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DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

**LEXICAL VARIATION IN FANG AND ITS SUGGESTIONS FOR
DIDACTIC MATERIALS: THE CASE OF FANG SPEAKERS IN
SOUZA**

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for an Award of a Master of Arts (M.A) Degree
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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

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Signed

Date

ATTESTATION OF CONFORMITY

I, the undersigned,

Professor in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Buea, certify that I have supervised and approved the thesis of the student.....

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..... in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Masters of Arts in

.....

In witness whereof this attestation should serve and assert that right.

Done in Buea

on.....

Signature.....

DEDICATION

To the Nsakse family and to the people of Fang.

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ABSTRACT

This work investigated the causes of lexical variation in Fang and its suggestions for didactic materials. It aimed at bringing out the variations that occur among speakers of this language and their implications on the development of didactic materials. The study was guided by three main objectives; to identify the causes of lexical variation in Fang, to bring out the lexical items and to give the suggestions of this variation for didactic materials. The study was done within the framework of Le Page's acts of identity theory (1986), Labov's variationist paradigm (1966) and Milroy and Milroy's social networks theory (1980). The research was done using the qualitative paradigm with case study as the qualitative method, and data was elicited through interviews, and wordlist. Interviews were done with 21 born Fang speakers living in Souza (long-term migrants and recent migrants), and 5 of them were later on selected for wordlist elicitation. The data was analyzed thematically and according to the research questions. Results from our analysis showed that biography, networks, age/sex, political causes and migration are all motivations of lexical variation in Fang and contribute in explaining individual language variability. It is recommended that language material designers and teachers should take into consideration these causes and the lexical items to be able to determine for whom, and for what age the language teaching materials are designed.

Keywords: *Lexical variation, didactic materials, language teaching materials.*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SLIG	Sociolinguistic Interview Guide
SLIP	Sociolinguistic Interview Profile
V	Vowel
CV	Consonant Vowel
CVC	Consonant Vowel Consonant
CGVC	Consonant Glide Vowel Consonant
NC	Negative Concord
BE	British English
NMT	Numerical Mutation
NWAV	New Ways of Analyzing Variation
ICLaVE	International Conference on Language Variation in Europe

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This introductory chapter presents the background to the study, followed by the research problem that provoked this particular area of research, and the general motivation for the study. In addition, it comprises the aim/purpose of the study, the research questions posed to be answered at the end of this study, and the significance of the study. The scope and delimitation of the study are stated and key terms are examined for clarity. The chapter ends with the structure of the whole research work and a conclusion to the chapter.

1.2 Background to the study

This section is subdivided into two sections. The first section is a general background that places the study within the defined area of language variation. The second section is the situational background, which has to do with the background of Fang speakers in Lower Fungom and the historical background of Souza.

1.2.1 General background.

The term language variation (or simply variation) is a sociolinguistic phenomenon. R.L. Trask (2005) defines language variation as regional, social, or contextual differences in the ways that a particular language is used. Variation between languages, dialects, and speakers is known as interspeaker variation while variation within the language of a single speaker is called intraspeaker variation. All aspects of language (including phonemes, morphemes, syntactic structures, and meanings) are subject to variation. The different types of variation include; Lexical variation (when different dialects, or even same language users employ varying words for the same thing due to various reasons, Antila

2002), phonological variation (differences in accent), syntactic variation (the ways in which sentences are structured and constructed), and semantic variation (same word meaning two different things).

Language variation has been studied for many years and from different perspectives. Earlier studies on language were done in terms of its structure, but with the advent of sociolinguistics, it began to be studied in relation to the society that uses it. This made language descriptions objective, as there was a more scientific and descriptive approach to linguistic analysis with emphasis on spoken usage. Given the realization that society played a role on the form of language used, the advent of sociolinguistics as a discipline concerned with the way people use language in society captured the interest of many researchers, especially given its concern or focus on the connection between language and society. Sociolinguistics describes language in its social context, a concept or notion that was first introduced by Labov (1966). Focus on this area greatly spurred interest in an area that had received very little scholarly concern.

Observing from the lenses of sociolinguistics, variations in the use of language as one moves from one social variable to another became more perceptible than before. Thus, linguistic variation is seen as a characteristic of language, which shows that there is more than one way of saying the same thing. Speakers may vary in their accent, word choice, or morphology and syntax. It suggests that within each linguistic community, it is possible to observe a variety of language codes practiced by speakers. This therefore normalizes the case of Fang speakers of Lower Fungom who demonstrate a mastery and practice of a variety of codes based on speaker's choices of words and word forms. Thus, as one moves from one social group to another, observing cases of lexical variation in the repertoire of speakers increasingly becomes a normality amongst the inhabitants of Lower Fungom. Before getting into greater detail regarding the speech habits of the inhabitants

of Lower Fungom, it is first of all important to understand the backdrop from which these speakers hail. The following section presents a background to the Fang speakers of Lower Fungom.

1.2.2 Background of Fang speakers

Fang is one of the languages of Lower Fungom, situated in the Northwest Region of Cameroon. While the word “Fang” pertains to the language, it is also used to refer to the people as a clan. The North-West Region of Cameroon, part of the Cameroonian Grassfields, is said to be among the most linguistically diverse regions in the world, with patterns of multilingualism that predate the spread of European languages to Africa and the emergence of the modern pidgin and creole languages in Cameroon (Lupke, 2016). According to Good et al. (2011), Lower Fungom stretches roughly ten kilometers both north to south and east to west. He notes that the region is made up of seven languages, or small language clusters, are spoken in its thirteen recognized villages, four of which are restricted to a single village. While the languages are all recognizably Bantoid, five of them—referentially classified as Western Beoid since Hombert (1980)—do not have any established close relatives outside of the region, nor can they be straightforwardly shown to be closely related to each other.

According to Good et al. (2011), Lower Fungom is a rural area of about 240 square kilometers, located in Menchum Division. They note that this district is characterized by a very hilly landscape, it is covered with forest, and it possesses an astonishing degree of language density. The seven languages in this area are spoken in thirteen villages, namely; Abar, Munken, Ngun, Biya, Missong, Mundabli, Mufu, Buu, Fang, Koshin, Ajumbu, Mashi, and Kung.

The languages of the area have not been subject to extensive investigation. References to some of the groups appear in colonial documents, while the first published linguistic data

we are aware of is found in Chilver and Kaberry (1974:37–40), as stated in Good et al. (2011), which offers short wordlists for two of the area’s languages, Naki and Koshin (though the data for the former is from a variety spoken outside of Lower Fungom). The first systematic investigation is found in Hombert (1980), which contains data on four of the area’s languages (Naki, Koshin, the Missong variety of the Mungbam cluster, and the Buu variety of the Ji cluster). Further study did not take place until the survey described in Hamm et al. (2002). From 2005 till date, research on the languages of the area has increased significantly.

Figure 1 below is the map of Lower Fungom and its surrounding villages. The map indicates the centers of each of the region’s villages which, in some cases, may be associated with a number of additional detached settlements. Each village also controls land outside the village itself for activities like farming.

Only thirteen villages in figure 1 are within Lower Fungom, and these are listed in table one giving their language classification. There is an additional settled area within Lower Fungom, which is Yemgeh is shown on the map. This is the site of a market that, relatively recently, has also become a settlement in its own right, inhabited by people associated both with local and outside villages (Good et al., 2011). In addition to Bantoid speakers, one also finds Fulani herdsmen in Lower Fungom, though the details of their settlement patterns and linguistic varieties have not been investigated. Roads indicated as “motorable” in the map may still be difficult to traverse and even impassable during the rainy season.

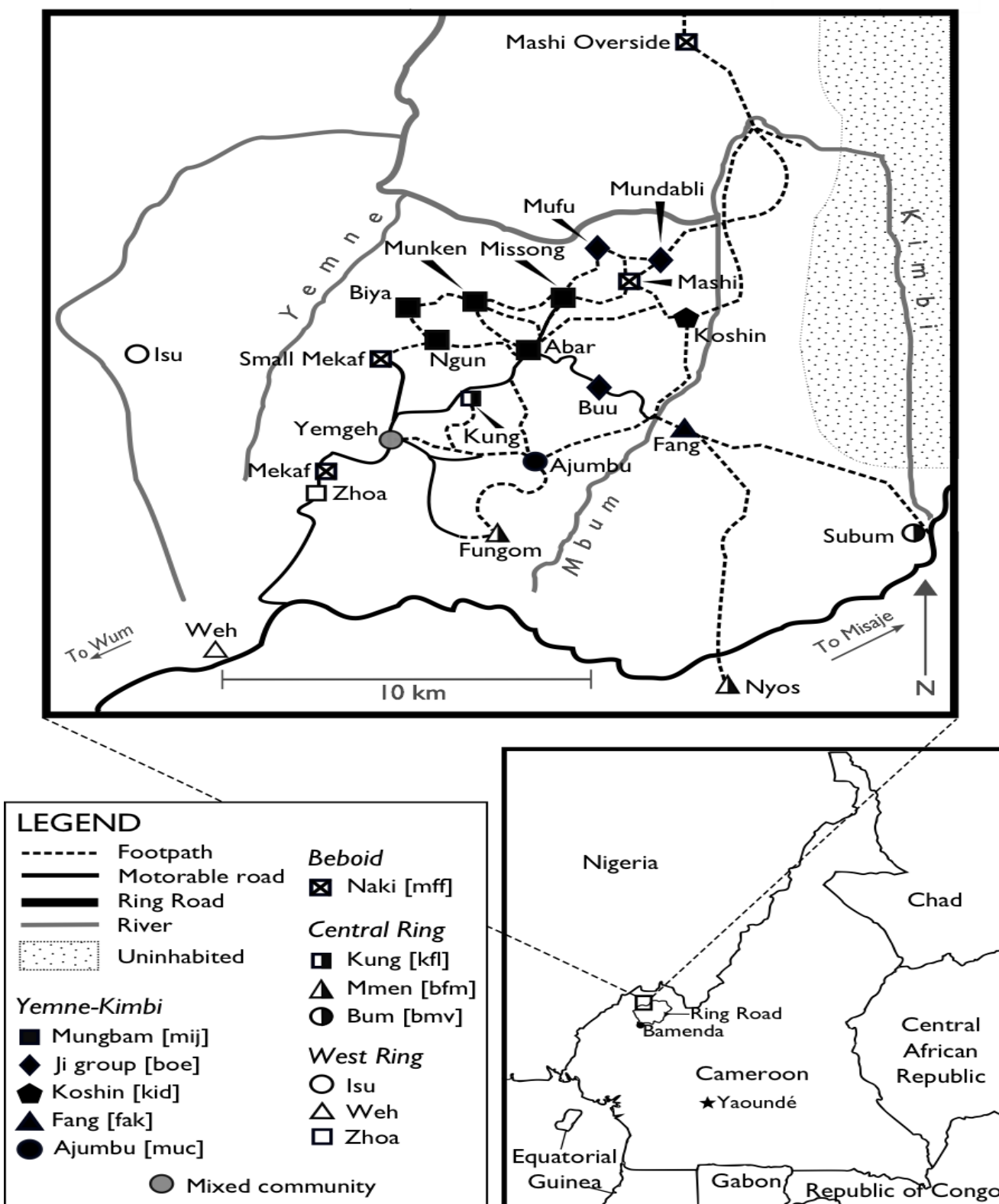


Figure 1: The map of Lower Fungom derived from Good et al. (2011)

The map in Figure one above is based on data collected with a GPS device and should, therefore, be significantly more accurate than earlier maps. It indicates all the major roads

and pathways of Lower Fungom itself as well as those routes we have information on that connect Lower Fungom's villages to other settlements in adjacent areas.

Table one below is a list of lower Fungom's languages including their classification and its rough population estimate.

Table 1: the map of Lower Fungom derived from Good et al. (2011)

SUBGROUP	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	4,000–6,000
	Koshin [kid]	Koshin	3,000–3,500
	Ajumbu [muc]	Ajumbu	200–300
Beboid	Naki [mff]	Mashi	300–400
Central Ring	Kung [kfl]	Kung	600–800

According to Good et al. (2011), while the linguistic varieties of Lower Fungom do not appear to be clearly endangered in the narrow sense that they are no longer being transmitted across generations, a number of them are intrinsically demographically threatened due to the small population sizes of some of the villages (see also Hamm et al. (2002:16–18)). Furthermore, the current internal sociopolitical and socioeconomic dynamics of some of the villages (e.g., Biya and Mufu) is such that there is a clear risk of their complete dissipation in the near future, in which case their linguistic varieties would presumably also disappear, as former inhabitants adopt the linguistic varieties of their new homes.

