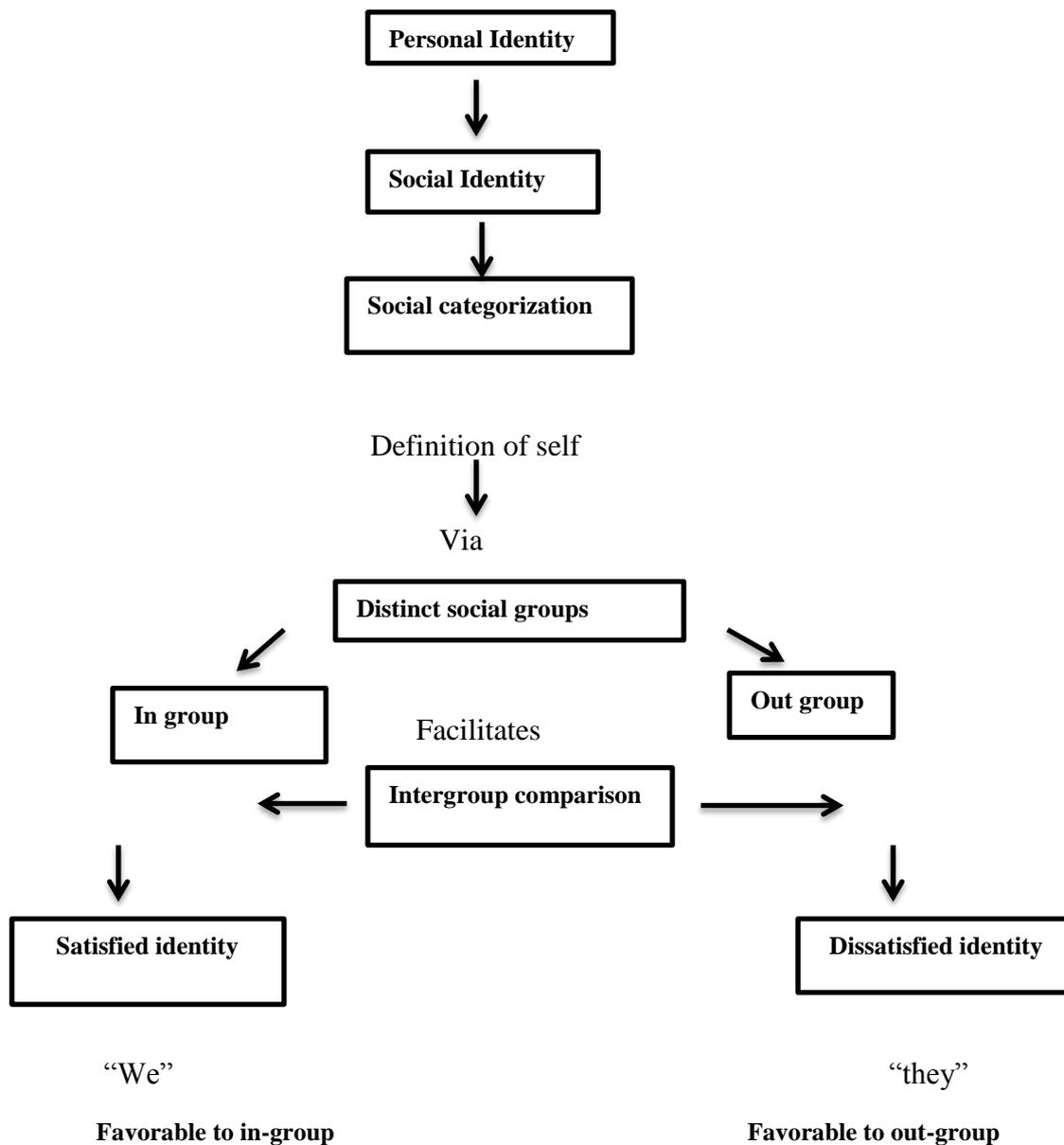
In the 1970s and 80s, Henri Tajfel and John Turner proposed two connected theories of social identity, self-categorization theory and social identity theory, that together form a method for understanding the psychological processes underlying how individuals make sense of their identities and group membership.

Self-categorization theory explains the contexts in which an individual perceives a collection of people as a group and the psychological processes that result from an individual perceiving people in terms of a group.

Social identity theory describes how individual identity is shaped by membership in a social group. It also predicts differences in intergroup behavior based on perceived status differences between social groups, the legitimacy and stability of those perceived status differences, and ability to move between social groups.

Social Identity Theory explains that every group has some type of social status that goes with its membership. This social status gives it value for the individuals that are members. Individual group members use the status from their membership in the group to gain and maintain self-esteem. The motivations to enhance self-esteem and gain status cause individuals to behave in ways that maintain the group and their memberships in the group. The better one's own group looks in comparison to other groups, the more status the group gains, and the more self-esteem it can provide for its members as in the figure below shown below.

Figure 2.2: Identity building



Source: Fieldwork 2018

According to Social Identity Theory, "social identity and intergroup behavior is guided by the pursuit of evaluative positive social identity through positive intergroup distinctiveness, which in turn is motivated by the need for positive self-esteem" (Hogg & Terry, 2001). In other words, their positive association with their in-group will affect a person's behavior when that association elevates their self-

esteem and/or status. Furthermore, according to Michael Hogg (2006), social identity is motivated by self-enhancement and uncertainty reduction, which causes groups to "strive to be both better than and distinct from other groups." Central to this theory are three components identified by Tajfel: self-categorization, group self-esteem, and group commitment. The social identity approach has had a wide-ranging impact on social psychology, influencing theory on topics such as social influence, self-stereotyping, and personality.

2.11 Identity

The term identity is derived from the Latin root *idem*, implying sameness and continuity, and helps to provide a sense of who we are and of who other people are. It serves as a crucial bridge in social life between human beings and wider cultures; it implies a sense of meaning and a sense of categorization and differentiation; and it marks out differences between ourselves and others.

The idea of identity speaks of locating a person within a personal and social category. It suggests answer to the question "who am I?" placing one's self and life within a framework of past (what kind of person I was and how I became it), of present (of who I am now), and future (guiding the sense of who one will be and how one is different from others).

Steven Schneider (2010) opines that in some (usually more traditional) societies, identities are often assumed (they may be ascribed) and there is little debate about the nature of identities. Gender and sexuality may be taken for granted as a given identity. In other societies (usually modern ones prone to individualism), just who one is becomes a greater problem, and there is much discussion on the nature,

origins, and impact of different kinds of identities. Some suggest that identities are more or less fixed and given from within as essentialist.

This description of identity captures an attempt to provide an informed understanding of classical and contemporary approaches to the subject. Studies of identity aim to understand the ways we socially constitute ourselves while they also consider the link between society and self-identity.

The term “identity” was relatively unheard of in sociology and social psychology prior to 1940. Since then it has become the focus of vast amounts of research. It’s theoretical, cultural, and empirical development has continued as academics apply, dispute, and discuss the concept. There is a long tradition of research on identity from within many diverse areas for example anthropology, organizational theory, philosophy, psychology, and sociology each bringing particular frames of philosophical inquiries and methodologies. The resulting heterogeneity of the field has further increased over time, due to movements across the social sciences that affect how the individual is considered to be constituted in social relationships and to the implications.

Identity is a very important problem in social life which humans have structured unconsciously. Identity is synonymous to otherness. Thus identity relates to self which is seen in relation to the other or alterity; the phenomenon of otherness even though others is also a self. It is a reciprocal construction of the self as it is at the basis of forms of interaction. We can have Individual identities and collective identities.

Individual identities are self-evident and the others will also constitute themselves in a self, leading to social interaction. In this case Identity comes in some sort of

asymmetric reciprocity based on the social repertoire or formula. This is a social code which gives examples to individuals. Collective identities are done by naming either the groups or distinguishing their distinctive or characterizing features from other groups. The process for building collective identities is a self-construction where the agents in a group label and project themselves as being specific from the other; the idea of identity is dynamic. In this study, we discuss and analyze the place of identity conflicts in social and political cohesion in multilingual communities and most especially in multilingual households.

2.11.1 The importance of consciousness in identity building

For groups to subsist and continue to live there is always this idea of consciousness and identity which comes with the idea of uniqueness, separate, singular, which are developed within the locus of culture. Identity is built from a unique space which is called culture. Identity is a self-willed process marked by creativity which operates within a culture where people want to be unique and different. It is the will to redefine culture that becomes an identity; it is not all of culture that becomes identity because people want to be unique. Thus in a culture we can have multiple identities with the will to redefine the culture being at the root of identity.

Identities imply divides and divisions. Identity is lived only as a contrast with the other and to others. But this contrast does not mean that people do not exchange cultural traits. There is inter-cultural exchange where cultures do not move into cocoons. There are avenues for cross fertilizations. Cultures endure but identities endure longer depending on the contact with the other and with others. These may develop into archetypes.

Warnier (1997) insists that Human beings have always had identities and this has led to production of differences and production of multiple identities. The identity is a result of a difference or segmentation in human groups. This is because human groups are always seeking for particularities. The segmentation leads to another form of particularities that lead to national identities. The birth of humanity has been governed by the norm of plurality not in isolation but always in interaction and action.

2.11.2 Cultures and conflicts (who are we and who are they (others))

There is a high dose of bias in constructing the self. There are many conflicts over the history of humanity where conflicts have been used under the pretext of identity. It may be belief systems, names, or other factors that may invoke difference. But culture comes into play in conflicts. People who are separating with the context of segmentation often invoke the idea of conflict. People who are in culture contact often invoke identity as the main reason. The ideologues would want to show that identity is the problem but identity comes into play and culture is called into conflicts which have other stakes. There has never been a period when there has been no conflict (inter or intrapersonal, political, economic or power conflict) and of different levels of intensity. Conflicts are an enduring feature of society. One of the early discoveries of sociologists was to discover conflicts about society. Power means concentrating authority, lawful order, monopoly of the use of force. Conflicts have to be symmetrical but today conflicts tend to be asymmetrical because of power struggle. It could be non-violent (petitions, quarreling, skirmishes, or cultural connotation) or violent (full scale war and use of arms).

Some of the conflicts are so damaging that the casualties can be large especially conflicts of ascendance like the major world wars. The WWI took place when Britain was in the dominant position and so other nations also wanted to ascend to the position of dominance. This rivalry led to the WWII which led to the emergence of another major power and a competitor the; Soviet Union.

Culture can be part of the conflict and can also become the ideological excuse for the conflict (the colonial reason for waging war against the indigenous communities was their cultural practices). Cultures does not always contradict even though they are unique it doesn't mean that they contradict others. Race can also be used to foster conflict (the religious wars we have today are a clash of conflict-Samuel Huntington or the American slogan of axis of evil; the Arabs attacking western civilization- Boko Haram attacking Christians in Nigeria and Cameroon).

2.11.3 What Conflicts do with Identities

Are the identities really culture based or the cultures are only used to foster the conflict? For instance, the WWs were primarily a clash for economic interest but identity later came into play. Identity becomes a mobilizing instrument and can mobilize for a nation, a tribe, ethnic group, religion such that the stakes for which the conflict exist are shifted from the reality of conflict. The WWs were the wars of the industrialists not of France, Britain, Germany or the other nations. But can identities be manipulated? The identities that are taken and shaped by dominant classes can be manipulated and projected as national identities. Dominant classes can fabricate their identities which become national cultures and identities.

The whole human race spends its time creating identities which can be mobilized in times of conflicts especially during wars which is a symbol of grandeur. The crusades

were wars that emanated from religious beliefs but mobilized national identities. Today we have many conflicts in which culture and identity is used as the mask where the conflict manifests itself. That is why the problem is power and identity where identities are used to vote or to clash. We have to be very careful about sociological analysis or dramaturgical analysis. The organization of power in Africa has been along identity areas. Identities pervert politics and are likely to result into conflictual politics. The construction of incompatibilities where identities do not only differ and contradict but must come into collusion (converting from one identity e.g Muslim to Christian, Anglophone) is most often used by the elites to spur conflict for their interests. Conflict of ideas then leads to war to resolve their contradictions.

Apart from conflict, there can always be other means to resolve our differences known as the creoleity of identities but how do we build into developing knowledge about cultures and identities?

Just as identities are social constructs, in the same way we should be careful about the way those who construct these realities see them because once created, they seem real to the authors whereas outsiders may also have their own opinion about the constructs. The view of the actor is not an objective view; it is always a subjective, partial or biased view. We must understand the process from which these identities are constructed and develop an intellectual explanation.

2.11.4 Identity and Political Cohesion

Political scientist Rupert Emerson defined national identity as "a body of people who feel that they are a nation." This definition of national identity was endorsed by social psychologist, Henri Tajfel, who formulated social identity theory together with John Turner. Social identity theory adopts this definition of national identity, and

suggests that the conceptualization of national identity includes both self-categorization and affect. Self-categorization refers to identifying with a nation and viewing oneself as a member of a nation. The affect part refers to the emotion a person has with this identification, such as a sense of belonging, or emotional attachment toward one's nation. The mere awareness of belonging to a certain group invokes positive emotions about the group, and leads to a tendency to act on behalf of that group, even when the other group members are sometimes personally unknown.

National identity is thus one's identity or sense of belonging to one state or to one nation. It is the sense of a nation as a cohesive whole, as represented by distinctive traditions, culture, language and politics. National identity may refer to the subjective feeling one shares with a group of people about a nation, regardless of one's legal citizenship status. National identity is viewed in psychological terms as "an awareness of difference", a "feeling and recognition of 'we' and 'they'".

The expression of one's national identity seen in a positive light is patriotism which is characterized by national pride and positive emotion of love for one's country. The extreme expression of national identity is chauvinism, which refers to the firm belief in the country's superiority and extreme loyalty toward one's country.

National identity is not an inborn trait and it is essentially socially constructed. A person's national identity results directly from the presence of elements from the "common points" in people's daily lives: national symbols, language, colors, nation's history, blood ties, culture, music, cuisine, radio, television, and so on. Under various social influences, people incorporate national identity into their personal identities by adopting beliefs, values, assumptions and expectations which align with one's

national identity. People with identification of their nation view national beliefs and values as personally meaningful, and translate these beliefs and values into daily practices.

National identity requires the process of self-categorization and it involves both the identification of in-group (identifying with one's nation), and differentiation of out-groups (other nations). By recognizing commonalities such as having common descent and common destiny, people identify with a nation and form an in-group, and at the same time they view people that identify with a different nation as out-groups.

Social identity theory suggests a positive relationship between identification of a nation and derogation of other nations. By identifying with one's nation, people involve in intergroup comparisons, and tend to derogate out-groups. However, several studies have investigated this relationship between national identity and derogating other countries, and found that identifying with national identity does not necessarily result in out-group derogation.

National identity, like other social identities, engenders positive emotions such as pride and love to one's nation, and feeling of obligations toward other citizens. The socialization of national identity, such as socializing national pride and a sense of the country's exceptionalism contributes to harmony among ethnic groups. For example, in Cameroon, by integrating diverse ethnic groups in the overarching identity of “l'impossible n'est pas camerounais”, people are united by a shared emotion of national pride and the feeling of belonging to Cameroon, and thus tend to mitigate ethnic conflicts.

National identity can be most noticeable when the nation confronts external or internal enemy and natural disasters. An example of this phenomenon is the rise in patriotism and national identity in the U.S after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. The identity of being an American are salient after the terrorist attacks and American national identity are evoked. Having a common threat or having a common goal unite people in a nation and enhance national identity.

Sociologist Anthony Smith argues that national identity has the feature of continuity that can transmit and persist through generations. By expressing the myths of having common descent and common destiny, people's sense of belonging to a nation is enhanced. However, national identities can disappear across time as more people live in foreign countries for a longer time, and can be challenged by supranational identities, which refers to identifying with a more inclusive, larger group that includes people from multiple nations.

2.11.5 National Identity as a Collective Phenomenon

National identity can be thought as a collective product. Through socialization, a system of beliefs, values, assumptions and expectations is transmitted to group members. The collective elements of national identity may include national symbols, traditions, and memories of national experiences and achievements. These collective elements are rooted in the nation's history. Depending on how much the individual is exposed to the socialization of this system, people incorporate national identity to their personal identity to different degrees and in different ways, and the collective elements of national identity may become important parts of individual's definition of the self and how they view the world and their own place in it.

In countries that have multiple ethnic groups, ethnic identity and national identity may be in conflict. These conflicts are usually referred to as ethno-national conflict. One of the famous ethno-national conflicts is the struggle between the Anglophones and government administrators in Cameroon. The Cameroon government and majority culture imposed policies and framework that supported the majority, Francophone-based cultural values and a national language as French and Bulu. The local cultures and languages were not supported by the state, and were nearly eradicated by the state during the four decades. Because of these conflicts, Anglophone population identify less or do not identify with the national identity of being an Cameroonian, but their ethnic identities are salient.

As immigration increases, many countries face the challenges of constructing national identity and accommodating immigrants. Some countries are more inclusive in terms of encouraging immigrants to develop a sense of belonging to their host country. For example, Canada has the highest permanent immigration rates in the world. The Canadian government encourages immigrants to build a sense of belonging to Canada, and has fostered a more inclusive concept of national identity which includes both people born in Canada and immigrants. Some countries are less inclusive. For example, Russia has experienced two major waves of immigration influx, one in the 1990s, and the other one after 1998. Immigrants were perceived negatively by Russian population and were viewed as "unwelcome and abusive guests." Immigrants were considered outsiders and were excluded from sharing the national identity of belonging to Russia.

As the world becomes increasingly globalized, international tourism, communication and business collaboration had increased. People around the world move across

national borders more frequently to seek cultural exchange, education, business, and different lifestyles. Globalization promotes common values and experiences, and it also encourages the identification with the global community. People may adapt cosmopolitanism and view themselves as global beings, or world citizens. This trend may threaten national identity because globalization undermines the importance of being a citizen of a particular country. Several researchers examined globalization and its impact on national identity found that as a country becomes more globalized, patriotism declined, which suggests that the increase of globalization is associated with less loyalty and less willingness to fight for one's own country

2.11.6 Identity Theory

Identity theory is a family of views on the relationship between mind and body. Type Identity theories hold that at least some types (or kinds, or classes) of mental states are, as a matter of contingent fact, literally identical with some types (or kinds, or classes) of brain states. The earliest advocates of Type Identity U.T. Place, Herbert Feigl, and J.J.C. Smart, respectively each proposed their own version of the theory in the late 1950s to early 60s. But it was not until David Armstrong made the radical claim that all mental states (including intentional ones) are identical with physical states, that philosophers of mind divided themselves into camps over the issue.

Over the years, numerous objections have been levied against Type Identity, ranging from epistemological complaints to charges of Leibniz's Law violations to Hilary Putnam's famous pronouncement that mental states are in fact capable of being "multiply realized." Defenders of Type Identity have come up with two basic strategies in response to Putnam's claim: they restrict type identity claims to particular species or structures, or else they extend such claims to allow for the

possibility of disjunctive physical kinds. To this day, debate concerning the validity of these strategies and the truth of mind-brain type identity, rages in philosophical literature.

2.11.7 Early Versions of the Theory

According to Place (1967), identity can be explained from the logical behaviorists' dispositional analysis of cognitive and volitional concepts with respect to those mental concepts "clustering around the notions of consciousness, experience, sensation, and mental imagery," however; he held that no behavioristic account (even in terms of unfulfilled dispositions to behave) would suffice. Seeking an alternative to the classic dualist position, according to which mental states possess an ontology distinct from the physiological states with which they are thought to be correlated, Place claimed that sensations and the like might very well be processes in the brain- despite the fact that statements about the former cannot be logically analyzed into statements about the latter. Drawing an analogy with such scientifically verifiable (and obviously contingent) statements as "Lightning is a motion of electric charges," Place cited potential explanatory power as the reason for hypothesizing consciousness-brain state relations in terms of identity rather than mere correlation. This still left the problem of explaining introspective reports in terms of brain processes, since these reports (for example, of a green after-image) typically make reference to entities which do not fit with the physicalists' picture (there is nothing green in the brain, for example). To solve this problem, Place called attention to the "phenomenological fallacy"- the mistaken assumption that one's introspective observations report "the actual state of affairs in some mysterious internal environment." All that the Mind-Brain Identity theorist need do to adequately explain

a subject's introspective observation, according to Place, is show that the brain process causing the subject to describe his experience in this particular way is the kind of process which normally occurs when there is actually something in the environment corresponding to his description.

At least in the beginning, Smart (1959), followed U.T. Place in applying the Identity Theory only to those psychological concepts considered resistant to behaviorist treatment, notably sensations. Because of the proposed identification of sensations with states of the central nervous system, this limited version of Mind-Brain Type Identity also became known as Central-State Materialism. Smart's main concern was the analysis of sensation-reports (e.g. "I see a green after-image") into what he described, following Gilbert Ryle, as "topic-neutral" language (roughly, "There is something going on which is like what is going on when I have my eyes open, am awake, and there is something green illuminated in front of me"). Where Smart diverged from Place was in the explanation he gave for adopting the thesis that sensations are processes in the brain. According to Smart (1959), "there is no conceivable experiment which could decide between materialism and epiphenomenalism" (where the latter is understood as a species of dualism); the statement "sensations are brain processes," therefore, is not a straight-out scientific hypothesis, but should be adopted on other grounds. Occam's razor is cited in support of the claim that, even if the brain-process theory and dualism are equally consistent with the (empirical) facts, the former has an edge in virtue of its simplicity and explanatory utility.

Occam's razor also plays a role in the version of Mind-Brain Type Identity developed by Feigl (in fact, Smart claimed to have been influenced by Feigl as well as by

Place). On the epiphenomenalist picture, in addition to the normal physical laws of cause and effect there are psychophysical laws positing mental effects which do not by themselves function as causes for any observable behavior. In Feigl's view, such "nomological danglers" have no place in a respectable ontology; thus, epiphenomenalism (again considered as a species of dualism) should be rejected in favor of an alternative, monistic theory of mind-body relations. Feigl's suggestion was to interpret the empirically ascertainable correlations between phenomenal experiences ("raw feels," see *Consciousness and Qualia*) and neurophysiological processes in terms of contingent identity: although the terms we use to identify them have different senses, their referents are one and the same - namely, the immediately experienced qualities themselves. Besides eliminating dangling causal laws, Feigl's picture is intended to simplify our conception of the world: "instead of conceiving of two realms, we have only one reality which is represented in two different conceptual systems."

In a number of early papers, and then at length in his 1968 book, *A Materialist of the Mind*, Armstrong worked out a version of Mind-Brain Type Identity which starts from a somewhat different place than the others. Adopting straight away the scientific view that humans are nothing more than physico-chemical mechanisms, he declared that the task for philosophy is to work out an account of the mind which is compatible with this view. Already the seeds were sown for an Identity Theory which covers all of our mental concepts, not merely those which fit but awkwardly on the Behaviorist picture. Armstrong actually gave credit to the Behaviorists for logically connecting internal mental states with external behavior; where they went wrong, he argued, was in identifying the two realms. His own suggestion was that it makes a lot more sense to define the mental not as behavior, but rather as the inner

causes of behavior. Thus, "we reach the conception of a mental state as a state of the person apt for producing certain ranges of behavior." Armstrong's answer to the remaining empirical question; what in fact is the intrinsic nature of these (mental) causes was that they are physical states of the central nervous system. The fact that Smart himself now holds that all mental states are brain states (of course, the reverse need not be true), testifies to the influence of Armstrong's theory.

Besides the so-called "translation" versions of Mind-Brain Type Identity advanced by Place, Smart, and Armstrong, according to which our mental concepts are first supposed to be translated into topic-neutral language, and the related version put forward by Feigl, there are also "disappearance" (or "replacement") versions. As initially outlined by Feyerabend (1963), this kind of identity theory actually favors doing away with our present mental concepts. The primary motivation for such a radical proposal is as follows: logically representing the identity relation between mental states and physical states by means of biconditional "bridge laws" not only implies that mental states have physical features; "it also seems to imply (if read from the right to the left) that some physical events...have non-physical features." In order to avoid this apparent dualism of properties, Feyerabend stressed the incompatibility of our mental concepts with empirical discoveries (including projected ones), and proposed a redefinition of our existent mental terms. Different philosophers took this proposal to imply different things. Some advocated a wholesale scrapping of our ordinary language descriptions of mental states, such that, down the road, people might develop a whole new (and vastly more accurate) vocabulary to describe their own and others' states of mind. This begs the question, of course, what such a new-and-improved vocabulary would look like. Others took a more theoretical/conservative line, arguing that our familiar ways of describing

mental states could in principle be replaced by some very different (and again, vastly more accurate) set of terms and concepts, but that these new terms and concepts would not at least not necessarily be expected to become part of ordinary language. Responding to Feyerabend, a number of philosophers expressed concern about the appropriateness of classifying disappearance versions as theories of Mind-Brain Type Identity. But Richard Rorty (1965) answered this concern, arguing that there is nothing wrong with claiming that "what people now call 'sensations' are (identical with) certain brain processes." In his Postscript to "The 'Mental' and the 'Physical'," Feigl (1967) confessed an attraction to this version of the Identity Theory, and over the years Smart has moved in the same direction.

2.11.8 Traditional Objections

A number of objections to Mind-Brain Type Identity, some a great deal stronger than others, began circulating soon after the publication of Smart's 1959 article. Perhaps the weakest were those of the epistemological variety. It has been claimed, for example, that because people have had (and still do have) knowledge of specific mental states while remaining ignorant as to the physical states with which they are correlated, the former could not possibly be identical with the latter. The obvious response to this type of objection is to call attention to the contingent nature of the proposed identities- of course we have different conceptions of mental states and their correlated brain states, or no conception of the latter at all, but that is just because (as Feigl made perfectly clear) the language we use to describe them have different meanings. The contingency of mind-brain identity relations also serves to answer the objection that since presently accepted correlations may very well be

empirically invalidated in the future, mental states and brain states should not be viewed as identical.

A more serious objection to Mind-Brain Type Identity, one that to this day has not been satisfactorily resolved, concerns various non-intentional properties of mental states (on the one hand), and physical states (on the other). After-images, for example, may be green or purple in color, but nobody could reasonably claim that states of the brain are green or purple. And conversely, while brain states may be spatially located with a fair degree of accuracy, it has traditionally been assumed that mental states are non-spatial. The problem generated by examples such as these is that they appear to constitute violations of Leibniz's Law, which states that if A is identical with B, then A and B must be indiscernible in the sense of having in common all of their (non-intensional) properties. We have already seen how Place chose to respond to this type of objection, at least insofar as it concerns conscious experiences- that is, by invoking the so-called "phenomenological fallacy." Smart's response was to reiterate the point that mental terms and physical terms have different meanings, while adding the somewhat ambiguous remark that neither do they have the same logic. Lastly, Smart claimed that if his hypothesis about sensations being brain processes turns out to be correct, "we may easily adopt a convention...whereby it would make sense to talk of an experience in terms appropriate to physical processes" (the similarity to Feyerabend's disappearance version of Mind-Brain Type Identity should be apparent here). As for apparent discrepancies going in the other direction (e.g., the spatiality of brain states vs. the non-spatiality of mental states), Thomas Nagel in 1965 proposed a means of sidestepping any objections by redefining the candidates for identity: "if the two sides of the identity are not a sensation and a brain process but my having a certain

sensation or thought and my body's being in a certain physical state, then they will both be going on in the same place—namely, wherever I (and my body) happen to be." Suffice to say, opponents of Mind-Brain Type Identity found Nagel's suggestion unappealing.

2.11.9 Type vs. Token Identity

Something here needs to be said about the difference between Type Identity and Token Identity, as this difference gets manifested in the ontological commitments implicit in various Mind-Brain Identity theses. Nagel was one of the first to distinguish between "general" and "particular" identities in the context of the mind-body problem; this distinction was picked up by Charles Taylor, who wrote in 1967 that "the failure of general correlations...would still allow us to look for particular identities, holding not between, say, a yellow after-image and a certain type of brain process in general, but between a particular occurrence of this yellow after-image and a particular occurrence of a brain process." In contemporary parlance: when asking whether mental things are the same as physical things, or distinct from them, one must be clear as to whether the question applies to concrete particulars (e.g., individual instances of pain occurring in particular subjects at particular times) or to the kind (of state or event) under which such concrete particulars fall.

Token Identity theories hold that every concrete particular falling under a mental kind can be identified with some physical (perhaps neurophysiological) happening or other: instances of pain, for example, are taken to be not only instances of a mental state (e.g., pain), but instances of some physical state as well (say, c-fiber excitation). Token Identity is weaker than Type Identity, which goes so far as to claim that mental kinds themselves are physical kinds. As Jerry Fodor pointed out in 1974,

Token Identity is entailed by, but does not entail, Type Identity. The former is entailed by the latter because if mental kinds themselves are physical kinds, then each individual instance of a mental kind will also be an individual instance of a physical kind. The former does not entail the latter, however, because even if a concrete particular falls under both a mental kind and a physical kind, this contingent fact "does not guarantee the identity of the kinds whose instantiation constitutes the concrete particulars."

So the Identity Theory, taken as a theory of types rather than tokens, must make some claim to the effect that mental states such as pain (and not just individual instances of pain) are contingently identical with and therefore theoretically reducible to physical states such as c-fiber excitation. Depending on the desired strength and scope of mind-brain identity, however, there are various ways of refining this claim.

2.11.10 Multiple Realizability

In his work "The Nature of Mental States," (1967) Hilary Putnam introduced what is widely considered the most damaging objection to theories of Mind-Brain Type Identity. Indeed, the objection effectively retired such theories from their privileged position in modern debates concerning the relationship between mind and body.

Putnam's argument can be paraphrased as follows:

According to the Mind-Brain Type Identity theorists, for every mental state there is a unique physical-chemical state of the brain such that a life-form can be in that mental state if and only if it is in that physical state.

It seems quite plausible to hold, as an empirical hypothesis, that physically possible life-forms can be in the same mental state without having brains in the same unique physical-chemical state.

Therefore, it is highly unlikely that the Mind-Brain Type Identity theorist is correct.

In support of the second premise of "multiple realizability" hypothesis above, Putnam (2005) points out that the Darwinian doctrine of evolutionary convergence applies to psychology as well as behavior, "psychological similarities across species may often reflect convergent environmental selection rather than underlying physiological similarities."

2.11.11 Attempts at Salvaging Type Identity

Since the publication of Putnam's paper, a number of philosophers have tried to save Mind-Brain Type Identity from the philosophical scrapheap by making it fit somehow with the claim that the same mental states are capable of being realized in a wide variety of life-forms and physical structures. Two strategies in particular warrant examination here.

In a 1969 review of "The Nature of Mental States," David Lewis attacked Putnam for targeting his argument against a straw man. According to Lewis, "a reasonable brain-state theorist would anticipate that pain might well be one brain state in the case of men, and some other brain (or non-brain) state in the case of mollusks. It might even be one brain state in the case of Putnam, another in the case of Lewis." But it is not so clear (in fact it is doubtful) that Lewis' appeal to "tacit relativity to context" will succeed in rendering Type Identity compatible with the multiple realizability of mental states. Although Putnam does not consider the possibility of species-specific

multiple realization resulting from such phenomena as injury compensation, congenital defects, mutation, developmental plasticity, and, theoretically, prosthetic brain surgery, neither does he say anything to rule them out. And this is not surprising. As early as 1960, Identity theorists such as Stephen Pepper were acknowledging the existence of species (even system)-specific multiple realizability due to emergencies, accidents, injuries, and the like: "it is not...necessary that the [psychophysical] correlation should be restricted to areas of strict localization. One area of the brain could take over the function of another area of the brain that has been injured." Admittedly, some of the phenomena listed above tell against Lewis' objection more than others; nevertheless, *prima facie* there seems no good reason to deny the possibility of species-specific multiple realization.

In a desperate attempt at invalidating the conclusion of Putnam's argument, the brain-state theorist can undoubtedly come up with additional restrictions to impose upon the first premise, e.g., with respect to time. This is the strategy of David Braddon-Mitchell and Frank Jackson, who wrote in a 1996 book that "there is...a better way to respond to the multiple realizability point than to advocate token identity. It is to retain a type-type mind-brain identity theory, but allow that that the identities between mental types and brain types may-indeed, most likely will-need to be restricted. Identity statements need to include an explicit temporal restriction." Mental states such as pain may not be identical with, say, c-fiber excitation in humans (because of species-specific multiple realization), but-the story goes-they could very well be identical with c-fiber excitation in humans at time T. The danger in such an approach, besides its ad hoc nature, is that the type physicalist basis from which the Identity Theorist begins starts slipping into something closer to token physicalism (recall that concrete particulars are individual instances occurring in

particular subjects at particular times). At the very least, Mind-Brain Type Identity will wind up so weak as to be inadequate as an account of the nature of mental.

Another popular strategy for preserving Type Identity in the face of multiple realization is to allow for the existence of disjunctive physical kinds. By defining types of physical states in terms of disjunctions of two or more physical "realizers," the correlation of one such realizer with a particular (type) mental state is sufficient. The search for species or system specific identities is thereby rendered unnecessary, as mental states such as pain could eventually be identified with the (potentially infinite) disjunctive physical state of the individual.

Even if disjunctive physical kinds are allowed, it may be argued that the strategy in question still cannot save Type Identity from considerations of multiple realizability.

According to Tajfel (1920s) Social categorization is still conceived as a haphazardly floating 'independent variable' which strikes at random as the spirit moves it. No links are made or attempted, between the conditions determining its presence and mode of operation, and its outcomes in widely diffused commonalities of social behavior. Why, when and how is social categorization salient or not salient? What kind of shared constructions of social reality, mediated through social categorization, lead to a social climate in which large masses of people feel they are in long-term conflict with other masses? What, for example, are the psychological transitions from a stable to an unstable social system? Thus, social identity theory in part reflects a desire to reestablish a more collectivist approach to social psychology of the self and social groups. This has been the case in Nigeria for the several years as we see below:

Thus, the differential impact of colonialism set the context of the regional educational, economic and political imbalances which later became significant in the mobilization or manipulation of identity consciousness in order to effectively divide and rule, as well as in the politics of decolonization and in the arena of competitive politics in the post-colonial era (Jega, 2000).