Fang being one of the languages of Lower Fungom and according to an anonymous report that emerged in 2010, it is by far the largest settlement in Lower Fungom. The population is above 5000 and its settlement lies on a high and steep hill very close to the right bank of the Mboum River. It is accessible only crossing the river. Fang now has a hanging bridge that is renovated yearly. The Fang community is composed of six quarters; Mbome, Banteen, wəmə (so-called Fang big town fugbi), Awe, Fang overside (kəvi) - newest area of settlement, last Mfum.

According to Good et al (2011), Fang is a one-language village spoken in the southern part of Lower Fungom. It is also considered a completely separate language from the variety known as Fang [fan] associated with the Beti language cluster, which comprises Narrow Bantu languages spoken in Southern Cameroon and bordering countries. The Fang do, however, claim a historical connection to one other group and one place with Fang in their names. The group is speakers of Befang [bby], spoken to the south of Wum, which is part of the Menchum group of languages (see Boum (1980)), as stated in Good et al. (2011). The Fang do not claim a common linguistic origin with the Befang, but they do claim a history of friendship with them. The place is the town of Bafang found in the Bamileke area of the West Region of Cameroon, from which the Fang claim a geographic origin. Fang is, by far, the most populous village in Lower Fungom, as well as the most spoken language.

1.2.3 The Phonology of Fang

This information is gotten from Good et al. (2011) that stated that the facts of Fang presented in the research are primarily the result of work done by Mve & Tchiemouo in (2010), with some supplementary information provided from work conducted by Good in 2005. This section has to do with the consonants, vowels, and tones of Fang.

1.2.3.1 Consonants

A preliminary inventory of the Fang consonants has been given in Good et al. (2011) as shown in table two below.

Table 2: Fang consonants from Good et al. (2011)

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Labiovelar
Plosives	b (p)	t d			k g	kp gb
Fricatives	f v	s	zh			
Affricates		ts	c j			
Nasals	m (ɱ)	n		ny	ŋ	
Liquids		l				
Glides				y		w

Fang is considered to have twenty (20) consonants with nasal-obstruent sequences that are found in initial position in Fang, at least in Classes 1/2 and 6a, as are consonant-glide clusters, as in words like gwəfə ‘drive’ and dwələ ‘star’. Only nasals have been found in coda position.

1.2.3.2 Vowels

Fang has over ten (10) vowels. See table three below.

Table 3: Fang vowels derived from Good et al. (2011)

ĩ	ɥ
i	u
e	ə o
ɛ	ɔ
	a

As with other languages of the area, Fang has a set of super-high vowels which can be associated with frication when following certain consonants, these vowels are indicated as *ĩ* and *ɥ*. Examples of words containing super-high vowels are mbĩ , ‘world’ and gɥ , ‘fire’. The latter word was sometimes heard as something like [gv], underscoring the

fricative nature of these vowels. In addition, vowel combinations have been found, for example in the words yúə ‘skin’ and tíə ‘horn’

1.2.3.3 Tones

Investigation into Fang has not been extensive enough to determine precisely how many tone levels there are in the language, but, as with other languages of the area, there is good evidence for at least three tone levels, and various contour patterns are also attested, including both rising tones, as in the word gǐ ‘egg’, and falling tones, as in the word tsâ ‘five’. Data collection from wordlist indicates that Fang has high, mid, low, rising and falling tones.

1.3 Statement of the research problem

This work is inspired by the observation that there is a lexical variation in the repertoire of most Fang speakers. Unfortunately, very little has been done to document or describe the nature of this variation, making it all but difficult for possible language in education planning activities to be carried out in the community. This therefore necessitates an investigation into the speech styles of Fang speakers in order to document and describe the variations in their repertoire. It is assumed that such insights will help provide better insights for language material designers in their quest to provide didactic materials for language in education purposes.

1.4 Aim of the study

The aim of this study is to examine and describe the variations that occur among speakers of Fang, in order to provide recommendations for language material designers.

1.5 Research Objectives

- To identify the causes of variation in Fang
- To identify the lexical items and see how they vary among speakers of Fang
- To provide implications for language material designers.

1.6 Research questions

Based on the problem stated above, this research seeks to provide answers to the following questions:

- 1) What are the causes of lexical variation in Fang?
- 2) What are these lexical items? And how do they vary among Fang speakers?

1.7 Scope of the study

This study investigates lexical variation among speakers of the same language-Fang, (variation within a language), and its implications for didactic materials. It focuses only on speakers of Fang living in Souza, and the data will be collected from speakers living in this area.

1.8 Definition of Key Terms

This section deals with the definition of key terms meanings could be misunderstood based on the ambiguities they may raise. As such, they are defined with respect to the context of study. This is done in order to avoid confusion and to guide the reader towards a better understanding of the work. The key terms defined here are ‘language variation’, ‘lexical variation’, ‘linguistic variable’, ‘sociolinguistic variable’, ‘structures of language’

1.8.1. Language Variation

Variations may occur within any language due to the way people use their language or because of the contact with other languages and cultures. Variation is a result of language use, that is, individuals’ linguistic interactions may transform and modify the system of language. Wolfran (1993) stipulates that variability is everywhere in language, from the unique details in each production of a sound or sign to the auditory or visual processing of the linguistic signal. In the field of sociolinguistics, language variation has been a topic of discussion to many sociolinguists, some of their views on language variation can be

shown below. Labov (1972) defines language variation as two or more ways of saying the same thing. In addition, Trudgill (1974) asserts to the fact that social structure is reflected in linguistic behavior of a particular speech community, social variation can produce a corresponding linguistic variation. Furthermore, Wardaugh (1986) says if we look closely at any language, we will discover that there is internal variation and that speakers make use of many different possibilities offered to them. Chambers (2004) says variation can be intra-speaker variation, that is in an individual speaker, or across a group of speakers; inter-speaker variation.

Looking at the definitions above, language variation in sociolinguistics can be considered as the study of the way language varies and changes in communities of speakers and concentrate on the interaction of social factors (gender, age, ethnicity etc.), and linguistic structures (sound, grammatical forms, words etc.). In other words, the study of language variation has to consider both social and linguistic factors. It is worth noting that variability may arise in any level of a language grammar (lexical level, phonological level, semantic level, morpho-syntactic level and pragmatic level), in every variety of a language, every style, dialect, and register of a language, in every speaker and even in the same sentence.

1.8.2 Lexical variation

Lexical variation is the difference over choice of words for different types of people at the same time (Holmes, 2008). This study is focused on internal variation, which is variation within a language not across languages. The property of language having different ways of expressing the same meaning comes under internal variation. This variation will focus on one level of the linguistic structure, which is at the lexical level.

1.8.3. Linguistic Variable

Wardhaugh (2006) defines a linguistic variable as a linguistic item that has identifiable variants, for example words like singing and fishing are sometimes pronounced as 'singin' and 'fishin'. The final sound in these words may be called the linguistic variable (ng) with its two variants [ŋ] in 'singing' and [n] in 'singin'.

On the other hand, Taglimonte (2006) considers linguistic variables to be different ways of saying more or less the same thing that may occur at any level of grammar in a language, in every variety, style, dialect, and register speaker often in the same sentence.

1.8.3. Sociolinguistic variables

It is a linguistic element that co-varies not only with other linguistic elements but also with a number of extra-linguistic independent variables like social class, age, sex, ethnic group or contextual style, (Hoenisch nd).

The study of language variation in sociolinguistics has to do with both linguistic variables (such as; grammar, words, sounds etc.), and sociolinguistic variables (such as age, sex, ethnic group, social class etc.).

1.9. Significance of the study

The findings of this study are important in that:

- They can serve as a guide for language development activities. When developing a writing system of a language it is important for it to be acceptable to the largest number of speakers of that particular language. Therefore it is very important to be able to identify the most unifying features of a language with its speakers. Therefore, a study like this can be of great help to language planners.
- In addition, the findings of this study can help to raise teachers' awareness of language variation to the diversity of language use and users from different cultural backgrounds. The teachers can be able to know what can be done in their teaching to raise learners' awareness to various varieties in order to avoid

misunderstanding or miscommunication and maintain politeness in language teaching classrooms.

- They can be of great help to language material designers as it will serve as a guide for them to be able to design language teaching materials taking into consideration the various lexical items that are involved in this language.
- Finally, the findings of this study can also be documented and used as a referential source for other sociolinguistic researchers who intend to carry out a similar study in future.

1.10. General Organization of the study

The work is organized into five different chapters. Chapter one is the general introduction. This chapter builds the foundation for the study where the reader is exposed to the background to the study, the research problem, aim of the study, research objectives and questions, the significance of the work, the scope of the study and definition of key terms. Chapter two reviews related literature from a conceptual, theoretical and empirical perspective. This situates the work in terms of its content as well as its form. Chapter three presents the methodology used in the study. It presents the research design, sample and sampling technique, instruments of data collection and analysis. Chapter four focuses on data presentation and analysis. Lastly, chapter five is the general conclusion. It presents a discussion of the findings, summary of findings, the implication of the work and proposal for further research.

1.11 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the work. It has given the background to the study area, the statement of the research problem, research questions. The aim and objectives of the study are also examined. The scope has been given in order to carve out the conceptual boundaries on specific issues on lexical variation in Fang. More still, it provides

definitions of some key concepts and a structural organization of the study. The following chapter presents an overview of related literature as well as the theoretical perspective adopted in the analysis of data.

CHAPTER TWO

OVERVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is the literature review. It is a crucial evaluation of materials that have been consulted in order to investigate and understand the research problem of the study. Here, literature is reviewed in sub-themes. The first section is a theoretical literature review. In this section, we explain the theories that support this research, that explain why the research problem exists. The second and last section of this chapter is the review of literature that is relevant to this work.

2.2. Theoretical review

Basically, a theoretical framework has to do with the framework that guides the research. It can also be considered as the structure that can hold or support a theory of a research study. The frameworks that guide this research are Labov's variationist paradigm (1966), Le Page and Tabouret Keller's Acts of identity (1986), and Milroy's social network theory (1980).

2.2.1. The Acts of identity theory

This theory was propagated by Le Page and Tabouret Keller in 1986. It holds that the degree of stabilization of a language along a continuum is focused-diffuse. In other words, the more a grammar and a lexicon are uniform across speakers, the more a language will be focused. But on the other hand, when there is a lot of variation, the language becomes more diffused. Considering that language is a major vehicle through which we make acts of identity, the theory enables one identify and make sense of the variations in speech between speakers of the same language. This constitutes the major reason why it was chosen for this work. Le Page (1986) observed that there is no full agreement among

speakers as to the properties of any language. Some communities are referred to as highly focus and there may be a faire measure of agreement. This theory is relevant to this study because it enables one identify variations in speech that are motivated by speakers' desire to be identified as members of a particular group of people community.

2.2.2 The Social Networks theory

Another theory that can be used to study lexical variation is the social network theory (Milroy & Milroy 1980) which investigates the forces that affect individual behavior, rather than simply attributing linguistic difference to social class. The term Social networks according to Milroy refers to the informal social relationship contracted by an individual; the main interest in each individual's belonging to groups like family, friends, neighbors, school or work. According to this theory, speech behavior is shaped by one's network of peers; this has to do with whom you choose to associate with. The major findings of social network theory is that dense (highly interconnected) networks are resistant to change, and that most linguistic change is initiated by weak links- people who are not centrally connected to the network in question. Chambers (1995) says a social network is an abstract mechanism that denotes the social relationships an individual contracts with other individuals in a society, the social network can also be described as 'micro-level social clusters that is families, friends, neighborhood.

Social network is a significant factor that can account for linguistic variation. Maehlum (1997) says the introduction of Social network as an analytic term to Sociolinguistics can be seen as an implicit of the traditional group based and often statistical correlation studies. Lesley Milroy and James Milroy did a study titled 'Three working class communities in Belfast, Northern Ireland' in 1980, and found deviations from the classic class and gender pattern. Linguistic variation in these communities could be explained based on the differences in speakers' social network. There was a correlation between

linguistic variation and a speaker's integration in a social network. Social network theory is also studied in two different contexts; the strong tie theory and the weak tie theory.

2.2.3 The Strong Tie Theory

In the context of social network, agents are the people who are most connected to others in the network, and whose speech style is imitated by people within the network. These agents regulate language use inside the network and ensure the dominance of their preferred variant throughout the network because group members are more likely to adopt high-status variants. Strong tie networks are believed to be resistant to linguistic innovation, because prestige forms also tend to be conservative forms.

2.2.4 The Weak Tie Theory

This has to do with weak links. This theory was proposed by Milroy and Milroy in 1983 and states that "language change is propagated by the people who are second order members of social networks". Agents who are weakly connected are more likely to come into contact with new linguistic variants, since they spend most of their time interacting with people outside their central network.

Sociolinguists who use this theory are usually focused on the extent to which an individual's personal network structure may be said to explain the informant's linguistic behavior. Some linguists, sociolinguists and anthropologies have employed the social network studies. Elizabeth Bott (1957) did an investigation on London families, Cubitt (1973) studied networks of working and middle-class Edinburgh families. In addition, Gumperz (1971) is an important researcher who has referred qualitative network analysis in his studies of language use in various communities. Furthermore, Susan Gal (1979) did a project concerning language shift in Oberwart.

This framework is relevant to this study because lexical variation will be studied in relation to the strong tie and weak tie theory. The weak tie theory will look at those native speakers who have been in close contacts with other non-native speakers of the language for a long period of time, and the strong tie theory will look at the native speaker who have lived in the village for a long period of time and have not been in contact with non-native speaker for a very long time. This is so because they are considered to have mastered the language well and will be adamant to change.

2.2.5 Variationist Paradigm

This theory is based on research methods and analytic techniques developed by William Labov (Labov 1966, 1972.) It focuses on social variation and examines how this variation is highly structured, that is, the structural parts of language rather than the nature of speaker's interaction. The theory is based on empirical evidence; it investigates the activities of speakers. The variationist paradigm is based on the assumption that when a choice exist between two alternatives in the course of speaking and when it may have been influenced by any number of factors, then it is appropriate to involve statistical techniques (Sankoff, 1988). The variationist approach claims that language variation is systematic in accordance with the social characteristics of the speaker. The basic concern for this theory is how language can be described or explained as a systematic apparatus if language use varies from situation to situation.

According to Tagliamonte (2006), it is established that language variation happens rather than systematically. Nurse and Heine (2000) asserts to the fact that variation is an integral part of the linguistic system. This theory is focused on understanding variation and change in the structural parts of language rather than behavior or nature of speakers' interaction. This theory also states that in different contexts, an individual will speak in different ways (Coates, 1992). Labov's approach moves gradually from a purely linguistic study on

variation into a more sociolinguistic account of variation seeking to find a socio-ethnic explanation on linguistic variation.

2.2.5.1 Tenets of the Theory

The variationist paradigm is rooted in a number of tenets. These include; the principle of accountability which states that the linguistic variant must be correctly analyzed. This implies that the analysis must be accountable to the data for it to pass the test. The researcher must take into account all the variants regardless of whether they were realized or unrealized as long as they comprise the variable context. In addition to this, aside from studying unusual or interesting variants, the analysis must also take into account any other realizations of the same from which is deemed to be the norm. Tagliamonte (2012), holds to the fact that a correctly accountable research will exhaustively investigate any other possibility in line with the context of the study.

Another tenet of this theory is the vernacular. This is to the fact that the fundamental goal of variationist sociolinguistics is accessing the vernacular. The term vernacular according to Milroy (1992), refers to 'real language in use'. In addition, Poplack (1993), defines it as language that is reserved for intimate or casual situations with spontaneity. Wanjiku (2018), states that the vernacular forms the foundation onto which other styles are developed, therefore the point of departure in the evolution of language is the vernacular which makes it a vital component of language variation. It was for this reason that we used respondents cutting across different ages from the old, the middle age to the young to see the evolution of the language.

Furthermore, the speech community comes as a tenet of the variationist paradigm. It states that the researcher should record unmonitored speech by members of the speech community as an observer and sometimes as a participant. This will help to see the

different ways the words are used within the speech community. In other words, the variations can be traced in the everyday vernacular of the language speakers.

Many researchers in sociolinguistic study have used this paradigm to investigate variation in languages across the world. Some of them are Labov (1966), Trudgill (1974), Miftawu (2019), Wanjiku (2018), Botha (2011), and Che (2010). This framework is important for this research on variation, we shall focus on measuring the variation at the level of lexicon in the language and look at the external factors responsible for the variation.

2.3 Literature Review

This subsection can be further divided into two parts; that is, literature related to the Fang language and literature related to the topic.

2.3.1 Literature Review of works on Fang

This section presents a review of works on the Fang language with the aim of identifying and making reference to what has been done so far. Thus, this helps to prevent a scenario where we reinvent the wheel in the quest to reveal interesting facts about the language and its speakers. So far, not much linguistic work has been done on the Fang language. Good et al (2011) did a grammatical overview of the languages of Lower Fungom and Fang is one of its languages. Their findings reveal aspects related to the consonants, pronouns, noun class, and the verb morphology. The aim of this paper was to offer an updated linguistic overview of the region's languages. The facts presented in this article are primarily the results of work done by Mve & Tchiemouo in 2010, with supplementary information provided from work conducted by Good in 2005.

Tschonghonge (2018) later carried out a study on the Fang noun phrase, which is a follow up for the addition of more examples to the noun class determined by Good et al (2011). It also has examples to facilitate subsequent noun class related research and analysis of

determiners, noun phrases, clause structures and comparative cognates studies within and outside Lower Fungom.

This research is aimed at compiling a Fang Lexicon, the noun class and noun phrase of Fang with particular attention paid on any sort of internal speech variation. The research was guided by the following questions that were intended to be answered on the course of the research; i) what are the various concord consonants or vowels for each determiner?, ii) can a single determiner like the possessive be used to determine the noun class?, and iii) typologically, is the language a + or – numeral mutation (\pm NMT)? In the course of the research, Tschonghongi discovered that the Fang language has 17 noun class genders with majority of them criss-crossing classes giving rise to many irregular pairs. These pairs are obtained by adding both possessives and demonstrative pronouns. This study added five new noun classes that are absent in Good et al (2011); classes 6, 14, 15, 17, and 21.

Another study which is of relevance to this research is the work of Mve (2013) which focused on Aspects of the phonology of Fang. The aim of the study was to do a descriptive study of the phonology of this language. The data were collected from native speakers of Fang who live in Fang, for some of them in Wum and Yaounde for others. Mve used the structural approach to analyze sounds and tones, the theory of Autosegmental phonology to represent tones, and Generative Phonology to analyze phonological and tonological processes. The results of this research according to Mve (2013) shows that Fang has a phonic system that exhibits thirty-eight (38) consonants and among which there are thirty-two (32) phonemes on the one hand, and eleven (11) vowels on the other hand, among which there are eight (8) long vowels. Also, the study came across five (5) syllable structures in Fang; V, CV, CVC, and CGVC. Fang also has an intervention of phonological processes such as glides formation, vowel lengthening, vocalization, glide deletion, nasal deletion, vocalic insertion, nasal assimilation, vowel shortening, vowel

rounding, vowel truncation, and aspiration. Furthermore, the study reveals that Fang has three (3) underlying tones; high, low, and mid. The other tones (high-low, high-mid, and mid-high) are considered as results of tonological processes; (gliding and vocalic elision) or through the intervention of a floating tone.

This analysis is relevant in this research because it guides us on the graphemes used in transcribing the data and the grapheme are those proposed by Good et al (2011) and coming from these authors who did research on the language, I think it makes it a standard form of writing in this language.

2.3.2 Literature Review on Variation

To begin, a study of language variation was carried out by (Che, 2010) titled, *Language variation in the Mbembe language*. This Mbembe language is a language spoken in Donga Mantung division of the North West Region of Cameroon and in this study, her aim was to determine if speech forms that are used in this language were separate language or dialects, and how these speakers of Mbembe language appreciated/see/interpret the variations attested in this language.

The dialectometric technique and the grounded theory were used to analyze the data, which was obtained by the use of a wordlist, questionnaires, interviews and observation. The size of the data was determined by the principle of saturation. The results of this study proved that the lower Mbembe speech forms are dialects, while the upper Mbembe speech forms are separate language and the speakers are multilingual enough to understand each other very well. In addition, at the end, she made it clear that one of the reasons for the variation attested in this language was because of the peoples' desire to assert their identity given the fact that they are able to communicate in each other's variety but they still stick to theirs.

Looking at lexical variation, Tubua (2016) carried out a study on lexical variation and negative concord in traditional dialects of British English. Here, she investigated from a minimalist perspective and used data from the Freiburg English dialect corpus, the patterns of Negative Concord (NC) attested in different traditional dialects of British English. Tubua argued that lexical variation exists in the negative operator used to express sentential negation, which is truly semantic in Standard English but carries an interpretable feature in Traditional dialects of British English. She also explained why negative concord understood as syntactic agree between [iNeg] and [uNeg] features, is attested in the latter but not the former. In addition, by arguing in the same line that in Traditional dialects of British English two lexical entries are possible for n-word which contrast in the interpretability of the negative feature they carry ([iNeg] vs [uNeg]), the optionality of NC in the studied Non-Standard dialects of English as well as different patterns observed in the data can be accounted for.

Another study on lexical variation is that of David et al. (2014) titled *Gender identity and lexical variation in social media*. This work focused on the relationship between gender, linguistic style, and social networks, and used a novel corpus of 14000 Twitter users. By clustering Twitter users, they found a natural decomposition of the dataset into various styles and topical interests. Language clusters had strong gender orientation but their use of linguistic resources sometimes directly conflicted with the population use of language statistics. These clusters were viewed as a more accurate reflection of the multifaceted nature of general language styles. In order to identify individuals whose linguistic styles defy population-level gender patterns, a statistical classifier was used to measure the classifier confidence for each individual in the dataset. Individuals whose language did not match the classifier model for their gender were examined and found out that they had social networks that included significantly fewer same-gender social connections. In

addition, in general, social network homophily was correlated with the use of same-gender language markers. Pairing computational methods and social theory offered a new perspective on how gender emerges as individuals positioned themselves relative to audiences, topics, and mainstream gender norms. This study is of importance to this work as it helps to show how social network can influence an individual's use of a language and thus, causing variation in that language.

Looking at the African context, Wanjiku (2018), carried out a study on Lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of Gikuya language spoken in Kenya. The purpose of this study was to investigate lexical variation and change in this language, and its objectives were; to identify the types of lexical variation and change, to establish factors responsible for lexical variation and change, and lastly to investigate the consequences in lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of Gikuya. This study was guided by the variationist theory of Labov (1972), and its target population consisted of all the speakers of the Northern dialect of Gikuya living in the Muranga'a County. It made use of non-probability sampling, the sampling technique was purposive to ensure that the age factor was properly represented. A sample of 40 respondents comprised of 20 respondents age between 15 and 25, and 20 respondents who were aged 65 years and above was selected. The study design was mainly descriptive and the data was collected using interviews that was made up of semi-structured questions aimed at getting the factors responsible for the variation, and the consequences of such variation. The data was analyzed in line with the variationist theoretical framework, words in the data were transcribed orthographically and phonetically and then presented in tables where patterns were observed.

Results showed that, the various types of lexical variation in this dialect included; geographical variation, social variation, contextual variation, onomasiological variation

and semasiological variation. In addition, the results showed that the factors responsible for the variation and change were word loss, borrowing, loan translation and modernization and schooling. Results on the consequences of lexical variation and change in this dialect indicated that it had resulted to communication breakdown between the old and the young speakers of the dialect. Again, lexical variation and change had resulted to change in the syllable structure of words, replacement of one word with a phrase, vocabulary expansion and extinction of lexical items. The findings of this study are found to be of relevance to the present study in that they inform the researcher as to the various types of variation available as well as their consequences on education. Thus, the researcher ventures into the field with a working knowledge of what to expect and how to recognize and analyse the data she'll encounter in the field.