Charles Taylor argues that the modern identity is characterized by an emphasis on its inner voice and capacity for authenticity that is, the ability to find a way of being that is somehow true to oneself (Taylor, 1989 cf. Gutmann, ed. 1994). While doctrines of equality press the notion that each human being is capable of deploying his or her practical reason or moral sense to live an authentic life, the politics of difference has appropriated the language of authenticity to describe ways of living that are true to the identities of marginalized social groups. As Sonia Kruks (2001, 85) puts it,

What makes identity politics a significant departure from earlier, pre-identarian forms of the politics of recognition is its demand for recognition on the basis of the very grounds on which recognition has previously been denied..... The demand is not for inclusion within the fold of "universal humankind" on the basis of shared human attributes; nor is it for respect in spite of one's differences. Rather, what is demanded is respect for oneself as different.

For many proponents of identity politics this demand for authenticity includes appeals to time before oppression, or a culture or way of life damaged by colonialism, imperialism, or even genocide. It is in this regard, for example, that many Nigerian Muslims believe that the implementation of "full Sharia" with the return to democratic rule in 1999 is the restitution of their rights which they had lost during the colonial period Ludwig, (2008).

The dimensions of identity conflicts in social and political cohesion are too numerous to be examined in here. Issues of resource control, minority rights, power rotation, multipartism and other related issues are complete treatises on their own. Identity conflicts in social and political cohesion are reality in multi-cultural societies generally, and particularly in rural communities. It has been established that Cameroon blessed with abundant natural and human resources, yet these resources are taken for granted, and wasted through the destruction of lives and properties resulting from ethnic politics and social conflicts. These ethnic politics and social conflicts were planted by the colonial masters for their own selfish interest. Unfortunately, our leaders who were supposed to disentangle the situation, are now using the medium to pull resources, wealth and power for themselves and members of their cultural, educational, political, religious, economic and social group at the expense of the people who do not belong to their group. In a bid to distort this scenario, many aggrieved communities who do not benefit or who do not support these unscrupulous leaders have resolved to engage in social conflicts by disrupting the political process, religious and social orders that bind the people of this great country together. Hence we have the Boko Haram in the Northern states of the country and the Separatist fighters in the North-West and South-West of the country. However, it is disheartening to mention here that, while these aggrieved persons engage in social conflicts to correct the absurdity of our leaders, protect their own interest and making their voices heard on national issues, the negative effects of their actions are consequences of political, economic and social underdevelopment in Cameroon. In order to combat these challenges, we, therefore suggest that, Cameroonians should, cultivate a suitable political culture, out-grow ethnic rancor

and stop blaming colonial legacies for any social policy that affects a group unintentionally.

2.12 Methodological Review

Russell (1988: 62) states that there are three basic strategies for collecting primary data in cultural Anthropology

- You can interview people more or less formally to find out what they think;
- You can observe them to find out what they do
- You can recover their behavior from existing records.

Balto et al (2006) writing on the Guidelines For Research Ethics in The Social Sciences, Law And The Humanities explain that like ethics in general, research ethics embraces both personal and institutional morality. The obligation to respect research ethics is part of responsibility for research in general. Individual researchers, project managers, research institutions and the appropriating authorities all share this responsibility.

The ethical responsibilities inherent in research are partly associated with standards related to the research process, including relationships between researchers, and partly with respect for the individuals and institutions being studied, including responsibility for the use and dissemination of the research. These standards can broadly be divided into three main categories:

- Standards for freedom of research, good research practice associated with research's quest for truth and independence, and the relationship between researchers.

- Standards that regulate relationships to individuals and groups directly affected by the research
- Standards regarding social relevance and users' interests and regard for cultural reproduction and rationality in the public debate.

This study was thus guided by the research ethics as we obtained authorization from the university authorities and local authorities before collecting our data. Also, we always provided our consultants with an information sheet containing the aim of our research and a consent form for them give approval of their willingness to provide us with the information that we needed.

In every scientific research theories act as the “yard stick” that guide us in the interpretation of facts, ideas, beliefs and opinions so as to make general sense out of them. From the theories, we make sense from the expressions, opinions and justifications from the findings on any social phenomena or problem (Warnier 1997). Mbonji (2005) refers to theory as set of laws concerning a phenomenon. To him, theory is a general explanatory and synthetic corpus which establishes links of causal relationship between observed and analyzed facts and then generalizing the said links to all sorts of situations. For this research, we use the identity theory and the conflict perspective.

The theoretical interest of this study is to contribute to the existing body of literature on Socio-Anthropological studies on the challenges of multilingualism in rural milieus. Practically, we are seeking to unravel some of the complexities in the practice of multilingualism and to identify causes and types of problems as a first step in setting forth areas for action.

2.14 Theoretical Frame

In every scientific research theories act as the “yard stick” that guide us in the interpretation of facts, ideas, beliefs and opinions so as to make general sense out of them. For this research, we use the identity theory, the conflict theory and the consensus perspective.

Chilver and Kaberry (1967) note that the present politico-social units of the Cameroon Grassfields are for the most part composite units, sometimes grouped around intrusive dynasties or built by conquest, or by the slow adhesion of smaller groups in favored areas, or, more recently, by the temporary agglomeration of small groups seeking protection from attack. Such agglomerations often create questions of identity which can be verified through ethnographic studies as will be the case in lower Fungom.

According to identity theory, when negative emotion is felt, actors may either change what they are doing (the output end of the model), or they may think about the situation in a different way (the input side) in order to achieve greater congruence (Burke, 1991). In later work, Burke (1996) refers to these responses as different coping responses. One can modify the situation through some behavioral strategy or modify the meaning of the problem through some cognitive strategy. Ellestad and Stets (1998) reveal that the more salient the identity, the more likely it is that persons devise behavioral strategies to reassert their identity role thereby maintaining who they are to themselves and significant others. Also, disruption of self-verification for group-based identities that are more intimate such as the family identity leads to coping strategies that are cognitive (activity on the input side of the identity model) while disruption of self-verification for role-based identities that are less intimate

such as the worker identity leads to behavioral strategies of coping (activity on the output side of the identity model) Stets & Tsushima (2001).

Although the identity theory has been criticized because it often leads to existentialism, it remains most valuable in this study for its role in understanding local cultural workings of and other kinds of power relations in Lower Fungom.

On the other hand, the consensus theory focuses on the social order being sustained by the shared norms, values and beliefs of the people. According to this perspective, the society upholds the necessity to maintain the status quo and if an individual goes against what is accepted and shared by the majority, that person is considered as deviant. Consensus theory gives prominence to culture as a way of maintaining the consensus of society. This theory highlights the integration of the values of a group of people. The consensus theory pays little importance to social change as they focus more on retaining the society as it is through consensus. However, they did not reject the possibility of social change. On the contrary, they believed social change to occur within the boundaries of consensus.

As practical tools in the analysis concerning the meanings the people of Lower Fungom give to different languages, we use the concepts of habitus and practice by Pierre Bourdieu. We define Bourdieu's concepts in relation to lower Fungom. As Hanks (2005) writes, there are no fixed definitions for the terms developed by Bourdieu. This is because the terms are always related to the work they do in analysis – they are not based on fixed objects but are rather continuously constructed and reflected. This can be seen as a reflection of the post-structuralist nature of Bourdieu's work Hanks (2005).

The notion of habitus was first used by Pierre Bourdieu in the 1960s as a reference to the basic perceptions of a human agent about the self and the society - thoughts, feelings, tastes and bodily postures Bourdieu (1977). Habitus represents the common understanding and meaning of the world in the society in question. The habitus is the result of negotiation between the social, objective and the personal, subjective conditions or structures, and it is influenced by the past and the present. The most influential factors for the formation of habitus are more or less unconscious everyday situations and practices. Habitus is a useful tool in describing and explaining what kind of social and personal factors are behind an individual's actions in certain situations and how one makes choices. It is important to note that these terms should be seen in connection to Bourdieu's rejection of the structural thinking of the classic Anthropologist like Claude Lévi-Strauss. Lévi Strauss ignored the role of the agent in favor of the structure and saw society somehow outside the individual. (Rowell 2012, 117-118; Bourdieu 1977, 409-410; Moore & Sanders 2006, 12; Hanks 2005, 69; Reed-Danahy 2004, 105-107, Thompson 1991; 12-13, 17).

Thompson (1991) explains that habitus is a very old concept with Aristotelian origins. Deborah Reed-Danahay (2004) describes how in the social sciences, before Bourdieu, the term was already used by other theorists. Most prominently habitus has been used by Marcel Mauss and Norbert Elias. For Elias habitus meant a certain way of understanding the relation between the individual and the social - habitus was a kind of personality structure of the individual, although Elias also saw the social side of the habitus. Elias' influence on Bourdieu's thinking can be seen in the discussion concerning power struggles of different groups in the society. Marcel Mauss connected the concept of habitus to dispositions as socially constructed, customary ways of moving the body, which differ in different societies. His use of the concept

concentrated on the physical manifestation of the habitus and in his early works also Bourdieu connected habitus with bodily dispositions. (Ibid. 2004, 104-107.)

Pierre Bourdieu also talks about the 'linguistic habitus'. He defines the term 'linguistic habitus' as the capacity to speak in general and the tendency to speak and say certain things. It includes both the linguistic and social capacities of a person to use the linguistic competences at one's disposal Bourdieu (1991, 37). The linguistic habitus correlates with the speaker's habits to use language in a certain way, to use it in the social environment in question and to embody the linguistic expression with gestures or postures. The embodied schemes and dispositions of people are actualized in speech and these, rather than rules or codes, explain the regularities of language use. (Greenfield, 2012b, 67, Hanks 2005, 69-70; 72). According to Michael Grenfell (2012, 68), Bourdieu's linguistic habitus concretizes the relation between the individual and the social, and defines the linguistic capacity of the individual as socially valuable.

The habitus is inseparably connected with two other concepts by Bourdieu, the field and the practice. The habitus emerges in interaction between individuals with a certain habitus, the agents and the field. A field is a form of social organization which consists of objective relations and positions between the different agents acting in the field. The field is the practical, empirical context in which the study takes place. The social, economic or cultural power and capital of the individual agents, for example in the form of language skills, define the positions of the agent in the field. The historical processes behind these positions and structures define the fields (Bourdieu 1991; 230- 231, 242; Hanks 2005, 72).

The agents with a certain habitus produce practices: practical estimates which develop in interaction with each other in the different fields they are operating. Bourdieu

(1977) describes these practices as sort of strategies of action without conscious intention. They are not calculations of probabilities but more like practical evaluations of the likelihood for a certain action to success in a given situation. Practices offer practical strategies for action in new and changing situations. Practices are to some extent always products of linguistic or cultural structures and competences, which are needed in the interaction of the agents. (Ibid. 407-411).

2.15 Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, we notice from the reviewed books and other available sources of information that multilingualism as practiced around the world, in Cameroon and especially in the Lower Fungom area is a real challenge in bringing about social cohesion.

The literature review has also given us some background knowledge on the socio-cultural facets of multilingualism in Lower Fungom. The literature was mostly focused on the ethnological approach which hitherto had not been done in such a study on Lower Fungom. Having thus reviewed the ideas of other writers on our study, our focus in the next chapter will be to present the methodology procedure for data collection in the field.

On the one hand, this ethnographic perspective implies paying a good deal of attention to people's daily activities and routines so as to derive their meaning and rationality from the local perspective before making any abstraction for exogenous audiences. On the other hand, it also involves a focus on how participants' actions at particular moments and in particular spaces are connected and constrained by other interactions across space and time.

CHAPTER THREE

LOWER FUNGOM: AREA, PEOPLES AND LINGUISTIC SITUATION

3.0 Introduction

For the reader to understand the intricacies involved in this work, it is important for the reader to have an insight into the Lower Fungom communities. This chapter thus aims at giving some contextual information on lower Fungom by describing the linguistic, physiographic and socio-economic situation of the communities where we collected data. This information is presented in this chapter because of the ethnographic approach of the study. What obtains in the literature demonstrates that the communities of Lower Fungom are from diverse historical backgrounds yet they have been occupying this area and living in harmony with each other. This chapter will find out if the Lower Fungom communities are conscious of their historical backgrounds and determines if this consciousness bind them together. Since the task of Ethnography is to give a complete and an on- the- spot description of social facts in human cultures so that the reader draws conclusions from an objective view to his personal account, we shall in this chapter attempt a lump description of the communities in which data was collected. This information is presented here from an ethnographic perspective so that the reader can understand the complexity of the communities. Also, the citations in this chapter were translated from a mixture of Pidgin English and indigenous languages and therefore we only paraphrase some of the information from consultants. The first section overviews Lower Fungom generally and the second section presents an ethnographic summary of the communities in which data were collected

3.1 Geographical Situation

Lower Fungom is located at the brink of the North West Region of Cameroon (cf. figure one). It extends roughly ten kilometres both North to South and East to West. The name ‘Lower Fungom’ emanates from historical and geographical angles. The first native court was stationed in Fungom by the British imperialists. It is considered ‘lower’ because of the low elevation as compared to those extending to the East, South and West (Di Carlo 2011). LF is not identified administratively and it does not include Fungom village itself.

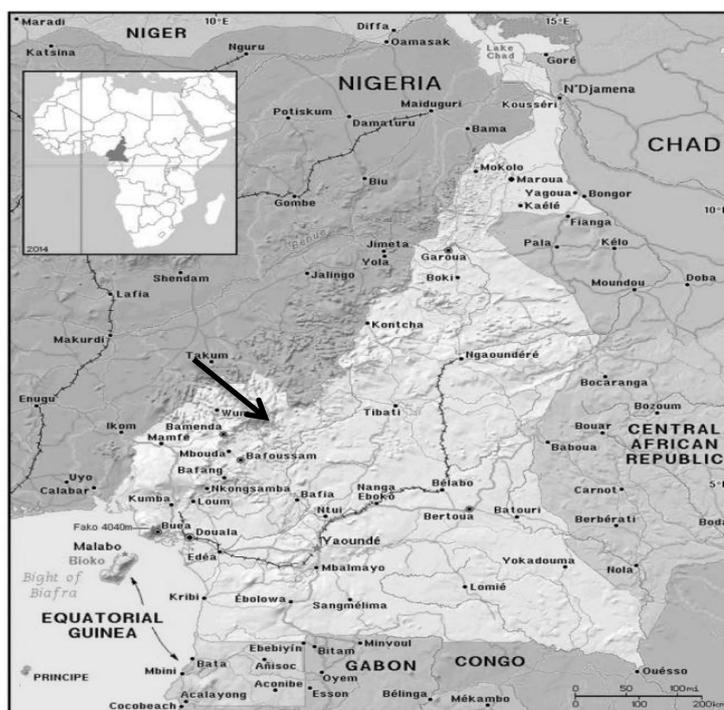


Figure 3.1: Map of Cameroon Showing location of Lower Fungom

At first glance, the easily and unique steepness of the hills is noticed. Di Carlo (2011) confirms that most of the steepness is labelled a concise climb of about 250-300 metres between the bottom of the valley and their narrow tops, which lie between 800-850 metres not exceeding 900 metres.

Patches of forest are still visible on hilltops and in the form of galleries along the humid bottoms of valleys. The area covers two types of distinct vegetal environment; on one side wooded areas in which oil and raffia palms are easily seen and the other elephant grass, the vegetal species that dominate most of the Bamenda Grassfields.

3.2 Linguistic Situation

Lower Fungom found at the borders of the Cameroonian Grassfields, has a great deal of languages spoken in the area. It registers eight languages spoken in thirteen villages. The 13 villages include: Missong, Abar, Ngun, Biya, Munken, Buu, Mundabli, Mufu, Mashi, Kung, Fang, Koshin and Ajumbu. The different language varieties are spoken in five villages. That is to say Missong, Abar, Munken, Ngun and Biya each speak a variety of the same language. In other words they are lects. Mufu and Mundabli which represent single villages speak varieties of the same language. The polities of Buu, Koshin, Kung, Ajumbu, Fang and Mashi each speak a separate language. Good et al (2011) seem to pick out Missong as a different variety in the MUNGBAM cluster (cf. table 1). However, that Buu is a separate language from Mufu and Mundabli cluster. Lovegren (2011) further investigates the linguistic phonetic properties of MUNGBAM vowels. He makes clear that while speakers of the other varieties claim comprehension in each other's variety, it is rather different with the Missong variety. However, his documentation of basic lexical items and grammar sketch corroborates what the speakers claim. Nevertheless, this is not to say Missong is a different language as the inherent intelligibility has not been employed to ascertain this claim Lovegren (2011). Hombert (1980) grouped: Koshin, Fang, Ajumbu and the language clusters of, (Abar, Missong, Munken, Ngun, Biya) and (Mufu and Mundabli) now referred to as MUNGBAM and JI, respectively by Good et al. (2011) under the appellation Western Beoid. This was because he saw these

languages as belonging to the same group. Good et al (2011) has however found no connection between Western and Eastern Bebid. Languages spoken in Lower Fungom are separate from any other Bantoid non-Grassfields languages.

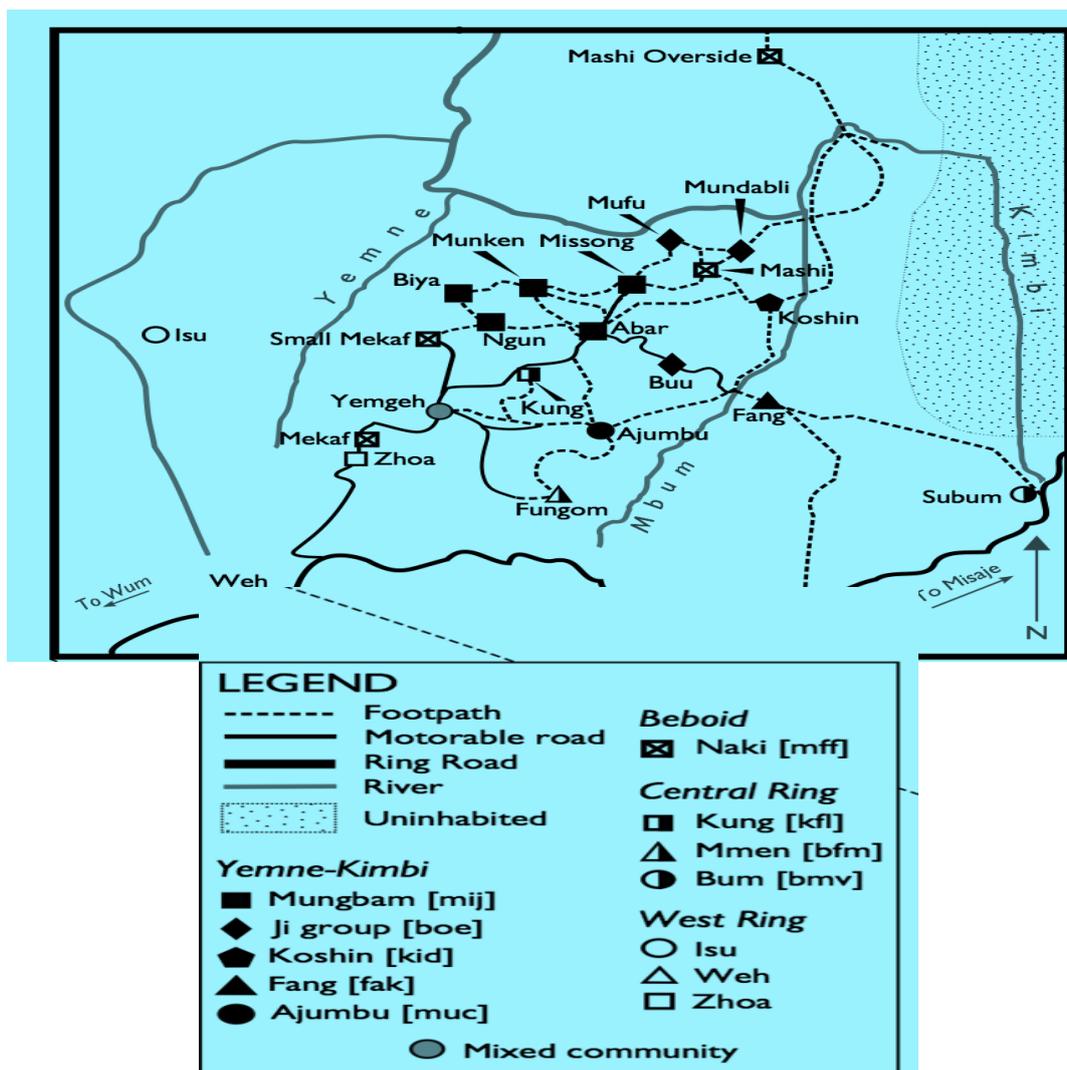


Figure 3.2: Villages and Languages of Lower Fungom: Map adapted from Good et al (2011) with modifications

These five languages except Kung and Mashi mentioned above have no close relations with any other language spoken outside Lower Fungom. The above assumption by Hombert led to Good et al's appellation of the unsupported genetic

label Western Beoid to Yemne-Kimbi a geographical label (the names of two rivers delimiting this area) and Eastern Beoid simply Beoid.

Table 3.1 Lower Fungom language groups and Population (adapted from Good et al 2011)

Sub-group	Language	Village	Population	
Yemne-Kimbi	MUNGBAM [mij]	Abar	650-850	
		Munken	Around 600	
		Ngun	150-200	
		Biya	50-100	
		Missong	Around 400	
	JI [boe]	Mundabli	350-450	
		Mufu	80-150	
		Buu	100-200	
		Fang [fak]	Fang	4000-6000
		Koshin [kid]	Koshin	3000-3500
Beoid Central Ring	Ajumbu [muc]	Ajumbu	200-300	
	Naki [mff]	Mashi	300-400	
	Kung [kfl]	Kung	600-800	

The other two languages; Kung and Mashi share important similarities outside Lower Fungom and therefore can be affiliated with already known groups of Bantoid languages. The village of Mashi speaks a variety of Naki. This language is spoken by a number of villages (Mekaf, Small Mekaf and Mashi Oversight) outside Lower Fungom. The people of Mashi appear to speak a distinct variety of Naki. The language Kung has been classified with the central ring languages found in the South and Mashi with the Beoid group.

Table 3.2 Pertinent sounds in Lower Fungom Languages

a:	/a/	/átót /	pl /bitó/	stomach
b βa:	/b/	/ba/	Pl /kəəba:tə/	bag
d :	/d/	/dɪ/		beans
dz :	/dz/	/dʒu/	pl / kə dʒu :tə/	goat
f:	/f/	/fəəkə /	pl /kəəfə kə nə/	clay-pot
g:	/g/	/gən /	pl /kəgəntə kə;be /	feather
k:	/k/	/kɪm /	pl /kə kɪŋ:mtə/	monkey
kp:	/kp/	/kpo/	pl / kə kpotənə	meat-slate
l:	/l/	/laŋ/	Pl / nlaŋ /	eczema
m:	/m/	/mbə/	pl /kəmbətə/	palm-wine
n:	/n/	/ndɪ:m/		tears
ŋ:	/ŋ/	/ŋka/	pl / kəŋka tə	corn-beer
ɲ:	/ɲ/	/ɲaəm/	pl /əɲamkə/	animal
p:	/p/	/pyesəəkə/	pl /ətʃyesə/	clay-pot
s:	/s/	/sasənəsasə /	pl /kəsasənə/	ceiling
sh:	/ʃ/	/ʃa:n /	pl /əʃa:n /	grass
t:	/t/	/tam/	pl /ta~m/	fruit
tf:	/tʃ/	/tʃəŋ/	pl /kətʃə:ŋtə	string-piano
		/ts/	pl /kəətsa :ntə/	headpad
w:	/w/	/wəŋ:ŋkəəŋwəə:təə /	pl/kəwəŋ:ŋtə kəəŋwəə:təə/	pen
y:	/y/	/yi /	pl /kəyi :tə/	moon

The following tones were identified in the language

Table 3.3 Tones in Lower Fungom languages

Tone	Example
High /á/	/áfwə / Face
Low /à/	/àmbəyē/ shoulder
Mid /ā/	kpāni elbow
Falling /â/	/pyâ/ Avocado
Rising /ǎ/	/tǎ/ father

Apart from a common linguistic and territorial belonging, the communities of Lower Fungom also share some socio-economic and political ties which vary slightly from one community to another. We examine the ethnographic aspects of these communities (Abar, Buu, Koshin, and Mashi where we collected data). We shall present a summary of the similarities in these communities in its physical, socio-cultural, economic and political dimensions.

3.3 Economy, Demography and Communication

This subsection describes the economic, social and geographical situation of the people of Lower Fungom, the community under investigation.

Economically, the main occupation of the inhabitants of Lower Fungom is subsistence farming. They cultivate products like corn, beans, groundnuts, plantains, cocoyam and cassava. The drive behind the cultivation of these products is to alleviate hunger and in case of excesses, it is traded. Also, products like palm fruits and oil are mostly cultivated and traded in the Grassfields. Warnier (1979) attested to this by stating that palm oil among others was a regular commodity for trade. It further fostered willingness in the learning of local languages. Di Carlo (2011) adds that any activity regarding the culture on oil and raffia palms, including oil extraction processes are normally handled by men.

This phenomenon seems to explain male dominance in terms of number of passive and active knowledge in languages. Domestication of animals is a common practice among the inhabitants of Lower Fungom. Animals like pigs and fowls are mostly bred. However, goats are kept in minimal proportions mostly in residential areas and cattle are mostly raised by the Fulani (Aku) people. Hunting which used to be essential in their culture and economy is less practiced today and communal hunts seem to be far-fetched. In confirmation of Di Carlo (2011) suggestion, the emergence of firearms and increased demographic pressure, big game animals like buffalos and antelopes have nearly disappeared. They are mostly found in the few remaining forest galleries to the north of Lower Fungom. Due to the major waters in Mbum and Kimbi, fishing is practiced with the use of locally made nets.

3.3.1 Economics

The Lower Fungom economy is based on subsistence hoe farming, craft specialization and trade. Hunting, fishing (mostly on small scale), animal husbandry and gathering of wild fruits are practiced but the basis of Lower Fungom diet consists of starchy tubers, grains, and plantains grown on the farms. Wild and cultivated fruits vegetables, meat and fish supplement these. Maize is the staple food and it is mostly consumed as cornfufu. Sugarcane, Soya beans, beans, and groundnuts are grown as cash crops to replace coffee, which used to be the main cash crop. The farming cycle is regulated by the wet and dry season. Until recently when individuals began to own parcels of land especially after the 1974 decree and the 1976 ordinance modifying land tenure and defining state lands in Cameroon, the land of every community in Lower Fungom was entrusted to the family head with the clan heads of the village deciding on which portion of the land was to be used and for what purpose. Every family owned a permanent piece of land of its own. Even today, the family head of each quarter in a community offers a piece of land every year on which farming will be done. This is usually around February and January when there is no rain. The clearing and hoeing of the land is done in Feb and March when there is little or no rain. The cleared land is left to dry and the burnt leaves latter act as manure when planting is done in March as the rains start. Farming is done mostly by women although the introduction of plantation agriculture has seen men working their farms like the women. Men usually help their wives in clearing and harvesting especially during the slash and burn when men can also participate in planting.

Until of recent when oil palm plantations were opened up by the defunct Wum Area Development Authority, (WADA), palm oil used to be their main export commodity.

Women crack palm nuts to extract palm kernel so as to produce palm kernel oil “muyanga”. This is mostly for household consumption while surplus is sold in the markets. Chicken, ducks and at times parrots are kept as domestic fowl and goats, sheep, pigs, dogs, cats are kept as domestic Animals. All of these except cats were eaten in former times. With increasing population and the expansion of plantation farming, large game has eventually disappeared in Parts of the forest and open grassland thus professional hunters and fishers sell their rare catch fresh or they dry it to be sold in the markets.

Nearly all Lower Fungom communities engage in farming but the production of many other goods is specialized. Weaving, dyeing, iron working, pottery, brass cutting, woodcarving, calabash carving, bead working, leather working, hunting, fishing, drumming, divination, circumcision and the compounding of charms and medicines are crafts whose techniques are known only to a small group of professionals and are often protected as trade secrets by religious sanctions. Traders are also professionals and in recent times, sawyers, carpenters, bricklayers, tailors, automobile mechanics, biomedical practitioners, shopkeepers, drivers and other professions have been added. Most of these specialists do farming, but they supply all other members of the community with their goods and services. Thus craft specialization makes each member of the community economically dependent on the society as a whole. This has led to the development of internal trade and markets for the exchange of local produce.

The only markets of Lower Fungom found in Abar is composed of the same area occupied by men and women selling the same commodities - poultry in baskets, crops, tethered goats and sheep, plantains, coco yams, potatoes, green vegetables, pepper, meat, salt, palm oil, palm wine, clay pots, firewood, the varied ingredients of

charms and medicine, as well as European goods and other imported items. Many women prepare and sell cooked food, palm wine or beer in front of their houses, street corners, or they are scattered throughout the market. The market day comes up once a week but the days alternate.

The raffia palm is also a source of palm wine, which is made by tapping the palms. Men and boys who are above seven years do the tapping on the bushes given to them by the village head or clan head. The wine is consumed during ceremonies and the surplus is sold in the markets after the share of the clan head or village head has been given. A good Lower Fungom person is one who can taper the raffia palms and palm trees. The raffia and its surroundings is a source of palm wine, water, wood for fuel, building materials and medicinal plants among others. Most Lower Fungoms of today have been bred with the profits made from the products of raffia palms and palm trees other than and farming.

Although tradition talks of a period when goods were bartered for several decades, at least money in the form of cowry shells was the basis of trade exchange and tradition talks of cowries being imported from Nigeria.

With the coming of the Germans, and then the British, the Dutch mark as well as the pound sterling later replaced the cowries. These currencies conditioned the Lower Fungom communities to the money economics, which has become dominant in all their transactions both in the socio-cultural, economic, political, and religious spheres. All their transactions are bargained in terms of money with profit being the driving motive.

As noted initially, we can say in conclusion that the foundation of Abar economy in pre-colonial times was sedentary hoe farming and craft specialization. The rotation

of crops and particularly the rotation of land through fallowing made possible a sedentary way of life and the development of large dense permanent communities and an urban way of life. Craft specialization led to trade both within and between the communities and each individual economically dependent on the society as a whole. Trade involves formal markets and money with the pecuniary nature of Abar culture and the importance of the profit motive both apparent. This can be seen in all the domains of social life especially in government and administration.



Plate 1: View of Abar Market.

Source: Fieldwork July 2018

The population of Lower Fungom is estimated at about 14000 (see table below). The increasing majority of the population is distributed into twenty-two permanent settlements. The demographic density covers an area of 58.3 per sq. km. Given the presence of 13 villages in the Lower Fungom area; in every 18.5 per sq. km you find a village (Di Carlo 2011). The figures in table 1 are not in absolute terms but rather an approximation to show a comparison of relative population sizes.

With respect to road communication, there is a motorable road linking Weh to Abar though not in very good condition (see map 1). In the villages themselves, the whole area is crossed by foot paths. However, there are minor motorable tracks mostly travelled by a few motor bikes. Warnier (1985) asserts that the major trade roads did

not pass through Lower Fungom, rather, through the east (Ibi-Bum road) and the west (Makurdi-Isu road). There is also a lack of electricity in the area, nominal health care and school facilities are limited.

3.3.2 Government

Despite the claim of occupying a common territory, there is marked variation in the political structure of the Lower Fungom. For instance Abar is subdivided into 12 exogamous quarters: Uko (palace), Mban, Utong, Agako, Mmbalako, Uga, Ulongokwo, Mmbu (small Abar, subchief), Mbalako, Nduu (courtyard) Agamatan.

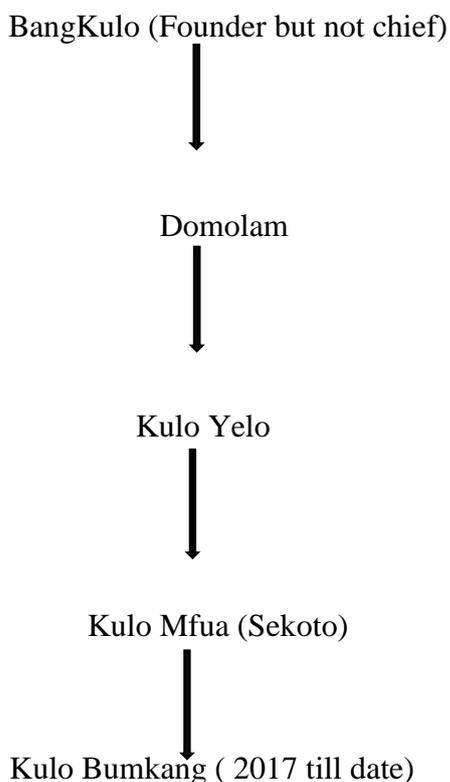
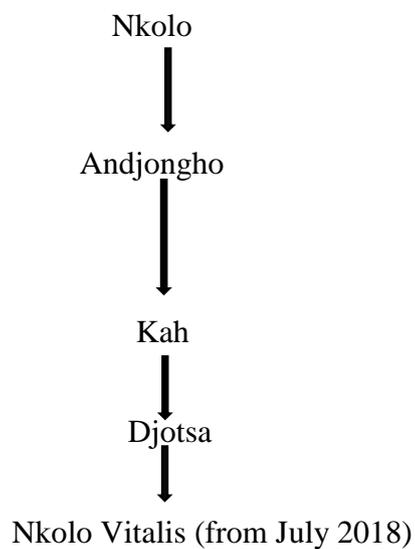


Figure 3.3: Line of Abar chiefs

On its part, Buu is subdivided in 5 quarters namely: Tso, Tiaamte, Mfengbgwe, Tsa, Kpaam. These are all exogamous units, and most of them form residential units.