Furthermore, Botha (2011), conducted a research titled *Dimensions in variationist sociolinguistic: A sociolinguistic investigation of language variation in Macau*. The purpose of this study was to establish how language variation is realized in Cantonese as it is spoken in Macau (Macau Cantonese). This study's objectives were to provide a sociolinguistic account of initial and final segments of words as well as sentence final particles in this language, and specifically to illustrate how social meanings are conveyed using these linguistic variables. Another objective was to demonstrate that the linguistic variables have a potential for indicating speaker identity at the individual level and constitute a rich resource for communicating speaker identity in Macau Cantonese. This study was quantitative and done within the framework of Labov's variationist theory. Results of this study indicated that external linguistic constraint categories play a role in the realization of how and when initial and final segments as well as sentence final particles are used in this language. In addition, it illustrated that pragmatic functions in the systematic use of linguistic variables requires explanations that draw from variationist

sociolinguistic research that has ethnographic and interpretive basis. The findings have a bearing on the present study in that it informs on the effects of social variables on the speech habits of language speakers. Thus, this awareness is vital to the researcher whose perspective about language variation was widened.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter was centered on the review of important concepts in the work with focus on the language variation. The theories used in this research are reviewed bring out the relationship between the theories and the present study. The last section of this chapter focused on the review of related literature and this was done considering elements related to the study and other studies done in the language bringing out the gap in the study.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the entire process and how the research was carried out. It discusses the research design and methods used in this study. It also gives a description of the research population, the sampling techniques and instruments used for data collection and analysis, and the validity and reliability of the study. We further present the ethical issues encountered and resolved in the course of the work.

3.2. Research Design

The research design we used in this study was qualitative paradigm, more specifically case study and data collected were from primary sources. This paradigm was selected to get an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. It was to answer questions related to this study. Data collection was from both primary and secondary sources. The qualitative research design was selected because we are studying a particular group of speakers (Fang speakers). The variations among Fang speakers are described and analyzed by the means of interviews and a wordlist, which required a small number of consultants. This was to be able to get a rich amount of data for better understanding. The purpose of this design was to bring out variants and account for the various factors that lead to these variations among speakers of the same language.

3.3. Research Population

The population of consultants selected for this work is Fang speakers living in Souza, found in the Littoral region of Cameroon. They were selected following the snowball technique as well as purposive sampling and the primary characteristic that governed this process was the degree of competence demonstrated by participants. In order to enhance

the chances of working with competent speakers, we chose participants aged 15 years and above. This was necessitated by the realization that such participants have fully acquired the language and thus, stands the chance of providing more accurate data as compared to younger speakers.

3.4. Demographic Presentation of the Sample

This section deals with the presentation of the sample population and it gives insides into the population under study. Its focus is to give a description of the consultants.

3.4.1. Description of Consultants

At the first data collection stage of data collection, twenty-one (21) Fang speakers were interviewed. The SLIP (Sociolinguistic Profile) of these consultants was collected. Consultants were selected based on sex (male and female), age (young, adults and old), as shown on table 1 below.

Table 3: description of consultants.

Age Range	Male	Female	Total
15-25: Young	5	4	9
26-40: Adults	3	3	6
41 and above: Old	3	3	6
Grand total	11	10	21

The second stage of data collection involved five (5) consultants purposely selected for the wordlist elicitation. Taking into consideration age, sex, language mastery, number of years lived in Fang, and number of years spent out of Fang. These consultants were carefully selected to make sure they suit the context and seen fit to provide adequate information that was needed. See table 5 below

Table 4: consultants for wordlist elicitation

Age group	Male	Female	Total
Young	1	1	2
Adults	-	1	1
Old	1	1	2
Grand total	2	3	5

3.5. Sample and Sampling Technique

In order to achieve the aim/purpose of this study, 21 Fang speakers in Souza were selected to collect their sociolinguistic profiles. A semi-structured interview was conducted with these 21 consultants, which provided the researcher an opportunity to explore other areas related to this study. The sample population is made up of Fang speakers who live in Souza. In addition, 05 consultants out of the 21 were later on selected for the second stage of the data collection, which is the wordlist elicitation stage. They were selected based on the information gotten from their SLIPs. Consultants selected included long-time migrants: people who have been out of Fang for a long time, and short-recent migrants: people who have lived in Fang for a very long time and just left the village recently.

This study makes use of the purposive sampling technique. This was carried out to ensure that all the elements that are to be included in the study have all the required characteristics. It involved only Fang speakers that are living in Souza since the focus of the study was to work with Fang speakers purposefully.

3.5. Data Collection Procedures

The first stage in the field consisted in contacting Fang speakers who have been in Souza and we met with the secretary of Fang native speakers in Souza. We were able to explain the aim and objectives of the study to him, and we started locating other Fang speakers. It was explained to them that the data collected would not be used for any purpose other

than the one outlined in the study. From there, we collected their Sociolinguistic Profiles using the Sociolinguistic Interview Guide. The interview guides were completed now. Consultants were interviewed, recorded and the forms completed at once.

The second stage of the data collection was wordlist elicitation with 05 consultants. This was collected at their convenient time and pace. At this stage, recordings were taken and transcriptions were done at the spot. It was done carefully and slowly to avoid mistakes. Although we intended to elicit words from 06 consultants, we were able to elicit words just from 05 consultants because we did not find the sixth consultant that met up with all the characteristics but we were satisfied with the information that was collected from these 05 consultants.

3.6. Instruments of data collection

This section shows the instruments that were used in the collection of data. Here, two instruments were used in the study, namely: interviews and a wordlist. Interviews provided data on factors that lead to variation among Fang speakers while wordlist provided data in relation to the variants Fang speakers use.

3.6.1 Interviews

Both long-time migrants and recent migrants were interviewed face-to-face to get information on their language usage, their environment, and factors that account for their variations. These interviews served as a means of getting their language choices. We used the Sociolinguistic interview guide that was designed for the people of lower Fungom. Here, twenty-one Fang speakers were interviewed for a period of two weeks, and we used approximately one hour forty-five minutes for some speakers and less for others depending on their knowledge and fluency. During the interviews, responses were written down in the interview guide by the researcher and audio recordings were taken with the

consents of the consultants. The interviewees were some Fang speakers who were chosen through the purposive sampling technique.

3.6.1.1. The SLIG

The SLIG is a metadata template that was designed for interview on the sociolinguistic profile of consultants. It is made up of forty-two (42) questions and divided into 4 sections. The first section was biographic questionnaire, which had to do personal details of consultants such as; sex, age, date of birth, place of birth, address/contact, parents, and educational background. It also had to do with consultants' spouses for those who are married or divorced. The second section was other networks. This second part had to do with consultants' social interactions/relationships, including social groups, njangi, church groups, and village societies. It had questions related to traditional medicine, the doctors and locations, how long the consultant have been in the village, when he/she left the village and what made he/she to leave the village. It goes further with questions related to where places the consultants have lived in. this section helps us to get information on the consultants' social networks: relationship with his/her environment, social interactions in the environment. The third section of the SLIG is known languages of the consultants. It has a list of languages a consultant may hear or speak and the degree of competence. These languages are the languages of the Lower Fungom: Abar, Ajumbu, Biya, Buu, Fang, Koshin, Kung, Mashi, Missong, Mufu, Mundabli, Munken, Ngun, and Pidgin, English, French, including other languages. The degree of competence had to do with numbers from 0-5: 0 = neither can hear nor speaks, 1 = hears a bit, 2 = hears but no talk 3 = talks a bit, 4 = talks well and 5 = fluent. The last section of the SLIG is the language sheet that had to do with detailed information on the languages known by the consultants. The place where the language was learned, as well as where and when it was used etc., was also asked. This gives us information of the usage of language or languages

by the consultants and why they speak the way they speak. All interviews conducted on the SLIP were recorded and written down.

3.6.2. Wordlist

The wordlist was made up of 577 nouns and numerals from 1-30, later counted in tens, to thousands, and millions. It was contextualized for the people of Lower Fungom. In order to ease comprehension of the words by consultants, some of the objects in the wordlist were drawn and shown to the consultants. Audio recordings were taken and transcriptions were done. The wordlist played a major role in getting variations between the five different consultants.

3.6.3. Primary Data

The data collected was done solely by the researcher and we participated directly in the data collection process. It is original data collected from the participants; we initiated physical interaction with the consultants to make sure the information obtained is useful. In other words, it is first-hand information that serves as research material for the investigation. However, this was time consuming and required a lot of patience. The researcher took time to carefully collect the data to avoid mistakes or complications.

3.6.4. Secondary Data

Journals, articles, the library and websites were consulted to get literature on language variation and information of the people of Fang, and Lower Fungom as a whole.

3.6.5. Theoretical Framework

This section presents the theories used in this research. We used two major theories in the analysis of this work: Acts of Identity theory propounded by Le Page and Tabouret Keller (1986), and the Social Networks theory by Lesley Milroy (1985). We chose these theories because they are the most explicit theories that suit the aim of this study.

They provide the basement for the collection and analyses of the data. The justifications of the theories can be seen below.

3.6.5.1. Acts of Identity Theory

This theory is very important for this work in that it helps us to identify the native speakers who use certain utterances because they want to be identified in a community and those who do not use particular utterances because they do not want to be identified with others. It is also relevant because it helps in the analysis of data as a speaker may use certain words in a conversation so that they can be identified in a particular group of people in a community. In addition, the fact that there is no full agreement among speakers in relation to the properties of a language so speakers are bound to speak the language differently.

3.6.5.2. The Social Networks Theory

To justify this theory, the more speakers of a language are living out of their language environment and the more they continue to interact with speakers from other languages, there is bound to be variations among speakers of that language. As such, native speakers who have been in close contacts with other non-native speakers of the language for a long period of time might be suffering from interference from other languages. On the other hand, those who have lived in the village for a long period of time and have not been in contact with non-native speaker for a very long time may be considered to have a good mastery of the language. This theory helps us to investigate if this would be the case of Fang.

3.6. Research Design

The design employed in this study was the qualitative design. The design was used to get detailed information about Fang speakers through interviews and a wordlist. The qualitative method that was used in this work is case study. This is because the study was focused on a particular group of people that is Fang speakers only.

3.7. Reliability and Validity of the Instruments

These are concepts used to evaluate the quality of research indicating how well a method, or test measures something. Reliability has to do with how consistently a method measures something. That is, if the same results can be obtained by the same methods under similar circumstances. To ensure reliability, we ensured that the instruments and procedures we used during data collection produced consistent results. This was done through a pilot study. The semi-structures interviews and the wordlist were presented to the supervisor before the consultants were interviewed.

The validation of the instruments for our study was done through revision and testing of instruments with the research team. This was to ensure that the instruments were valid enough to elicit data that would be used to get exactly what they were intended for.

3.8. Data Analysis

The data collected was analyzed thematically where we examined the data closely and identified preconceived themes to see if they will be reflected in the data. The audio records were transcribed and keyed in the Microsoft excel template that was designed for both the wordlist and the SLIG. After that, we proceeded to coding the data where we looked at responses from the interviews and grouped them and gave labels. For the wordlist, we grouped them according to some preconceived. In addition, we looked at words that were common among the old, adults and young and placed them under these groups.

For the wordlist, we created a table with variables such as age (young, adults, old) and sex (male, female), under which we filled in the transcribed words of each consultant. With this, it was easy to sort out words that were similar across these speakers. This made it easy to see the change of words from old to adults and right down to the young.

Since the SLIG was aimed at getting the causes of lexical variation among Fang speakers, our interview guide was designed with preconceived themes and we filled in the responses of consultants in the Ms.Word and Excel metadata template that was designed for this purpose. This process helped us to examine and account for themes such as biography, social networks, and other themes such as age, sex, migration and political causes were gotten from further observations with proof from the wordlist. We then proceeded to explaining these concepts based on consultants' responses and examples from the wordlist.

3.9. Ethical Considerations

Before data collection, a research permit was obtained from the Head of the Department of Linguistics and the chief of Mundani (the chief of the quarter in which the consultants were residing). The consultants were assured of the confidentiality of the information they provided and for the fact that the data would not be used for any purpose other than that of the study. This was carefully explained to them and we got their informed consent. They were also informed that they could withdraw from the study anytime they felt the need to do so. The consent obtained from the consultants was passive because it did not entail signing of consent forms as consultants gave their willingness to take part in the study. The names of the consultants were coded to avoid disclosure of the participants as it could affect their socio-cultural reputation negatively. At the beginning of the interview, the researcher explained the purpose and benefits of the research to the Fang community before the data was collected. Considering the fact that most of them were farmers and that they left their jobs just for the interview, and the fact that most of them were from different locations and lived far, the research team compensated them accordingly. It was made known to them that the money was not a payment but compensation for their transport and a form of appreciating them for their collaboration.