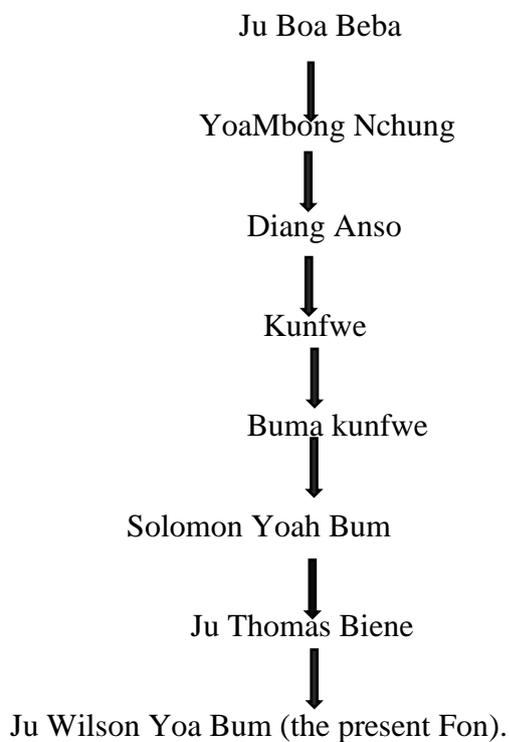
Chiefs of Buu

Figure 3.4: line of Buu Chiefs



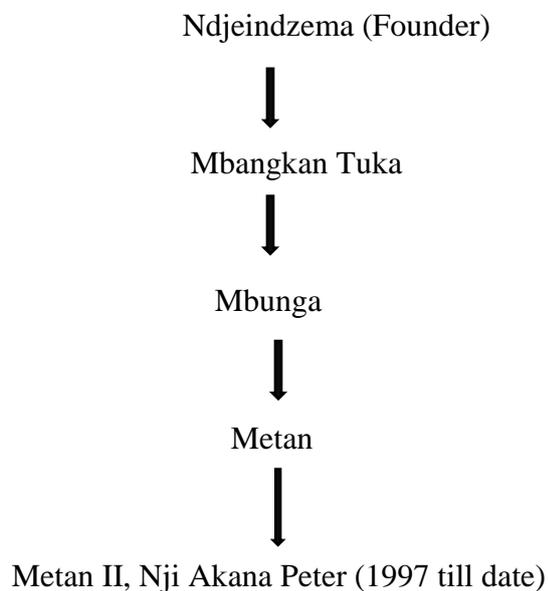
Koshin is also made of 5 exogamous quarters Beaudon 1, Beaudon 2, Baebumbum, Bwamboum, Baebae.

Figure 3.4: line of Koshin Chiefs



Mashi too is made of 4 exogamous quarters which are Budjokwa (former Royal Fam) Butsagha, Butansi, Bumbang and Bunduba (current royal family), bunƙaŋ.

Figure 3.5: Line of Mashi chiefs



They live in a sort of rank society and they are politically organized in a sort federal system of administration under a second class Fon (bahtum). The Fon heads the autonomous chiefdom and is assisted by the sub-chiefs, quarter heads, lineage heads, elders or notables as well as the nahtums “queen Mothers”. The bahtum, assisted by the nahtum “queen mother” administer the village through the quarter heads and has no say in the decisions taken by the quarter heads in their various quarters. The bahtum is head of the Abar ruling sub groups- clans.

Each clan has a quarter head who owns and controls land independent of the Fon. But these quarter heads have to collaborate with the Fon in certain matters for the smooth functioning of the tribe. For instance the fon of Abar has to confer with the quarter heads of Mban and Uko quarters before the nto’o (sacred shine) is opened to a new member.

The *nahtums* “queen Mothers” host the women sacred lodges (*shaamte*) with *fe’mgwei* as its errand or mortuary operator. Like the *nturu* of the *bahtums*, the *shaamtee* serves as the point where major decisions concerning the daily life of the Lower Fungom woman are taken by the *nahtums*. This is especially in cases where the *nturu* of the men has failed. This process of checks and balances is sanctioned by tradition.

The *fons* of Lower Fungom are from a royal line of the chiefdom. They preside at some apotropaic annual sequential rites to ensure the successful prosecution of war, hunting and soil fertility so as to guarantee a good harvest. The *Fon* may arbitrate disputes among the quarter heads such as inter –quarter squabbles. If there is a dispute concerning two quarters, the *Fon* intervenes to maintain peace. This is usually to ensure the general wellbeing of the village.

Ancestral worship is an important component in Lower Fungom cultural life. Therefore the performance of religious sacrifices is part of the chief’s duties. He conducts sacrifices to appease the spirits of the late chiefs. In case of epidemics or attacks on the village, he consults his ancestors in the *nturu* and offers sacrifices to them so as to know how to handle the misfortunes of the village. His role in negotiating the peaceful settlement of boundary problems between two quarters or villages, the return of captives and runaway wives, make him the master of diplomacy. In short the *bahtum* is responsible for the *nturu* (the tribe’s shrine) for consulting the ancestors on all matters in which spiritual guidance is required, for making sacrifices to the ancestors and for keeping peace between the quarter heads and thus preserving the unity of the village. In the *nturu*, (the highest lodge on decision making in the land) the *bahtum* participates as any other quarter head with no privileged authority. The decree of 1st January 1972 making traditional rulers as

arms of the central government administration has infringed on the powers of bahtum and the quarter heads. Even though he has been raised to 2nd class chieftom, they are still very much overshadowed by the Divisional Officer and other government officials.

3.3.3 Social Organization

Social organization in Lower Fungom is expressed through the clan and family, the life cycle (birth and child care, childhood and education, betrothal and marriage, death and burial) to verbal arts, music, and dance.

3.3.3.1 The Clan and Family

The communities practice the patrilineal system of kinship descent with Incest taboos and kinship terminology extending to known relatives through male and female relatives. Every person in Lower Fungom is born into a patrilineal clan whose members are descendants of a remote ancestor. An individual accepts all members in his own clan as blood relatives even if he does not know in what ways they are related. Marriage with any of them is as strongly prohibited as it is with the father's father's daughter's daughter or son even when genealogical relations to the clan founder or to clan members have long been forgotten. The immediate family consisting of a man, his wife and their children is of less significance and is only known by a descriptive name referring to the dwelling place that it occupies "my house" to distinguish it from the "compound." The reasons explained for the lack of emphasis on the immediate family is due in part at least to its instability as opposed to the permanent nature of the clan. Wives can come and go and after divorce one has nothing to do with them but one can never change one's consanguine

relatives. The sub family consisting of a wife and her children in a polygamous family is perhaps more important than the immediate family.

When the father dies, it is the son of his brother or his brother who succeeds his immovable as well as moveable property. It is said that the child belongs to the father's clan even though they grow up and work with their father to earn what the nephews or brothers will eventually come to inherit.

Kinship is also a basic factor in the social structure of Abar. Kinship terminology are used in a classificatory manner both in reference and address, but when specific information is required, they can be used descriptively to express the relationship and precisely too.

Finally kinship terminology provides a subtle means of expressing delicate shades of respect, affection and supplication, or their reverse. These forms of address that express respect may be used because of the individual's seniority, title, or good character. They are also used to express a special degree of affection and intimacy or when requesting special favors, as well as for begging forgiveness for an offense.

3.3.3.1 Life Cycle

Childbirth was regarded as sacred operation to be performed by initiated women. Today, biomedical facilities have demystified it and it is now being performed by trained personnel where the facilities are available. After birth, the mother and child remain in the house for a specified period of time usually till circumcision for male children and other traditional rites are performed. Excision is not practiced on girl children.

By the time a child is five, it is already participating in initiative play by imitating the activities of the parents, perhaps picking up the broom and sweeping the street without being asked or imitating the father as a tailor, carpenter, wine taper, teacher, diviner, housewife or any of the popular professions. When the child is eight, it is instilled into toil and tillage as part of the education. Education in Lower Fungom communities stresses economic and psychological independence but not social independence. At this age the child learns to respect the bonds of Kinship, to perform economic activities, to watch out for his own interests and to make decisions for itself.

From the beginning of initiative play there is a gradual transition to the adult activities which the child will perform throughout the rest of its life to participate to the extent that they are able in whatever work the parent of the same sex is doing. No pressure is necessary because for children, this is simply an extension of the games they have devised for themselves and it brings them close to the parents. The parents are more concerned with what the child can accomplish than in the possibility that the child may make mistakes or fail. Life as such is presented not as a warfare but as a continuous play in which the least inaccuracy becomes a source for eternal regrets. However, this has also changed as a result of European contact, with increasing numbers of children going to school, where they are placed in artificial environments and assigned tasks, which may be unrelated to what they later do as adults.

3.3.3.1 Marriage

Girls were generally betrothed before puberty in former times, often at 8 or 9 years of age; and sometimes they were promised to a close friend of the father before they were born. During the engagement and continuing for as long as the marriage lasted,

the suitor had to perform free labor for his family in-law especially before the bride wealth is paid. This bride wealth especially functions to preserve the marriage.

Traditional marriage customs are still observed by conservative families but various elements are omitted or are modified depending on the wealth, education and religion of the bride and groom. As such it is not uncommon to find the modern generations of Lower Fungom girls marrying even against the consent of their parents. With modernity, many women have become economically independent and some are wealthier than their husbands. This economic independence in women is sometimes blamed for increased frequency of divorce and it is clearly a contributing factor. It is however not possible to discuss all the variations here but as far as marriage is concerned in Lower Fungom; a husband is expected to provide shelter, clothing and food to his family.

Nowadays, the average age of marriage for girls here is 15 or 16 years. It is apparent that the patterns have changed in the last 1 or 2 generations.

Today the items required for a marriage are; a bag of salt, one crate of beer and one jug of palm wine; After these items are provided to the mother, she will ask you to go and meet the father of your wife. The father will ask for a cock, palm wine, honey that will be mixed with the palm wine, one crate of beer and money. A participant in the focus group discussion explained that; *“It depends on what you have; we do not task people for money. They want their jug of honey, a jug of palm wine and a jug of oil from the father’s side for them to cook their fowl with it. and now when you want to come again with your money after you have given these things, you bring whatever you have; whether you bring twenty thousand or whatever amount but if you bring a sum up to two hundred thousand, they will refuse*

and say you first of all have to go and stay with your wife before coming to pay the money.” The marriage pattern in Lower Fungom is both endogamous and exogamous.

3.3.3.2 Child Naming

By tradition, it is the father who names the first child. If it is a male child, the father will give his father’s name and if it is a female child, he will put name her after his mother or sister’s name or any other name in my family. If the mother puts a name on the first child, the name will be lost but she has the right to name the second child no matter the sex because it is now her turn.

There is also the traditional name which varies from quarter to quarter but some quarters do not have it. When the child is born, it will be taken to the road and some tradition will be made and the name that comes out will be given to the child. It is a different person who is a herbalist who gives the name and the father and mother of the child will come back to the house and decide if the name should come from the father or mother’s side depending on the sex of the child but the name that is given on the road is the medicine name which the child bears and it is not everyone who calls the name. It is possible to hear this name and know the quarter from which the name comes.

3.3.3.2 Belief System

Like any of its kind, the Lower Fungom communities possess beliefs in the existence of a transcending Being who co-ordinates the inchoate and chaotic phenomena in their natural environment. This Being is variously referred to as Keze “god” or tselembi “Father of the universe.” Access to this Being is through the ancestors and other

deities whom they call *nnze/*. They intercede with the transcending Being on behalf of the living to direct them on how to go about in their natural environment. Therefore if an a person from Lower Fungom wants to be at peace with God, he passes through his clan ancestors by pouring libation (*tso'nmvo*), taking initiations (*dze tengang*), offering sacrifices as well as observing the taboos.

3.3.3.3 Death and Burial

When a person dies, for instance, a child between zero and ten years and those who do not belong to any juju group or law house even if they have children, they literally say God has taken it. It does not yet belong to any juju so they just bury it and stay quiet. People between ten and twenty five years who are not yet members of the *Nko'* are mourned by their peer dances like *ndengue njang*, *kessem* and *mbolo* and small jujus like *munkwem*. If it is an elder who is a member of *nko'* or *kwifan* dies, old women and all the *kwifans* and *nko's* will mourn him for nearly three to five days. If it is a *muinteh* (notable/elder) who dies, we take three full days and the general public will scatter but the immediate family will stay for up to one month.

For a chief, it can take two weeks or one month. After one or two “country Sundays” (traditional days of rest), a new chief is enthroned. The candidate is selected by the members of the royal family, then presented to the whole village. At this point the chief of Menkaf can come, and he will be the first who will wash the newly appointed chief. Right after him, the women of *faamtə* wash the chief, then dress him and take him into the *ntfu* house. Here he and his new wife will spend 3 nights and 3 days, during which magical remedies will be given to the chief. The whole village and the jujus assemble every day. Once the jujus are on, no one goes to the farm.

When a muinteh dies *Nko'*, *Kwifan*, *muenkwem*, small jujus come out. When the *nk'o* or *kwifon* comes out, four fowls are given to them while a goat, groundnut and two fowls are given to the *mbuambu*. The *muenkwem* too are given one fowl then when they come in the evening, another juju of the *muenkwem* will dance till dawn and during this time they are fed. This one is called *kwili*. This one is restricted to members of the *mumkpem*. The feeding of these jujus is to ensure the generational belonging to the houses. A participant in the focus group discussion explained that; “As they ate after my father’s dead and I grew up to be alive, they will eat during my dead and my children will still grow up to be alive.”

When a *na'tum* dies, it is the same as the chief’s death. All the jujus and the *nko'* only comes out during the *na'tum*’s dead and not for any ordinary woman. She is regarded as “the chief “of the women; even children’s peer juju groups come out.

When there is death the son in-law brings a goat, a cock, a blanket, palm oil and palm wine which people will drink, it is compulsory. A participant in the focus group discussion explained that; “*if he doesn't bring it, my family will remove the woman from his compound; they know what they have to bring if I die.*”

3.3.3.4 Secret Societies

ntu: Found in all the villages as the supreme lodge with political and spiritual power. There is atleast one member per family. The fee is : 1 chicken, 50 liters of honey beer at the moment of the presentation to the society; 1 litre of palm oil and 1 chicken for sacrifice sanctioning the entrance into the house: At this level, the man can hang his bag onto his family's beam inside the ntŋu house.

nkɔ: spiritual power, there are 2 houses of this society in Mashi distributed in the two moieties. Both are not original to Mashi but were bought from Menkaf. The fee is 1

rooster, a bundle of camwood, 1 bag of salt, 1 liter of pam oil, 50 liters of palm wine. To become a full member one has to provide 1 goat, 50 liters of honey palmwine. Apparently the fee paid for this society is higher than that paid for the paramount secret society in Mashi.

Kwifon: two houses distributed between the two moieties. It was bought from Babungo and is open to all men. **Nko**, in essence, is an offshoot of Kwifon. Kwifon represents the first step into the secret societies for any men of the village. The fee is 3 chickens (1 for the presentation, 1 for initial membership, 1 for knowing the secret).

Shaamtə: highest among the women's secret societies. It is said to be original to the village and is hosted in 3 houses: one in the palace, and one in each of the two moieties.

Fumbwen: women's society lower than shaamtə in power was bought from some other village in the area.

Fwan: women's society, least important / powerful. Mashi is the only village having 3 different societies for the women, and this society is virtually absent anywhere else in Lower Fungom (but, especially if unimportant, it might come out during more focused interviews also elsewhere).

kəm: although it is not a secret society, but a private investment for well-being and for selling ritual performances, this institution seems to play an important role in Mashi. Reportedly they are those who have the most intense contacts with the "creators" of the shrine, i.e. people in Furu-Awa and Jukuns. Many of the shrines disseminated in Lower Fungom have been bought here in Mashi. The shrine implies severe restrictions for the family of the owner: women cannot eat eggs, nobody can

slam any type of objects on a table or any other horizontal surface (ground included), the man cannot tell lies. The powerful spirit of *kəm* is very strict on these (and other) rules, very powerful and thus respected.

3.3.3.4 Burial

A round grave (*ndzam edzang*) is dug, and a small hole *Fiin* is dug in the corner where the corpse will be laid. The reason they dig round graves is because the round grave was used to bury up to five persons; different members of the same family whenever they die. Others claim that it shows that death must go round to everybody. Rectangular graves *Dzam efoung* are only dug for corpses that are brought to the village already in coffins. A participant in the focus group discussion explained that; *“It is very true that in those days of our fathers, it was different but in this our times, we have met all what they used to do. There are certain things that we amend and others that we do not amend and there others that we are even putting aside because it worries us too. Even this round grave that you are talking now is also worrying us because there are times you dig a grave and it will collapse before the burial because we are over-digging the inner part of the grave.”*

After burial, it is believed that the deceased (*Nyue kpwilabu*) will go to where the Mashi people came from; each according to his quarter; *mbangku*, *Jokwa*, *Tsaghaku* and *Tansi*. any person who dies here will go back to their quarter from where we originated and be received there by the ancestors. The death of someone in the village is first announced by the *nko'* and *kwifan* in the sacred forest just across the river outside the village even when the person is yet to die because the person's spirit gets there even before the person dies. The ancestors (*Tsee*) will then direct the soul to

Bwaom (God) and depending on your life style on this earth, *Bwaom* can take the person to *Bwaomle wei* (heaven) or *Bwaom lo* (hell)

A 65 years old male participant in the focus group discussion explained that; *“I can take you now to Tsaghako but when you go there as a dead person, it is spiritual and no one sees you, we can only hear from the kwifan when it is talking in the water and we know that someone has joined the place but you cannot see it physically”*

Communication with the ancestors is done through (*Mekwuu*). A participant in the focus group discussion explained that; *“As a father, I cut a fowl, roast it, mix with palm oil, cook cornfufu, and I call all the ancestors (betsee) and talk to them and keep the food to sleep overnight and all the family sleep in the same room even on the floor and I wake up before 5a.m and take some cornfufu and throw on the door as it is done in the tradition. All this is done before the sun comes up. All the food has to be eaten before the sun comes up and we don’t have to warm the food. It is the tradition as we grow up to meet it and we follow it like that to get blessings. If we were doing it and failing, we would not be doing it but now that we do it and get blessings, we continue to do it as our fathers did.”*

3.3.3.5 Healthcare

When a person is sick or ill, recourse is made to the family priest or the village healer where treatment is provided before any resort to biomedicine. Traditionally, treatment is provided to illnesses such as fever, (*Fufugo*) headache (*Febounle*), stomach ache (*ulaa nemkewo*), pile (*Abene ntow*), gastritis (*shemanem*), infertility (*bitibetsan*), fractures and sprains (*nfagle*), side pain (*Ntemyie*), the navel (*Tsiim*), Waist pain and body pains (*bout*) and sexually transmitted infections (*ndza mbemu*), among others.

3.3.3.6 Kinship Terminology

Father is called *Teeh*, *Muinteh*, mother is *Niee*. Then sister is *Mueni* while brother is *Mueni nyong ei nye*. The mother's brother is *teehkpoo* and father's brother is *Nikpoo*. The sister's child is *Wamuene* and the father's brother's boy child is *Binbin* while father's brother's girl child is *bimbim*. The grandmother is *Nyienteh* and Grandfather is *kpenteeh*

When a person dies his first boy child succeeds him: if the person has no child, his sisters child from their family; either his brother or sister's child; a man from the quarter or his family succeeds him.

Works of arts produced here include carving; bows, drums and masquerades among others. The dance pattern follows the offbeat call as in *mumkpem*, *kessem*, *njang*, and *ndengue*.

However, the coming of the British and German colonial administrations to Abar was accompanied by the penetration of their religious values into Abar culture. This has led to the introduction of Christianity into Abar. And if we recall the disdainful and iconoclastic manner with which Europeans landed on African cultures, we will not be surprised with the alienation that Abar ancestors have suffered from the modern generation of Abars. There has been an influx of these Christian churches in Abar since the coming of the German Basel and Mill Hill Christian missions to Abar in 1958. Various protestant churches followed these churches. The churches preach the existence of only one God and his son who are more powerful than any other *spirits* and who rewards those that are faithful to his words (through his son) with an eternal kingdom. As such, very few Abars now adhere to their ancestors and the greater part has become converts to the new churches. The impact of these new

religions on Abar cultures can be seen in the elite that they have produced in Abar culture.

Abar verbal arts include praise names, praise songs, tongue twisters, prose narratives, riddles, and thousands of proverbs. There are also praise songs, songs of ridicule, lullabies, religious songs and work songs. These usually follow the common call and response pattern by leaders and the chorus.

Abar music also shares the African characteristic of dominance of rhythm and percussion, like in /keboom/, and off beat phrasing like. Other instruments include flutes stringed instruments and xylophones.

Lower Fungom dancing is sedate and less spectacular than that of some grass field peoples. In bodily decoration, they (apart from inter-tribal marriage breeds) are tall and well proportioned. They present the characteristics of the Afro race (dark kinky hair, with all the head forms-mesocephalic, dolichocephalic and brachycephalic). The nose is mostly normal with rare cases being flat. The womenfolk are as well-proportioned as the men with conspicuous hips. The girl child or women is fondly referred to as *zewangha* “my mother”, *neghawiy* ‘mother in-law’ *negho-negho* ‘grandmother.’ They are versed in visual arts like pottery, carving, leatherwork and weaving. These are at the disposal of those who can afford. Men do carving and weaving of clothes with which they dress. The men dress in a gown like *dres /shang/* and a cap */ketanglo/* with two pieces of cloth */ukweng/* tied under the */shang/*. The women dress with *kwi-undzeu* (wrapper) at times very gorgeous and very simple at other times. The dresses and the accompanying regalia are of various types and are worn depending on the occasion and status of the individual.

The German colonial ambitions to extend Cameroon from its Atlantic shores into the interiors culminated in the uncovering of several ethnic communities among whom were the Lower Fungom communities. Between 1903 and 1905 the Germans through Lt. Pavel Glauning arrived Abar (Wum) till 1915. The end of the First World War saw the coming of the British in 1919. The coming of the Germans to Abar (Wum) between 1903 and 1905, the British in 1919 and the subsequent introduction of Western religious values have contributed to produce an era of change among Abars and in their culture.

These changes have been further spurred by other changes both at the local, national and international level: The process of decolonization and subsequent accession of African states to independence; the nation building era of the 1960s; the presidential decree of Jan 1 1972; the economic crisis of the late 1980s and the ensuing moral crisis, as well as the political wind of change of the early 1990s, have all contributed to impart change on the Lower Fungom communities and on their Culture. Thus, the introduction of formal classroom education in Lower Fungom communities, the penetration of western religious values, have brought change to the Lower Fungom communities and left them in a cultural storm. However, Change is nothing new to the Lower Fungom. It has been going on for centuries, beginning long before European contact. Although, we, cannot at present describe these changes, or those that happened earlier, for great changes certainly had to accompany the development and flowering of ancient Abar.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter sought to describe the historical, linguistic, geographical and socio economic situation of Lower Fungom. At the geographical level, relief features,

climate and physical boundaries were discussed. Also, the economic, demography and communicative aspects were treated. Lower Fungom is said to have a population size of about 14000 with their main occupation being subsistence farming. One can assume here that most of them are engaged in trading. The linguistic situation of Lower Fungom has also been discussed. While Hombert grouped languages of Ajumbu, Koshin, Fang and otherwise termed MUNGBAM and Ji as Western Beboid. Good et al (2011) on their part named them Yemne Kimbi after a relief feature due to the realization that there is no connection between these five languages to languages outside Lower Fungom. In all, the Lower Fungom region can be viewed as significantly diverse as we have seen in the description of the communities in which data was collected. One would have left with the impression that the people after having occupied the same space for centuries, have forgotten about their historical origins yet they are still very much aware of their historical origins and accept each other. While Fang, Koshin and Mundabli claim a common historical origin, Buu, Abar, Ngun and Munken claim to share common cultural ties while Mashi have cultural ties with communities out of Lower Fungom but have closer interaction with Mumfu as their neighbor. In the next chapter, we will discuss how multilingualism is practiced among these people who are from different historical and cultural backgrounds.

CHAPTER FOUR METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

The research questions and objectives of this study as well as the methodology employed in collecting the data were stated in chapter one. In this chapter, we give details of the methodology and fieldwork procedures used to collect and analyse data from the research questions. As earlier mentioned, the research problem is that: While experience has shown that multilingual restricted communities like Lower Fungom breed conflict because of identity assertion, there seems to be this apparent calm in the densely multilingual communities. Drawing inspiration from the widely discussed family as the nucleus of the society, the research interrogated how multilingualism is managed in multilingual households to ensure this apparent calm.

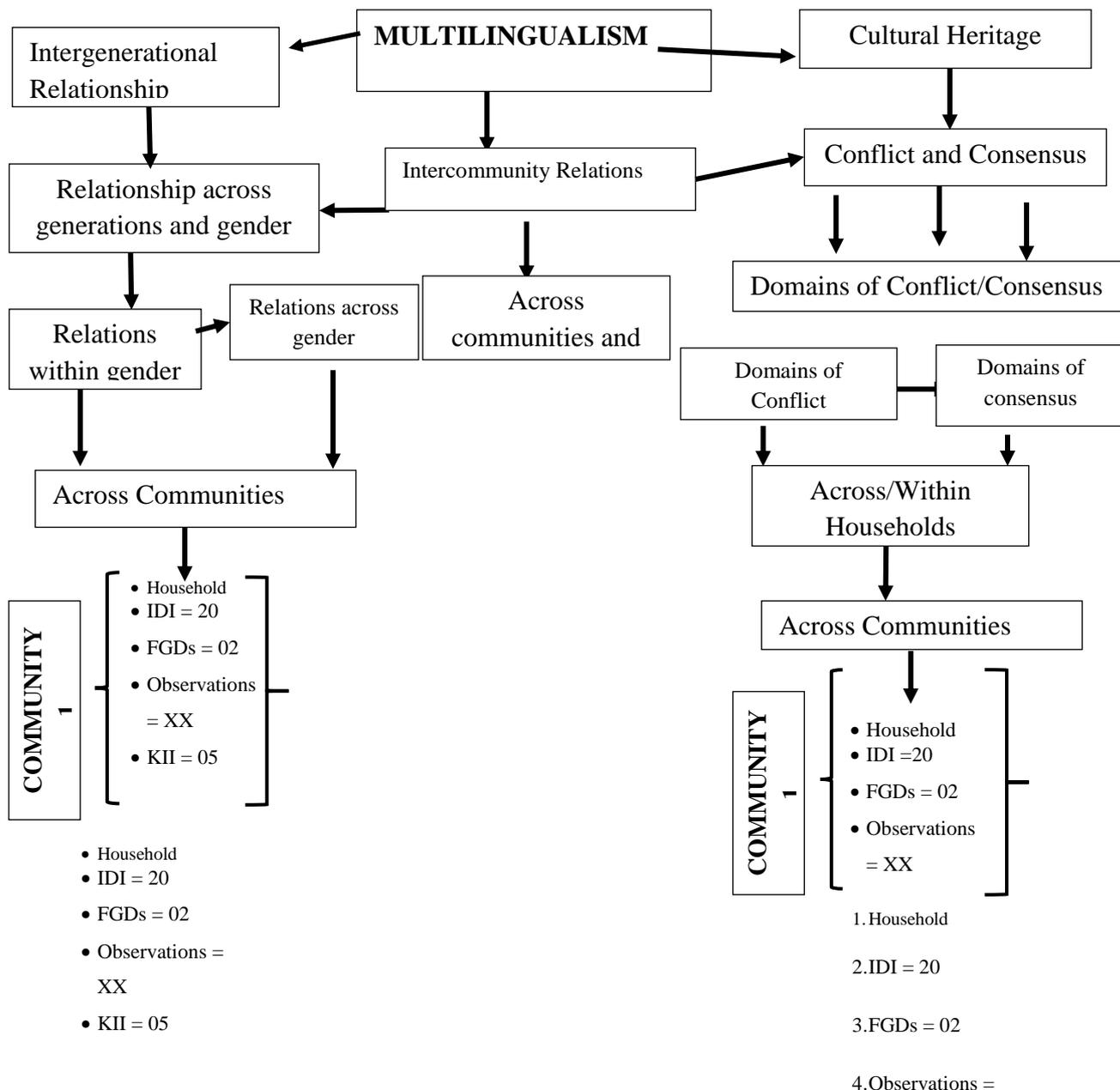
Primary data collected through in-depth interviews served first to reveal multilingual households and the perception of multilingualism within them. Focus group discussions were then carried out to complement the daily use of different language repertoires within households and to investigate language use in the community at large. The administration of a sociolinguistic interview preceded these two activities to collect data on the background of the consultants including their linguistic repertoires. This chapter provides a detailed account of the specific research methods used. Section 4.1 presents the approach of study, sections 4.3 to 4.5 present the sampling procedures; 4.6 to 4.7 data collection instruments and the procedures as well as the data analysis techniques are presented in sections 4.8 to 4.13. It also discusses ethical issues and the reliability and validity. Section 4.14 then ends with a summary of its key points and a brief preview of the next chapter

4.1 Research Design

The overall research problem here requires not only the broadest variety of “methodological tools ... but particularly requires an approach that will broadly enable the understanding, the breadth and depth of the research problem” (Trow, 1970). This section therefore portrays the qualitative approach and how this approach is deliberately integrated into a common frame which explains the research process.

Qualitative research relies on extensive interaction with the people being studied and often allows researchers to uncover unexpected or unanticipated information. Figure 4.1 illustrates the various levels at which the researcher interacted in the community so as to uncover information related to multilingual practices within households and in the community. As seen in the figure, studying multilingualism among the communities of Lower Fungom entails that the researcher understands how the intended themes of study are understood and practiced within the households and in the communities. Figure 4.1 shows that during data collection on the field, the researcher was guided the themes of research among which were multilingualism, household, intergenerational relationship, intercommunity relationship and conflict among others. The expected number of households and consultant per community were conceptualized as well as the methods to be employed in collecting data from. These themes were verified across the four communities where data was collected and have been discussed in later chapters of the study. This is especially in chapters five and six where the data collected from the field are present and analysed.

Figure4.1: Research Design showing various components and levels of the study. Source: Fieldwork 2018



4.2 Data Collection

The following research techniques were used: formal interviews, observation (direct and participant) and focus group discussion. The interview and focus group discussion rendered the informants more open and stimulated them to express themselves freely in their own words. The observation technique enabled us to

explain the non-verbal expressions of the informants. We mainly used the semi structured and in-depth interview which permitted us to step out of the fixed set of questions to others as the need arose. Using the interview guide, questions were addressed to inhabitants, traditional authorities and the youths in the villages of Lower Fungom. With these guides, we conducted face to-face interviews with informants and tape-recorded or video-taped their responses. These steps are borne out in greater detail in the following subsections.

4.2.1 Tools of Data Collection

The tools and instruments used during the data gathering were sociolinguistic interview guide, audio and video recorders as well as an observation protocol. The interview guide comprised written questions which guided the conversation towards the themes of interest of our research and was used for all the consultants (Within the context of this study, those who provide us with data and information are referred to as consultants). It had three interrelated parts (see Appendix). Part one was aimed at eliciting the biodata of the consultants so as to identify the potential multilinguals. It also included questions on the number and relational provenance of consultants' names (Di Carlo, 2016) as well as the provenance of the parents, grandparents and spouses of consultants. This was to determine the multilingual competence and language choices of the consultants.

The second part of the guide was to produce a list of all the languages in which the consultant was competent and their degree of competence in the named languages. We also asked about their social capital with regards to means of income, health and degree of association within the community and beyond. In part three, we sought to find out about the multilingual practices in household, in the community and beyond

the community. We also sought to know the avenues of the intergenerational and intercommunity transmission of multilingual competences and how to overcome the challenges they faced in their efforts. This part permitted us to examine the language ideologies, intergenerational relationship and intercommunity interactions of the consultants. This guide also enabled us to probe further into the linguistic interactions of the consultants which we observed and got clarifications on the meaning of their activities.

From previous interviews, we could probe and engage in conversations with the consultant to shed light on certain themes. Since the interviews were interactive, they generally lasted for over thirty to forty minutes and the guide sometimes varied from one consultant to another.

4.2.1.1 Video and Audio Recorders

In this study, we made use of a camera for photos and video recordings as well as a handy recorder for audio recording of the interviews. The recorder enabled us to accurately document the responses of the consultants because it was not possible to write down all what the consultants would say during the interview. The video camera was used to record the complex set of human actions that would be difficult to comprehensively describe as the action unfolded (Loizos, 2008). This enabled us to record moving images and capture aspects that would have gone unnoticed if we only used observation or audio recordings. As such, we could go over the recorded materials several times to get acquainted with the themes which the consultants did not understand and to rephrase or better explain them during subsequent interviews. This helped us to understand, analyse and interpret the data collected from the consultants. While the video recorder was mostly used during the focus group

discussion, audio recorders were used to record individual one- on- one interviews. ELAN software was use to annotate the video data for analysis. The audacity software on its part was used to process audio recordings. It is important to note here that the processed data have been archived. The files will often be referenced in this study and they can be accessed where there is need from the places they have been deposited either at the CEDETOLA in Yaoundé or the KPAAMCAM unit at the Buffalo University in New York.

4.2.1.2 Interview Guide

The interview guide was based on our research themes such as multilingual practices within households, intergenerational relationship, intercommunity relationship, conflict and consensus, as well as language ideologies among others.

For interviews on multilingual practices in households, we asked questions on the number of languages which they could speak, understand, those that they could understand a bit, and those that they could understand without being able to speak as well as those that they could speak a bit. Questions were also asked about the life histories of their families and their friends as well as their degree of schooling and their daily interaction with other households in the quarter, villages or neighboring villages. To understand the role of multilingual practices in their socio-economic and political development, we asked questions on the social, physical and human capital of the households, quarters, and the entire village as well as the neighboring villages. (see appendix 2 for interview guide)

Except for one interview which was done in the consultant's office because it was threatening to rain, the venue of the interviews was always in quiet spots somewhere around the consultant's area of residence. Most interviews were conducted in Pidgin

English and only a few were conducted in Cameroonian English. The language could change from Pidgin English to Cameroonian English during the interview.

4.2.1.3 Observation Protocol

Non participant observation was used to learn more about the consultants' daily behavior and events at first hand. We observed some cultural practices among the groups during which the moods, facial expressions and gestures were observed, as they constitute an important part of non-verbal communication. We also observed some of the consultants in their homes. During such occasions we would use the observation protocol or make recordings of some salient events which would be vital in our understanding of some of their household practices of multilingualism. Notebook records were taken on crucial metadata like the date, the participants, a description of the event and setting, a detailed description of the actions observed and any resource person for the event when there was need.

In Buu, we observed the traditional coronation of the new chief of Buu in the palace on the 1st of July 2018 after the throne had been vacant for ten years. Our aim was to view the level of intercommunity relationship and intergenerational transmission of multilingual competency among the people and to verify some ethnic aspects in the coronation procedure. We also observed a traditional method of settling disputes to understand the intergenerational interaction for conflict and consensus. An elderly man had falsely accused some persons of trying to kill the newly enthroned Fon and he was brought to the courtyard of the palace to prove his accusations.

In Abar, we observed two *njangi* (thrift -and- loan scheme) groups *mother Njangi* (*thrift -and- loan scheme*) and Work Hard Women group and one meeting group (*social meeting*) to assess the level of intracommunity and intercommunity relationship

as well as intergenerational transmission of multilingual competency by the women. To experience the practice of multilingualism in households, we observed couples in which the husband and the wife were from different villages and were settled either in the man or woman's community or in the third language community. This was the case with a couple in Abar where the husband came from Munken and the wife from Fang and they were settled in Abar. Another case was that of Koshin where the wife came from Bum and the husband was from Koshin where they were settled. There was yet another as in Mashi where the husband was from Mashi and the wife from Mumfu and they were settled in Marshi. Our aim was to understand the outcome of the wife's language repertoire as she became a member of her husband's community. Also, we wanted to understand how social pressure and interpersonal relationship is managed in multilingual households.

We observed healing practices to know the level of intercommunity relations in health seeking behavior. What attracted our attention here was a bamboo with some leave tied onto it and placed in front of a home in Mbu quarters. We were informed that this was a sign that there was a young man in the house who had a fracture on the leg and a healer had been called in from Mundabli to treat him. As such, anyone who had been involved in sexual intercourse within the period was not allowed into the house where the patient was. We were allowed to visit the patient after cross examination and we greeted the patient. Anyone who saw such a bamboo in any home knew what it meant and what to do in relation to the bamboo.

We also observed the birth of a new born baby to see the kinship relations. We did not have the opportunity to observe many dance groups apart from the one in Buu (*nkuum*). This is because it was the harvesting season and most of the dance groups do

not perform during this season as everyone is busy in their farms. We also made observations in the Abar market to assess the language use in intercommunity gatherings and business situations.

In Koshin, we observed a joint harvest ceremony for maize (*mbehgeh*) on the 23rd July of 2018 to see the level of intergenerational transmission of multilingual competency and intracommunity interaction. During this ceremony, the youths and elders/ male and female had just returned from transporting maize from the farm of one of the villagers (about 10km from the village) to her home in the Bedong 2 quarter. Food (fowls, dried meat, cornfufu and drinks (corn beer) were provided to the groups. The men sat in one house in the compound and the women occupied another house. During the eating and drinking, decisions were taken concerning the next family that the *mbehgeh* would go to assist, the fines to be paid by those who were continuously absent without any reason and other matters concerning the entire village. At this particular event, we overheard plans for celebration of the village's cultural week which were presented by the president of the village development association who had come into the village from Yaoundé for this purpose. After the discussions both by men and women in both the Koshin and Pidgin English language, there was singing and dancing after which they went to their various homes. This observation helped us to understand the level of intergenerational relationship in the community

In Mashi, we observed a Njangi (thrift -and- loan scheme) group (*chop skin*) to see the level of intercommunity and intergenerational interaction among the people. In the Njangi (thrift -and- loan scheme), members came from all the villages of lower Fungom to save money. As each member arrived, he/she brought news and

information about their village either bad or good news and spoke in their language (Missong, Mufu, Koshin, Mashi, Mundabli or the Pidgin English language). If the information concerned any member of their Njangi (thrift -and- loan scheme) group, they would decide on how to assist the member or punish the member if he/she had done anything wrong. During this particular event, plans were made to assist one of the members of the Njangi (thrift -and- loan scheme) in Marshi whose daughter had a stillbirth and was hospitalized in the Abar health center.

4.3 Procedures of Data collection

Like the case with most research projects that need some trial to verify the reliability of the instruments and the validity of the outcomes, we tested some themes of this study when we first visited the field in March 2017. In Ngun we investigated intergenerational relationship in the community and we investigated intercommunity interaction in Abar. From informal discussions and observations, we noticed that the consultants were versed with some of the themes based on previous research work that had been carried out in the area on multilingual practices. It is from these trials that we had a clue of the places and areas from where we could collect data and so we had to visit these places as part of the data collection process. As such we visited palaces, Njangi (thrift -and- loan scheme) groups, meeting groups, traditional healers, churches, homes and the market where we could get information related to our themes of research.

In March 2017, we visited all the palaces of the thirteen villages in lower Fungom where we noticed intercommunity interaction expressed through intermarriage in some of the palaces. In Ngun, one of the Chief's wives was from Abar but she would always speak Ngun with the chief and used Abar in her household with her children or when she was out of Ngun. She was a princess from the Abar palace and this

strengthened the relations between Ngun and Abar. In Abar, the senior wife of the late chief hailed from Mundabli but she always spoke in Abar when she was in the palace but often used Mundabli with her children and grandchildren who were also fluent in Abar and Mundabli. In Koshin, one of the regent's wives was from Bum out of lower Fungom but she spoke Koshin in the village and to her husband but spoke to her children in Bum language. In Marshi, Mufu, Mundabli, Munken and Ajumbo, there were also cases of intermarriage leading to multilingual practices.

We visited some Njangi (thrift -and- loan schemes) and meeting groups in July 2018 (Mother Njangi (thrift -and- loan scheme), Work hard women Njangi (thrift -and- loan scheme) and the chop skin meeting) in Abar and Koshin respectively. Here, we had an insight of intercommunity and intergenerational relationship in lower Fungom. The members of these Njangi (thrift -and- loan scheme) and meeting groups came from all the villages of Lower Fungom and during the sessions, the younger ones from different villages would accompany their mothers or fathers to the meetings and they were often allowed to follow deliberations to learn how to run the meeting in the absence of their parents. These places also proved to be places for multilingual practices as some people could speak all the languages while others could only speak their languages or the Pidgin English.

While on the field, we lived in the chief's palace in every community we went but we often took up time to visit some homes to understand patterns of language use in the multilingual households. This was the case in Buu where we visited a home where the husband was from Buu and the wife was from Missong. They spoke Buu, Missong and Abar in the household. The husband said he had to learn Missong from his wife so as to be able to understand the discussion of his wife with his children and also be able to speak to his in-laws when he visited Missong or when there was a

problem in the family. They used Abar because his first wife was from Abar but had left him and since Abar is like the center of Lower Fungom, they had to learn it so as to be able to use it when they were in the market or going for some other event in Abar.

In Koshin, we also visited a home where the husband was Koshin and the wife from Marshi but the husband had to learn the wife's language so that he could communicate with the people of his wife when they visited him or when he was visiting them.

In Koshin, we visited one of the active churches (the Baptist Church) where the pastor was not from Lower Fungom and so only uses the pidgin English to preach. It was the elder of the church from Koshin who did the translation in Koshin language and handles the Sunday school in Koshin language to explain Bible lessons to the children. The Presbyterian Church was not really active in Koshin but we also met an elder from the church who said he often uses Mungaka (the Bali language out of Lower Fungom) to sing his songs and say prayers when he was at home but he also used the Koshin language to translate when the pastor is preaching since the pastor was not from Lower Fungom and so did not speak Koshin or any of the local languages apart from Pidgin English. We could not visit the Catholic Church in any of the villages because it was not really active in Lower Fungom but the Catholic Christians we met said they usually organized intercommunity competitions like football to bring the communities together. The Baptist church also encouraged intercommunity interactions by organizing crusades and youth camps that assembled youths from all the villages in one village for one week or so and they would know themselves better and speak in their various languages. It should be noted that there were three main churches operating in Lower Fungom at the time of this research

(Presbyterian, Baptist and Catholic) but the Catholic Church was not very active in other Lower Fungom villages apart from Yemngeh and Fang.

In Koshin and Marshi, we visited traditional healers to understand the languages used in health seeking behavior of the communities. The healer in Marshi said the language used depended on the treatment that was sought for. He could speak Jikun, Marshi, Esu and Koshin where he had acquired some of his healing skills. For instance, he had acquired the skill for compound protection from Jikun and so if someone came to ask for medicine to protect his compound, he would do the incantations in the Jikun language. If it was to wade off evil in Marshi land, he would do the incantations in Marshi language.

We also visited the Abar market which is the main market in this area after the Yemngeh market. The market held once after eight days and the people from the thirteen villages converged here not only to buy and sell but to drink, dance, meet relatives and exchange information concerning the villages. In the market, there were drinking sheds for people from the different villages and so after buying and selling, people moved from one shed to the other depending on what one had or wanted from a relation from that village. To understand language use and intercommunity as well as intergenerational interaction in economic transactions, we carried a hidden microphone and went round the market. We noticed diverse language use but Pidgin English was still used especially among foreigners while the elders switched from one local language to the other depending on the relation they met. The younger ones would switch to the language of the elders while the husbands or wives would switch to the languages of the in-laws.

From these visits, we noticed that multilingualism was not uncommon in Lower Fungom. It was a sort of built-in stabilizer where people could have ability in several languages but setting had some influence on the language choice. It was the milieu and need for interaction that pushed people to be multilingual and not a personal decision to be multilingual or not. As such, we decided to study how multilingualism is practiced in households and how it impacts on community and intercommunity and intergenerational relations. It is from here that we had a clue as to who could take part in our study.

4.3.1 Setting and Sampling

The sampling technique like the other techniques was also used in relation to the area of study and the population.

4.3.1.1 Setting

The choice of focus for the area of study was based on the objective of this study and our visits in 2017 and 2018 where we noticed historical and ritual ties among some of the groups that inhabit the lower Fungom area. After our visit, we noticed that among the thirteen villages Fang and Koshin shared a common historical origin; Abar, Buu, Ngun, Mufu, and Munken had ritual and historical ties while Marshi was the only village which had more ties with the Naki out of Lower Fungom. We thus decided to collect data in one group of these villages; Abar and Buu from the first group because Abar is the central village while Buu claimed to be the earliest settlers of lower Fungom; Koshin from the second group because of its accessibility and population size and Mashin because of its surface area which extends right to the Nigerian border. This study using an ethnographic approach required us to live in these communities to capture fine grain data from the natural context of our

consultants. The data was collected in the homes and communities of the consultants to experience the natural occurrence of their linguistic practices and interactions.

4.3.1.2 Sampling

Lower Fungom has an estimated population of 10.000 inhabitants constituted in a cluster of 13 speech communities (Di Carlo 2011). A sample population of four communities was taken from among these communities for the study. The purposive sampling technique was used to select language consultants from different speech communities who were either married or living together as a household. They were also persons with a broad knowledge on our themes of research (household practice of multilingualism, community and intercommunity interaction as well as intergenerational interaction among others). In order to collect data, a small number of consultants were selected from intermarriage households where multilingual practices were recurrent. The aim was to yield the saturated and rich data required to understand even subtle meanings in the phenomenon under our focus (Dornyei, 2011).

After we had selected our consultants, we conducted interviews with them and then we listened to some of the recordings and based on the distinctiveness of the consultants, we invited some of them for a focus group discussion. In this light, the interview sample involved 10 households in each village, and local traditional administrator; Chief of Abar (principal village of Lower Fungom), chief of Ngun, (who claimed to be the earliest settlers in the area), chief of Marshi (whose land stretches into Nigeria), the chiefs of Khosin and Fang who had the highest number of inhabitants. Due to the ongoing Anglophone crisis, we were not able to interview the government administrative officials. When the consultants kept giving us the same

information on the research themes, we would end the interviews in the community and conduct a focus group discussion before moving to a different village.

4.3.1.3 Participant Observation

We did participant observation to have insights into people's lives and customs that the people would not explain if they were asked. While living among the people in Lower Fungom, we established relationships and participated in some of their activities by immersing in the culture of the people and attracting more natural data. During such times, we would observe what is happening and ask questions concerning the event and language use. When we got home we would make notes of what we had observed during the day. Other than making it possible for us to collect different types of data and quietly collecting first-hand information, these observations enabled us to collect detailed data. Living in the community for some time made us familiar with the people as they developed trust in us and made it easy for us to get involved in their activities which we found relevant for our data collection. The procedure for data collection was characterized by emergence and naturalness whereby interviews, recordings, focus group discussions and observations resulted in circumstance-dependent data which at times was tedious.

4.3.1.4 Consultants

Data were collected in households from multilingual individuals in the local languages. Our base was the households where people with multilingual aptitudes lived but once in the home, we interviewed even the household members who were not multilingual. From the people we hoped to conduct detailed interviews on their linguistic habits and aptitudes.

4.3.1.5 Focus Group Discussions (FGD)

To verify the consistency in the information given by our informants, we held focus group discussions with our informants in all the villages. The participants for the FGDs were people with whom we first had in-depth interviews and whose responses were worth retaining. In every community, we selected between six and ten persons of different age groups (17 – 69 years) to participate in the discussion. This was to observe the intergenerational interaction among them. The Focus group discussion usually held in the chief's palace or in a popular spot decided upon by the participants. During the focus group discussions, we would make the consultants present themselves again for verification and clarification of the personality of the participants. The same interview guide was used as a follow up to the in-depth interviews that were earlier conducted with each participant. But here, very sensitive issues concerning the village were discussed which at times led to tempers flaring up, participants either laughing or insulting before arriving at a common decision. With the permission of the consultants, we audio/video recorded all the discussions in all of the communities. From the videos, we could capture the enthusiasm or lack of mastery of a theme by the consultants which in turn informed us of the level of multilingual competence or interpersonal interaction of the participant. At the end of the discussions, we would provide refreshments and transport fares to all the participants. For secondary data, we consulted archival documents relevant to our topic from the National archives in Buea. Table 4 summarizes the consultants and participants in the Focus Group Discussions per village. The consultants were purposively selected from the population in the four communities where we collected data. They were selected from among the quarters known quarters with people of different speech communities.

Table 4.1: List of Consultants and Participants in Focus group Discussions per Village

Quarter	No of households interviewed	No of Consultants	Male	Female	No of Participants in FGD
Abar					
Nduu	3	8	4	4	1
Ukan	1	1	1	1	0
Uko	2	5	4	1	2
Mbalako	1	1	1	1	2
Mban	1	3	2	1	1
Mbu	1	1	1	1	1
Agamata n	1	2	1	1	0
Buu					
Kpam	2	6	2	4	0
mfengb we	2	6	3	3	2
Tsa	1	4	1	3	1
Tso	1	1		1	3
Tiamte	2	3	2	1	1
Mgbwe	2	1	1		
Koshin					
Bedaul	4	14	7	7	4
Bedoun II	2	2	2		2
Boamboh	2	6	4	2	0
Baembum bum	2	5	4	1	1
Mashi					
Bu- jokwe	1	3	2	1	1
Undobo	2	4	1	3	1
Butsegh a	2	5	3	2	3
Bu- Doba	1	3	1	2	0
Bu- ntansi	1	2	1	1	1
Lungkw o	2	4	1	3	1

(Source: Fieldwork 2018)

From the table above, the logic would have been that the more the number of consultants from a quarter, the higher their representation in the Focus group discussion. This was however not the case because the participation in the focus

group discussion was based on the consultant's mastery of the themes of research. Also the term consultant was used when during one-on-one interview while the term participant is used to more than one consultant being interviewed at the same time like in the focus group discussion

4.4 Data Treatment and Analysis

The data analysis stage (Bryman, 2012) is fundamentally about *data reduction*-that is, it is concerned with reducing the large corpus of information that the researcher has gathered so that he or she can make sense of it. Here we moved from raw data into some form of understanding, explanation or interpretation of the phenomena we were studying. Data collected in the field were Geo-referenced (geotagged) using a GPS receiver and specific software. Typical geotagged data include: photos, video files and audio files which make up the meta data. Qualitative data has been presented following the method of qualitative data presentation namely: categorization of data and use of codes before the analysis was made. The interviews and FGDs have been transcribed for easy identification of themes and analysis. The analysis was done with the aim of identifying trends and patterns in the responses. This will assist in the development of a grounded theory which is an important strategy in understanding how events and variables are related indispensable in understanding the influence of multilingual practices within communities. Comparative analysis was done for qualitative data to bring out similarities and differences in terms of household and community perception of multilingual practices, and impact of multilingual practices on culture and communication strategy.

4.5 Theory

As an effective approach to building new theories, we chose a theory which helped to generate new theories to investigate multilingualism in rural areas. We thought of rural multilingual practices especially in Lower Fungom as being a new area of study which required further investigation. The comparison which derives from earlier theory helped to reveal the personal and collective impressions of the consultants enabling us to generate hypotheses. We compared the multilingual and interactive practices of the consultants with one household, quarter, and village and beyond the village. This enabled us to identify the reasons that pushed the consultants into multilingual practices and how they exercised their abilities thus providing us with meaningful and corroborated results.

4.5.1 Coding in Theory

For data analysis, we first divided the data into portions and assigned conceptual categories to the data sections. For instance, with regards to intergenerational interaction, we listened to the records to find out who among the youths and elders was more interested in the transmission of multilingual competence as well as the domains in which interactions mostly occurred. Most especially, we paid attention to;

- What was transmitted;
- How it was transmitted;
- The language choices;
- Impressions about the choice of language;
- The preferred setting;
- The level of enthusiasm between the young and the elders.

These codes enabled us to notice the differences and similarities among the consultants and categorize them. The codes also revealed the reasons for the language ideologies of the consultants such as security and economic activities.

4.5.2 Constant Comparison

As mentioned earlier, sampling, data collection and analysis for this study consisted of listening the recordings and comparing the responses of the consultants so as to make further probing in the interviews. As such some themes (identity formation, cultural resilience and reciprocity) were developed during the process of data collection and analysis.

4.5.3 Theoretical Saturation

Theoretical saturation was the determining factor when it came to the question of how much time we spent with each consultant. When we noticed that the consultants' responses no longer generated new information we knew we had reached theoretical saturation. Thus there were some consultants with whom we spent less time during interviews and these were usually the last consultants. This was the case in Agamata quarter in Abar and Bojukwe quarter Marshi where the interviews lasted less than twenty minutes. We conducted such interviews only to verify some themes that other consultants had brought up. Even after such interviews with individual households, we would still verify such information during focus group discussions. One such instance was the concept of burial of a wife in Mashi. As a patriarchal society, lower Fungom requires the husband to bury his wife especially if he had paid the bride price. One consultant had said that she would be buried by her father in Koshin if she died there. We had to conduct another interview with another woman to find out if that was exactly what obtained and we were told

that when a wife died in Koshin, she was carried back to her father's compound and buried there even if the bride price had been paid.

4.6 Presentation of Data

In relation to the research objectives, the findings of this study are presented in three different chapters and are divided into subsections as follows:

- Data from interviews and focus group discussions
- Data from audio and video recordings;
- Data from observation;

The audacity software was used to transcribe the interviews and focus group discussions. It helped us to listen to sections of the interview over and over so as to understand the comments about the setting, cultural facts or the consultants before transcribing the audio. These transcriptions were then analyzed as the chapters that will follow but before moving ahead there's need to talk about the ethical issues of the study.

4.7 Ethical Considerations

This study being part of an enlarged project of the KPAAMCAM (Key Pluridisciplinary Advances in African Multilingualism), ethical clearance for the project had been obtained by the management team in Cameroon from the Ministry of Scientific Research and Innovation for the running of the project in the country. At our level, we obtained administrative clearance from the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in the Faculty of Social and Management Sciences in the University of Buea which enabled the local authorities to allow us to do the

fieldwork. While on the field we adhered to some Ethical issues such as avoidance of harm, voluntary participation, informed consent and anonymity among others.

4.7.1 Avoidance of Harm

Following Strydom (2005) research subjects can be harmed either physically or emotionally, which implies that the responsibility for avoidance of harm rests with the researcher. We fulfilled this requirement by adhering strictly to research ethics and respecting the dignity of the participants. Interviews and Focus group discussions were held at their convenience and where they thought it was safe and secured to them.

4.7.2 Voluntary Participation

It is important to accord the participants and respondents the opportunity to decide to participate in a research process with no deception or coercion. Participation needs to be voluntary whereby they participate on the clear understanding that they are under no obligation to do so and that there will be no negative consequences on them if they opt out of the research project. In this study, voluntary participation was ensured by means of information sheet and consent form which the participants had to sign.

4.7.3 Informed Consent

For informed consent to be obtained from the the participants, they need to be given complete and accurate information concerning the nature of the study so as to enable them to make a voluntary and reasoned decision whether or not to participate in the study (strydom 2005). According to Poloski (2004), the most effective way to ensure informed consent is to issue an information sheet on the official university letter head which is provided to all those who are invited to participated, in order to inform them

that the research study constitutes an official university activity. In this study, the information sheet served as a letter of introduction; informing potential participants of the identity of the researcher, the nature of the research study, what it intended to achieve in terms of desired outcomes and the role which they would play in the research process by responding to the questions which they would be asked.

4.7.4 Deception of Subjects

The deception of subjects violates the rights of the participants to give their informed consent to participate in the research process. Babbie and Mouton (2010) describes deception as the deliberate misrepresentation of facts in order to make another person believe what is not true. To preclude any eventuality of even unwittingly deceiving the participants, the researcher ensured transparency in this study by providing an explanation to the entire research process and a letter of consent to be signed by all the subjects.

4.7.5 Violation of Privacy, Anonymity or Confidentiality

Privacy by Babbie and Mouton (2010) in terms of information pertaining to an individual which is not normally intended for others to observe or analyze, with personal privacy being a key concern. Confidentiality refers to the handling of such information in a confidential manner, while anonymity refers to the privacy of an individual subject. According to Poloski (2004), anonymity may require that the researcher should not know the identities of the participants, and this could be achieved through random telephone surveys or having an organization distribute a survey on behalf of the students conducting a research study. Confidentiality entails the researcher knowing the identity of the participants but providing an undertaking that they will not be revealed in any way in the resulting report. For the purpose of

this study, the information provided by the respondents was kept private and away from public viewing and or observation.

4.7.6 Release or Publication of Findings

Strydom (2005) emphasizes that the findings of a research study must be introduced to the reading public in written form; if this is not done, even a highly scientific investigation will mean very little and will not be viewed as research. This requirement made it easy for the researcher to compile a report in an accurate and objective manner for the benefit of the public and other interested parties.

4.8. Limitations of Study

This Ph.D. program and especially the collection of data on the field came at the peak of Anglophone crisis/war in Cameroon and later the COVID19 pandemic. This unrest started in November 2016 just two months after we started the coursework for this Ph.D. program. We had to dodge bullets in order to go and attend classes in the university campus about five miles from where we were living in Buea. The difficulties faced ranged from bad road network, delays in movement, unavailability of consultants, insufficient funds, health problems and threats from Ambazonia restoration forces. The COVID19 pandemic added more sore to the injury as we it slowed down the international and national economy making it difficult for this study to be completed in the conceived time frame and the ascribed financial resources. What pushed us through was our urge and determination to see the work done and completed.

4.8.1 Bad road network

The road network in the north-west region of Cameroon is so bad that movement within the region is very difficult and expensive. The transport fare fluctuates on the will of vehicle drivers who are mostly informal operators. This was the case with the Bamenda-Wum stretch (80km) and the Wum-Abar stretch (45km) where the fare was more than what we had earlier budgeted. In the Wum -Abar Stretch we were charged double the amount we had budgeted. The fares are not only very high but the roads are so bad that we fell ill and had to spend again on drugs that had not been budgeted. The road network within lower Fungom is worst and motorbikes can only travel parts of the roads at very high fares while the rest of the journeys are done on foot as we went round the 4 villages.

4.8.2 Delays in movement

We faced delays in movement due to the social unrest in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon and poor road network. The Wum-Bamenda stretch of the road was blocked by Ambazonia forces on one part and the La republique forces on the other part and this had to delay our journey to the field for one week. While on the field, the Amba boys recruited the commercial bike riders and it became very difficult to get a bike to move from one part of the community to another. Even when we succeeded to get a bike rider, the fare was very high.

4.8.3 Unavailability of Consultants

This fieldtrip came at the peak of the harvesting season in Lower Fungom and so everyone especially the female consultants were always not available and those who could respond to us never respected time or were ignorant with regards to our research themes or they were always very busy preparing a meal for the family or

simply tired to talk. So we could only work at their pace and convenience. This explains why we could not hold focus group discussion sessions with women in any of the four communities where we collected data. We overcame this problem by accepting to work with the consultants only when they asked us to come.

4.8.4 Insufficient funds

The funds given for this fieldtrip were initially made to cover all the expenses on the field for four weeks but due to the social and political unrest in this region of the country, we had to stay on the field for five weeks thus incurring expenses that were not initially budgeted. We had to spend on the field guide and the people of the villages we visited especially some palaces. Much of the money was spent on buying and providing food even to the populations who came to ask of Peter Paul of KPAAMCAM. All these had not been put in the budget and so we had to squeeze the budget so as not to run short of money while still on the field.

4.8.5 Threats from the Separatist Fighters (Amba Boys)

This fieldwork was carried out in the heat of social and political unrest in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon where there is an armed conflict between the government and Anglophone separatist forces claiming a complete break away from the rest of Cameroon. The armed conflict hampered our coursework in the University of Buea and most especially this fieldwork. We had to stay for one week in Bamenda after leaving Buea because the road to Wum and Lower Fungom was blocked as a result of shooting between the separatist forces and the government military. While on the field, we were openly threatened by some of these fighters who claimed that we were not supposed to be doing any academic work while schools had long been shut down in southern Cameroons. They threatened to shoot us down if we continued

to do academic work for La Republique government. We had to spend some days indoors without going out to conduct interviews due threats from the *Amba* boys. More so, the continuous ghost towns even in remote Lower Fungom made movement difficult and expensive. The market which holds once a week was often scanty and we could hardly go out to buy food and other items that we needed. The lady who helped us in this task had to stay away as she lost her boyfriend in the fight when he was beheaded by the *Amba boys* and the head carried away. There was no means either to run away from the field because all the bikes in the area had been taken over by the *Amba boys* who used them for their errands. The only vehicle that runs the Wum-Abar road comes once a week on market days but the driver did not show up for two weeks due to fear and we had to wait indoors for this while waiting for the slightest chance to leave. To overcome all these threats and delays and coupled with our determination to complete this study, we had to do some trekking for days either to reach the field or run out from the study area.

4.8.6 Health Problems

Bad roads, long distance trekking and especially bad water produced a bad health situation and we had to spend money for drugs which had not been budgeted before even though we had bought some drugs for first aid. To overcome the health problems, we had to take a few days off to rest without going out to meet the consultants.

4.8.7 Problems with equipment on the field

1. Smart-phone: The device functioned well most of the time but for the fact that it would suddenly freeze and stop working on four occasions showing the following message “unfortunately the program has stopped working.” I felt frustrated but later

discovered that the problem came as a result of low battery. So I made sure the device was always fully charged and the problem was resolved.

Another problem was that I was unable to download the audio files from the device to my PC and I tried all my technological knowledge but did not succeed till now.

2. The GPS device: It was my first encounter with the device and it gave me a full dose of headache. It would signal lost of satellite reception and then when it resumed, the numberings would have skipped from say 23 to 30 without marking way points. When I registered a way point, it would freeze at times and thinking that it had not recorded the point, it would keep on recording thus marking certain numbers without way points or several numbers with the same way point. Also I have not been able to download the gpx files to my pc because when I do it, the files cannot open on my PC. This was because of internet shut down in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon which would have helped me to inquire from the net. Consequently, I have not included the tracking of the areas I visited while on the field.

3. The Laptop. It could only work for 1 hour off electricity connection and then it would shut down. The solar panel in the KPAAMCAM office which was our base could not carry the machines in the evening due to overlaod so I could only charge the laptop in the morning and work with it in the house. If we tried to connect the computers in the evening, then the solar panel will go off leaving us in darkness. This happened on three occasions. I could not carry the PC to the other villages because there is no electricity supply in the other villages. So we had to make to and fro movements between Abar and some villages so as to back up the data. This was often tiring and we could hardly do any work in the evenings when we got back.

We however succeed to overcome some of these problems because of our determination to carry this study and the advice from friends and supervisors.

4.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, we sought to provide information on how the research was carried out. The chapter discussed the research design (qualitative) instruments and tools of data collection (interview guide, observations audio and video recordings) and the procedure of data collection among others. In the end of the chapter, we discuss ethical considerations and the challenges we faced on the field while collecting data. In the next chapter, we present an ethnographic summary of the communities in which we collected data.

CHAPTER FIVE
EXPRESSIONS OF INTERCOMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP IN LOWER
FUNGOM COMMUNITIES

5.0 Introduction

As stated earlier, this study examines peaceful coexistence in a multilingual setting which would otherwise be characterized by conflict as it is the case in other multilingual areas. This chapter thus looks at intercommunity relationship and multilingual practice so as to answer the question.

5.1 Socio- economic Expression of Intercommunity Relationships

Relationships between people from the same cultural area or norms are complex enough. When two people or a group of people form any type of relationship and they are from different cultural backgrounds, complexity and intricacy are taken to a whole different level. Culture typically consists of such social phenomena as beliefs, ideas, language, and customs. Mbonji (2005), notes that culture significantly influences the way in which we communicate with each other. When we interact with persons from different cultures, national stereotypes may affect our approach. Following the integrated threat theory, Redmond (2012), notes that when individuals or groups do not see any aspect of a situation as negative and do not react or act without threat, they are not motivated to protect their resources. Instead they are motivated to engage in cooperative behaviors like gaining judgments that are more accurate for their group and contributing more efficiently to decision-making abilities. (Derks, Van Laar, & Ellemers, 2009) described it as self-affirmation and group affirmation. Self-affirmation is when the individual focuses on themselves rather than the group. Group affirmation is when the focus is on the group as a whole. Intercommunity relationships in Lower Fungom are both for self and group

affirmation, and are expressed in such socio - cultural domains of life cycle (betrothal and marriage, birth and child care, childhood and education, death and burial) to verbal arts, music, and dance as we see below.

5.1.2 Marriage

Betrothal and marriage are the basic formalities that lead to the founding of a family and hence the birth of communities. This is because the family is the nucleus of the society and building a sound and responsible society starts from well-organized Betrothal and marriage norms as we see in local communities. Betrothal among the Lower Fungom communities was from birth for the girl child who was offered for marriage to a close friend of the mother or the father. As such, the suitor would work for the family; providing game, firewood, labor and other services until the girl was ripe for marriage. This for long has been the case with Abar, Buu, Koshi and Mashi communities where the data was collected. During a focus group discussion a 59 years old male from Mashi participants in a focus group discussion in Mashi explained that.

“In those days, children could even be married when they were still in the hand. At times a person would just point a girl in any quarter or village to be his wife and the girl would grow up and be his wife. But it is no longer done today. For instance, my wife would still be like this one (points to a little girl in the hall) who was not even mature, this one is even big and I would know that my wife is growing. I would work chop and provide everything; carry firewood for the parents, hunting and providing meat and oil for the parents to maintain my wife. Nowadays, the average age of marriage for girls here is at 15 or 16 years.”

From the literature review, we noted that betrothal and intermarriage among the kikuyu of Kenya is strictly on lineage and tribe lines but this is not the case in the communities of Lower Fungom where a man is able to get his wife from any village or quarter. As long as the man is able to fulfill the marriage demands of the village or community, he is given the girl who grows up to be his wife. With this kind of attitude, there is no psychological division among the people when it comes to getting a wife and this is what enhances multilingualism and peaceful coexistence. This resonates with Yenshu (2001) who says mutual exchange is among the factors that lead to intercommunity relationship

5.1.3 Intermarriage

Like in most African cultures, girls in Lower Fungom were betrothed at birth before being given out in marriage. Today, the girl will choose her husband and when they have stayed either for one month or one year, she presents him to her parents. The marriage arrangements and bride wealth are the same in most of Lower Fungom communities. The participants in a focus group discussion in Koshin agreed that: *“when she comes with the man, the man will bring something; a calabash of palm wine, they call it knock door. Then he can also bring ten or twenty thousand and the man will come with his family. They will come and meet the father, either, with two friends, or the family and when they come, the father welcomes them and the mother will give them food. After that when the man has brought the calabash of palm wine, he will say this is my friend, I want to marry your child. The father will then find out how long they have known each other and then enquire about the family of the man. This can take as up to three days or one week if the man is from a different village.”*

If proper inquiries have been made and the man found worthy, the father will then put wine in a cup and give to his daughter, warning her that he will not drink again to give to a different man because he thinks the daughter has made the right partner for herself. After this drinking of the bond, the father will introduce his son in law to his family and they are asked to go to the girl's mother and drink the bond as well. When the bond is drunk at the girl's mother, the mother also introduces his son in-law to her family and the family of the man is now asked to come and pay the bride price after two or three years of living together. The bridewealth depends on the level of education of the girl and the son in-law's relationship with the in-laws. In the communities where we collected data, bridewealth is usually very symbolic. Participants in a focus group discussion in Koshin agreed that: *"If you have cordial relationships with your in-laws you can pay a low bride price but if you are stubborn to your in-law, he can come in and ask you to pay five hundred thousand or six hundred thousand francs."* The exception is Ngun where bride wealth used to be very high (between twenty to thirty goats). This partly explains why the population of Ngun has remained low because other villages did not want to marry from Ngun.

It is apparent that the patterns have changed in the last 1 or 2 generations. Nowadays, the ratio of women marrying out of their villages has increased in Abar, Buu and Mashu except Koshin where women coming from outside seem to have decreased as a whole, and particularly those coming from Bum and Kom who reportedly were once numerous. It is however impossible to explain from such statements the ideological tendency that Koshin people have towards identifying themselves as more tightly related with Bum than the other communities of lower Fungom (Sawe in particular).

It is through marriage and especially intermarriage that intercommunity relations are expressed thus enhancing multilingual practices. A woman, who marries into a different language community, has to acquire the language of her new community thus rendering her multilingual. The children born of this union will equally be multilingual depending on their upbringing. In order to prove their love to their spouses and their people the husband or wife has to learn the languages of their people which is in turn transmitted to the children at home.

5.1.4 Childhood and Education

In Lower Fungom communities, intermarriage entails intercommunity interaction both at the level of the household and the community at large. In this section, we describe what obtains at both levels.

5.1.4.1 Childhood and Education at the level of the household

At the level of the household, children born in one linguistic community can be able to acquire the language of another community without necessarily having lived in that community. This is the case of one informant in Abar whose grandmother and mother are from Munken, his father is Abar, he lives in Abar and his wife is from Fang. His elder brother is married from Kung and Ajumbo. He speaks Fang; his wife's language, Munken; his mother's language, Abar his father's language as well as Ajumbo and Kung; the languages spoken by the two wives of his elder brother. He has lived with his mother's people in Munken, his step mother in Abar, his elder brother's two wives and his wife from Fang. During his stay in Munken as a child, he acquired the ways of life of his mother's people as he belongs to several social and sacred groups in Munken. In Abar, he has also acquired the way of life of his father's people where he is settled and is a member of almost all the sacred and

social groups of the community. To keep up his relations with his in-laws from Fang, he learns the language of his in-laws from his wife as his wife also learns Abar language so as to be able to interact with her in-laws in Abar. He is a member of social groups in Munken and Abar some of which he attends with his wife. The wife is also a member of social groups in Abar and Koshin some of which she attends with her husband. The children speak Munken, Abar, and Fang and there are moments they have to go and spend some time with their maternal grandparents in Fang. During this time, they also acquire the ways of life of their mother's people. At home they use Abar with the children to enable the children to interact in the host community but there are moments that the wife speaks to the children in Fang and the husband speaks munken.