3.10. Conclusion

This chapter has provided the research design used in carrying out the research, the sample and sampling techniques that were used in the study have also been explained. In addition, it has presented the theoretical framework and justifications in the study. The area of study and the research population, research approaches, instruments for data collection, field procedures and ethical considerations have been explained. The following chapter is going to provide us a presentation of data and analysis of the qualitative data.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents data analysis and findings. The first section of this chapter gives presentation of demographic data. This is followed by the analysis of qualitative data as per the research objectives of the study; it also presents the responses derived from the consultants in relation to the wordlist, and the SLIG in relation to the causes of lexical variation in Fang. The last section of this chapter is discussions of results gotten from the analysis.

4.2. Presentation of Demographic Data

This section gives detailed presentation of the demographic information of consultants who were part of the study. This has to do with background of consultants such as age group, educational qualification and sex.

4.2.1. Age group

This section presents detailed information on the age range of the consultants who were part of the study, both at the level of the SLIP and the wordlist. It is very important in achieving the objectives of this study. See table 3 below:

Table 5: Age range of consultants

Age	Number of consultants	Percentage
15 – 25 years	9	43%
25 – 40 years	6	28.5%
40 years and above	6	28.5%
Total	21	100%

As seen on table 6 above, the consultants who participated in this study fall under the different age range. The ages range from 15 – 40 years and above. From the age range of 15 – 25, we had 9 consultants with the percentage of 43, from 25 – 40, we had 6 consultants and the percentage obtained was 28.5, from 40 years and above we had 6 consultants and the percentage of 28.5. This is necessary as age can be used to account for the causes of variation in Fang that is, age can have an influence the language of an individual that may cause variations.

4.2.2. Sex

This background information has to do with the sex of our consultants. See table 7 below.

Table 6: Sex of consultants

Variable	Number of consultants	Percentage
Male	11	52.4 %
Female	10	47.6%
Total	21	100%

Out of the 21 consultants, 11 of them were male giving a percentage of 52.4, then 10 of them were female giving a percentage of 47.6 summing to 100%. For the five consultants of the wordlist, we had two males, a percentage of 40% and 3 female giving a percentage of 60%.

4.2.3. Educational qualification

This is another indicator of variation. The qualifications of consultants included, those who did not go to school at all, below first school leaving certificate, first school leaving certificate, above first school leaving certificate, and Ordinary levels. See table 8 below.

Table 7: educational qualifications of consultants

Variable	Number of consultants	Percentage
No school	2	9.5
Below FSLC	3	14.4
FSLC	7	33.3
Above FSLC	7	33.3
O levels	2	9.5
Total	21	100%

For the five consultants of the wordlist, two of them are at the stage of having an ordinary level, so they are considered to be below O Levels, one didn't go to school, one ended at the level of FSLC and one has Ordinary level. This is also an important indicator for variation.

4.3. Presentation and Analysis of Qualitative Data

This section presents data from Fang speakers in Souza Cameroon, and our data analysis is based on the research objectives as broken down in the following research questions:

- 1) What are the causes of lexical variation in Fang?
- 2) What are these lexical items?

4.3.1. Causes of Lexical Variation in Fang

Variation affects languages as members of the society are different in terms of social variables such as: biography, networks, age, and sex. Languages are also affected by political, social and economic factors. Our investigation has proved that variation in Fang has been caused by the factors mentioned above. In this section, the collection of data was guided by the research objectives as outlined in the sub-research questions in (1.6). The main instrument that facilitated the collection of data here was the Sociolinguistic interview guide (SLIG). The responses given by the consultants were used to determine the various causes of language variation in Fang as explained below.

4.3.1.1. Biography

The biographic information of the participants has to do with their background information, information such as age-in relation to time spent in the village, talking about their childhood because it has a great impact on their language acquisition and usage. We looked at the language background of the speakers of Fang, the environment in which they grew up and how long they have been in the village. This played a great role in their variation because the longer the stay in the village, the better the mastery and the lesser the variation. Native speakers who have stayed in the village for long are resistant to change because they have that natural pronunciation. Environment affects variation and according to the theory of social networks by Milroy & Milroy (1985), the social interactions of a speaker in his/her environment will have an impact on their language. The table below is an illustration of the biography of the consultants based on the time spent in the village from birth.

Table 8: thematic analysis illustrating the time spent in the Fang by consultants

Years	No of consultants	Percentage
0-10 years	1	20%
10-20 years	2	40%
20-30 years	1	20%
30 years and above	1	20%
Total	5	100%

The table above indicates the number of years each consultant spent in the village. Those who have been in the village from at least 0-10 years would have a particular universal tendency in their language use. They start experiencing a lot of variations when they leave their language context and start losing command of their language because of their social interactions with non-Fang speakers, they start creating different network links there by making their network links to be weak and the language becomes diffused. Consultants

who have been in Fang for long are resistant to change as opposed those who have not been there for long.

4.3.1.2. Networks

This was an interview question intended to elicit information on the networks of consultants such as social relationships (friends, groups-saving/njangi/church/any other social group, places lived in), to be able to get their social interactions with other people from different environments. Results obtained from this interview showed that these consultants have different social groups, interact with different people who speak different languages, and live in different locations. This has an impact on the way they speak Fang, they speak it because of their multiple interactions.

According to the theory of social networks by Milroy and Milroy (1985), speech behavior is shaped by one's network of peers. When there is a high concentration of speakers of a particular language, they form a strong tie of network as opposed to a situation where they exist in secluded. When there is a strong tie of network, the speakers are surrounded by speakers of the same language and are resistant to change. Variation comes about when speakers of a language are separated from each other forming a weak tie of network. This theory was very instrumental in the analysis and discussion of this study because it was observed that Fang speakers are experiencing both strong ties and weak ties of network. The weak tie comes because of migration, those who left the village a long time ago have and have created other social links with different people there by spreading the network links to different areas. This makes them to speak differently from those that have been in the confinement of their village people and have a strong tie of network and have a high command of their language use. The table below shows responses that were obtained and recorded when consultants were asked to give their social interactions and networks of peers.

Table 9: Thematic analysis depicting social interactions of consultants

Consultants	Social groups	Places lived in	Year left the village
KAK	Family meeting, church choir	Ekona, Douala, Souza	2017
EVN	Fang kitchen Njangi (Mitim), dance group (kesim-Fang).	Penja	2020
BJM	Fang meeting (FAKODA), men's fellowship in church	Buea, Ekona, Tiko, Souza	2014
NEW	CYF Souza	Mbanga, Kompina, Souza	2020
NJJ	Dynamic (Souza)	Souza	2019

The table above gives us a clear illustration of consultants social groups, places lived in, and the year they left the village. This clearly indicates how long every one of them have spent in and out of the village and the network links they have created.

Also, looking at the Acts of Identity theory by Le Page (1986), we found it relevant to this study due to the fact that there is no full agreement among speakers as to the properties of a language, there is bound to be variation. Language being a vehicle through which we shape our identity, it was observed that in Fang some speakers use certain words because they want to be identified as true fang speakers, others do not know or use certain words because they do not want to be associated with certain groups in their community. The table below gives responses that were obtained from consultants when they were asked about the impression they want people to get when they hear them speak Fang.

Table 10: thematic analysis indicating impressions of Fang speakers on their language use

Consultants	Impression
KAK	Think good about me
EVN	Be happy, and I want the village and language to be known
BJM	To know that here is a village like Fang, and try to know it.
NEW	To know that I love my language
NJJ	

From the responses above we can see that Fang speakers speak the language because they always want to be seen as good people and be identified as Fang speakers.

4.3.1.3. Age and Gender

Age and sex play a significant role in linguistic variation. Results from our analysis revealed that the younger speakers tend to be more accommodating to other languages than the elder speakers. Also, females stick more to local forms of the language than males. This can be explained from the linguistic behavior that men are more exposed to contact situations with non-local speakers, meanwhile women spend most of the time at home, in the domain of family looking after its members.

Talking about age, it is noticed in all languages that not all generations speak the same. The young generations tend to be more accommodating to other languages due to exposure and social interactions with other speakers of their generations, while the elders are characterized by stability in their language use because they are adamant to change, they stick to their old ways of speaking. So from our results, we can say that the speech of men and that of youths in Fang is more convergent than that of women and elders.

4.3.1.4. Political Causes and Migration

The village of Fang witnessed a high rate of migration because of the Anglophone crisis in the North West Region of Cameroon and the search for greener pastures. From 2017, many Fang speakers have been leaving their village to get shelter in more peaceful environments, others left earlier than 2017 to search for greener pastures in city areas. This movement has exposed them to other languages as they have to learn the languages of the new areas in order to be able to communicate. Our Social Networks theory was also relevant to this aspect of the study because we observed that Fang speakers who migrated from their village lived in different areas thereby creating weak network of peers making them to lose control of their language and this affected their ways of speaking, causing variation in their language.

4.3.2. Fang Lexical Items

One of the aspects of language is differences in vocabulary, which marks different speakers in different regions or geographical areas. This is the case of Fang where speakers show differences in some words the differences in lexis are aspect of variation, which is noticeable in all types of speech communities. These variations can be within the same language, the variety under investigation shows variation within the same language. This section of the study is in relation to objective 2 above which is to identify the lexical items and see how they vary among speakers of Fang. Results from our findings show that these lexical items vary in terms of age, and the level of speakers' social interactions, these will be further explained below.

4.3.2.1. Age Groups

As observed, lexical variation in Fang according to age groups shows that the younger generation (youth and adults) try to form new words for themselves so that it can be symbols of youth. The young are generally considered more convergent than their elder

counterparts as they tend to avoid the traditional forms and use new forms to make their own speech specific to youth. Results from our wordlist brings about different lexical items used by the younger generation who try to avoid the traditional forms used by the older generation because they do not want to be identified in that age group. In addition, considering the fact that the old are adamant to change, they still stick to their traditional forms of speaking. Table 12 below brings out a clear presentation of some of these lexical items associated with age group.

Table 11: Thematic presentation of lexical items in relation to age group.

Young	Adults	Old	Gloss
/tsilá/	/tsilá/	/bǎʔ/	‘father’
/nè/	/ní/	/nini/	‘mother’
/wósá/	/wósá/	/zǐ/	‘eye’
/wón/	/wón/	/yéŋ/	‘tooth’
/ɸwèn/	/ɸwèn/	/yǎŋgé/	‘buttocks’
/kwèn/	/kwèn/	/ɸòèn/	‘vagina’
/kálà/	/ká/	/kàɸúmé/	‘palm (hand)’

From table 12 above, it can be seen that some words are actually different between the young and the old. Other words show that the youth have modified them to make them different from that of the old. For example the word /nini/ ‘mother’ as per the old, /ní/ ‘mother’ adult and /nè/ for young, the adults have shortened the word while the young have changed the last vowel of the adult from /í/ to /è/.

4.3.2.2. Lexical Items in Terms of Social Interactions

As explained above, the language of a speaker can be affected by their level of social interactions. It can be seen that some words are actually different between the young and the old. Other words show that the youth have modified words to make them different from those used by the old. For example the word /nini/ ‘mother’ as per the old, /ní/

‘mother’ adult and /nè/ for young, the adults have shortened the word while the young have changed the last vowel of the adult from /i/ to /è/.in a speech community. Apart from the fact that Fang speakers who have been out of the village for a long period of time (long-term migrants) speak differently from those that have been out of the village for a short time (short-term migrants), long-term migrants have associated themselves with other speakers from other languages and have created other network links with non-Fang speakers there by creating weak tie of network. This makes them to lose command of the language and as a result, some tend to use descriptions or use their own articulations rather than the actual words. The table below is an illustration of lexical items derived from the wordlist that show word differences between long-term migrants and short-term migrants.

Table 12: thematic presentation of lexical items of both long-term and short-term migrants.

Long-term migrants	Recent migrants	Gloss
/wélènkûm/	/fèmbôʔ/	‘spleen’
/kúfákèdzèm/	/bèŋ/	‘spine’
/wû/	/tèwúkó/	‘catarrh’
/tsòlè/ /dzèsá/	/ndzèsèm/	‘urine’
/kfènsá/	/fèntóm/	‘knit-pin’
/kèsékètó/	/dâló/	‘traditional regalia’
/kélóŋwá/	/sísí/	‘kangwa’
/létà/	/kèŋòtè/	‘letter’
Descriptions		
Long-term migrants	Recent migrants	Gloss
/kúfákégóló/	/sífèkèténé/ /kwófé/	‘shin’
/dzènkálè/	/fólóŋ/gúló/	‘wicklow’
/fèndziléfèbáh/	/fèndílè//báʔ/	‘scar’
/dzènkèbíké/	/dzèn/	‘malaria’
/kèntósíkéntwà/	/kèntósè/	‘pestle (cocoyam)’
/tántánwúmèkèkpúlè/	/tántán/	‘coffin’
/mbèlémèfúmé/	/bèfúmè/ntòŋ/	‘raffia’

Table 13 above shows that some words have been modified by long-term migrants and others are completely different. This is a clear indication that these long-term migrants

may be suffering from attrition. In addition to the fact that this Fang consultant has lost control of their language, he tends to describe the word instead of giving the actual word.

For example,

The speaker says /dzə̀nká̀lə̀/, which means ‘sickness of the finger’,

Instead of calling it /fə̀lɔ́ŋ/ or /gólá/ meaning ‘wicklow’.

Another example

/kə̀ntəsíkə̀ntwà/ meaning ‘pestle for mortar’ ‘mortar pestle’

Instead of calling it /kə̀ntəsə̀/ meaning ‘pestle’.

Looking at the biography of the long-term consultant, it shows that the speaker has been out of the language context for a long time and has lived in different villages/towns. These networks of ties have greatly influenced his language use.

4.3.2. Suggestions for Didactic Materials

Didactic materials as defined by Tomlinson (1998), refers to anything that is used by a teacher or learners to facilitate the learning of a language. Ogalde and Bardavid (2003) hold that didactic material can be defined as “all those means and resources to facilitate the teaching-learning process within a global and systematic educational context and stimulate the senses to facilitate the acquisition of concepts, abilities and skills, as well as the formation of attitudes and values. Looking at these definitions, we can say that didactic materials can originate from a variety of places such as textbooks, educationally produced materials, online sites and even from the teachers themselves, their own created materials, flashcards, posters, games, worksheets and others.

This section of the work deals with implications of lexical variation for didactic materials, which will serve as suggestions to aid language material designers when designing language teaching materials for the Fang language. These implications are given based on the findings of this study. Results from our analysis shows that lexical items in Fang

vary according to age groups (that is younger generation and older generation), social networks (level of speakers' social interactions and relationship ties). From the above findings, we derived the following suggestions.

To begin, we think that it would be important for language material designers to monitor not only the changes in language, but to look at these causes that lead to variation in this language. This will help them make a decision on which lexical item to include and how to include them. In the case of Fang speakers, language material designers need to look at age and sex, biography, networks, migration and political factors. This is so due to the age differences and exposures, didactic materials for older generation will not be the same like that of the younger generation of Fang speakers.

It should be noted that in the informal settings, these Fang speakers living out of Fang often encounter other language varieties which differ from that of the language spoken in the village. Therefore, acknowledging different language varieties and their equal value is also important in terms of inclusion or showing respect to these speakers' heritage.

Having discovered that this language varies in terms of age group and level of speakers' social networks, language material designers should look at the speakers' network of language use in order to be able to determine what variety to use in the teaching of this language and the group of people it is intended for. They should consider what level the material is designed for and what level the students are.

Again, when creating didactic materials for this Fang, language material designers will need to provide synonyms for words that have more than one variety; this is to make the language learners get used to all spoken varieties of this language.

Furthermore, didactic materials for this language should support meaningful learning. It has to be purely contextual; Fang speakers should be taught using what they are used to.

For example, if designing material for agricultural equipment, posters of farm tools should consist of the kind of farm tools they are versed with. This is because a topic out of context can diminish students' interest.

4.4. Discussions

This section discusses the findings given that research questions corroborate the research objectives, which are more explicit. The discussions in this section are based on research objectives. The main objective that corresponds to the first research question is based on the causes of lexical variation in Fang. This objective help to answer the first research question as seen below.

Objective 1: To identify the causes of lexical variation in Fang

Results from the analysis of data based on causes of lexical variation in Fang shows that, biography of consultants (Fang speakers), networks, age and sex, political causes and migration influence their speech habits. The biography of Fang speakers is considered to be a very important factor that causes lexical variation. It is considered that the language background of the speakers could have an impact on their language use. Apart from the realization that speakers born in Fang and lived there for a good number of years speak differently from those who were born in Fang and did not stay there for a period, it was also noticed that those who lived in Fang for a longer period have natural pronunciations and are also resistant to change. Looking at the background of speakers' environment, we discovered that these short-term migrants (speakers who recently migrated from Fang) have some similarities that area different from long-term migrants (speakers who migrated from Fang a long time ago) and have been to many other places and interacted with different people from different cultural and language background.

Another cause of lexical variation based on our analyses is networks of our consultants. It has to do with the social relationship/interactions of Fang speakers] and their network of ties. Fang speakers that are concentrated in a particular area formed a very strong tie network with each other while the speakers that are found in dispersed locations resulted to weak tie network. According to our findings, these weak ties of network resulted to a lot variations among these speakers because of their social interactions with other speakers and also caused by interference from other languages.

Age and sex also caused lexical variation in Fang. Results from our analysis shows that Fang speakers of the older generation are adamant to change and stocked on their old forms of speaking, while the younger generation of speakers was seen to be more accommodating to new forms of speaking. The females also stick more to their local forms of the language more than the males because the males are more exposed to contact situations with non-local speakers while women spent most time at home. In addition, we found out that the elders had stability in their language.

Concerning political causes and migration among Fang speakers, it has played a great role in their language change and variation. The displacement of Fang speakers exposed them to other languages and cultures as they are forced to learn these languages to be able to communicate in their new environments. This made these speakers to speak differently and lose control of their language, hence variation among these speakers.

Objective 2: To identify Fang lexical items

This section is intended to bring out some of the words that vary among Fang speakers and show how they vary among each other. Results from our analysis showed that these lexical items vary in terms of age and level of speakers' social interactions. As seen above, young generation have codes that are used among them which makes it different from

that of the old as shown on table 9 above. These younger generations try to modify or change certain words to distinct themselves from the old, as they do not want to be identified in that age group. The older generations have some uniformity in their manner of speaking because they stick to their old forms of speaking.

As seen in table 10 above, lexical variation varies in terms of social interactions of Fang speakers. This shows that longevity in Fang and among its speakers bring about differences in their way of speaking from those who have not been out of Fang for a long period. Fang speakers that have been out of Fang for a long period of time have lost command of the language and some tend to describe words, this makes their speech forms different from that of short-term migrants.

Objective 3: To provide implications of this variation for didactic materials

This objective was guided by the research question intended to provide the implications of variation for didactic materials. According to our findings, if language teaching materials have to be designed for this language, then the material designers will have to consider some key issues such as; the background of Fang speakers, make provisions for synonyms (provide varieties for words that have more than one variety) there by acknowledging the various varieties involved in the language, consider the age group of learners and their level of social interactions, and also the materials need to be purely contextual.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to present, analyze the qualitative data from interviews, and discuss data on the causes of lexical variation in Fang, the lexical items and the implications for didactic materials. Lexical variation in this language is caused by biography of the speakers, their networks, age and sex, socio-political causes and migration. All these factors greatly influenced their language use. From these causes and from the lexical

items we got from our analysis, we have been able to give some implications of this variation, which will serve as suggestions to language material designers. The following chapter is the general conclusion of the work, it will give a summary of the complete work and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER FIVE

GENERAL CONCLUSION

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of findings, recommends solutions to research problems encountered during the study, limitations, and proposes areas for further research.

5.2. Summary of Findings

The summary of findings (results) in this section is done based on qualitative paradigm and in relation to the research questions.

Research Objective 1. What are the causes of lexical variation in Fang?

Based on our findings, lexical variation in Fang is caused by a number of factors, the first of which is biography. Based on results from the interview, we found out that the Fang speakers that have been in the village for long periods speak differently from those that did not live in the village for long and have interacted with speakers of different languages. This goes to say that the environment of speakers and their level of social interaction have a great effect on their language use. Also, based on our results, the network ties of Fang speakers bring about a difference in the way they speak. Fang speakers that are concentrated in a particular area form a strong network of ties, while those that live in dispersed location form a weak network of ties, and the weaker the network links the more the variation. Again, age and sex as a factor that caused Lexical variation in Fang tells us that the older generation of Fang speakers are very adamant to change and stick to their old forms of speaking, giving them stability in their language, while the younger generation were seen to be more accommodating to new forms of speaking. The female were seen to stick more to local forms of the language more than

male because the male are more exposed to contact situations with non-local speakers while women spent most of their time at home. The last cause of lexical variation in Fang is as a result of political causes and migration. The displacement of speakers due to the socio-political crisis in that area exposed them to different environments with different languages and cultures thereby causing interferences in their language use.

Research Question 2. What are the various lexical items?

This research question was answered by bringing out some lexical items and examples on how they vary among Fang speakers. From our findings, we saw that these lexical items vary in terms of age groups showing clear instances where the older generations have completely different words from the young, and another instance where they both have some similarities though not the same because the younger generation of speakers try to modify their speech to distinguish themselves from the old. We also found out that due to the level of social interactions of Fang speakers and their network of ties, they now have interference in their language use. We saw that a high concentration of Fang speakers in an area makes them to speak the language uniformly while a disperse settlement of these speakers brings about a lot of differences in their language use.

5.3. Recommendation

Based on the findings of this study, this section gives recommendations to various stakeholders.

5.3.1 To Curriculum leaders and Teachers

They should make it a goal to enlighten their learners/ speakers about the rich and different forms of variation a language entails. This will help develop intercultural and sociolinguistic competence. When learners/speakers are informed about these varieties it helps them to understand and appreciate the complexity of languages and might

counteract any form of insecurities that might arise from being presents conflicting varieties in a language.

In addition, in the course of examinations, the use of other varieties or lexical items should be accepted when necessary. In the case of Fang where there exist more than one lexical items to express the same meaning, synonyms should be accepted.

5.3.2 Teacher Training Providers

Teacher training should include appropriate linguistics elements to sensitize teachers on issues around variation and provide them with the means to be able to make decisions about the inclusion of other lexical varieties in their teaching. They should equally get appropriate training for the teaching of Fang language to learners.

5.4. Suggestions for Further Research

This study focused on lexical variation in Fang: The case of Fang speakers living in Souza. A number of issues were discovered but could not be dealt with because these issues were not part of the scope of our study objectives. We therefore suggest these issues for further research.

- 1) This study centered only on one aspect of language variation (lexical variation) in Fang and in the course of the study we noticed that there were other aspects of variation such as phonological variation. Therefore, further studies can be done on other types of variation such as phonological, and syntactic variation in this language.
- 2) In addition, due to the socio-political crisis in the North West and south West Regions, we had to carry out this study out of the natural language context; with Fang speakers residing in Souza. We therefore suggest that in the years ahead,

another study could be conducted in Fang in the Lower Fungom Region where speakers' language use can be observed in a naturalistic manner.

- 3) This work is purely qualitative and we used just interviews for data collection with wordlist elicitation. With the study being qualitative, our sample size was small. A quantitative study can be carried out on lexical variation in Fang with a larger sample.
- 4) Furthermore, a study on dialectology can be carried in this language to find out if these lexical items are different varieties of the language. This will help determine if there are language varieties that differ from the standard variety.

5.5. Limitations

This study cannot claim to have given a complete account of the phenomenon under investigation. This implies that there are obvious limitations. These limitations were identified at the territorial level and at the level of methodology as shown below.

The study was limited to Fang speakers living in Souza. This was so because based on background check, high concentrations of Fang migrants were discovered to be residing in Souza (both recent and long-term migrants). The results may not be accurately representative of all the Fang speakers in Lower Fungom because of its geographical limitation. This limitation was also because of the Socio-political crisis as mentioned above, the researcher could not make it to Lower Fungom, and so the language consultants were also limited. To solve this, the researcher had to select carefully participants that could provide the information that was needed.