5.1.4.2 Childhood and Education at the level of the Community at Large

For groups to subsist and continue to live, there is always this idea of consciousness and identity which comes with the idea of uniqueness, separateness and singularity, which are developed within the locus of culture. The development of multilingual education depends on the initial definition of multilingualism. We are multilingual when we understand and are understood in more than one language Siray-Blatchford & Clarke (2010). However, individuals have developed communication competences (reading, writing, speaking, and listening) in other ways in different languages. Furthermore, children enter multilingualism in different ways. Tabors (1997), writes about simultaneous and sequential learning within two languages. Simultaneous learning in two languages is characterized by a child learning two languages at the same time in a family situation where each parent speaks his or her own language to the child. Sequential learning in two languages describes situations where a child starts learning the second language after the first. In the latter case, the child already

possesses some knowledge of the function of language; thus, when learning a second language, he or she does not learn the function of language but the ways in which the second language appears and how it is different from the first language.

In the lower Fungom communities, childhood education begins from the household and emphasizes respect and conformity rather than uniqueness or singularity. At a tender age the child learns to respect the bonds of Kinship, to perform economic activities, to watch out for his own interests and to make decisions for its self. The idea is for the child to be able to identify with a particular household within a given community and beyond that community. Education in this culture stresses economic and psychological independence but not social independence. From the beginning of initiative play (ndughu noamto) both at home, in schools or in churches; there is a gradual transition to the adult activities which the child will perform throughout the rest of its life to participate to the extent that they are able in whatever work the parent of the same sex is doing. No pressure is necessary because for children, this is simply an extension of the games they have devised for themselves and it brings them close to the parents. The parents are more concerned with what the child can accomplish than in the possibility that the child may make mistakes or fail. Thus children will acquire the skills and reasons for intercommunity interaction from their parents or elders as they grow up.

This is the case with this 44 years old male consultant in Abar whose mother is from Mundabli; his father from Buu and his mother's sister is married in Koshin. He has lived among his people in all these villages and he speaks all the languages and respects the bonds of kinship that arise from there. He now serves as the bridge for intercommunity interactions for all the communities in the sociocultural, economic and political domains.

In the socio cultural domain, he is a member of the *chop skin* meeting group in Mashi which has members from Koshin, Mashi and Mundabli. This is because he has lived in Koshin with his mother's sister and the proximity of his mother's people (Mundabli) to Mashi. Apart from its monthly gatherings the *chop skin* meeting group also rejoices and condoles with its members in times of fortune or misfortune. This could be in times of death affecting a meeting member or during the traditional wedding or church ceremony involving a member. At such occasions, members of the meeting will gather around the concerned member to support the member.

This therefore points to the fact that language in these communities is only a code for communication and every other thing that obtains here is geared at community interaction and peaceful coexistence. This is contrary to the situation that we see in other multilingual areas where language ideologies ar

In the economic domain, our consultant is a liaison for any available business information within these communities. He can convey any information or bargain for commercial articles like fowls, goats, corn, groundnuts or other items which are for sale in any of the communities.

Politically, his father was a prince from Buu and chief of Abar while his mother is a princess from Mundabli palace so he is a grand prince in Buu and Mundabli as well as a prince in Abar. His role in organizing or participating in traditional annual sequential rites in these communities cannot be belabored as he has a right of access to most of the law houses in these villages and others especially when it concerns death and burial of a deceased member .

5.1.5 Expression of Intercommunity Relationship through Funerals and Commemorative Ceremonies in Lower Fungom

Death and burial is one of the cultural domains where intercommunity interaction is most demonstrated in the Lower Fungom communities. Because of intermarriage in the communities, condoling with a bereaved in-law within one community or across the communities is very common and this entails the acquisition of multilingual skills. Even though the funeral items and practices may be similar across the communities, the terminology differs from one community to another. For instance, while the people of Buu will demand *dji* (life animal) for the burial of an in-law, the people of Abar will call it *kiwong*. While the people of Koshin will refer to the grave as *fii*, the people of Mashi will call it *dzam*.

Also, a household in Abar going to attend the funeral of an in-law in Koshin or Mundabli will be accompanied by either their friends or neighbors and this means a cross section of the Abar community will have to interact with Koshin community because of the death of this in-law. Intercommunity interaction is also displayed when a social group like a Njangi (thrift -and- loan scheme) or dance group has to accompany one of its members to go and condole with them for the death of a parent or in-law in a different village. This entails movement of people from one village to another and consequent interaction among them. During this time, the people express their verbal arts, music, and dance with no complex.

5.1.6 Expression of Intercommunity Relationship through Performances (verbal arts, music, and dance)

Verbal arts, music, and dance among the people of Lower Fungom are often expressed during occasions such as death, marriage or social gatherings. Some of the music or dance groups belong to some families or special category of persons while

others are for the entire community. Dance groups such as *kebamo*, *Ndong*, *Mbolo*, *Kessem*, *Njong* or *munkpwem* are peer dance groups that cut across all the communities of lower Fungom with each community claiming to perform more than the other. A member of the *munkpwem* juju peer dance group in Mashi whose in-law or relation has died in Mundabli will invite this group to accompany him to Mundabli for the burial ceremony. The people of Mundabli who are interested in the dance will pay a fee to become members of the dance group or they may pay for rights to form their branch of the dance. This entails that in future, the people from Mundabli will periodically invite their Mashi “master” in order to show him the quality of their performances. At any such occasions, the Mashi “master” will be given full hospitality but with no further payment. This amplifies intercommunity interaction where there is both competition and cooperation. A *mbolo* or *kessem* dance group from Buu going to perform in Abar or Koshin will do the singing in Buu language and the people of Koshin who find the songs good will have to learn to sing the same songs first in Buu language and vice versa. This creates avenues for the acquisition of multilingual competences which are further used across other socio-cultural domains especially in the economy and politics.

5.1.7 Expression of Intercommunity Relationship through Economic activities

As mentioned earlier, the economic activities of lower Fungom are based on subsistent hoe farming of food crops mostly for household consumption while surplus is sold in the local markets (Abar and Yemngeh). Warnier (1979) attested to this by stating that palm oil among others was a regular commodity for trade. It further fostered willingness in the learning of local languages.

Farming is done on pieces of lands owned by households or general land provided every year by the chief and one can move from one village to go and beg for land in another village for farming. This is the case with women from Abar who have farms in Munken and Fang people who have farms on Buu lands.

The markets in lower Fungom are not only a space for selling and buying of goods but they are also an avenue for the exchange of socio-cultural information and services. The Abar market which we visited holds weekly on alternating days. The market day is more of a festive day when people gather from all the thirteen villages. Here, foodstuff, drinks animals, fowls and charms of all categories are displayed for sale from all the thirteen villages of Lower Fungom. While some people are selling, others are dancing, drinking or eating. People with multilingual skills can make brisk business either by selling fast or buying at lower prices because of their ability to bargain in the other local languages or because of the blood or social relations that they have with the buyers or seller. Even the traders who sell nonperishable goods and are mostly not from lower Fungom will struggle to use some of the languages of Lower Fungom so as to be able to convince the buyers.

Apart from being a place for buying and selling, the market also serves as a place where information is relayed from one community to the other on market days. The newly wed will have to appear in the market, a new born baby especially twins will have to be presented in the market, the health or death of a person in any of the villages is widely known on the market day, the availability of foodstuff in any community that could not be brought to the market is made known to those who will be able to send people to these communities to buy on non-market days, a newly enthroned chief in any of the communities has to be presented to the other villages in the market on a market day. Information about community labor or any inter

community activity is announced on the market day. This especially demonstrates the power relations among the communities as we see below.



Plate 2: Researcher with Members of the “Work hard” Njangi from the different villages of Lower Fungom Source: Fieldwork 2018.

5.1.8 Expression of Intercommunity interaction through Power Relations

In their work “The Bases of Social Power” John French and Bertram Raven (1959) identify coercive and collaborative power among the five types of social power. Lower Fungom is made up of thirteen villages with each of them having its political institutions. Such institutions as the chief and law houses like the *kwifon*, *nkoh*, *ntoo*, or *bikan* for men as well as the *na’atum* and *shaamte* for the women, are present in all the villages. Apart from the chieftaincy and the *shaamte* or *na’atum* which have a hereditary status, adherence to the other institutions is by a fee even though the details vary slightly from one village to the other.

Dicarlo (2014), notes that secret societies are essential for the formation of the village itself as a political unit. In Lower Fungom, the paramount social institution is the (extended) agnatic family or lineage. The presence of quarter heads, the distribution of law houses among the different quarters, the existence of sub chiefs born in a family different from that of the chief, are all features indicating that Lower

Fungom societies are of segmentary nature. The segments; the patrilineages, typically constitute exogamous, residential, and ritual units. Such a social fabric is kept together by the secret societies. These act as a social glue along at least two different dimensions:

- they provide the village with an effective organizational tool that encompasses all the segments;

- they provide the villagers with a pervasive ideology that both justifies the existing power relations and represents the village's moral world, thus everyone's life goals.

We can hypothesize that village communities exist only inasmuch as they have secret societies. These alone can effectively overcome the centrifugal forces inherent in segmentary structures. This is done mainly through putting at the center of everyone's life a shared moral world made of values, practices, and beliefs. ... Fang, Koshin and Mundabli claim a common historical origin, Buu, Abar, Ngun and Munken claim to share common cultural ties while Mashi have cultural ties with communities out of lower Fungom but have closer interaction with Mumfu as their neighbor.

The people of Abar, Buu and Ngun (and Kung out of Lower Fungom) share the same traditional political institutions while Koshin and Fang share the same institutions. Among the people of Abar, Buu, Ngun and Kung, intercommunity interaction is expressed through the *bikan* festival which holds in Ngun annually. Even though the seat of the *bikan* is in Ngun, the guardian of the shrine is from Abar and the *bikan* festival can only begin after he has been consulted and he moves from Abar to Ngun to clean the shrine. During the festival, people from these three

villages converge at Ngun for one night to communion and ask for blessings from the ancestors.

Fang and Koshin share one type of dance (*neemngah*), and they hold that a festival is devoted to its performance in different days so as to allow mutual participation. The festival is first held in Mbuk, then in Fang, and finally in Koshin. This shows a resemblance with Bikang/Ndji of Abar, Buu and Ngun.

The institution of the chief, cuts across all the villages with the chief of Ngun having overall spiritual and sacred dominance over all the villages. The chief of Ngun has to preside the enthroning of the Chiefs of Abar, Buu, Munken, Missong and Mumfu in which case his absence or refusal to participate will make the enthronement incomplete and consequent problems to the chief on the throne. While on the field, we attended a burial and noticed someone who danced more than everyone even the *jujus*. We later inquired and found out that the said person was the chief of Mufu and his apparent madness had come from the fact that his enthronement rites had not been completed because the chief of Ngun had not been invited to his enthronement and until the chief of Ngun will be consulted, his mental situation will not change. Again, during the enthronement of the chief of Buu in July 2018, the chief of Ngun was the first chief to visit him in the shrine before any other chief would come.

Another institution is the *nkoh* which is present in all the villages. In Mashi and Koshin, the dog is one of the most important items in the fees for membership in the *nkoh* but it is not required in the other villages. But a member of the *nkoh* in Buu can be considered a member in Mashi or any other village in Lower Fungom as long as they have paid the membership fee in one village. During the enthronement of the Chief of Buu, we noticed that the incantations for the *nkoh* were done in the Missong

language by a Man from Missong who had especially been called in for this occasion.

The *na'atum* (queen mother), is a female institution present in all the villages and is usually the wife of the chief and are assisted by the eldest woman in the village or any other woman of moral rectitude. They are also the leaders of the *shaamte* sacred society whose membership is obtained through payment of a very high fee (pigs, goat, honey palmwine, fowls and tins of oil among others). The fee differs from one village to the other but a member of the *shaamte* in Koshin can participate in the *Shaamte* of Mumfu. During the death of the queen mother of Abar in 2017 while we were on the field, the *shaamte* of Ngun came to Abar to condole with one of the wives of the Chief of Ngun because she was from the Abar Palace. All the *shaamte* women from Ngun, Abar, Munken, Mundabli and the other villages, participated in the dancing and eating of whatever food was given to the *shaamte* from Ngun.

The *nto'o* is another institution that is present in most of the villages with members drawn from among the notables of the community. Its appellation varies among the villages but it has the same function as the national law house where highest decisions concerning the village are taken and where the powers of the chief are checked. A person from one village who has lived for long in a village can be coopted as a member of the *nto'o* in his host village. This is the case of one of our informants who originates from Mumfu where he is also a prince but because he has lived for long in Abar, he is a member of the *nto'o* of Abar as well as that of Mumfu.

Spiritual power is also shared across the villages especially when it comes to healing or protection from evil forces. Protection of households, lands is a specialty of the people of Mashi and Koshin is noted for spiritual protection. A son or grandson in

Abar can be handed spiritual power or the knowledge of herbs for healing by his grandfather in Mundabli. This is the case with one of some of other informants whose mother's father showed him the herbs to treat infertility in women for one and another one whose mother's father in Mundabli showed him the herbs to treat side pain and pile. When preparing the medicine for infertility, our consultant makes incantations in Munken language even though he is in Abar. This is the same thing with the other informant who speaks to the herbs in Mundabli even though he is in Abar. These competences are later transmitted from one generation to another as we show in the section below.

5.2 Multilingualism and Intergenerational Relationship

Multiple meanings have been attributed to the term "generation" among which is generation as a principle of kinship descent; generation as cohort; generation as life stage; and generation as historical period. The notion is central to the work of Ortega Y Gasset and richly analyzed by Julián Marias (1967).

Social anthropologists use the concept of generation in referring not so much to parent-child relations as to the larger universe of kinship relations (Fox 1967; Baxter & Almagor 1978; Fortes 1974; Foner & Kertzer 1978; Jackson 1978; Kertzer 1978; Legesse 1973; Needham 1974; Stewart 1977). Demographers have utilized this sense of the term in attempting to develop measures for "length of generation." Here the interest is in population replacement, based on the reproduction of females (Preston 1978; Krishnamoorthy 1980).

Jacobson (1964), refers to "generation" as the succession of people moving through the age strata, the younger replacing the older as *all* age together. This usage is widespread beyond sociology as well and *finds* frequent expression in intellectual

history, where, for example, "literary generations" may succeed one another each 10 or 15 years (Cowley 1978). This cohort notion of generation has been extended beyond that of birth cohorts to apply to any succession through time, so that we find reference to first, second, and third "generations" of health behavior studies (Weaver 1973; Farge 1977) or to marital "generations" Hill (1977).

In its life-stage usage, we find such expressions as the "college generation." Sorokin (1947: 192-93) discusses the conflict between "younger and older generations" to the differential response of people of different ages to the same events. Eisenstadt (1956) combines the descent and life-stage meanings of generation.

The use of "generation" to characterize the people living in a particular historical period is less common in sociology than in history, where books bearing such titles as *The Generation of 1914* (Wohl 1979) and *The Generation before the Great War* (Tannenbaum 1976) are numerous. In this sense, "generation" covers a wide range of cohorts. However, though it is the great historical event that defines such "generations," they are often linked in practice to the cohorts of youths and young adults thought to be particularly influenced by such events. Various usages of the generation concept are commonly mixed together, sometimes intentionally. Laslett's (1977) *Family Line and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations* profits from the descent and period meanings of "generation." Moreover, the generation idea has great popular appeal e.g. the "generation gap" concept of the 1960s; the term is thus used in many social scientific books written for the mass market (Cohen & Gans 1978; Franzblau 1971; Jones 1980).

While the roots of the current confusion in generational studies can be traced back to millennia, the proximate intents can be identified in the works of Karl Mannheim

and Jose Ortega y Gasset. Mannheim's writing has heavily influenced sociological works on generation, and his own confounding of the genealogical meaning of "generation" with the cohort sense of the term continues to be reflected in current research. Mannheim (1952: 290) wrote that the "sociological phenomenon of generations is ultimately based on the biological rhythm of birth and death."

Several sociologists, under the stimulus of Mannheim, have considered the question of generational change, character, duration, and identity. David Riesman (1950) began by identifying generations in American culture in terms of their social character. Unlike sociologists, social anthropologists use "generation" in referring not so much to parent-child relations but to the larger universe of kinship relations.

White et al (2008) say generation is a relational term that refers to familial reproduction but by extension may denote categories of seniors and juniors in society at large. Focusing on the active version of generation, they refer to 'generations' as groups and categories of people *belonging to* a certain period of time, social category, or position in descent line with specific rules and conventions. To them, members of a generation are not surrendered to their cultural and societal position, but are able to use that position to bring about new ideas and practices and pursue their own interests within the historical circumstances in which they live.

Schwartz et al (1975, 312) looks at "Generation" as those individuals in the flow of population through time who see themselves or are seen by others as culturally distinguished from others who preceded or followed them. Bennett Berger (1971) notes that even for the same age group, there exist a plurality of "generations" or cultural style. Social scientists have traditionally looked upon the diverse popular meanings of "generation" as an opportunity for extension of the term *in* social

science, rather than as a source of imprecision to be avoided. Troll (1970), for example, lists five different concepts of generation, and finds them all useful.

Over time, a succession of waves of new individuals reach adulthood, coming at that time into contact with the prevailing culture and remodeling what they find. Mannheim refers to it as "fresh contact." He identified these waves with generations but distinguished between those individuals within such generations who shared a common outlook on the basis of their common experience and those who did not. The former he labeled "generation units." A fuller discussion of Mannheim and Ortega Y. Gasset's influence on generational studies may be found in Kertzer (1982).

Ortega Y. Gasset formulated a similar concept of generation based on the notion that people born at about the same time grow up sharing an historical period that shapes their views. Arguing that generation "is the most important conception in history," Ortega y Gasset (1933, P15, 19) wrote that each generation has its "special mission," though this mission might be left "unachieved" Such followers of OrtegaY. Gasset as Marias (1968) have renounced the kinship descent definition of generation, championing the historical cohort meaning alone. Once the concept was thus cut loose from its genealogical anchor, followers of Mannheim and Ortega y Gassetz could claim that a new "generation" might appear as frequently as every year, depending on the rapidity of change new cohorts face a they come of age in their society (Rintala 1968; Berger 1959)

The polysemous usage of generation came under attack by Ryder (1965), who argued for restricting generation to its kinship descent meaning. There exists an unambiguous term-cohort-to refer to the succession of individuals who pass through a social system, and there exists a similarly clear term-life stage-to refer to a

particular segment of the life course. Processes of family transmission should not be confused with processes of cohort succession and social change. In this study, we consider Intergeneration relationship as the interaction between individuals in the flow of population who are culturally distinct from others (categories of seniors and juniors in society at large).

Among the communities of Lower Fungom, generation is perceived as a life stage where the elder is someone who saw the sun before you and thus deserves some form of cordiality when being approached. As individuals live longer, their opportunities for multiple generational contact increases. For example, there is a 60 percent chance that a 60 year old female will have a living parent (Watkins, Menken, & Bongaarts, 1987), and it is likely that she is also a grandparent (Robertson, 1996).

In Lower Fungom, regardless of the generation (older, middle, and younger) the intergenerational relationships are characterized by respect, responsibility, reciprocity and resiliency which are evident within the relationships and these characteristics are relevant to individuals who work with older people and their families. These characteristics can be used as foundations on which to further strengthen intergenerational bonds as shown below.

In lower Fungom, the relations with the next generation starts at the level of the household before being carried out to the community and beyond the community. Among the people of Mashi and among the people of Abar, Koshin and Buu, every household possess its rituals during which the values, symbols and kinship relations are transmitted from father to son or from mother to daughter

Among the people of Koshin, the *Mbegeh* is the occasion when the youths and the elders interact as distinct generations and during which they exchange ideas concerning the welfare of the village

5.2.1 Respect

In lower Fungom, younger generations demonstrate respect for older generations in numerous ways. The elder *muinteh*, *nata* as they are variously called, deserve respect during work, marriage, eating or any other occasion where they are present.

According to (Belsky & Rovine, 1984; Sutor & Pillemer, 1988; Roberts, Richards, & Bengtson, 1991), the usual levels of growth experienced by younger generations such as getting married, living independently, becoming parents, and developing a work pattern, reduces the gap in relationships between the generations. The responsibilities and joys of marriage, independent residence, employment and adulthood encourage younger generations to recognize the strengths and weaknesses of older generations and, as a result, many younger family members develop a respect for their parents and grandparents.

Among the people of Abar, Buu, Koshin and Mashi, the elder (*muentie*, *nata*) are given the respect in all occasions. A male participant in the focus group discussion in Koshin relates that: *“When a muentie comes in here, we first of all need to get up and give him a seat to sit. Then when you meet him on the road carrying something, you help him to carry it to his house. Then he should not be insulted on the road when he is saying something. That is the respect for the muentie and wherever he comes in, be it in a drinking place the first wine should be put in his cup to show that*

he is the elder person and the last drops must also go to his cup unless he decides otherwise.”

During the adolescent and early adult years, younger persons may not be cognizant of the respect they hold for their elders. They may minimize the relevance of the older generations' information because the younger generation feels more contemporary. But, as the younger generation experiences typical life events (marriage, work, parenthood), a renewed respect for family elders often ensues. Requesting advice from parents and grandparents, visiting grandparents, inquiring about parents' and grandparents' lives, and valuing relationships with older members of the family are manifestations of the respect younger generations have for older family members. It is respect for intergenerational relationships that provides some explanation for the importance younger family members place on relationships with older generations.

Prior to making any marriage public, the girl first discusses with her mother who out of respect informs the father of the child who in turn informs his kin and kindred. Some young adults consistently indicate that relationships with grandparents are important to them. They respect their lineage, and most younger persons have emotional ties to their older generations. For example, deference to older persons at family meetings, expressed by placing them in seats of honor or preparing meals as the elder generation prepared meals are demonstrations of the respect younger generations have for older generations.

5.2.2 Responsibility

Studies in gerontology and family, (Suitor, Pillemer, Keeton, & Robison, 1996) have reported younger generations' feelings of responsibility for older generations who are their kin

Filial responsibility; "a sense of personal obligation for the well-being of aging parents" (Hamon, 1996, p. 2), is felt by younger generations. In other words, adult children and grandchildren have a sense of obligation for their parents and grandparents. It is characteristic for young adults to express a desire to offer support if their parents need it in the future. Within families in Lower Fungom, it is typical for the younger generation to believe that they are responsible to provide some support to their older relatives, and many are conscious of this responsibility when they make major life decisions such as where they will live. It is the case with some of our consultants in Abar. The mother of one of them is from Munken and his father from Abar. He is married from Fang and lives in Abar with his family among his father's people but he also goes to Munken from time to time to stay with his mother's people and help them in farm work and other activities. His wife also goes from time to time to her father's people in Fang to help them. Sometimes they go together to Fang or Munken. The other consultant is from Mumfu where his parents originate and he is also a notable but he lives in Abar with his wife and children where he is also a member of some sacred groups. Sometimes they go to Mumfu to work on his father's farms to help his father's people.

Adult children make extraordinary sacrifices in supporting older relatives because they feel responsible to provide care. In lower Fungom, a girl who marries out of the village often comes home to work on the mother's farms or assist her in the house

especially when there is a festive occasion or when there is death. In other villages, the elderly women who belong to social groups are often visited and provided support in household chores by the younger ones.

During an indepth interview, a female consultant recounted that: *“I belong to the women group in the church and we often visit the elderly women. I went to visit a chereta (an elderly woman) who was sick. Then I came and fetched firewood to go and give her but her condition was very serious so I went and told the church that there was a member who was sick and her condition was very bad because she was defecating only on the bed. We went and cleaned her compound, removed her dresses, washed them and wore her clean dresses then she said we should take her to the church but we told her there was no church service on that day. She stayed only for three days again and died.*

This goes to confirm Wolff (2000)’s view that responsibility may be built in a feeling of obligation or "return" for all the older generation previously did for the younger generation. For some, parenting is rewarded by the acceptance of care in the later years, and the responsibility for such care is embedded within the family's values. During a focus group discussion in Mashii a male participant related that: *Here in Mashii, we have our country fashion in the family which we call uku, we cook cornfufu and we sit together with the elders and eat and they teach us the things of the family and the village which we have to know so that we can help ourselves and others when they are no longer there.*

For others, the sense of responsibility is based upon feelings of affection for the older persons. Feelings of love are translated into a sense of responsibility to care for an older parent.

In Mashi, some consultants feel that the sense of responsibility is basic to their parent-child relationship. "It is not a responsibility that can be lessened by palliative circumstances in the adult child's life. Irrespective of the reason (obligation, affection, or a combination of both), it is clear that younger generations have a sense of responsibility to provide assistance to older relatives."

This responsibility may differ depending on the need. For instance, some youths within Koshin hold a sense of responsibility for the psycho-emotional needs of older relatives during which they have to perform the folklore which has been transmitted to them by the older relative. A participant in the focus group discussion in Koshin noted that: *During annual festivities when all the harvesting has been done in the village we organize the peer group dances like the munkwem and invite the elders to participate in detecting the best dancers.*

Also, visiting, corresponding, or telephoning, are a few examples of ways in which younger generations fulfill the responsibility that they feel. In so doing, they provide psycho-emotional support to their older relatives. The attention given to older persons informs them that they are important to the younger generation. When an older relative has physical limitations, it is expected that younger relatives will be willing to provide transportation, help with meals and other personal needs, clean the yard and the house, fetch firewood, hunt game, run errands and do other tasks that assist the older person with daily living. Feelings of intergenerational responsibility are translated into action within many families in Lower Fungom. However, many elders accused the younger ones of being irresponsible, drunkards, prostitutes, lazy and gossips.

5.2.3 Reciprocity

Throughout most of life, intergenerational relationships are characterized by reciprocity. While younger generations support older relatives, older relatives are assisting younger persons. Briefly put, intergenerational relationships in the later years are a two-side coin. The classic example that many people readily observe is the child care provided by many grandparents and the emotional support adult children and grandchildren give to the grandparents.

Among the people of Lower Fungom, whereas the younger ones have a duty to respect the elders by carrying water for them, keeping their compounds clean, being polite to them and helping them on the way if they are carrying any heaving load among others, the (elder) muentie in the village has a reciprocal role to teach respect. A participant in the focus group discussion in Koshin explained that: *He teaches how to work on the farm, how to cultivate food, how to be polite to the elders without challenging them.* They have to transmit multilingual competences through the symbols and values of the family and community to the younger generations during social gatherings, in the law houses and other socio-cultural milieus like Njangi (thrift -and- loan scheme) or meeting groups.

The transmission of multilingual competence begins within households when the parents enable their children to be able to express themselves in the languages of the parents and that of the host communities where they live. In the multilingual households that we observed in Abar, Buu, Koshin and Mashi, the father does not impose his language to the family. Instead, all the languages are used in the household either for secrecy or to consolidate the bonding between in-laws, the children and the community as a whole. In a household where the father was from Buu and the mother from Mumfu, the mother did not only speak Buu to the children at home but would switch to Mumfu even when there were no visitors in the house. In another household where the father was from Buu and the wives were from Abar

and Missong, the father had to learn Abar and Missong so that he can be able to talk to his children and in-laws with authority as if they came Buu. In another household in Abar where the mother was from Buu and the father from Esu, the mother had a command of over ten languages and she would speak as many as six languages to her children in a single day. The other household in Abar where the husband's father was from Abar and his mother was from Munken while the wife came from Fang, they spoke to the children in Munken, Fang and Abar. In Koshin, the father, who is from Koshin had to learn the language of his wife who is from Bum so as to prove his love to his in-laws whenever he visits them. These languages are used in the house with the children and especially when his in-laws come visiting or when he goes to visit them. In all cases, the children are not forced to learn the languages but they acquire the multilingual competence as a spontaneous exercise from the households and they now practice or complement it in the community in other socio-cultural domains.

In Koshin, the *fekule* (village gathering), *mbegeh* (joint transportation of foodstuff from the farm) *nemgah* (annual festival), are some of such occasions where intergenerational interaction takes place and where the elders reciprocate in their duties to the youth. During the *fekule*, the entire village (young and old, male and female) is summoned at the chief's palace either to celebrate an event or to discuss an impending doom to the village. Here, the elders lecture the youths on the symbols and values of the community thus preparing them to take over the relay baton when they are no longer there. If it is a joyful event, those who brought the joy are praised and rewarded and the villagers are urged to emulate their good deeds. If it is a sad event, the culprits are exposed and sanctioned by the elders according to the laws of the land so as to deter other villagers from repeating the same deeds. The *mbegeh* is the joint transportation of foodstuff from the farms to the homes during harvest. The topography of Koshin is very rough and farming is done several kilometers from the homes and even in neighboring villages. During the harvest, a family organizes a *mbegeh* where the quarter or the entire village is invited to come and assist the family

in transporting their foodstuff (usually maize or groundnut) from the farm to the house. The family provides food (fowls, cornfufu, corn beer or palmwine mixed with honey) to the youths and elders who take part in the *mbegeh*. The participation of the elders in this activity is not much the quantity of maize or groundnut that they will transport from the long distance to the house but it is to set an example to the youth who will now have to emulate the humility of the elders to serve one another in the community. During the eating of the *mbegeh*, other matters concerning the village are discussed and oral tradition concerning the village is handed down to the youths that are present at the occasion.

When all the harvesting has been done, the *nemgah* festival is organized to thank the gods and ancestors for a bountiful harvest, cleanse the village of the evil deeds which occurred in the village for that year and prepare for a new planting season and New Year. This festival marks the peak of intergenerational interaction in Koshin as all the children, the notables and chiefs both in and out of village come together to interact with the elders where they learn the traditional lore and mores of the village from the older generation. This festival can continue for up to a week.

Among the people of Buu, there is a cultural week organized by the development association during which the youths take over the running of the village institutions from the elders and the elders sit back to observe if the youths had assimilated traditional knowledge that they learnt from the elders throughout the year. Traditional institutions like the *nkoh*, *kwifan*, *ntoo* and *muabuh* among others are run by the youths who mimic such actions as settling of household, inter quarter and village disputes as well as the induction of new members in the various sacred

societies and law houses. At this time, the elders only step in to give corrections on what they might be doing wrongly.

Apart from the cultural week, the people of Buu share the *bikan* sacred festival with Abar, Ngun, Kung and Munken. During the festival, intergenerational interaction goes beyond villages because the festival takes place in one village and the youths and elders from the other villages converge in the one village to interact while the youth tap from the wisdom of the elders who come from different villages with different languages.

On their part, the elderly women also interact with the younger women in their sacred institutions like the *shaamte* and in meeting houses and Njangi (thrift -and-loan scheme) groups. The *shaamte* is the female secret society which cuts across all the villages in Lower Fungom. Membership is hereditary in most cases against a very high fee. During their outings (usually when a member dies) the younger women who stand to succeed their mothers are often invited to visit their mothers in the *shaamte* house so as to learn the activities in the house. In Buu, the elderly women are said to invoke the *mgbaaleh* (blessings) on the village whenever they are called upon. In Abar, the *chereta* (elderly women) and *na'tum* (queen mother) have to administer the women on the daily bases and settle any disputes among them. During village gatherings in Koshin or Mashi, the elderly women are called to give advice to the younger women when they are drinking palm wine or corn beer.

In Abar, the “work hard” women meeting group has members who come from almost all the villages of lower Fungom where there is the display of multilingual ability by the women. Sometimes, the elderly women who cannot come to the meeting will send their girl children to sit in for them. It is during the deliberations

that the younger women interact with elderly women and they learn the lores and mores of the various communities.

The reciprocal relationship between the generations in Lower Fungom is illustrated by the effects one generation has on another. Sutor, et al., (1996) report that life transitions (e.g., marriage divorce, child birth) experienced by adult children affect the lives of older persons and, in return, life changes (widowhood) have an impact on the younger generations. Intergenerational relationships are characterized by interdependency. Consequently, the relationships between the generations are often reciprocal.

However, the younger generation in the villages of Lower Fungom squirm this reciprocity as they accused the older generations (male and female) of being greedy, witchcraft practices, irresponsible acts, and being gossips.

The greed of the older generation is expressed in the management of farmlands, orphans and widows as well as the high fees demanded for one to have access to the law houses and sacred societies like *nkoh* for men and *shaamte* for women. Any youth who challenges the established order of the older generations has to contend with the witchcraft practices of the latter. In Mashi, we saw a case of one lame youth whom the villagers confirmed had been bewitched by one elder in the village because the youth had challenged the decision of the elder to deviated a gutter for the smooth flowing of rain water. Irresponsible behavior from the older generation was also decried by the youth as the elders did not send their children to school, sold off all family land and married off their daughters at early ages. Any youth who is trying to excel in life becomes the subject of gossip among the older generation. The

younger generation said they would be resilient when interacting with the older generation.

5.2.4 Resilience

The resilience of intergenerational relationships can be illustrated by the ways in which families and communities develop strategies to deal with change within the family. For example, when divorce and remarriage occur within any generation, the intergenerational relationships are affected. Johnson (1988) found that middle class families experienced different kinship patterns after divorce. Paternal grandparents experienced a decline in support. However, in another study, Johnson & Barer (1987) reported that paternal grandmothers increased their kin networks because they continued contact with the former daughters-in-law and added the new daughter-in-law to the kin network. The differing ways of dealing with the changes because of divorce underscore the resiliency of intergenerational relationships.

Provision of care for older generations and the times when older generations become primary caregivers for grandchildren demonstrate the resiliency of intergenerational relationships. Burton (1992) and Minkler, et.al (1992) provide data on surrogate parenting by older generations. Older persons, who have already parented, step in to parent when the younger generation is unable to do so. The resiliency of the intergenerational relationships provides a continuous emotional and physical support system to the youngest generation in Lower Fungom through parenting and education in tradition norms and mores.

5.3 Implications for Intergenerational Interaction

The social systems perspective recognizes the recurrent changes to which social systems must effectively respond in order to uphold their structure as a system. Intergenerational families and communities are constantly placed in situations which call for adaptation and adjustment so that they can continue their functioning as a family or community. For example, the illness of an older family member may result in the adaptation of assistance by a younger family member, most likely a daughter. The older family member must also change by accepting the help of the daughter. The daughter may need to make adaptations at her place of employment and in her own family, with her spouse and children, in order to provide the caregiving needed by her mother. As older family members undergo changes through life transitions and occasional crises, they show resilience through their ability to change the balance they have retained throughout their families' lives while retaining their family structure. It is through intergenerational cooperation and the working together of many parts of the family unit that this occurs.