At the level of methodology, data collection was done by the use of an interview guide and a wordlist as the main instruments. Interviews were done in Souza and questions were

asked in relation to the consultants' sociolinguistic profiles and wordlist elicitation. This was swiftly followed by an analysis.

5.6. Difficulties encountered

During the investigation, the researcher encountered some difficulties. Below are some difficulties and strategies used by the researcher to solve these problems and difficulties.

Given the fact that most of the consultants' residents in that area are farmers, it was not easy to work with them. This was because most of them go to the farm on Monday and only return on Thursday evening or Friday, it made it difficult for us to work on time as we could only have the chance to work with most of them during weekends. In order to solve this problem, we had to book for appointments with them and call them from time to time just to remind them, we also gave them motivation tips to compensate them for their transport as some left from distant quarters just to give us information.

In addition, wordlist elicitation with some old consultants was very tedious as they found it difficult to understand certain words, so we spent time describing words to them in Pidgin English, bringing examples to the extent of drawing some objects so that they could better understand.

Furthermore, some consultants were uneducated so it was very difficult for them to understand the singular and plural forms of words. Even after a series of explanations, it was still difficult for them to understand and sometimes we had to determine the singular word and the plural words after a series of follow-up questions. This went on for a while and they finally understood how it works, elicitation became easy for us.

5.7. Conclusion

This chapter served as the general conclusion to the study. Here, we gave a general summary of our findings based on our research questions; what are the causes of lexical variation in Fang and what are the lexical items. From these results, we can say that age/sex, biography, networks, social and political causes are all motivations of lexical variation in this language and contribute in explaining individual language variability. It also provided recommendations and, suggestions for further research, difficulties encountered in the study, and the implications of the study.

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APPENDICES

Appendix: i Authorization letter

UNIVERSITY OF BUEA

P.O. Box 63,

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FACULTY OF ARTS

Dean: Prof. John Nkemngong Nkengasong

Dean/Programmes & Academic Affairs: Dr. Teke Charles Ngiewih

Vice-Dean/Admissions & Records: Dr. Gratien Atindogbe

Vice Dean/Research & Cooperation: Prof. Pierre Fandio

Faculty Officer: Mr. Batebe Agbor Boniface



REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON

Peace-Work-Fatherland

2020/ 0 /UB/FA/HOD/LIN/AA

MEMORANDUM

Date 18 MARS 2020

From: The HOD/LIN

To: Whom it may concern

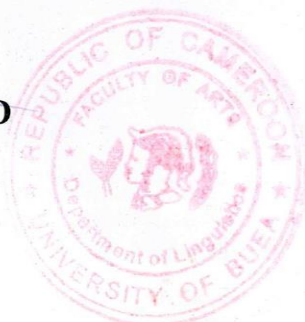
Permission to Conduct Research

We write to certify that **Nsakse Ruddygilian Jingokoh** (UB Registration No. AR18P006) is an MA student in the Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Arts of the University of Buea. She is presently carrying out a research on the topic **“Lexical Variation in the Lower Fungom and its Implications for Didactic Materials: The Case of Koshin Speakers in Souza”**.

We entreat you to give her all the information and cooperation that she may require in the realisation of the objectives of this research.


Blasius Chiatoh, PhD

HOD/LIN



Appendix: ii The Sociolinguistic interview guide (SLIG)

BASIC METADATA OF THE RECORDING	
a - Researcher	
b - Date	
c - Audio files	
d - Place of interview	

BIOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE	
	PERSONAL DETAILS
1	Are you a male or a female?
2	In which year were you born?
3	If you were to be born at home and not at the hospital, which village would have been your birth place? Give the name of the village and the quarter of birth.
4	What is your current occupation? If you do more than one job, please list all the jobs that you have done over the past 2 years.
5	Where do you currently reside? Village, quarter, compound

6	What are your names? And your contact phone number:
7	What is/are the name(s) that your father's family gave you?
8	What is/are the name(s) that your mother's family gave you?
9	What is/are your father's name(s)
10	Do you have any other names given by any other relatives?
11	In which quarters / villages did you live when you were between 0 and 10 years old?
12	In which quarters / villages did you live when you were between 10 and 20 years old?
13	In which quarters / villages did you live when you were between 20 and 30 years old?
14	In which quarters / villages did you live when you were between 30 and 40 years old?
15	In which quarters / villages did you live when you were between 40 and 50

	years old?
16	In which quarters / villages did you live when you were between 50 and 60 years old?
17	In which quarters / villages did you live when you were after you were 60 years old?
18	What are the schools that you attended?
19	The last time you were in school, what class were you attending and in which school?
	FATHER AND MOTHER
20	If your father was to be born at home, not at the hospital which village would have been his birth place? Give the name of the village and the quarter of birth.
21	Where has your father spent his life (list all villages / quarters in which the father has spent his life with approximate periods)
22	Where did your father's mother come from (village and quarter)?
23	Please list all other families / quarters in which your father has blood relations.
24	What level of school education has your father reached?

25	What languages can your father hear or speak? Please list
26***	If your mother was to be born at home, not at the hospital which village would have been her birth place? Give the name of the village and the quarter of birth.
27	Where has your mother spent her life (list all villages / quarters in which the mother has spent her life with approximate periods)
28	Where did your mother's mother come from (village and quarter)?
29	Please list all other families / quarters in which your mother has blood relations.
30	What level of school education has your mother reached?
31	What languages can your mother hear or speak? Please list them;
	SPOUSE(S)
32	If your spouse was to be born at home, not at the hospital which village would have been his/her birth place? Give the name of the village and the quarter of birth. If you have or have had more than one spouse (polygamous man, widow, widower, divorced), please list the provenance of all your spouses, past and present, and assign a number to each one of them (e.g. spouse 1, spouse 2, etc).
33	What is the name and location of your spouse's father's family? For multiple spouses, list their father's provenances preceded by the spouse's number (see question 32)

34	What is the name and location of your spouse's mother's family? For multiple spouses, list their mother's provenances preceded by the spouse's number (see question 32)
35	What languages can your spouse hear or speak? For multiple spouses, list their languages preceded by the spouse's number (see question 32)
36	How many spouses do you have? 3 What level of school education has your spouse reached? For multiple spouses, list their level of school education preceded by the spouse's number (see question 32).
	OTHER NETWORKS
37	Where do your best friends (not relatives) come from (village & quarter)?
38	Please list the names and locations of all the savings groups (Njangi) in which you are member.
39	Please list all the groups in which you are member, besides families and njangis (e.g. dance groups, churches, village societies, etc). For each group, please also say where it usually meets and where the other members come from.
40	When you are sick and want to rely on traditional medicine, which traditional doctor do you go to? Where are these doctors based?

41	Which year did you leave the village? Are you an IDP? Yes or No:..... Where are the various places you lived in when you left the village? List the names of the names of village(s), town(s), or city(s) you lived in. The name of the quarter (s) of the village or town or city your lived in.

KNOWN LANGUAGES

Date..... Place of
interview.....

Consultant's paternal name
.....

42. Do you speak, Abar, Ajumbu, Biya, Buu, Fang, Koshin, Kung, Mashi, Missong, Mufu, Mundabli, Munken, Ngun, Pidgin, English, French, any other languages? Fill competences in the table below:

Language name: Do you speak / hear?....	Degree of competence: 0 = can neither hears nor speaks; 1= hears a bit; 2= hears but no talk; 3= talks a bit; 4= talks well; 5= fluent
Abar	
Ajumbu	
Biya	
Buu	
Fang	
Koshin	
Kung	
Mashi	
Missong	
Mufu	
Mundabli	
Munken	
Ngun	
Pidgin	
English	
French	
Any Others	

LANGUAGE SHEET - ONE SHEET = ONE LANGUAGE / LECT

Language / lect Consultant's paternal name

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) Get details.	
B5	Do you ever have dreams in this language?	
B6	What are the advantages of knowing this language?	
B7	If you did not know this language, what would be the consequences?	
B8	How do you feel when you use this language (e.g. comfortable, uncomfortable)	
B9	What do you want that people should think (say) about you when you use this language?	

REMARKS (e.g. the interviewee seems shy due to the presence of the husband, the interviewee is perhaps tipsy (need to re-interview the person), etc.

Word					
child	brain	hunger	rainbow	wall	
baby	sweat	rope	spider	meat-mat	
father	snore	farm	scorpion	meat-slate	
mother	belch	bush	frog	funnel	
body	food	raffia fibre	frog(water, green)	groundnut-basket	
skin	boil	wax (incense)	lice	pap	
head	pimpes	twine	grasshopper	coarse flour(kende)	
face	wicklow	trouble	Grasshopper (monguin)	fufu	
eye	swell	suffer	cricket	termites	
nose	cloth	village	caterpillar	wingless termites	
mouth	hienia	quarter	earthworm	rhizome fruit (hill-lilly)	
ear	place	country	leaf	rhizome fruit (valley-lilly)	
jaw	wound	compound	root	aerial yam	
tooth	fungi pimpes	toilet	fruit	spear-grass	
tongue	pus	farm-barn	stem	elephant stalk	
neck	scar	hut	banana	mushroom	
chief	sickness	guard	plantain	messenger	
throat	ringworm	cutlass	orange	ram (male sheep)	
adam's apple	eczema	knife	pear	needle	
goitre	leprosy	axe	pawpaw	bicycle	
hair	malaria	hoe	pineapple	father-in-law	
shoulder	umbrella	woven-dish	seed	mother-in-law	
chest	air	flour (corn)	seedlings	stripped rat	
breast	cold (air)	knit-pin	ascaris (stomach)	roof	
rib	cold (solid)	faxed-pillar	yam	bed bug	
arm	hot, heat (air)	pillar	potato	pumpkin fruit	
waist	hot (solid)	egussi-pudding	groundnut	cane	
navel	pain	groundnut-pudding	cola	month	
umbilical cord	vomit	nail	sugarcane	year	
elbow	headache	bag	pumpkin leaf	week	
wrist	diarrhoea	cup	hill	tattoo	
hand	dysentery	spear	hole		
stomach	scabies	cup-sieve	rock		
placenta	skin rashes	broom	stone		
house	death	Sub-chief	lake		

back	knowledge	world	mountain		
buttock	laugh	tapping knife	sheep (female)		
anus	cry	calabash	box-rattle		
foot	fear	pipe	dust		
lap (thigh)	vomit matter	tobacco-pipe	hailstone		
leg	abstain	fire	iron		
toe	wickedness	basket	zinc		
penise	wickedman	gun	bamboo rattle		
testicle	stinginess	calabash (wine- share)	valley		
vagina	stingy man	calabash (no hole)	cliff		
clitoris	jealousy	calabash (ball)	bridge		
armpit	jealous man	calabash (long- neck)	smoke		
forehead	Laziness	calabash (peace-plant)	soot		
fist	thing	basket (visit/feast)	heaven		
palm (hand)	man	clay	earth		
thumb	person	measurement	cloud		
finger	male	mortar	air		
knuckle	woman	cap	sky		
fingernail	wife	trad. Regalia trad. regalia	planting basket		
belly	whiteman	shoe	thatch grass		
nostril	blackman	soup dish	ground		
pregnancy	twin	fufu dish	land		
chin	uncle	dish (pan)	sun		
knee	name	slimy-soup	moon		
ankle	husband	slimy soup dish	star		
intestine	friend	soup	ridge (bed farm)		
liver	family	egusi uncrack	bundle		
heart	group (people) group (cow....)	egusi cracked	mist / fog		
sole	sieve	clay pot (fufu)	wind		
gallbladder	thief	laughter	storm		
lungs	elder (age)	clay pot (soup)	music pipe		
k.o cricket	aged person	wooden-dish	rain		
spleen	elder (palace)	yellow soup	time		
cockroach	slave	huckleberry	line		
dirts	hunt	'kangwa'	odour		
shin	beg	pestle (cocoyam)	thongs		