Viewing intergenerational families from a continuity perception helps to understand how an older individual and his or her family have adapted and responded to crises and transitions throughout the life of the family. This knowledge provides information about a particular intergenerational family's past history and can, therefore, assess their present ability to: (a) deal with life transitions and crises while evidencing respect for one another; (b) adapt to crises and life transitions by working together responsibly; (c) respond to life changes by giving to one another in a reciprocally; and (d) make necessary changes yet maintain family structure in a resilient manner. Families that in the past have responded to life situations with

respect, responsibility, reciprocity, and resilience will likely continue those coping mechanisms in their present situations.

Through family assistance, the respect intergenerational family members hold for one another can be solidified by knowledge of family history. In this way, older family members are reminded of their respectful treatment of one another and support to continue that behavior in the present.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, we looked at the practice of Multilingualism in Lower Fungom households. Multilingualism is practiced through such cultural domains as Intergenerational relationships within Lower Fungom and is generally marked by respect, responsibility, reciprocity, and resiliency. Throughout the family history, younger, middle, and older generations develop ways to support one another in the later years. In fact, as the generations age, the intergenerational connections become more important. The intergenerational bonds provide a framework for support to the families in the later years. The abilities of families' to reorganize in order to deal with life transitions in a respectful, responsible, reciprocal, and resilient manner can enhance the intergenerational relationships of their families. Practitioners and programs which support intergenerational families in their endeavor to deal with later life caregiving issues will find that family members, old and young, are valuable partners in the service delivery process. In the next chapter, we look at the Challenges to the Practice and Transmission of multilingual Competences in Lower Fungom.

CHAPTER SIX

MULTILINGUALISM AND INTERCOMMUNITY RELATIONS IN LOWER FUNGOM

6.0 Introduction

This chapter demonstrates that despite the positive attitudes towards other languages as seen in the previous chapter, the identity issues that people have in typical multilingual settings are present in Lower Fungom. But these issues are built on the surface rather than in the day to day practice which makes it difficult for them to cling unto identity issues. Lower Fungom has the same issues that disunite people in typical multilingual settings yet these issues do not have any impact on peaceful coexistence in lower Fungom. Section 6.1 introduces the chapter while section 6.2 presents the relationship between multilingualism and intercommunity relations and section 6.3 presents the role of language ideologies, identity and power relations in the practice of multilingualism among Lower Fungom communities.

According to Paulston & Tucker, (2003, p301), “multilingualism is a common phenomenon in the modern world. Indeed, the number of bilingual or multilingual individuals in the world is greater than the number of monolingual individuals.” This term, by broad definition, is the use of two or more languages, either by an individual speaker or by a community of speakers living within more or less well-demarcated territories. Countless studies and debates on the prevalence of multilingualism, have often agreed that multilingualism can both be a challenge and a resource. Among the reasons that urge people to be multilingual are the need for communication, identity, the need for security, the need for protection, the need for secrecy, the need to gain favors, the need to have accommodation and prestige among others.

According to Giles (1973), communication through verbal expression and code switching is influenced by the interlocutor’s willingness of accommodation and to

associate with one another. Secrecy as an urge to multilingualism arises from the interlocutors' desire to limit the persons with whom they have to communicate especially when it comes to asking for favors such as information, friendship or just kindness from a relative, friend or any other member of the community. Franceschini (1998) notes that the converging use of language often creates confidence and cohesion whereas divergent use of language tends to be uncertain and dissociative and is either associated with personal or foreign such that a speaker would avoid using a particular language to someone considered foreign. Life in general would be very risky if there were no means for protection so the need for security is vital. Language is thus used as a means to gain protection as seen in Di Carlo (2016) who in his paper on multilingualism and magic stresses that the chief is a sacred figure expected to protect his indigenes with "chop, bush, pikin". This will mean that he is supposed to see through that his people have a comfortable and secured life. Therefore by learning many local languages one can identify himself in different linguist groups. Many people therefore become multilingual for reasons of safety.

During a Focus Group Discussion in Buu, a participant explained that: *In those days when our parents used to do wine tapping, if the enemy was coming to attack, they will hear the signals from the neighboring villages and will understand that an enemy was approaching and from which direction and if it was in the direction of the village, they would rush back home to inform the others.* This we think is one of the facts that made people to learn the different languages to secure themselves.

However, being multilingual has its challenges as well. Challenges to multilingualism can easily be seen both at the individual, household and societal level. Therefore people living in multilingual societies who are monolingual are, daily, faced with the question of which language to use in order to express their

belonging to the society Coulmas, (2013, p123). In Kenya, the hostility of the Massai towards trade caravan impeded the spread of Swahili in the area.

For most multilinguals, such language use is part of everyday practice but they are frequently caught in an ideological tension about language and cultural identification that is often articulated through debates about the importance of Language purity and mutual intelligibility. These contrasting views towards mixed languages relate well to Bakhtin's (1968, 1981, 1984, 1986) conceptualization of language as a socio-historical, multifaceted and dialogical struggle over the meanings of signs and they raise questions about how these meanings are sorted out among speakers. In this section, we dwell on language ideology and identity as the main challenges to multilingual practices in Lower Fungom.

6.1 Relationship between Multilingualism and Intercommunity Relations

Through the socio-cultural, political and economic interaction among the communities of Lower Fungom, we notice that multilingualism reinforces intercommunity relations in Lower Fungom. For instance, it is through marriage and especially intermarriage that intercommunity relations are expressed thus enhancing multilingual practices. A woman, who marries into a different language community, has to acquire the language of her new community thus rendering her multilingual. The children born of this union will equally be multilingual depending on their upbringing. In order to prove their love to their spouses and their people, the husband or wife has to learn the languages of their people which is in turn transmitted to the children at home. When a child is able to communicate at home in more than one language, these multilingual practices are extended to the child's interaction in the community thus spreading multilingual practices to the community and beyond the community. Tabors (1997), writes about simultaneous and sequential learning within

two languages. Simultaneous learning in two languages is characterized by a child learning two languages at the same time in a family situation where each parent speaks his or her own language to the child. This is the case with this 44 years old male consultant in Abar whose mother is from Mundabli; his father from Buu and his mother's sister is married in Koshin. He has lived among his people in all these villages and he speaks all the languages and respects the bonds of kinship that arise from there. Because of his multilingual abilities, he now serves as the bridge for intercommunity interactions for all the communities in the sociocultural, economic and political domains.

Also, a household in Abar going to attend the funeral of an in-law in Koshin or Mundabli will be accompanied by either their friends or neighbors and this means a cross section of the Abar community will have to interact with Koshin community because of the death of this in-law. During such occasions, intercommunity interaction is also displayed when a social group like a *Njangi* (thrift -and- loan scheme) or dance group has to accompany one of its members to go and condole with them for the death of a parent or an in-law in a different village. This entails movement of people from one village to another and consequent interaction among them. This amplifies intercommunity interaction where there is both competition and cooperation. A *mbolo* or *kessem* dance group from Buu going to perform in Abar or Koshin will do the singing in Buu language and the people of Koshin who find the songs good will have to learn to sing the same songs first in Buu language and vice versa. This creates avenues for the acquisition of multilingual competences which are further used across other socio-cultural domains especially in the economy and politics.

In the market, people with multilingual skills can make brisk business either by selling fast or buying at lower prices because of their ability to bargain in the other local languages or because of the blood or social relations that they have with the buyers or seller. Even the traders who sell nonperishable goods and are mostly not from lower Fungom will struggle to use some of the languages of Lower Fungom so as to be able to convince the buyers.

For power relations especially in health seeking behavior, a son or grandson in Abar can be handed spiritual power or the knowledge of herbs for healing by his grandfather in Mundabli. This is the case with two of our other consultants whose mother's father from Munken showed him the herbs to treat infertility in women for one and another one whose mother's father in Mundabli showed him the herbs to treat side pain and pile. When preparing the medicine for infertility, our consultant makes incantations in Munken language even though he is in Abar and maybe treating someone from Abar or Koshin. This is the same thing with the other consultant who speaks to the herbs in Mundabli even though he is in Abar and maybe treating a person from Buu or Mashi.

Again, during rituals and performances, the relationship between multilingualism and intercommunity relations is seen during the *Bikan* festival where the different language communities converge in one village (Ngun) for celebrations. While in Ngun, the language used at the shrine of *Bikan* is the Abar language and everyone is expected to understand the language yet respond in their various languages.

In speech form, intercommunity relations are expressed through diagglossia and code switching. The locals hold that, each community speaks a separate linguistic form, especially with the case of single villages. That an individual speaking a different

language can be accepted in that community and as such, receives protection from the invisible world by the chief. In other words, being multilingual can fetch a golden ticket of protection to invisible threats by a chief representing that ethnic community. When speaking to an elder, you start by using his language in cases where the elder is not from the same village like the younger speaker. If the speaker is from your mother's village, you can speak your mother's language to him but if you don't master your mother's language, you can speak your father's language but it is not polite to try to speak your mother's language to your father's people unless you have been given permission by the elder from your father's village. Language choice is thus complemented by diagglossia when one has a language to speak to the people from his mother's village and another language to speak to people from his father's village. This is again enhanced by code switching where one can move from the language of his father's people to that of his mother's people depending on the interlocutor.

However, the relationship between multilingualism and intercommunity relations in Lower Fungom is not completely cordial as the communities face some challenges in the practice and transmission of multilingual competence. These challenges are mostly witnessed in the context of language ideologies and identity and power relations as shown below.

6.2 Language Ideology and the Practice of Multilingualism in Lower Fungom

Language ideologies are implicit or explicit representations that interpret intersections of language and human beings in a social world (Woolard 1998). Ideologies of languages are not about languages alone. On the contrary languages are merged with identity issues, morality, aesthetics and epistemology (Hill and Irvine

1998). 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 sensible Lower Fungom-struggle over language usage. Researchers have treated language ideologies as socially, politically and linguistically significant (Woolard 1998).

McIntosh (2005) addresses 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. It is because of what McIntosh addresses that the language ideology on issues of identity constructions can be raised.

“Multilingualism involves some form of functional ideological division of labor between languages” (Di Carlo 2016). This is however hampered by the Polyglossia scales; a situation in which, in a given multilingual speaker community, there is consensus that the main spheres of social interaction needs to be accessed via specific languages, or registers, or codes and the specific languages required to carry them out are taken to correspond to different degrees of “prestige.” This is in contrast with urban areas (dominance in metropolitan languages) as issues of prestige, aesthetic reasons and instrumental reasons are great motivating tools for people to use languages. In Lower Fungom, people learn languages because they want to index themselves to several linguistic communities. To them, language is the only key to acceptance and recognition in a given community. Ideological perceptions become a challenge in the practice of multilingualism as we observed on the field.

In lower Fungom, and especially in the villages where data were collected, the language line was basically the same but was only distinguished by the appellation. The people of Buu refer to their language as *nyubekhe* which they use to communicate their things among themselves especially when they need secrecy in the presence of a stranger. In Abar, they refer to their language as *nyiobaa* which they speak and also use it to teach their children the things that their fathers taught them in their land. The people of Koshin regard their language as *benyui bekoo* while Mashi refer to their language as *Jiokpang* and the main function behind language was for secret or open communication wherever one is found and for common decision making in a group.

When asked which language the consultants would prefer to speak if their village “talk” did not exist, the choice of a new language varied within the same households and in the same community. This was based on the interactions the consultants as individuals, households and the community had with the people of the second language choice. Such issues as intermarriage, economic activities, ritual ties, land as well as chieftaincy disputes were among the reasons why the speaker would choose or not choose to communicate in a language.

In Koshin, the dominant language choice in the palace if there was no *benyui bekoo* was the languages out of lower Fungom such as Jikun, Bum, and Kom. During a Focus Group Discussion in Koshion, a participant explained that: *Most of us are not multilingual because we came and met the other villages already settled here. We came from Mawa with the people of Saawi and Oku; that is why our language is different from their language and we don't understand their languages because we came and met them here.*

One of the wives of the regent was from Bum and the late chief of Koshin is said to have had long standing relations with the Fons of Bum, Kom, and Jikun where some of his many wives had come from. Most households and other people in the community would not accept to speak Mundabli just a few kilometers from them because of the long standing land dispute between Koshin and Mundabli.

During a Focus Group Discussion in Koshion, a participant explained that: *yes, from what you have been saying, we are Koshin and why we do not speak their languages is because they hate us and we don't want to interact with them. That is why we do not speak their languages and that is what I have to say about it.*

Another participant in the focus group discussion added that: *I think this situation is because of denunciation. This village denounces the other village and that one denounces the other. This kills the spirit of cooperation. Sometime when they attend school and when the child returns from school, each one tries to imitate the other's language at home but the parents will not allow the child to speak a different language at home. So, this spirit of language acquisition is killed in the child and this is why most of us are not multilingual.*

While some people said they would speak the Fang language because of their historical relations, others said they would choose Mashi because they were married in Mashi.

In Mashi, the choice of a second “country talk” other than Jiokpang was also out of Lower Fungom and mostly jikun in Nigeria and Naki in upper Fungom. Mashi has neighbors with Mundabli, Koshin, Missong and Mumfu; the nearest people who can hear each other's language but they would not prefer any of the languages of their neighbor villages. The reasons for not choosing to speak any of the languages of

Lower Fungom, was to maintain historical ties with their places of origin. During a Focus Group Discussion in Mashi, a participant explained that: *we like the people but we cannot choose any of their language. We prefer Njikun because it is where our fathers came from before settling here they died and left us so we must take the language that they taught us. We cannot go and speak a different language.* Others simply said they did not have sharp ears to learn other languages. Those who have sharp ears to learn other languages and speak are referred to as *Etu be bio gbwok* while those who do not have sharp ears to learn other languages are known as *Etu be bio gbwokchio*.

In Buu, most of the people said they would switch to speaking fang if their language Buu was removed because they interacted more with the people of Fang even though their language was more similar to Mumfu language. During a Focus Group Discussion in Buu, a participant explained that: *I think it is fang because the people do a lot of transactions here on a daily basis. No other village interacts with Buu more than Fang because they pass through Buu on a daily basis. Many Buu people especially the elderly speak Fang more than any other language because of their proximity with Fang.* Some said if there was no Buu language, they would still prefer to speak Mumfu because of historical ties. During a Focus Group Discussion in Buu, a participant explained that: *If there is no Buu language, I will speak Mumfu language because Buu and Mumfu are the founders of this place while the other villages arrived after us and I cannot leave Mumfu to join with strangers. Even if I cannot pray in Buu, I will pray in Mumfu language.*

Intermarriage was also a challenge to the choice of a second language in Buu. During the Focus Group Discussion, a participant explained that: *There is one thing which is that we are common to Mumfu because we have intermarried a lot with them and we*

have grandchildren and we have many traditional practices that we share with them like the ntuu. Even the church program we do it together with them. I think that is one of the things that bind us together and our language too is similar. Table 6.1 illustrates the degree of intermarriage among the consultants from whom we got information for this study. From the table, (as of when we were on the field) we notice that intermarriage is highest in Abar probably because of its central location. Also, it demonstrates the level of multilingualism among the people of Abar as compared to the other communities of Lower Fungom.

Table 6.1 Sample of Intercommunity Marriages in Lower Fungom

Village	Number of couples	Origin of Wife	Origin of husband
Abar	5	Mumfu, Buu, Fang, Aghem, Mundabli	Weh, Esu, Mumfu, Abar, Munkep
Buu	3	Missong, Mumfu, Ajumbo	Buu, Buu, Buu
Koshin	3	Bum, Marshi, Aghem	Koshin, Koshin, Koshin
Mashi	3	Mumfu, Mundabli, Koshin	Mashi

Source: Fieldwork 2018

In Abar, the choice of a different language apart from *nyiobaa* was Ngun, Buu, or Mumfu because of their ritual and historical ties. Most people in Abar would not like to speak Missong which is just a few metres from Abar but would prefer to speak Mumfu which is far off from Abar. The reasons they advanced for this was that the people of Missong were aggressive and always had land disputes with Abar. During a Focus Group Discussion in Abar, a participant explained that: *Missong people like problems and more to that we have a boundary dispute with them which makes us not to interact very much with them because they like problems. The market here is attended by the whole of lower Fungom people but Missong people always disturb in the market; when they drink, they start fighting and disturb the whole place. In fact*

there is nothing you can like about them, since I grew up we attended school together with them here at Abar-Missong school but they are a nuisance even among themselves.

Despite common historical and ritual ties with Ngun, they would not replace their *nyiobar* with Ngun because of the attitudes of the people of Ngun. During the Focus Group Discussion, a participant explained that: *“Ngun people are very tricky people, if you deal with a Ngun man be very careful, if he tells you to stand here and you stand there, you are wasting your time. From the word go, they are tricky people, my mother is from there. They are not straight forward. When the Ngun wants to eat, he wouldn’t let you to know that they want to eat so they are very tricky. Even when it is palm wine, they will mix it with water and give a stranger and then carry the good one away to drink among themselves while you are given water. So their life is not straight. Apart from this bikan which is a social juju where we all meet, nothing again. If he borrows two thousand or five thousand from you, it will be difficult for him to refund your money.”*

Another major challenge to multilingualism was social interaction where people who had less interaction with others either in the same village or other villages found it hard to learn and speak other languages .A participant in the Focus Group Discussion referring to another participant who was not multilingual explained that: *“His problem is that he is not in the village most of the time but those of us who are in the village, we interact because we have a tradition if one is bereaved, “a cry die” is organized and people will gather around you and you cook sha (corn beer) to share with the people. So for most of us who are in the village, when there is a “cry die” in Munken, Missong or Koshin if you have a friend there you go and interact with them that is why some of us can speak the languages of the different village.”*

The proliferation of social institutions like schools and churches was identified as another challenge to the practice of multilingualism in Lower Fungom. Before now, there were only two schools in Lower Fungom; the Abar-Missong and Mashi-Koshin primary schools and children from all the thirteen villages were attending either of these schools. It was therefore easy to learn the other languages as children from the different villages assembled in one village and interacted in the local languages. Today, each of the thirteen villages has a primary school and children no longer leave their villages to stay in a different village for schooling. One participant decried this during the focus group discussion in Abar: *Yes, I think the reason is that the creation of so many new schools in all the villages has made it in such a way that many of the children do not longer meet in a single village.*

The church also proved to be a challenge to the practice of multilingualism because of the proliferation of Pentecostal churches in lower Fungom. The early church that arrived here was the Basel Mission 1958 and the language of the church in the area was *mungaka* which was spoken by all the Christians of Lower Fungom. Today, the proliferation of Christian denominations with each village and even households having their churches has reduced interaction in a single language as every village strives to have the Bible in their language.

Another challenge was that some people are naturally not fast learners while others are fast learners and this is a challenge to multilingualism. In Abar, those with the ability to quickly learn a language are said to be *itongho yanghe* (sharp ears), while those who do not have sharp ears to learn a language are known as *itongho yangha chi* (blocked ears).

During the focus group discussion in Abar one participant explained why he was multilingual: *“what makes me to be itongho yanghe (sharp ears) is because I was born in Buu. First I started speaking Buu because of the environment where I was, and then I came to Abar and met different people and started talking Abar. Then what made me to learn the Koshin language is because my aunt is married there so I was there frequently and what made me to learn Mashi is because my uncle is married to a woman from Mashi and when she speaks with the children then I learn from the children.”* Those who do not interact much with other members of the community and other villages will have difficulties to learn other languages.

In Buu somebody who knows languages is described as *mban mbe tung (open ears)* and is regarded as an intelligent person who can “hear things” and interpret them. During the focus group discussion in Buu a participant explained how such a person is considered in Buu. *No, we call him an open ear somebody which in our language means mban mbe tung. He has the position of a speaker (mgbee dunne) in all occasions where he/she can speak and everyone will understand. Mgbee dunne means messenger; that is how we call it. The person who cannot quickly learn other languages is called mband mbe tung or nkou betung (blocked ears).*

In Mashi, somebody who does not have sharp ears to hear other people’s languages is referred to as *Etu e bio gbwokchio* while a person who cannot easily speak other languages is said to be *Etu e bio gbwok*. A participant in the focus group discussion in Mashi explained that: *Moula yoh djie tem bie is a person who hears other people’s languages and tells us. We like them because we can go to another village and when they say something against us, he will hear then tell us when we come back. We also call them Moula djang biokli*

Reduced interpersonal interaction both at the household and community levels also turned out to be a major challenge to multilingual practices among the people of Lower Fungom. In some households, there were monolingual persons whereas the entire household was multilingual. This was the case in Buu where in a one household everyone had multilingual abilities except the last child of the house. The explanation given for her inability to be multilingual was that she was born in Buu, attended school in Buu and so did not interact very much with other children of her age in school like her elder siblings who had attended school in other villages and some were married to husbands from neighboring villages.

In Koshin, entire households and quarters were monolingual and they claimed it was because they did not intermarry from other villages and they also did not interact with people of other villages. In Mashi, we found someone in a household who could not speak any of the local languages apart from the Mashi language but he could speak Spanish fluently. He was married in Mashi and so had no reason to learn the other local languages.

In conclusion, language ideology as a challenge to the practice of multilingualism in lower Fungom is evident and the domains in which it is made manifest go beyond conflict, reduced interaction to identity as we see below.

6.3 Identity and the Practice of Multilingualism in Lower Fungom

In the region referred to as Cameroon Grassfields among which are the people of Lower Fungom, there exist a multiplicity of once autonomous, self-assertive groups and independent looking peoples each with its own language or dialect and variant of socio-political and socio-cultural institutions as distinctive identity markers.

In recent years, “the subject of identity has gained prominence ... as dominant theoretical frameworks prove inadequate in explaining the crisis of development and the complexities of present day conflicts” (Bangura, 1994, cf. Jega, 1999). As a socio-political concept, “identity” has both an individualist and a collective meaning: it is a “process located in the core of the individual and yet in the core of his community culture, a process which established, in fact, the identity of these two identities” (Erickson, 1962). In other words, identity can simply be defined as “a person’s sense of belonging to a group if (it) influences their behavior” (Erickson, 1968). Identity is said to be “always anchored both in physiological ‘givens’ and in social roles...” (ibid). Its attributes comprise “commitment to a cause”, “love and trust for a group”, “emotional tie to a group”, as well as “obligations and responsibilities” relating to membership of a group with which a person identifies. Most general studies of identity emphasize that identity implies sameness and difference at the same time (Jenkins, 1996). Identity thus refers to the process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, or a related set of cultural attributes, which is given priority over other sources of meaning. For an individual, or for a group, there may be a plurality of identities. Yet, such a plurality is a source of stress and contradiction in both self-representation and social action.

This is because identity must be distinguished from role-sets. Roles are defined by norms structured by the institutions and organization of society. Their relative weight in influencing people’s behavior depends upon negotiations and arrangement between individuals and these institutions and organizations. Identities are sources of meaning for themselves, and by themselves, constructed through a process of individuation (Giddens, 1991). Identities come into existence only when and if social actors internalize them, and construct their meaning around internalization (Castells,

2004). Although some self-definition can also coincide with social roles, identities are stronger sources of meaning than roles because identities organize the meaning, while roles organize the function (ibid.). During a focus group discussion in Mashi, one participant explained that: *“Mashi has neighbors with Mundabli, Koshin, Misson, Mumfu; the nearest people who can hear our language and we hear theirs. They hear and speak our language just as some of us hear and speak their language. Then some of us do not speak and they doubt what could be the problem.”*

For most social actors, meaning is organized around a primary identity (that is an identity that frames the other), which is self-sustaining across time and space as explained by Lasch (1980).

Yet identity is neither uniform nor stable among groups or individual. The importance and strength of identity varies among groups, and may fluctuate considerably over time. In other words, while identities are more or less fixed, identity consciousness is also dynamic and shifting reflecting the changing role of identities and the heightening or increasing magnitude and consequences of politics in terms of who gets what, when and how. Hence, mobilization, provocation and agitation are central to the formation of a requisite identity consciousness which, in turn, is critical to identity-based politics. Also, at any given time, a person may have multiple identities, each of which may always have some bearing on his or her political conduct and social roles in society.

Good et al (2011) segments the lower Fungom languages into the Mungbam, Ji and Naki language varieties. The mungbam group includes Abar, Munken, Ngun, Biya and Misson; the Ji group is made of Mundabli, Mufu and Buu while the naki group is made of Mashi and the Fak group consisting of Fang, Koshin and Ajumbo. He

notes that in terms of social identification, with the partial exception of Mashi which in some respects acts as part of a larger naki unit, Lower Fungom villages even speaking closely related varieties, view themselves as autonomous, each having their own chief and identifying their language as only being spoken within the village itself though they often recognize that other villages speak languages which rhyme with theirs.

In local communities like Lower Fungom, when speaker A speaks language X, he is identified as a member of community X by default. By so saying, he can gain protection from the chief required to protect his own. This is contrary to McIntosh (2005) study of the Swahili and Giriama people.

Yenshu (2006) notes that between erstwhile largely autonomous ethnic entities within the nation-state structure as it exists in the contemporary period, identity has become a central feature of the problematic of nation-building process in Africa and conviviality within the nation-state takes different dimensions and proportions within the same territorial space. In lower Fungom, the fear to be identified as foreigners or considered as children is a challenge to multilingual practices as most people will prefer to be identified only with their language in their communities. During the focus group discussion in Koshin, a participant lamented that: *“Yes what makes most of us not to be able to speak their languages is because before we come to join with them most of the time it is when we are already mature and you know that it is only the children who quickly capture languages from childhood. Since we cannot be with them from childhood that is why we cannot speak their languages.”*

According to Larsh and Friedman (1992), the formation or construction of identity space is “the dynamic operator that links economic and cultural processes” in

modern societies. In competition or struggles over societal resources, especially in situations of scarcity, collective demands tend to be predicated and organized on shared interests, which in turn tend to be hinged on either physiological ‘givens’ or, as is more often the case, on shared sociocultural identities. In Lower Fungom, language usage is a sociocultural identity which binds the communities together. During a focus group discussion in Koshin, the participants agreed that: *If you hear we say nyubekhe, it is the tongue and anyone who speaks, we will be able to identify the person.*

Thus, what can be termed as identity politics is nothing more than, to use Joseph’s (1987) phraseology, “the mutually reinforcing interplay between identities and the pursuit of material benefits within the arena of competitive politics.” During a focus group discussion in Koshin the participants agreed that: *“yes, from what you have been saying, we are Koshin and why we do not speak their languages is because they hate us and we don’t want to interact with them. That is why we do not speak their languages and that is what I have to say about it.”*

Since the social construction of identity always takes place in a context marked by power relationships, Castells proposes a distinction between three forms and origins of identity building Castells (2004); Legitimizing identity that is introduced by the dominant societal institution to extend and rationalize their domination over social actors (Sennett, 1980; Anderson, 1983); Resistance identity is generated by those actors who are in position to extend devalued and/or stigmatized logic of domination, thus building trenches of resistance and insurgence on the basis of principles different from, or opposed to , those permeating the institutions of society Calhoun (1994).

During a focus group discussion in Mashi the participants agreed that: *Every man or woman, who is Mashi, knows the language because it is the language of birth and they grow up with it. People who think they are Mashi but do not know the language are trouble makers.*

Project identity that comes into existence when social actor, on the basis of whatever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by so doing, seek the transformation of overall social structure.

According to identity theory Burke (1991), when negative emotion is felt, actors may either change what they are doing (the output end of the model), or they may think about the situation in a different way (the input side) in order to achieve greater congruence . During a focus group discussion in Buu one participant releasing their negative emotions towards their neighbor village lamented that: *I think we have several villages in Lower Fungom with different languages but the Buu language helps the Buu man to identify and distinguish himself among several other villages in lower Fungom. A person who speaks Abar is an Abar man, we call them Jaleh. They are a people that you need to use a long spoon when eating with them because they do not want to mix with people.*

In later work, Burke (1996) refers to these responses as different coping responses. One can modify the situation through some behavioral strategy or modify the meaning of the problem through some cognitive strategy. Ellestad and Stets (1998) reveal that the more salient the identity, the more likely it is that persons devise behavioral strategies to reassert their identity role thereby maintaining who they are to themselves and significant others.

During a focus group discussion in Abar the participants agreed that: *“Yes we use nyioabar to communicate in gatherings with strangers so we use it to say things that other people cannot hear.”*

Also, disruption of Lower Fungom-verification for group-based identities that are more intimate such as the family identity leads to coping strategies that are cognitive (activity on the input side of the identity model) while disruption of Lower Fungom-verification for role-based identities that are less intimate such as the worker identity leads to behavioral strategies of coping (activity on the output side of the identity model) Stets & Tsushima (2001).

In her study Mc Intosh (2005) notes that language is the only tool linking one group to the other; reason why the Giriama people when asked if they could be considered Swahili more than Kigiriama denied. While the Giriama people are less receptive to languages, the people of Lower Fungom are much more receptive to languages and even go a mile to joyfully want to identify themselves with a language other than theirs. To the Giriama people, it is unheard of that someone like Mc Intosh from a ‘different’ ethnic community speaks Kigiriama. This shock was greatly expressed when a young Giriama boy of thirteen asked her aggressively if she was Giriama or a white person? This strong essentialist ideology is noticed by Mc Intosh in a three way relationship between ethnicity, language and land. To many, God gave every man a place and his language and as such Mc Intosh (2005:28) suggests that by speaking, a Kigiriama when you are not from Giriama was perceived as threatening and unnatural. “Language ideology” is a cover term that includes all the possible answers to the question “what do people think about the languages they use and about their own concrete language uses. Therefore, an ethnographically-oriented sociolinguistic study focused on the social motivations for individual multilingualism

in a region like Lower Fungom is, essentially, an inquiry into Lower Fungom language ideologies. Far from being conclusive in any regards, this work is a first step in this direction.

Increasingly nation-states have to adapt to linguistic diversity within their borders and to recognize that democracy requires the participation of all citizens, including those belonging to linguistic minorities. Democracy also requires that all linguistic groups share a sense of community. The author argues the need for educational policies that address these challenges.

6.4 Power Relations and the practice of Multilingualism in Lower Fungom

Language choice comes to signify a complex set of assumptions about the interlocutor's mother tongue, ethnicity, linguistic competence, political position (federalist vs. separatist) and even open-mindedness and politeness. Heller (1992, 1995) developed a theoretical framework for exploring ways in which language practices and negotiation of identities are bound in power relations. This framework links language and power in two important ways. In one way, language is seen as part of a process of social action and interaction, and in particular, as a way in which people influence others. On the other hand, it is a symbolic resource which may be tied to the ability to gain access to, and exercise power. Languages are thus appropriated to legitimize, challenge and negotiate particular identities and to open new identity options for oppressed and subjugated groups and individuals. Consequently, an analysis of language practices needs to examine how conventions of language choice and use are created, maintained and changed to see how language ideologies legitimize and validate particular practices and to understand real-world consequences these practices have on people's lives. Code-switching is part of a

range of linguistic practices which people employ to achieve their goals and to challenge symbolic domination. (Negotiation of Identities)

French & Raven (1959) identify coercive and collaborative relations of power among the five types of social power. In the lower Fungom communities, the choice, use, maintaining and change of language ideology plays a vital role in validating or achieving symbolic domination or cooperation.

Coercive relations of power refer to the exercise of power by a dominant individual, group, or country to the detriment of a subordinated individual, group, or country. For example, in the past, dominant group institutions (e.g., schools) have required that subordinated groups deny their cultural identity and give up their languages as a necessary condition for success in the “mainstream” society. During a focus group discussion in Abar, one participant remarked that they had to learn the languages of other villages to the detriment of their own languages because all the villages did not have schools and they would stay in other villages for several years and end up speaking the language of the village when schooling there.

Interactions between dominant and subordinated groups, and among subordinated groups, are played out against a backdrop of these current and historical status and power relationships. These power and status relations have been formed historically and have often been legitimated on pseudo-scientific or religious grounds.

In lower Fungom, the people of Buu, Mufu and Ngun have the least population density and as such have less economic and political power. They are thus sort of coerced to learn the languages of the majority groups like Abar, Fang, Koshin or Missong so as to have access to economic and political relations. It is in this light that the people of Buu, Mufu, and Ngun are the most multilingual communities in

Lower Fungom. On the contrary, the people of Abar, Fang, Koshin and Misson are reluctant to learn the minority languages of Buu, Mufu, and Ngun because of their numerical superiority. Instead the people of Fang and Koshin are multilingual in languages out of lower Fungom but everyone in Buu speaks Fang, Abar and Koshin. According to a participant during a Focus group discussion in Buu, they are obliged to learn the Fang language because the Fang are their closest neighbors and they pass through Buu village to get to the market in Abar. So learning their language will enable them to sell to or buy from them easily and to be able to hear any evil plans or news from the market or from other neighbor villages.

The people of Koshin and speak Fang but do not speak Mundabli because of their numerical superiority but everyone in Mundabli speaks Koshin. This explains why there is continuous land dispute between Koshin and Mundabli because each time the people of Koshin make a plan to attack Mundabli, the Mundabli people will get the information and defeat the Koshin in any attack.

Collaborative relations of power, by contrast, reflect the sense of the term power that refers to being enabled, or empowered to achieve more. Within collaborative relations of power, power is not a fixed quantity but is generated through interaction with others. The more empowered one individual or group becomes, the more is generated for others to share, as is the case when two people love each other or when we really connect with children we are teaching. Within this context, the term empowerment can be defined as the collaborative creation of power.

In Lower Fungom Intermarriage among the chiefs has also served as collaborative relations of power. The chief of Buu offered his princess to the chief of Abar who gave birth to a prince who later succeeded his father as the chief of Abar. Thus the

chief could now speak Buu and Abar languages. The chief of Mundabli also offered her daughter in marriage to the chief of Abar who also gave birth to a prince who would later succeed his father as the chief of Abar. Thus the chief would be able to speak Abar, Buu and Mundabli. The chief of Ngun married a princess from Abar who would teach the chief to speak Abar while she also learns to speak Ngun language. When we visited Ngun, the princess from Abar who is one of the many wives of the chief would not speak Ngun with her co-wives. She claimed that as a princess from a larger community, she should express herself in Abar languages wherever she goes especially given that she was a princess. She spoke Abar to her children and would only speak Ngun to the chief when it was her turn to sleep with him or when she had to give food to the chief. The chief too would not speak Abar to the princess because that would be demeaning to him and disrespect to the other wives. The children were obliged to learn Ngun to talk with their father and Abar to be able to talk with their mother.

Ritual power relation was also observed among the communities of Lower Fungom which appeared to be both coercive and collaborative. During the bikan festival in Ngun, the ritual priest is from Abar and the incantations are made in the Abar language even though the festival shine is in Ngun. Participants in the festival from Abar, Buu, Ngun, Mumfu and kung are now obliged to listen to incantations in Abar and for some of them, this has forced them to learn to speak Abar.

In healing rituals, the people of Mashi and Koshin are reputed for their charms and most people from the other villages of Lower Fungom who go there for healing or divination will have to listen to incantation in either Koshin or Mashi language. It is because these people have the power to restore health or predict one's troubles or

joys that people from the other villages will be obliged to learn their languages so as to be able to understand the incantations and directives for healing.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we looked at the relation between multilingualism and intercommunity relations and identity and how power relations enhance or impede the practice of multilingualism among the communities of Lower Fungom. We noticed that marriage and intermarriage, health seeking behavior as well as funerals and performances are occasions where the relationship between multilingualism and community interaction are expressed. On its part, coercive and collaborative power relations are employed in multilingual practices to assert individual and community identity, political domination and cooperation through intermarriage and finally ritual relationship. The power relations in the practice of multilingualism in the micro or rural communities is a great challenge and should be taken seriously when it has to be applied at the macro or national level. In the next chapter, we present the results, discussions and conclusions of our research findings.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

7.0. Introduction

This chapter treats three aspects: the results of the work, the discussions and the general conclusion of the study. It basically describes what we got from the data and analysis, i.e. the findings gathered from the ethnographic data. It further seeks to interpret and describe the significance of findings in this work (discussions). This chapter will also focus on elaborating the significance of the findings (general conclusion).

The data was derived from our research objectives among which were: 1.To study how multilingualism is practiced within households in Lower Fungom Communities. 2. Explore the perception of Multilingualism in Lower Fungom communities. 3. To study the role of multilingualism in intercommunity relations in the Lower Fungom area and the social structures that enhances the practice of multilingualism in Lower Fungom communities. 4. Explore the challenges in the practice of household multilingualism in lower Fungom. 5. Explain the challenges in the practice of multilingualism in the Lower Fungom area.

Guided by the research questions plus the research problem, (cf. chapter one) data was gathered and analyses carried out. The following results were gotten from our study of multilingual practices in Lower Fungom.

7.1 Discussion

In studying how multilingualism is practiced in the Lower Fungom area, we chose four communities and made an ethnographic summary of the communities. From the data collected in these communities, there appears to be a significant level of multilingualism in Lower Fungom especially within the households. This was established through household and community attitudes towards the practice of multilingualism. We noticed that individuals in households claim to be multilingual in 5 to 6 languages. There are no monolingual households in Lower Fungom. Every household happens to have in its linguistic repertoire at least two local languages. Multilingual competences are transmitted in the household from one generation to another where children in intermarriage households learn to practice the languages of their parents and acquire the kinship norms. It is this ability to be multilingual that enhances intercommunity relations both within households, in the community and with other communities.

The role of multilingualism in intercommunity relations in the Lower Fungom area and the social structures that enhances the practice of multilingualism in the area is expressed in such cultural domains as intermarriage, economics, power relations and rituals among others.

Through intermarriage, people opt to learn the languages of their spouses or their grandparents so as to be able to identify with the said communities. In order to be able to buy or sell their goods and services easily people will learn the languages of the neighbor communities even when they do not have any blood relations in the communities. The presence of *Jikun*, *Bamoun*, *Bum*, *Kom*, *Mungaka* and *Mmen* in the profile of the sampled households of Lower Fungom, especially of elderly people, reveals the importance these languages used to have in the past for trade reasons.

People in Lower Fungom aged 83 to 98 years i.e. the oldest sample are not multilingual in Pidgin English. This goes further to give insights as to the multilingual nature during pre-colonial times. The study reveals that a majority of the respondents in Lower Fungom who are competent in *Mungaka* (a language used by early missionaries for evangelization in the grassfield regions of Cameroon) come from the older group.

While exploring the perception of Multilingualism in Lower Fungom communities, we noticed that household multilingual practices are a contributive factor to the societal peaceful co-existence. Members of the household who are not multilingual are referred to as *mebang be tung* in Buu and every community has a description for them. They are thought of as being handicapped and so need to be protected in the family. This family protection extends to the whole community where every household protects its members who are not multilingual.

To gain favor from traditional authorities and also to intercept evil, people will learn the languages of the neighbor communities. As explained in chapters five and six, the societal co-existence can be co-related to the fact that there is no discrimination and no prejudices about languages in homes.

Socio-cultural factors such as: blood and individual relations account for the most reasons why people learn languages. Other factors that account for these blood relations include: in-laws, perceptions of proximity and similarity, religion, education, marriage and movements. Pidgin English registers as the highest language found in the linguistic banks of the respondents of Lower Fungom both at the level of passive and active competence. Most of the population sampled attest knowledge in Pidgin English, while some report passive competence and others report active competence. All the consultants were interviewed in Pidgin English.

What is evident from the data collected is that the challenges in the practice of household multilingualism in lower Fungom arise from their language ideologies. Household disputes and intercommunity conflicts influence the desire to speak or not to speak a language. Also, the absence of prestige is revealed in the attitudes of Lower Fungom people towards language. In Lower Fungom, men are more multilingual than women because of their mobility.

Equally, there are significant rates of multilectalism in Lower Fungom. Analyses reveal that, people in Lower Fungom can understand up to 18 lects and speak up to 17 lects. This multilingual competence needs to be transmitted from one generation to another and we tried to assess the role of multilingual practices in intergenerational and intercommunity relations.

For intergenerational relations, the relations with the next generation starts at the level of the household before being carried out to the community and beyond the community. These relationships are characterized by respect, responsibility, reciprocity and resiliency which are evident within the relationships and these characteristics are relevant to individuals who work with older people and their families. Among the people of Mashi Abar, Koshin and Buu, every household possess its rituals during which the values, symbols and kinship relations are transmitted from father to son or from mother to daughter . In Koshin, the *fekule* (village gathering), *mbegeh* (joint transportation of foodstuff from the farm) *nemgah* (annual festival), are some of such occasions where intergenerational interaction takes place and where the elders reciprocate in their duties to the youth. The people of Abar, Buu, Ngun and Munken have they *bikan* ritual where there is intergenerational interaction and multilingual competences are transmitted or acquired.

On their part, the elderly women also interact with the younger women in their sacred institutions like the *shaamte* and in meeting houses and Njangi (thrift -and- loan scheme) groups. The *shaamte* is the female sacred society which cuts across all the villages in Lower Fungom. Membership is hereditary in most cases against a very high fee. During their outings (usually when a member dies) the younger women who stand to succeed their mothers are often invited to visit their mothers in the *shaamte* house so as to learn the activities in the house. In Buu, the elderly women are said to invoke the *mgbaaleh* (blessings) on the village whenever they are called upon. In Abar, the *chereta* (elderly women) and *na'tum* (queen mother) have to administer the women on the daily bases and settle any disputes among them. During village gatherings in Koshin or Mashi, the elderly women are called to give advice to the younger women when they are drinking palm wine or corn beer.

The reciprocal relationship between the generations in Lower Fungom is illustrated by the effects one generation has on another. Sutor, et al., (1996) report that life transitions (e.g., marriage divorce, child birth) experienced by adult children affect the lives of older persons and, in return, life changes (widowhood) have an impact on the younger generations. Intergenerational relationships are characterized by interdependency. Consequently, the relationships between the generations are often reciprocal and may go beyond one community to the other leading to intercommunity relations and interactions.

What we can deduce from the above analysis is that the peaceful co-existence within the community emanates from a strong foundation in the family as multilingualism is handed down from generation to generation as a culture (Ref chap 5). Learning more than one language becomes not only prestigious but a duty. Speaking one language

becomes a stigma in the community but at the same time the family protects the monolingual because they sympathize with him/her. The sympathy that they have for the monolingual is the same sympathy they have for somebody who doesn't have legs, it is the same sympathy they have for a person who is dumb. The State of Cameroon could learn from this style of practicing multilingualism and protecting monolinguals and minority languages so as to enhance peaceful coexistence among communities.

The concept of intercommunity relations is so vast and encompassing that it touches every aspect of life. Apart from colonial arrangements that led to intercommunity interaction in the Bamenda grassfield, other factors such as, mutual exchange, identity, competition and use of a common language among others, are root causes of intercommunity interaction. Among the people of Lower Fungom, intercommunity interaction is expressed through various forms among which are Betrothal and Marriage, Childhood and Education, Death and Burial in, verbal arts, music, and dance, Economic activities as well as Power Relations. In the lower Fungom communities, childhood education begins from the household and emphasizes respect and conformity rather than uniqueness or singularity. Verbal arts, music, and dance among them people of Lower Fungom amplifies intercommunity interaction where there is both competition and cooperation. Dance groups such as *kebamo*, *Ndong*, *Mbolo*, *Kessem*, *Njong* or *munkpwem* are peer dance groups that cut across all the communities of lower Fungom with each community claiming to perform more than the other.

Apart from being a place for buying and selling, the market also serves as a place where information is relayed from one community to the other on market days. The

newly wed will have to appear in the market, a new born baby especially twins will have to be presented in the market, the health or death of a person in any of the villages is widely known on the market day, the availability of foodstuff in any community that could not be brought to the market is made known to those who will be able to send people to these communities to buy on non-market days, a newly enthroned chief in any of the communities has to be presented to the other villages in the market on a market day. Information about community labor or any inter community activity is announced on the market day. This is especially to demonstrate the power relations among the communities.

Lower Fungom is made of thirteen villages with each of them having its political institutions. Such institutions as the chief and law houses like the *kwifon*, *nkoh*, *nto'o*, or *bikan* for men and *shaamte* for the women are present in all the villages. Apart from the chieftaincy and the *shaamte* which have a hereditary status, adherence to the other institutions is by a fee even though the details vary slightly from one village to the other. For instance, in Mashiland Koshin, the dog is one of the most important items in the fees for membership in the *nkoh* but it is not required in the other villages. Thus a member of the *nkoh* in Buu can be considered a member in Mashior any other village in Lower Fungom as long as they have paid the membership fee in one village.

Dicarlo (2014) notes that... Fang, Koshin and Mundabli claim a common historical origin, Buu, Abar, Ngun and Munken claim to share common cultural ties while Mashis have cultural ties with communities out of lower Fungom but have closer interaction with Mumfu as their neighbor.

These interactions are spoiled by a number of challenges which the people of Lower Fungom have to overcome on a daily basis in order to foster their ability to live together on the same area of land.

The converging use of language often creates confidence and cohesion whereas divergent use of language tends to be uncertain and dissociative and is either associated with personal or foreign such that a speaker would avoid using a particular language to someone considered foreign. Therefore people living in multilingual societies who are monolingual are, daily, faced with the question of which language to use in order to express their belonging to the society (Coulmas, 2013, p123). For most multilinguals, such language use is part of everyday practice but they are frequently caught in an ideological tension about language and cultural identification that is often articulated through debates about the importance of Language purity and mutual intelligibility. When asked which language the consultants would prefer to speak if their village talk did not exist, the choice of a new language varied within the same households and in the same community. This was based on the interactions the consultants as individuals, households and the community had with the people of the second language choice. Such issues as intermarriage, economic activities, ritual ties, land as well as chieftaincy disputes were among the reasons why the speaker would choose or not choose to communicate in a language.

In Koshin, the dominant language choice in the palace if there was no *benyui bekoo* was the languages out of lower Fungom such as Jikun, Bum, and Kom. Most households and other people in the community would not accept to speak Mundabli just a few kilometers from them because of the long standing land dispute between Koshin and Mundabli.

While some people said they would speak the Fang language because of their historical relations, others said they would choose Mashi because they were married in Mashi.

In Mashi, the choice of a second country talk other than Jiokpang was also out of Lower Fungom and mostly jikun in Nigeria and Naki in upper Fungom. The reasons for not choosing to speak any of the languages of Lower Fungom, was to maintain historical ties with their places of origin. Others simply said they did not have sharp ears to learn other languages.

In Buu, most of the people said they would switch to speaking fang if their language Buu was removed because they interacted more with the people of Fang even though their language was more similar to Mumfu language. Some said if there was no Buu language, they would still prefer to speak Mumfu because of historical ties.

In Abar, the choice of a different language apart from *nyiobaa* was Ngun, Buu, or Mumfu because of their ritual and historical ties. Most people in Abar would not like to speak Missong which is just a few metres from Abar but would prefer to speak Mumfu which is far off from Abar. The reasons they advanced for this was that the people of Missong were aggressive and always had land disputes with Abar. Despite common historical and ritual ties with Ngun, they would not replace their *nyiobar* with Ngun because of the attitudes of the people of Ngun.

Another major challenge to multilingualism was social interaction where people who had less interaction with others either in the same village or other villages found it hard to learn and speak other languages.

Reduced interpersonal interaction both at the household and community levels also turned out to be a major challenge to multilingual practices among the people of

Lower Fungom. In some households, there were monolingual persons whereas the entire household was multilingual. This was the case in Buu where in a one household everyone had multilingual abilities except the last child of the house. The explanation given for her inability to be multilingual was that she was born in Buu, attended school in Buu and so did not interact very much with other children of her age in school like her elder siblings who had attended school in other villages and some were married to husbands from neighboring villages.

In Koshin, entire households and quarters were monolingual and they claimed it was because they did not intermarry from other villages and they also did not interact with people of other villages. In Mashi, we found someone in a household who could not speak any of the local languages apart from the Mashi language but he could speak Spanish fluently. He was married in Mashi and so had no reason to learn the other local languages.

Language ideology as a challenge to the practice of multilingualism in lower Fungom is evident and the domains in which it is made manifest go beyond conflict, reduced interaction, to identity among others.

From the identity theory, we notice that “Identity” has both an individualist and a collective meaning. It is a “process located in the core of the individual and yet in the core of his community culture. In other words, identity is simply as a person’s sense of belonging to a group if (it) influences their behavior.” Identity is said to be “always anchored both in physiological ‘givens’ and in social roles. During the focus group discussion in Koshin, the participants agreed that; yes, *from what you have been saying, we are Koshin and why we do not speak their languages is because they*

hate us and we don't want to interact with them. That is why we do not speak their languages and that is what I have to say about it.:

Identity is also a process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, or a related set of cultural attributes, which is given priority over other sources of meaning. For an individual, or for a group, there may be a plurality of identities. Yet, such a plurality is a source of stress and contradiction in both self-representation and social action. During the focus group discussion in Koshin, the participants agreed that; yes *If you hear we say nyubekhe, it is the tongue and anyone who speaks, we will be able to identify the person.* The act of speaking *nyubekhe* identifies one with a particular speech community and gives one a meaning of the social activities in the community. The social construction of identity in this area is marked by power relationships, and follows three forms and origins of identity building; Legitimizing identity, Resistance identity, and Project identity. Legitimizing identity is introduced by the dominant societal institution to extend and rationalize their domination over social actors. On its part, resistance identity is generated by those actors who are devalued or stigmatized by the logic of domination, and who build trenches of resistance on the basis of principles different from, or opposed to, those permeating the institutions of society. Project identity comes into existence when a social actor, on the basis of whatever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by so doing, seek the transformation of the overall social structure. Legitimizing identity is made manifest in the institution of the *nko'* and the *bikan*. In the *nko'* institution, a person who is identified as being a member in one village can partake in the activities of *nko'* in another village even if he has no blood relations there. In the *bikan* institution among the people of Abar, Buu, Ngun, Munken and Kung, every

male from these communities can partake in its activities but people from other Lower Fungom villages are not allowed to take part in the activities. They become hostile to these people and call them strangers.

Resistance identity is seen between the Abar and Missong or between Koshin and Mundabli. The people of Abar consider the those of Missong as aggressive and drug dealers who always start the fight on market days or other occasions while the people of Koshin see the Mundabli as ungrateful and aggressive because they were offered land by the Koshin and now they are claiming all Koshin land as their own and have been fighting the people of Koshin for long because of this land dispute. Thus a Koshin man will not like to identify with Mundabli just like the Abar will not like to identify with Missong. The people of Buu also consider the Abar as dubious and schemers while the Abar also regard the Buu as brags.

Project identity can be seen in intermarriage where the chief of Abar got married to a princess from Buu who gave birth to a son who became the chief of Abar meaning that the succession line of the chiefdom will move from Abar to Buu. The new chief on his part married from Mundabli thus transferring the Abar succession line from Buu to Mundabli had the line not changed from him to his brother.

In the history of language and conflict, experience has shown that when there is multilingualism in very restricted communities like these, the issue of identity comes up and many people are asserting their identity and this has often resulted to conflict. Yet there seem to be this apparent calm in Lower Fungom basically as a result of a sort of consensus among the communities.

The consensus in the practice of multilingualism in lower Fungom can be noticed in all the facets of daily life from the household, within the community and across the

communities. The use of language, participation in rituals and other services, have agreed norms that are respected in the household, the community and beyond the community.

In speech form, the locals hold that, each ethnic group speaks a separate linguistic form, especially with the case of single villages. That an individual speaking a different language can be accepted in that community and as such, receives protection from the invisible world by the chief. In other words, being multilingual can fetch a golden ticket of protection to invisible threats by a chief representing that ethnic community. When speaking to an elder, you start by using his language in cases where the elder is from the same village like the younger speaker. If the speaker is from your mother's village, you can speak your mother's language to him but if you don't master your mother's language, you can speak your father's language but it is not polite to try to speak your mother's language to your father's people unless you have been given permission by the elder from your father's village. Language choice among peers is determined by the joking relations that exist among them.

In the practice of rituals, it is agreed that the elders are those who have to lead or perform the rituals. Every household has its ritual head such as the *Bikum* in Mashi, *Nemgah* in Koshin or the *Bikan* among the Abar, Buu, Ngun, and Munken. In the *Bikan* ritual for instance, the ceremony holds in Ngun but the ritual head is from Abar.

The female societies are basically two, *Shaamte* and *Fumbwen*, and the villages differ as to their relative position in the hierarchy. In Mashi, there are 3 female societies, while in Koshin only different perception and role of the female gender.

Male societies are more diverse. Apart from *Kwifon*, the basic society known also by the name Ngumba (in the opinion of many this is its Pidgin name), the other societies have various names. There are essentially two groups and two isolates: 1. Eko/Ekwe group; 2. Ntchu/Ntü group; Ntchu/Ntü group seems a real (northwest Lower Fungom) , plus Ajumbu which has bought somewhat recently this institution either from Mumfu or from Zhoa (see Report).

Secret societies are essential for the formation of the village itself Lower Fungom as a political unit. In Lower Fungom the paramount social institution is the (extended) agnatic family or lineage. The presence of quarter heads, the distribution of law houses among the different quarters, the existence of subchiefs born in a family different from that of the chief, these are all features indicating that Lower Fungom societies are of segmentary nature. The segments, i.e. the patrilineages, typically constitute exogamous, residential, and ritual units. Such a social fabric is kept together by the secret societies. These act as a social glue along at least two different dimensions:

- they provide the village with an effective organizational tool that encompasses all the segments;
- they provide the villagers with a pervasive ideology that both justifies the existing power relations and represents the village moral world, thus everyone's life goals.

With regards to kinship, child naming follows the patriarchal norms where the father names the first child born in the family no matter if it is intermarriage or intramarriage.

Women verbal art performances seem particularly homogeneous throughout the area. Ritual song-and-dance performance of the female top society is apparently very similar in most if not all of the Lower Fungom villages. As for less ritually marked

practices, the situation is far from clear, although there are at least two popular genres that are widely shared in the whole of Lower Fungom. These are Mbolo (also Mbolo Mbolo) and Kinnsam . Such genres, reserved to women (and children), are ubiquitous and everywhere treat the same topics, mainly marital problems.

As for other genres it is impossible to say if nearly identical names of genres actually correspond to a shared tradition. For instance, there is a genre called Samba in Mundabli which seems to be of more "political" importance than the previous ones. It is not reserved to women although in fact in Mundabli only women sing Samba. There is also Samba in Mumfu; here, they said they liked Mundabli's Samba and started composing songs in Mumfu variety following the Mundabli style. There is also a Samba gender in Koshin. Both men and women sing and compose songs, one man has introduced the ndenge (string instrument) in its performance, and topics range from personal to historical. It is not clear whether there is a shared core between Koshin and Mundabli genders. Even more enigmatic is the situation concerning genders as ndoŋ or ndzaŋ: in some villages it is said to be restricted to men, in others, everybody can join the performance... Similar or identical names can, also in this case, refer to more or less different traditions. As is the case with the secret societies, however, the general impression is one of "variations on the theme": prevalence of one or two models declined in local varieties. There is also to note that the jujus, i.e. the societies that have a mask and a music-and-dance performance associated with it, are practically the same all over Lower Fungom.

Politically, on the surface, these villages are quite similar to each other. What is most common to all of them is that, until colonial times, each village used to be politically independent (i.e. a sort of microscopic version of "city-state" (village-chiefdom), a centripetal feature that is still visible in the degree of political centralisation around

the figure of the village chief, though not comparable to what is still observable in the larger chiefdoms of the Grassfields like Bafut, Kom, or Mankon to name but few of them (cf. e.g. Chilver & Kaberry 1967, Warnier 1985).

Local language ideologies also go into the same, centripetal direction: Lower Fungom is characterised by an extremely localist sociolinguistic attitude (in the sense of Hill (1996) according to which each village has its own “talk” (i.e. language). Locals would readily accept that at least in some villages people speak “rhyming talks” i.e. closely related language varieties like in the case of the Mungbam [mij] varieties; Abar, Biya, Missong, Munken, and Ngun (Good et al. (2011); Lovegren (2013) but this does not change the basic ideological equation “one village = one language.”

Residentially, each village is composed of a number of separate areas, inhabited in the overwhelming majority of cases by men sharing a common male ancestor with their wives and offspring. These virilocal, exogamous patrilineages are locally known as “quarters”: these act as corporate groups in terms of economy and productive activities (e.g. land is typically undivided below the level of quarter or of its sub-sections) and, importantly, each quarter has a “quarter head” who ensures that it enjoys a certain degree of political autonomy within the village context. This is why quarters should be considered the actual building blocks, as it were, of Lower Fungom societies. There is only one dimension of life of these societies in which, besides language, the village is a meaningful social unit

The local language ideologies consist of creating the maximum number of social networks (economic, political and social) for one’s own benefits and this underlie whatever sociological factors that account for high rates of multilingualism in Lower Fungom.

In economic activities, there is consensus on the location of the local Market in Abar and the days on which the market has to hold. The day the market holds does not coincide with the country Sunday or any other market day of any other village in the community. The Yemngeh and Nkang markets hold on alternative days with the Abar market. The goods sold in these markets are brought in either from neighboring Nigeria or from Wum. Only perishable goods and foodstuff are produced in the area.

The role of multilingualism in the socio- cultural and economic development of the Lower Fungom area is sort of ambivalent. In the early days of independence, Lower Fungom might have benefited much from the then West Cameroon administration due to the multilingual abilities of one of its sons; the late J.C. Kangkolo who gained political prominence from the area and rose to the rank of secretary of state in charge of public works. He was able to construct a road network from Wum to his home village Buu and the other villages such as Koshin, Mashi, Ajumbo, Fang and Nkang. He made many of his kin to attend the schools that were opened in Missong, Koshin and Abar. Today, the people of Buu have the highest literacy rate in the lower Fungom area and the Abar market is more popular than any other market in the area.

These gains have however not stood the test of time as of when we were on the field. Despite the presence of two government secondary schools in the area (Buu and Abar) and a poorly equipped health center which is meant thirteen villages. The infant and mother mortality rate is high as we noticed on the field; three mothers lost their babies at birth in the health center while one mother passed away during delivery. The road network has degraded and it is no longer motorable especially in the rainy season. The only means of transportation is the motorbike which is will break one down more than it eases movement.

Apart from the poor infrastructural development and a precarious health situation in the area, there has been socio-cultural integration with a new type of identity formation emerging through conflict and consensus. In the section below, we use the identity theory as well as the conflict and consensus theories to discuss the role of multilingualism in the social cohesion of a linguistically diverse area like lower Fungom.

7.2. Lessons

In social sciences, the conflict theory is an approach which views social phenomenon as the result of conflict between individuals or groups. It has been developed at both the micro and macro levels. The micro level explains conflict between individuals and small groups and from their behavior, seeks to draw inferences about collective behavior.

The Competition and invasion frame of the conflict theory (ref.chap 2) stresses the competition for the exercise of control over vital resources as hunting grounds, pasture, farmlands, water sources and medicinal plants among others. These resources are in limited quantities and conflict arises over demand by many; this rather than consensus accounts for human relationships.

The peoples and groups of lower Fungom migrated from different locations to occupy their present area. There certainly have been competitions to exercise control over the available resources during which some groups invaded and subdued others so as to control the scarce available resources. This is evidenced in some of the conflicts inherent in the area such as Ngun and the now extinct lung people, Koshin and the now extinct Nsom people, Koshin and Mundabli as well and the Abar Missong conflicts. These conflicts between communities were inevitable given that

these peoples migrated from different cultural backgrounds each with a different language. It was the same thing even within households in the communities as the households had to break up and form the various quarters within the same communities or in different communities. This was the case in Abar, Koshin, Mashi and Buu where the quarters were formed from the breakup of the households of the first leaders of the communities. In Abar, the Agako quarter was founded by a man from Fang after a dispute with his kin in Fang. Koshin has thirteen satellite quarters which had to spread out as a result of conflict within the main settlement. This conflict among the various groups of lower Fungom may appear banal but they had a symbolic meaning because it led to the occupation of more space by the groups and consequent control of available scarce resources. The effective occupation of more space and control of available resources creates structural inequality.

The Structural inequality stance of the conflict theory talks of power and reward built into social structures wherein individuals and groups that benefit from any particular structure strive to see it maintained, preserved for themselves and bequeathed to their progeny. It is in this light that the peoples of lower Fungom who had secured enough space for themselves sought to build structures that would help them maintain and have control over the resources and transfer them to their progeny. Alliances were built among those who claimed to have a common descent; Buu-Abar-Ngun-Munken-Mumfu and Fang-Koshin. These alliances were consolidated under linguistic groups (MUNGBAM , JI, fak) and social structures such as the *bikan* and *Nemgah*. The weaker groups, Missong, Mundabli, Ajumbo and Mashi who had no links with other peoples out of Lower Fungom were incorporated into main groups of the area and through social and political structures that as well enabled them to live together through consensus.

The consensus theory focuses on the social order being sustained by shared norms, values and beliefs of the people. According to this perspective, the society upholds the necessity to maintain the status quo and if an individual goes against what is accepted and shared by the majority, that person is considered as deviant. Here, prominence is given to culture as a way of maintaining the consensus of society for purposes of the integration of the values of a group of people. As such, the people of Lower Fungom came to a consensus through their social and political institutions which enabled them to live together. There was a consensus on the functioning of social institutions like marriage, the market and education, as well as political institutions like the chieftaincy, and the law houses like the *nto'o*, the *nkoo* and the *shaamte* among others. This consensus is expressed through linguistic practices which start from the households. Every household or family primarily trains their progeny for purposes of procreation and continuity such that incest taboos are one of the basic elements of child education in the household. Children especially girls can marry from the age of 16 but the norms for marriage in each household and the entire community are spelled out and are respected by all in the community and beyond (Ref chap 5). The bride wealth varies from family to family and from one community to another. Marrying a wife from Abar, Buu, Mumfu or Missong requires only the traditional drinking of the bond which will be 20 liters of palmwine and a cock. The symbolic bride wealth of 20,000 FRS is paid after one must have lived with his wife and founded their home with children. Among the people of Ngun, marrying a wife entails payment of 10 life goats, palm wine and a sum of money decided by the family of the girl. Among the people of Koshin, you can marry your wife and pay all the bride wealth but when she dies, it is her father who buries her corpse in his compound. There is a consensus concerning marriage practices among the people

and everyone respects the norms laid down in each community. As such, a person from Abar or Buu knows exactly what awaits him if he is going to marry from Koshin or Ngun just as a person from Ngun or Koshin knows what do if he has to marry out of his village. There have been intermarriages and children born of these marriages are educated to respect the marriage and kinship norms of their communities and all other aspects of socially life like the economy.

Among the people of Lower Fungom, there has been a consensus to locate the weekly market at Abar which is at equidistance to Buu, Marshi, Koshin, Mundabli, Missong Mumfu and Ngun. In this market, every village occupies a particular area on which they have constructed their sheds. On the market day, it will be easy for one to locate a person from any of the thirteen villages of lower Fungom either to deliver a message or buy a particular good from such a village. Every village is noted for its specificities in goods and services and on market days, people go round the market either to drink a particular brand of corn beer from Koshin, Buu or Mumfu or to buy a particular charm from this or that village.

On first sight, one might think the market is not organized but it is only when you interact with the people that you notice the consensus in the organization and running of the market. For instance, sellers or buy coming from villages out of Lower Fungom sell their goods in the sheds of their relatives or friends who live in Lower Fungom villages. Thus it will be easy to get a person from Menkaf selling in the Abar market among the people of Marshi. It will be easy to get a person from Kung among the people of Ngun and Abar in the market. Every information concerning the people of Lower Fungom is disseminated in the market be it the visit of the DO to a particular village or community labor in a one of the villages. Messages from the traditional rulers (chiefs) are given particular attention because of the esteem that is

placed upon the institution of the chief. In Lower Fungom, there is a general consensus on the person and institution of the chief which is present in all the thirteen villages and the entire grassfield region of the North-West region of Cameroon. All the chiefs of lower Fungom are said to have spiritual and mystical powers that are given to them during their enthronement. The procedure for enthronement follows a hierarchical arrangement in which the villages form alliances and the concerned chiefdoms each have to play an agreed role during the enthronement otherwise the enthronement is said to be incomplete. During the enthronement of the Chief of Buu which we witnessed, the Chief of Ngun who is part of the alliance of the Abar, Buu, kung, Mumfu, Munken and Ngun chiefdoms is the one to perform the final rites before the chief is presented in the market square. We also observed the chief of Mumfu who seems to be mentally deranged and we were told that his enthronement rites had not been completed because the chief of Ngun was not invited to attend the ceremony. The enthronement rites mainly consist of seating the confirmed candidate in the palace courtyards then giving him a symbolic beating after which he is given a public bath and he then goes into seclusion for a period of one month. It is during the isolation period that he is transmitted all the spiritual powers of a chief both by his peer chiefs and the village notables. This procedure obtains in all the villages of Lower Fungom and it is transmitted from generation to generation into the various households and institutions that are concerned with the enthronement of the chief. Such institutions as the *nkoo* for men and the *shaamte* for women, belong to particular households in each village even though they are village property. The membership fee for the *shaamte* in Ngun is higher than that of Koshin but any woman who is a member of *shaamte* in one village is welcome in any other village and has the rights of a

member. In all the villages, membership fee is high for women who are joining the group for the first time but those who are inheriting the seat of a deceased relative, the fee is not very high as it is said that the deceased member had already paid part of the fees. Among the people of Mashi, the dog is the major item which crowns one's membership into the *nkoo* but other villages do not consider the dog as the main item but a member of *nkoo* in Buu can participate in the *nkoo* in Mashi provided his membership fee has all been paid in Buu. This means that when the *nkoo* of Buu is performing somewhere, a person from any village who is a member of the *nkoo* can sing incantations in his own language not necessarily in Buu language. This was the case during the enthronement of the chief of Buu when the incantations for the *nkoo* of Buu were sung in Missong language because the eldest member among those present was from Missong. He had learnt the incantations from his father who married from Missong but hails from Buu. If his son is willing, he will transmit the secret to him so that his son can continue the line when he (his father) goes to join his ancestors.

This is however not the case with the *nto'o* (the law making shrines of the villages) where major decisions concerning the life of each village are taken. Each village possesses its *nto'o* and no stranger (people from other villages) can have access to the *nto'o* of another village, not even a chief. A person living in Abar who hails from Koshin can partake in all the activities of the village but cannot have access to the *nto'o* house of Abar. The conditions for access to the *nto'o* of each village are well spelled out and each village respects the *nto'o* house of the other village. In the *nto'o* house, the powers of the chief are reduced to that of an ordinary member but the decisions taken there are announced in his name. The power relations in the villages are spelled out in such a way that the succession line in every village is known to all

the villages such that if a chief dies and there is intrusion in the line of succession, the other villages will intervene to restore order. This is the case in the ongoing chieftaincy dispute in Missong where the people of Abar and Mumfu were called in to clarify the correct line of succession. In the case of Mumfu where the chief is mentally deranged, it is said that he was in the right line of succession but the chief of Ngun was not invited during his enthronement.

The tolerance in economic activity, consensus in power relations and most especially multilingualism as a culture in the households provides, a process of negotiating identities that are embroiled in complex relations of power and status that reflect historical and current realities in the household and in the community as a whole.

As mentioned earlier, the idea of identity speaks of locating a person within a personal and social category; placing one's self and life within a framework of past, present and future and how one is different from others. Briefly put, identity helps to provide a sense of who we are and of who other people are. It serves as a crucial bridge in social life between human beings and wider cultures giving a sense of meaning, and a sense of categorization and differentiation.

In the practice of multilingualism among the households and communities of Lower Fungom, identities are revealed in the interactions and communications between the actors. One participant in a focus group discussion noted that “Our interactions not only reflect and reveal our own identities; they also communicate to those with whom we interact how we view them. Through language (oral, written, or body) , we can show respect, or affection or we can demonstrate an arrogance that communicates our view of others as inferior or subordinate. In short, our interactions constantly shape an interpersonal space within which identities are negotiated. ”

This means that Language is not just a neutral abstract code that we use for thinking and communicating with others; it is also central to our personal and collective identities how we define ourselves in relation to others. During a focus group discussion in Mashi, one participant insisted that “When we use language with others, we communicate not only information but also subtle aspects of our own identities as well as our feelings about the person with whom we are communicating.”

Steven Schneider (2010) opines that in some (usually more traditional) societies, identities are often assumed (they may be ascribed) and there is little debate about the nature of identities. Gender and sexuality may be taken for granted as a given identity. In other societies (usually modern ones prone to individualism), just who one is becomes a greater problem, and there is much discussion on the nature, origins, and impact of different kinds of identities. Some suggest that identities are more or less fixed and given from within; they are essentialist. In the communities where we collected data in lower Fungom, there is no identity crisis as but a subtle way of identity formation where identity is implicit. The consensus, tolerance in identity formation and balance power relations can be said to be responsible for the apparent peaceful co-existence among the people of multilingual lower Fungom.

In most multilingual areas where there has been intolerance, lack of consensus and poor power relations, the result has been conflict and consequent chaos as is the case in present day Republic of Cameroon.

Cameroon is a melting pot of several cultures and consequently a gouge for multilingualism. The multilingual practices are witnessed at the micro level like in the case of Lower Fungom and at the macro level as in the case of state bilingualism.

Whereas micro multilingualism has been able to lead to a peaceful co-existence and harmony in areas like Lower Fungom, it has in some cases been characterized by chaos and bloodshed like in the cases of the Arab Shoa and Kotokos in the North of the Country as well as among the some of the several ethnic groups that people the North-West region of present day Cameroon (Aghems and Fulanis, Bambili and Ndop, Babanki and Bambui among others). At the macro level, state bilingualism has been even more chaotic as we witness in the present social unrest and the ongoing war in the country. This falls in line with the Marxist conflict theory which suggests that human behavior in social contexts results from conflicts between competing groups. The desire of one linguistic group to dominate the other both at the micro and macro levels of the society creates social, political and economic unrest.

The state could manage multilingualism such that there is peaceful co-existence and harmony in the whole country. This has however not been the case because the state of Cameroon has allowed different languages and cultures to co-exist without promoting peaceful living together of the languages. It is the state that has to manage the linguistic diversity of the country to ensure peaceful co-existence and harmony in the country. A mismanagement of the state bilingualism has led to social, economic, political crisis in the country. Unlike the people of lower Fungom who at the micro level (as demonstrated in the previous chapter) cultivated tolerance, consensus and balanced power relations in their daily interactions, the state at the macro level ignored these aspects in state management and the result is the chaos that is inherent in the country today. Part of the country is fighting the central government with arms because the central government ignored their language identity. The result has been political and economic tension because the political class is pointing accusing fingers at the ruling party and calling for political reforms while the economy of the country

is not performing well because financial resources are directed to the military to fight armed insurgents in the country.

7.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, we presented the results of the work, the discussions and the significance of the results to the entire study. In studying how multilingualism is practiced in the Lower Fungom area, we chose four communities and made an ethnographic summary of the communities. From the data collected in these communities, the results show that there is a significant level of multilingualism in Lower Fungom especially within the households. The transmission of multilingual competences from one generation to another begins with the household and moves to the community and beyond the community. This makes multilingualism as a culture and it is this household enculturation of multilingualism that accounts for the apparent peaceful coexistence in the multilingual lower Fungom area. This apparent peaceful coexistence is sustained by balanced power relations which are exhibited through tolerance and consensus in the negotiation of identities as demonstrated in the previous chapters. As such, there is no conflict of identity but rather a new way of identity formation where identities are negotiated from the households and then expressed in the community through intergenerational interactions and beyond the community through intercommunity relationship.

7.3.1 Recommendations

We however did not exhaust all the domains of multilingual practices in the lower Fungom area as only four communities were studied out of the thirteen communities. This implies that the results from this study might only hold for the communities under study. Also, not all the cultural domains were approached in this study. We

thus recommend that domains like health seeking behavior in multilingual lower Fungom or the role of women in enhancing household multilingualism in lower Fungom could be further investigated.

7.3.2 Suggestions

In our opinion, tolerance, consensus and balanced power relations such as that which obtains among the people of Lower Fungom could be introduced at the macro level of multilingualism by the state to enhance peaceful co-existence and harmony among the diverse cultural and linguistic groups across the country. In this way, household and community multilingualism will be a national responsibility for reasons other than those of international politics. This is because language crisis often tend to breed other crisis such as economic, political, and social crisis which in turn create dysfunction in the society.

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APPENDICES

**Appendix I: Sociolinguistic Interview Guide administered to consultants in
Lower Fungom**

		Basic metadata of the recording
1	Researcher	
2	Date	
3	Audio files	
4	Place of interview	
		Consultant's personal details
5	Village & quarter	
6	Matrilineage (if present)	
7	Paternal name	
8	Maternal name	
9	Other names	
10	Gender	
11	Date of birth	
12	Occupation	
13	Father's affiliation(s)	
14	Father's languages	
15	Mother's affiliation(s)	
16	Mother's languages	
17	Spouse(s)' provenance	
18	Spouse(s)' languages	

Language / lect Consultant's paternal
name

ONE SHEET = ONE LANGUAGE / LECT

B1	Language name	
B2	How did you learn it and where?	
B3	When do you use it?	
B4	Are there any special occasions in which you use it? (e.g. prayers, songs, invocations, formulas)	
B5	Do you ever have dreams in this language?	
B6	What are the advantages of knowing this language?	
B7	If you did not now this language, what would be the consequences?	

REMARKS

Appendix II: Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF BUEA

Faculty of Social and Management Sciences

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Title of the study: **Multilingualism and Inter-Community Relations: An Ethnographic Appraisal of Lower Fungom Area in Cameroon.**

Participant Identification Code: /___/___/___/___/___/___/___/___/

Please circle **YES** or **NO** as the case may be:

1. I confirm that the reason for this study has been explained to me and I understand it. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and I am satisfied with the answers. **YES / NO**
2. I understand that participation in this study is voluntary and I am free to withdraw my consent at any time without giving a reason, without penalties **YES / NO**
3. I understand that data collected during this study may be looked at by other members of the supervisory team. I give permission for these individuals to have access to my records **YES / NO**
4. I hereby declare I have not been subjected to any form of coercion in giving this consent **YES / NO**
5. I agree to take part in this study **YES / NO**

The participant shall not be allowed to take part in the study if he/she circles no to any of the above.

Signing this declaration does not affect the participant's right to decline to take part in any future study.

Participant's Signature

Name	Community	Signature or Thumbprint	Date of signature

I agree to have my voice recorded YES/NO

Name and Signature of Member of Research Team taking Consent

Name	Community	Signature	Date of signature

Appendix III: Information Sheet Explaining Purpose of study to consultants

**Faculty of Social and
Management Sciences**

University of Buea

**Department of Sociology
and Anthropology**

I am **Kum Marius Kebei** from the University of Buea. I am doing research with KPAAMCAM on multilingualism in your community. Multilingualism means the ability to speak more than one language. In this study we want to know how this ability influences your daily life and that of the people and villages around you. You are being invited to participate in this research because of your privileged position in this community and because we feel that your experience and views are important to this study.

We encourage you to share your views openly and honestly and to respect other people's views.

Your Participation in this study is voluntary; it is your choice whether to consent or not.

We are asking you to share with us some personal and confidential information and if you feel uncomfortable talking about any of the questions, you do not have to answer them or take part in the discussion if you don't wish to do so.

The research being done in the community may draw attention and if you participate, you may be asked questions by other people in the community. If it is o.k. with you, we would like to record the interview. Once, conducted, the information that we collect from this interview will be anonymized and stored securely in a confidential manner.

There will be no direct benefit to you but we are going to reimburse your transportation fare and the time you spend with us during this interview.

If you have any questions, you can ask them now or later. If you wish to ask questions later, you may contact me at: **676 488654**

Appendix IV: Excerpts of a transcribed Focus Group Discussion. Complete audio and transcribed interview-and metadata shall be uploaded on the following link (<https://ubwp.buffalo.edu/kpaamcam/>)

Transcription FGD Koshin

Participants

Name	Code	Quarter	Marital Status	Religion	Occupation	DOB	Languages Spoken	level of schooling
Boanto Manasseh	P1	Beadong1	Married	Christian Presbyterian	Teacher	1961	Koshin, Kung, Fang, Bafmeng, Weh,and Aghem	completed Secondary school
Yaboum Emmanuel Tah	P2	Beadong1	Married	Christian Presbyterian	Farmer	1974	Koshin, Fang and Mashi	completed elementary school
Boum Emmanuel Chu	P3	Baibumbum	Married	Christian Presbyterian	Farmer	1947	Koshin, Fang and pidgin.	None
Yaoh Moses	P4	Beadong 1	married	Christian Presbyterian	Farmer	1975	Mundabli, Mashi, Koshin pidgin English	completed elementary school
Ngong Lucas	P5	Beadong 1	Married	Christian Presbyterian	Farmer	1949	Koshin, Fang, Bali pidgin English	completed elementary school
Boati John	P6	Beadong 2	Married	Christian Presbyterian	Farmer	1960	French, English, Koshin, Fang and Bum	completed elementary school
Bum Charles Yoah	P7	Beadong 2	Single	Christian /Baptist	Farmer	1980	Koshin , Fulfulde, Fang, Mashi, Bafmeng, French and Pidgin	Primary Four
Ju Bum Naphtali	P8	Baebae	Married	Christian /Baptist	Pastor			
Ikom Christopher					Took pictures and video			
Kum Marius					Researcher and Interviewer			

I: Today July 23rd 2018, a Focus Group Discussion with the Men of Koshin village. The venue is the Koshin Palace hall. I thank you all for the time you have taken up time morning to attending this discussion which concerns Koshin village. (Before starting the recording, the participants were briefed on the reason and outline of the Focus Group Discussion). So we start up with Mr. Banto Manasseh, he will bear number one? Mr Boanto Manasseh good morning.

P1: Thank you

I: Which village are you from?

P1: Koshin

I: From which quarter?

P1: Beadong 1

I: Are you married?

P1: I am married

I: What is your religion?

P1: Christian (Presbyterian)

I: Your father came from which village?

P1: Koshin

I: From which quarte?

P1: Beadong 1

I: Which languages could your father speak?

P1: He could speak, Koshin, Bali, Bum

I: Which village is your wife from?

P1: Koshin.

Which quarter

Beudong 1

I: Your mother was from which village?

P1: Koshin

I: Which languages could your mother speak or she speaks the same languages with your wife?

P1: She speaks the same Koshin but my wife can also speak Mashi language

I: o.k. what is your level of schooling?

P1: I complete secondary school

I: Which languages do you speak?

P1: I speak Koshin, Kung, Fang, Bafmeng, Weh, and wum (the Aghem Dialect)

I: o.k. you also speak Grammar and pidgin?

P1: Grammar and pidgin!!

I: Thank you. So Mr Banto Manasseh will bear number one. These numbers that I am attributing, we use them during the discussion. If someone has something to say, you show a finger and we call you by your number and not your name. We now move to Mr Yaboum Emmanuel Tah. Good morning Mr Yaboum, which is your quarter here in Koshin?

P2: It is Beudong 1

I: Are you married?

P2: Yes

I: How many children?

P2: I have nine children

I: Which church do you attend?

P2: Presbyterian.

I: When were you born?

P2: I was born in 1974

I: What is your occupation?

P2: Farming

I: Which types of crops do you cultivate?

P2: I work corn, plantains, cassava and nut harvesting

I: o.k. Apart from farming what else do you do; which sickness can you treat, which drumming can you play in this village ?

P2: Well, I am a member of the juju dance groups, I also own a grinding mill and other activities.

I: How did you acquire the land on which you are farming?

P2: The farm is from my fathers

I: What is your father's village?

P2: Koshin

I: Which quarter was he from?

P2: Beadong1

I: Which languages did your father speak?

P2: He spoke Koshin language.

I: And which one?

P2: He also spoke Fang and Mashi

I: which village did your mother come from?

P2: Koshin

I: From which quarter?

P2: Baimbum quarter

I: Which languages did she speak?

P2: She spoke Koshin

I: Which other languages could she speak?

P2: Bum because she was familiar to Bum.

I: Does she have relatives in Bum,

P2: Yes

I: Is it her maternal or paternal family ?

P2: It is her maternal family

I: Which village does your wife come from?

P2: She comes from Koshin village

I: Which languages does she speak?

P2: she speaks Koshin language.

I: And which other one?

P2: Only Koshin.

I: o.k. What is your level of schooling?

P2: I have the First School Leaving.

I: So you completed elementary school?

P2: Yes

I: Which languages do you speak?

P2: I speak Koshin, Fang and Mashi

I: Which one do you hear but you cannot speak?

P2: I can hear but I cannot talk.

I: Thank you Mr Yaboum Emmanuel you are number two and then number three is Mr Boum Emmanuel Chu. Thank you Pa, for the time you have taken off this morning to attend this focus group discussion. You say you are from which quarter?

P3: Baibumbum

I: Are you married?

P3: I am married

I: How many children?

P3: Eleven Children

I: Which church do you attend?

P3: Presbyterian Church

I: o.k. What is your occupation?

P3: I climb palm trees; I cultivate corn and groundnut on my farm

I: The farm you are cultivating is it yours or who owns it?

P3: The farm is mine it is only the palms that I grow up to inherit from my father

I: Do you have farms on land that does not belong to you?

P3: yes

I: Where is it?

P3: It is at Mbangkoh

I: How long does it take you to reach mbangkoh?

P3: About two hours.

I: And the other farm?

P3: It is only at mbangkoh.

I: So you take two hours to reach all your farms?

P3: I can take two hours thirty minutes to reach the farm for palm nuts

I: What else do you do apart from farming?

P3: I work on the farms; that is where my power ends

I: o.k. which groups are you a member in this village (law or meetings) ?

P3: I have a group where they contribute money

I: yes?

P3: I also have roundo and Beaudong1.

I: o.k. Which law house are you a member?

P3: I am a member of ntoo which I am the head and the other one is kediengne which controls Koshin.

I: o.k. then your father came from which village?

P3: Baimbumbum.

I: Which languages did he speak?

P3: He spoke Koshin, Bum, Kom and Mashi

I: Then where did your mother come from?

P3: From Koshin

I: Which quarter?

P3: Beaudong 2

I: Which languages did your mother speak?

P3: Kom and Koshin and that is all.

I: Where is your wife from?

P3: From Koshin Beaudong 1

I: Which languages does she speak?

P3: She speaks Marsh, Koshin English that is all.

I: What is your level of schooling?

P3: I did not go to school

I: Which languages do you speak?

P3: I speak Koshin, Fang and pidgin.

I: o.k. the next person is Mr Yao Moses. O.k. Pa you have number three right? Yao Moses will be number four. Mr Yao Moses thank you once more for your time this morning

P4: Thank you

I: Which is your quarter in Koshin?

P4: Beudong 1

I: Are you married?

P4: Yes, with eight children

I: What is your religion?

P4: Presbyterian

I: What is your occupation?

P4: My occupation is farming, climbing palms, working cocoa, cultivating corn and groundnut

I: Who helps you to work on your farm?

P4: I work with my children; I have a pineapple farm, I have a cocoa farm and corn that I cultivate yearly

I: which are the food crops which get finish before the year runs out?

P4: At times it is corn

I: Do you own the land on which you work your farm?

P4: it is in my bush, my father did not plant cocoa so I planted it.

I: Do you offer your land for other people to do farming on it?

P4: Yes they do

I: They are from which quarter or which village?

P4: From the various quarters of Koshin. When people hear that I am clearing my bush, they will come and beg for a parcel to make their farms on it.

I: Do people come from other villages?

P4: No, people do not come from other villages to beg my bush for farms.

I: What does it require for a person to come and work a farm in your bush?

P4: The person buys palm wine and comes to me and says, Papa I do not have a place to work my farm take this wine and drink and show me where to work my farm.

I: o.k. The when you run short of food stuff in your house, who to you go to for help?

P4: When it runs short, I sell my oil then go and buy from the market.

I: If you don't have oil to go and sell who do you turn to?

P4: I can turn to my neighbors if he/she has

I: What about your friends and your relatives, who of them can assist you?

P4: I have my friends in different villages who can come and assist me.

I: When was the last time that your friend assisted you?

P4: it's been long; three years ago

I: Then who are the people who come to you for help?

P4: It is only my neighbors who come to me for help.

I: Then which groups are you a member in this Koshin?

P4: I belong to Njangi groups then in my compound in Bambaediang, I have a law house where I am the head.

I: You have a law house and you belong to Njangi groups, which other villages are you a member of their Njangi or law houses?

P4: I have never been a member of Njangi or law house in any other village.

I: Was your bush given to you by your father or how did you acquire it?

P4: When the people of Koshin came and settled here, they divided up the land among themselves so we inherited the land right from our great grandfathers.

I: Which village did your father come from?

P4: My father was from Koshin.

I: Which quarter?

P4: Beadong1.

I: Which languages did your father speak?

P4: He spoke, Mundabli because his grandmother came from Mundabli; he spoke Mashi, njikun and Koshin.

I: And your wife is from which village?

P4: from Koshin village

I: Which quarter?

P4: Beadong 2

I: which languages does she speak?

P4: she speaks Koshin and pidgin English

I: Which village did your mother come from?

P4: She came from Koshin

I: From which quarter?

P4: Baebae

I: which languages did she speak?

P4: She spoke Koshin and Mundabli

I: Then what is your level of schooling?

P4: I completed elementary school

I: Which languages do you speak?

P4: I speak Mundabli, I hear and speak a bit of Mashi, I also speak Koshin and pidgin English

I: do you speak French?

P4: No I don't talk French (laughs)

I: o.k. Thank you, Mr Yao Moses will be number four then Mr ngong Lucas will be number five. Good morning Mr ngong Lucas.

P5: Good morning?

I: Which is your quarter in koshin?

P5: Beaudong1.

I: Is seems as if everyone here is from beaudong1.

Chorus: Laughter

I: we have baebumbum, where are the people from Baebae; So we only have people beaudong1, beaudong2 and baebumbum ? So Mr Ngong Lucas, are you married?

P5: I am married with three wives

I: How many children?

P5: Fifteen

I: Which church do you attend?

P5: Presbyterian Church

I: What is your occupation?

P5: Farming

I: Which crops do you cultivate?

P5: I climb palm trees, I cultivate corn, cocoyam and cocoa

I: How far is your farm from your home?

P5: about 1 mile

I: How long does it take your to trek and reach the farm?

P5: About one hour

I: Who helps you to work on your farm?

P5: It is only I and my children

I: Don't you have groups, friends, neighbors or relative who come and help you to work on your farm?

P5: Unless you announce it; you cook sha (corn beer) and the youth will come and do the work.

I: when was the last time you did it?

P5: last year

I: Will you do it this year or you did it already?

P5: I did it already the farm is still clean.

I: when you cultivate these crops which one do you sell and which one do you consume with your household?

P5: I work cocoa and corn for sell and my wives works groundnut.

I: Which one do you cultivate for consumption?

P5: Corn

I: What do you do when you have shortage of corn in your household?

P5: I buy from Abar market

I: And what do you do when you don't have money to buy from the marker?

P5: My neighbors assist me

I: Are your neighbors your friends or your relatives?

P5: My friends are among them and my relatives

I: When were you born?

P5: 1958

I: Your father was from which village?

P5: He was from Koshin village

I: From Which quarter?

P5: Beudong 1

I: Which languages could he speak?

P5: He could speak Bali, Fang, Koshin and pidgin.

I: Then your mother was from which village?

P5: Koshin.

I: Which quarter?

P5: Beudong 1.

I: Which languages could she speak?

P6: she could speak Bali, Koshin and Pidgin.

I: Then your wives?

P5: Koshin

I: From which quarter?

P5: One is from Beaudong1, the other from bwambum

I: All from Koshin?

P5: Yes.

I: It seems you people love your women here very much eh?

P5: We have many women so we don't marry from outside

I: Which languages do your wives speak?

P5: my wife speaks Aghem, Pidgin English, and Koshin

I: Is that the first or second wife?

P5: The second one

I: Then the first one?

P5: she could speak Koshin, Fang, and pidgin English.

I: What is your level of schooling?

P5: I completed elementary school

I: O.k. which languages do you speak?

P5: I speak Koshin; I speak English and Pidgin English

I: Which one do you hear but you cannot talk?

P5: I hear Abar but I cannot talk. I speak Fang fluently, I speak Bali fluently.

I: You speak mungaka?

P5: yes mungaka

I: o.k. Thank you. Now, we are moving to Mr Boati John. Mr Boati, thank you for having taken up some of your time this morning to attend this focus group discussion? Where is your quarter in Koshin

P6: It is Beaudong 2

I: Are you married?

P6: Yes.

I: How many children do you have from how many wives?

P6: I have eleven children from one wife.

I: Which church do you attend?

P6: Presbyterian

I: What is your occupation?

P6: I am retired from the military so here in the village, I just try to do farming

I: How many farms do you have?

P6: I have three or four

I: How far are these farms from your house?

P6: They are very far off; I trek for about five hours to reach one of the farms. The place I bought.

I: is it still in Koshin or in a different village?

P6: it is in still in Koshin

I: Which quarter in Koshin?

P6: it is at Ntungan

I: Why did you decide to go so far to make your farm?

P6: I wanted a place where my children could come and enjoy because all these places are already saturated.

I: Who comes to work there with you?

P6: it is still the village people here whom I asked to come and work there with me.

I: Do you pay them to work for you or they are working on their farms?

P6: They are working on their farms since they are working but seasonal crops (corn, cassava and groundnut) that will not remain on the farm when planted.

I: Which crops do you cultivate on your farm to sell?

P6: Cocoa; part of the farm is planted with cocoa.

I: Which crops do you cultivate to consume in your household?

P6: Corn, groundnut and cassava

I: When you have a shortage of maize before the year runs out who do you turn to or who comes to you for assistance?

P6: when I am in good terms with a person, either the person comes to ask from me or I go to ask from the person.

I: o.k. Is it your neighbors, your friends or your relatives?

P6: Friends and family

I: When was the last time your family came to you for assistance?

P6: last year; it was not easy

I: o.k. When were you born?

P6: 1960

I: Which groups are you a member here in Koshin?

P6: I am a member to several njangis, Bonbon, simple, union

I: When you are in these groups where do the members come from; are they only from Koshin or they come from other villages?

P6: it is mostly Koshin

I: Do people come from different villages to attend njangis here?

P6: No, we do not have much of that here in Koshin.

I: o.k. Then the land on which you do farming was it given to you by your father or you bought it?

P6: I bought it.

I: Then which one did your father give you?

P6: It is joint property so I cannot rely very much on it. I do not even climb palm trees.

I: You father came from which village?

P6: From Koshin

I: From which quarter

P6: Beudong 2

I: Which languages did he speak?

P6: He spoke Koshin, Fang and Bum.

I: Then where was your mother from?

P6: Koshin

I: From which quarter

P6: Beudong 2

I: Which languages did she speak?

P6: She spoke Koshin and Fang.

I: Which one did she hear but could not speak?

P6: I think Bum.

I: Where is your wife from

P6: From Koshin

I: From which quarter

P6: From bumbum

I: Is it Baebumbum or a different quarter?

P6: (Laughs) it is Baebumbum you got is right but when we say it we refer to baembumbum.

I: Which languages does she speak?

P6: She speaks Koshin

I: And which other one?

P6: Pidgin English and French

I: What is your level of schooling?

P6: I completed elementary school

I: Which languages do you speak?

P6: I speak French, English and Koshin, Fang and Bum.

I: Which one do you hear but you cannot talk?

P6: Weh and Bum; even Aghem, I hear but I cannot speak.

I: Thank you, before I forget which are the law houses where you are a member?

P6: I am a member of the Ntoo house; I am also a member of kediengne

I: What is kediengne?

P6: It is a ritual which is done during the planting season so that crops will grow well.

I: O.k who is the head of this kediengne?

P6: Normally we own it in our compound. It is in my compound.

I: o.k. thank you Pa Boa John, you are going to bear number six and now we move to Mr Bum Charles Yoah. Mr Bum Charles you are going to bear number seven. Thank you once again for the time you have taken up this morning to attend this focus group discussion. Which is your quarter in Koshin?

P7: Beaudong 2

I: Are you married?

P7: No

I: Do you have children?

P7: No

I: Which church do you attend?

P7: Baptist church

I: What is your occupation?

P7: I am a farmer

I: Which crops do you cultivate?

P7: I cultivate corn and bananas. That is all.

I: How far are your farms from your house?

P7: It takes me about one hour to trek from my house to the farm.

I: One hour for all the farms?

P7: Yes, the farms are on one place.

I: Who are the people who come and work on the farm with you?

P7: Several people come there to work.

I: Do you pay them or they are working on their on farms.

P7: They are my people who come and share my farm with me.

I: Which crops do you cultivate on your farm to consume in your house and which one do you cultivate to sell?

P7: I cultivate okro, cocoyam and vegetables

I: Which one do you consume and which one do you sell?

P7: I do not sell anything I have to feed myself.

I: Who gave you the land; is it your father or you bought it?

P7: it is my father who bought it and handed it over to me

I: when were you born?

P7: 1980

I: You were born in 1980?

P7: Yes

I: Your father was from which village?

P7: From Koshin

I: which quarter?

P7: Beudong 2

I: Which languages did he speak?

P7: He spoke Fang, Bum, Mashi, Koshin, and pidgin and that is all.

I: Which languages could he hear but could not speak?

P7: I don't know

I: How old were you when your father died

P7: I died when I had known women.

I: he died in which year?

P7: I don't know

I: Where did your mother from?

P7: From Beudong 1

I: Which languages did she speak?

P7: She spoke Fang and Bum

I: Didn't she speak Koshin?

P7: She spoke Koshin

I: you say you are not married?

P7: Yes I am not married.

I: Do you have a girl friend?

P7: Yes I have a girl friend

(Chorus) Laughter

I: she is from which village?

P7: From Koshin?

I: From which quarter?

P7: Beudong 1

I: Which languages does she speak?

P7: She speaks Koshin

I: And which other language?

P7: I don't know

I: But she is your girlfriend right?

P7: Yes she is only my girlfriend but I do not live with her in the same house.

I: Which languages does she speak when she is annoyed?

P7: When she is annoyed she speaks only English

I: So she speaks Koshin and English?

P7: yes

I: Which languages do you speak when she annoys you?

P7: When I am annoyed, I speak Bum, or I speak Mashi or English or I speak Aku talk.

I: a don Fulfulde'

P7: mmm a me meta kai

I: Jam sare

P7: eee konga ma

I: Jam bingo

P7: Banga a kukam kome forti kam to me mehta aku kam se anana bodoum on

I: Yeowaa

P7: Me na me gou do akujo kam me kuo hama bekadi bokam mbongo djue

I: What does it mean?

P7: It means if it comes to speaking Fulfulde, I can speak because I have worked with them for five years.

I: What is your level of schooling?

P7: I reached primary four but there was no one to support me.

I: So you reached primary four?

P: Yes

I: Which languages do you speak?

P7: I speak Koshin and Fulfulde

I: Which other language do you speak?

P7: I speak Fang, Mashi, Bafmeng

I: How do they say good morning in Bafmeng

P7: a'ah, they say wogh nbii?

Chorus: (laughter)

I: These languages are many in your head and you are confusing them.

Chorus: You have forgotten French; you said you know French too right?

I: do you speak French?

P7: I speak French, Fang and Kung.

I: how do they say “where are you going to ” in French?

P7: Tu pars où?

I: Which languages do you hear but cannot talk?

P7: I cannot speak Aghem, I cannot speak Weh, those are the languages I cannot speak.

I: o.k. I thank you all; Mr Boum Charles you are going to bear number seven any other person who comes in will introduce himself and I will attribute a number to him. But for the time being we will continue and talk about language ideology; what you people think about language. What is your language?

Chorus: Koshin

I: Koshin; how do you call Koshin language? Someone should show his number and speak. Yes number two.

P2: We call Koshin *benyui bekoo*

I: What do you do with *benyui bekoo*?

P2: Within us in Koshin?

I: Yes

P2: In our community, we use *benyui bekoo* to communicate

I: How else do you people use the Koshin language? Number three

P3: We speak Koshin language when we gather together

I: yes

P3: We understand it and our children under our care will understand it as our language but out of the gathering we can speak English language.

I: O.k. yes, number four.

P4: We speak Koshin language when we are doing our traditional rites and we ban people from speaking any other language apart from Koshin and anything that is discussed in the law house is said in *benyui bekoo* (Koshin language).

CURRICULUM VITAE FOR KUM MARIUS KEBEI

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Kum Marius Kebei

Department of Sociology and Anthropology,

University of Buea

P.O. Box 63 Buea Cameroon

Tel: (237) 676488654

Email: kebeisih2004@hotmail.com

CIVIL STATUS INFORMATION

Date and Place of Birth: 13th September 1975 Aghem -Wum

Nationality: Cameroonian

Marital Status: Married with 03 Children

ACADEMIC PROFILE

Date	Institution Attended	Certificate Obtained
Oct 2016 – till date	University of Buea	Ph.D. Candidate Sociology
Feb 2009-2015	University of Yaoundé I Cameroon	Masters II, Anthropology
Feb 2005- Feb 2007	University of Yaoundé I Cameroon.	MA Sociology/Anthropology
Feb 2007 - July 2008	Dongseo University, Korea	MA, Information Systems and Management Engineering
Oct 1999-Spt 2003	University of Yaoundé I Cameroon.	Bachelor's degree Sociology/Anthropology

Sept 1997- June 1999	Bilingual Institute For Extra Studies. Yaoundé, Cameroon.	General Certificate of Education Advanced Level. (English Literature, French, Economics, History.
Sept 1995- June 1996	Bilingual Institute For Extra Studies. Yaoundé, Cameroon.	General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

English: Excellent (Level V)

French: Excellent (Level V)

Aghem: Mother language

COMPUTER SKILLS

- Mastery of word processing, Excel, Access, Networking, desktop publishing and internet software on windows.
- Mastery of EPI info and iData for qualitative data mining.
- Mastery of Elan software for language documentation

RESEARCH RECORD

Duration	Institution	Post of Responsibility
September 2015 till date	Key Pluridisciplinary Advances in African Multilingualism Cameroon (KPAAM-CAM)	Consultant
<u>Brief Job Description:</u> Collecting Ethnographic Data for language documentation, Training of graduate students on methods of ethnographic data collection and language documentation software, documentation of endangered languages.		
June –August 2018	Key Pluridisciplinary Advances in African Multilingualism Cameroon (KPAAM-CAM)	Fieldwork for Data Collection on Multilingual practices in Lower Fungom of the North-West Region of Cameroon
August - September 2018	Catholic Relief Services Cameroon	Fieldwork for Data Collection on the coping strategies of Internally displaced Persons (IDPs) of the Anglophone Crisis in Mezam, North West region of Cameroon
<u>Brief Job Description:</u> Conducting key and in-depth interviews, Focus Group Discussions and case studies. Uploading of collected data to the server and transcription of audio interviews.		
February – April 2018	Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine/ REFODES Cameroon	Fieldwork for Data Collection on Neglected Tropical Diseases in the Bafia and Kumba Health Districts in the Centre and South-West Regions of Cameroon.
<u>Brief Job Description:</u> Conducting key and in-depth interviews, Focus Group Discussions and case studies. Transcription of audio interviews		
November –December 2017	Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine/ REFODES Cameroon	Fieldwork for Data Collection on the Coping strategies of households after the flood caused by the overflow of the Kasimbila dam in Nigeria.
<u>Brief Job Description:</u> Conducting key and in-depth interviews, Focus Group Discussions and case studies in the Cameroon/Nigeria boarder villages of Munkep, Gayama, Munka and Akum in Menchum Division. Transcription of		

audio interviews

EMPLOYMENT RECORD

Date	Institution	Position
Sept 2017 till date	Faculty of Social and Management Sciences, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Buea	Course Instructor

Brief Job Description:

Teaching and assessing undergraduate students in Anthropology, performing administrative duties in the department.

Sept 2014 - May 2015	Government Bilingual High School Etoug-ebe Yaoundé	Teaching (Part Time)
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Brief Job Description:

Teaching English to Francophones, French to Anglophones and basic computer skills to High School Students.

October 2008 –Apr 2014	Rainbow Children's Fund/Korean Food for the Hungry International, Yaoundé	Project Assistant – Child Development Program.
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Brief Job Description: Coordinating the weekly activities of the staff in the centers of the Child Development program; Implementation, supervision and evaluation of the performance of the Children in the program; follow up the payment of office bills, purchase of material and equipment for the organizations, preparation and organization of ceremonies and conferences, providing administrative, secretarial and other clerical support for the organization. Writing monthly and annual reports of activities of the organization; translating documents from English to French and from French to English

April 2012 - Sept 2013	Self Employed	Freelance Translator (French /English – English/ French)
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Brief Job Description:

Translation of the Kribi deep seaport project, the Lom Pangar hydroelectricity dam project, the Yaoundé National Center for Emergency Surgery project and the Mbalam railway extension project.

Oct 2004 – Dec 2006	Bethel Clinic Yaoundé	Assistant coordinator HIV/AIDS unit
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Brief Job Description: Counseling and daily follow up of HIV/AIDS patients in the clinic and their homes, collection of data and writing of monthly reports on the progress of patients, purchase of drugs, stationary, material and equipment for the clinic, preparation and organization of ceremonies and conferences, providing administrative, secretarial and other clerical support for the Clinic.

Workshops, Seminars, Conferences and Presentations

Year	Seminar, Conference,	Role
2019 October 29 th - 31 st Buea	Academic Planning Week: Enhancing the Capacity of Academic Staff for a Smooth Academic Year with Quality Assurance	Participant
2017 August 04th -8th Yaoundé	Yaoundé Summer School of African Multilingualism (YSSAM)	Participant: Presented a paper on the Challenges for collection of Ethnographic data in rural Multilingual communities
2015 November 2nd -6th Yaoundé	KPAAM-CAM Training Program in Metadata Encoding and Archiving, ALORA-CERDOTOLA	Participant
2014	PAAN African Conference on Anthropology,	Participant

December 8th Catholic University(CATUC) Bamenda
 -12th
 Bamenda

ACADEMIC WORKS

- 2007, Environmental Impact Assessment of the Farmer/Grazier Conflict on Aghem Culture (Maîtrise dissertation, University of Yaoundé I (Unpublished)
- 2014, Urbanization and the Challenges for Provision of Basic social Services in Cameroon in the City of Yaoundé (Masters II dissertation, University of Yaoundé I, Unpublished)

Publications derived from this thesis

- 2020 Multilingualism and Intercommunity Relations, *African Journal of Social Sciences* Vol. 11 pp107-117.
- Multilingualism and Intergenerational Relations (Forthcoming)

ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP

- Aghem Cultural and Development Association (ACADA)
- Aghem Youth Development Association(AYA)
- Pan African Anthropology Association Cameroon Chapter (PAAAC)
- Parent Teachers' Association Step by Step Educational Complex Mankon Bamenda

TEACHING AND RESEARCH INTERESTS

My main interest is in Socio-Anthropology with a penchant on teaching and research in socio cultural phenomena especially multilingualism and intercommunity cohesion.

HOBBIES

- Hiking,
- Sports (soccer),
- Travelling,
- Reading,
- Singing (Gospel and traditional folk music)