calf	horn (head)	pestle (fufu)	dry season		
heel	gossip	trough	locust		
bone	thank	canoe	wasp		
skull	beggar	spoon	praying mantis		
spine	lie (false)	cooking spoon	centipede		
vein	story	oil	dragonfly		
breath	stick	spoon (vegetables)	mosquito		
spit	tree	saucer (calabash)	day		
catarrh	drum	charcoal	sand		
cough	firewood	ash	bamboo		
tears	staff (walk)	fireside	raffia		
blood	oath	fireside stone	rainy season		
water	swear	fireside stone support	salt-calabash		
urine	law	lower grinding stone	child calabash		
faeces	quarrel	uppergrinding stone	twin calabash		
marrow (leg) marrow (head)	fight	pepper stone	indian bamboo		
ant	clock bird	door (lid)	grave		
soldier ant	duck	door (frame)	case		
honey bee	clock	termite mount	co-wife		
honey juice	watch	bed	two head snake (pikin)		
carpenter bee	cat	chair	medicine		
snake	rat	chair (carved)	amaranthus (green)		
bird	long-mouth-rat	fence	garden egg		
butterfly	rat mole	mat (1)	raffia fruit		
empty palm cone	branch (tree)	mat (2)	bitter-leaf		
inner-palm- nuts (cone)	branch (road)	belt	cocoyam-leaf-soup		
owl	road junction	grass	egg-yolk-cocoyam		
screech owl	fish	forest	bat		
swallow	cane rat	net	female lizard (brown)		
hawk	mudfish	trap	snail		
weaver bird	juju	river	shell (snail)		
wood pecker	animal	stream	talking-drum		
cow	corn	spring	pen		
goat	beans	war	injunction order		
pig	cocoyam (native)	song	book		
dog	rice	wall-shelf	soap		

fowl	cowpea	hanged-ceiling	palm flower		
pepper	cowpea leaf	dance	viper		
sheath	soup (vegetable)	flute	white-neck- hawk		
oil chaff	soup (liquid)	horn trumpet	green snake		
palm tree	salt	metal-ankle- rattles	kingfisher		
palm nut	jigger	xylophone	water		
palm cone	date palm	gong	senegalese kucal		
kernel (uncracked)	k.o tree (ηkò? leaf)	ankle rattles(men)	kite		
kernel (chaff)	comb	piano (bamboo)	red-foot- partridge		
palm cotton	meat	piano (string)	buffalo (bush cow)		
palm thorns	cassava	god, God	baboon		
palm bamboo	mud	devil	lion		
pap spoon	swamp	witch	tiger		
garri	brick	spirit	leopard		
palm frond	milk	poison	trap		
palm beetle	wine	witchman	iron trap		
palm maggot (grub)	corn beer	monkey	tobacco powder		
palm broom barren	maggi(native spice)	elephant	tobacco leaf		
palm nut pestle	pot	gizzard	partridge (non- red-leg)		
oil mill	ladder	egg	electric fish		
oil chaff sieve	letter	feather	cock		
kernel bark	ceiling	mbanga-soup	horse		
foam	box	mbanga-soup- fish	lazy man		
kernel oil	coffin	crab	clock		
peace-plant	gauze	crab (cast lots)	road		
palm-barren- fruit	think	male lizard (red)	work		
maggot	bottle	chameleon	headpad		
fly	handle	k.o lizard (smooth)	camwood		
fruit fly	door (space)	gecko	tyre (car)		

Appendix iii: The Wordlist

Appendix iv: List of Variants derived from the wordlist

Words	KAK	NEW	NJJ	EVN	BJM
father	kilá	tsiló	tsiló	bəʔ	tsiló
mother	níə	nè	jí	níní	né
eye	wésá	wósá	wósá	ʒíʃú	ʒí/ʒísé
ear	twáŋ	tóŋ	túó	tóŋkfó	túóŋ
tooth	wan	wóə́n	wə́n	yéŋ	yə́ŋ
hair	fù	fù	fù	kúvə́	yúə́fə́
shoulder	mbim	ʃjémkpə́	mgbìŋ	ngbìŋ	bə̀djàŋ/gbìm
breast	bínə́	bínə́	bjén	bínə́	bjén
arm	kə̀ʃjémkpə́	kálə́	tsìn	tʃín	ʃjémkpə́
umbilical cord	ləkə́wán	gbésə́	gbéjsə́	gbásə́wán	kúwán
elbow	pínə́	kpínə́	nún	kpínə́ŋ	bə̀yèlə́ŋ/mə̀ mbô
wrist	ndzə́ŋə́	kjélə́ŋ	tsìn	nkjélə́ŋ	ká
hand	kálə́	tsìn	kān	tsìŋgè	tsìn
house	yò	yù	yúó	yò	yù
buttock	ʃwə́n	ʃwə́n	ʃwə́n	yə́ŋgè	búnə́
foot	gòlé	zínə́	gòlə́	gòlé	zínə́
lap (thigh)	yə́ŋ	yə́ŋ	yóŋ	yə́ŋ	byèlə́ŋ
leg	ŋìgòlé	kásə́	gòlə́	tsìŋ	kásə́/gòlé
toe	mə̀gwə́	fə́ŋì	jí	tsísí	ŋì
vagina	kwə́n	kòə́n	kwə́n	tʃwə́n	kûn
fist	ŋà	ŋə́ŋ	tsìn	fə̀tsìŋgètə́n	bə̀yàèlə́ŋ
palm (hand)	ákā	kálə́	ká	kətʃúmé/ákátʃú mé	tsìŋgè
thumb	kəlùmkpə́	kəlùŋkpə́	béklétə́	kəlùmkpə́	fə̀ntóm
knee	ŋwû	ŋúə́	ŋó	ŋúvə́	nô
ankle	píŋə́	sè	bə̀dzónə́	sè	bə̀yèlə́ŋbə̀g wó

k.o cricket	dzɛ̀ŋkɛ́	fɛ̀ndɔ́lɛ̀ndɔ́l á	kɛ̀kwòlɛ̀ŋ	dzɛ̀ŋkɛ́/sɛ̀mɛ́	dzɛ̀ŋkɛ́
spleen	wɛ̀lɛ̀ŋkùm	fɛ̀mbá:ʔ	wɛ̀lɛ̀nkùm	fɛ̀mbôʔ	wɛ̀lɛ̀nkùm
shin	sákɛ̀tɛ̀nɛ̀	síkíkɛ̀tɛ̀nɛ̀	kwófá	sífɛ̀kɛ̀tɛ̀nɛ́	kúfákégòlɛ́/ kúfákègwó
calf	fɛ̀mbô	fɛ̀mbô	dzímɡwó	fòmbô	mɛ̀niméɡɔ́lɛ́ /mɛ̀nimékás á
spine	kúfá kèdzɛ̀m	bɛ̀ŋ	/	bɛ̀ŋ	kúfákèdzɛ̀m
catarrh	wú	tɛ̀wúká	wú	tɛ̀wúká	wû
urine	dzɛ̀sɛ́	ndzɛ̀sɛ̀m	ɖzɛ̀sɛ̀m	ndzɛ̀sɛ̀m	tsòlɛ́
pimples	fɛ̀pímpòs	mɛ̀mpjɛ̀tɛ́	/	mɛ̀nɛ̀sɛ̀	mɛ̀nkɛ̀pɛ́
wicklow	fálɔ̀ŋ	fálɔ̀ŋ	fálɔ̀ŋ	ɡólɛ́	dzɛ̀nkálɛ́
scar	fɛ̀ndílɛ̀	báʔ	/	ŋɛ̀lɛ́	fɛ̀ndzílɛ́fɛ̀bá h
sickness	dzɛ̀ŋ	dzɛ̀n	dzín	ngòntɛ̀	dzɛ̀n
malaria	malaria	dzɛ̀n	dzín	dzɛ̀nyúómí	dzɛ̀nkɛ̀bíkɛ́/ dzɛ̀ndzɛ́
cold (solid)	kɛ̀gwótɛ̀	kágù	gbámkɛ̀gwó tɛ̀	áŋgòtò	ɡútɛ̀kɛ̀tjɛ́kɛ́
hot (solid)	kɛ̀tɛ̀mkɛ̀pò	kákɛ̀pɛ́	kɛ̀pɛ́	ánkɛ̀pò	bjéwɛ̀sílɛ́
pain	kɛ̀yɛ́fɛ̀	yɛ̀fɛ̀	tɛ̀mnɛ́	yàfɛ̀	yjɛ́
vomit	kúbùtɛ̀	kúbútá	gbú	kúvúntɛ̀ŋkɛ̀pɛ́	kúbũnɛ́
headache	diarrhea (dzɛ̀n)	dzɛ̀nyásɛ́	sɛ́	mɛ̀nsá	sɛ́
diarrhea	diarrhea (dzɛ̀n)	dzɛ̀nyásɛ́	sɛ́	mɛ̀nsá	sɛ́
dysentery	dysentery (dzɛ̀n)	dzɛ̀nkɛ̀bíkɛ́	sɛ́	mɛ̀nsáfùmɛ̀	tsísɛ́

vomit matter	bəyán	bəyàn	gbéyán	bəyàn	yěyàntə̀bəd̩z ómbə̀yàntó
abstain	dèkě	mɔ̀fó	vɪ́	màfô	kfúsó
wickedman	ɲə̀sɪmkə̀bík é	ɲə̀wéta:ká	ɲəkə̀bíkə̀	ɲə̀bət̩sí	ɲə̀lə̀bíké
stingy man	ɲə̀wóném	ɲə̀wéta:ká	táyóé	mə̀wómən	ɲə̀wə̀ɲíká
jealous man	mə̀wómbòɲ né	ɲəkə̀ɣə̀	ɲəkə̀ɣə̀	kə̀ɣə̀	ɲəkə̀bàn
Laziness	wilé	búʔ/wilé	wilé	bùtô	bótá/bótáyó é
man	mə̀lə̀sɔ̀ɲ	ɲə̀lə̀súɲ	ɲə̀lə̀súɲ	ɲə̀lə̀súɲ	ɲə̀
person	ɲə̀	ɲə̀	ɲə̀	ɲə̀	ɲəd̩zú
male	ɲəkəl̩sɔ̀ɲ	mək̩pí	bə̀zínə̀	ɲə̀lə̀súɲ	ɲə̀lə̀súɲ
woman	ɲək̩pé	né	ɲək̩péɲ	ɲək̩píɲ	ɲək̩píɲ
wife	k̩pɛ̀ɲ	k̩píɲ	k̩pɛ̀ʃú	k̩pók̩fò	k̩pɛ̀ʃí
blackman	ɲəkə̀k̩jénə̀	ɲəkə̀k̩yéɲə̀	ɲəkə̀k̩yéɲə̀	məkə̀k̩yélé	ɲəkə̀k̩yéɲə̀
elder (age)	kət̩ɛ̀h	ɲət̩ɛ̀	ɲət̩ɛ̀ʔ	mɛ̀	ɲət̩ɛ̀
story	tə̀ɣ	kət̩ɛ̀m	kət̩ɛ̀m	tə̀ngrɛ̀nə̀	kət̩ɛ̀m
stick	k̩pún	m̩bàɲ	fə̀wéɲə̀	m̩bàɲ	fə̀wéɲə̀
drum	k̩pún	k̩pún̩tsɪɲk̩pè né	k̩pún	k̩pún̩wət̩ɪɲk̩pəl̩	k̩pún
swear	swear	gɛ̀nək̩k̩nád̩zɛ̀ mí	nākán	grɛ̀nə̀	bə̀nkò/kàn
knit-pin	k̩fə̀nsɔ̀h	fə̀ntɛ̀m	fə̀nkòɲə̀	fə̀ntɛ̀m	k̩fə̀nsá
egussi- pudding	tsə̀ɲsəl̩	tsánsəl̩	kəm̩ùkə̀	tsánsəl̩	kəm̩ùkə̀kən
tapping knife	fə̀bélé	kəl̩ɛ̀fək̩k̩ʃjé mó	kəl̩ɛ̀fə̀	kəl̩ɛ̀tə̀	kəl̩ɛ̀fək̩k̩ʃjé mó
trad. Regalia	kəsékə̀iú	bəsibət̩úmə̀	dálə̀	dálə̀	kəsékə̀tú
yellow soup	sɪsɪ	sɪsɪ	m̩bálək̩k̩gàs áɲ	sɪsɪkəm̩bálə̀	m̩báləsɪsɪ

'kangwa'	kélə̀ṅp	sísí	sísí	sísé	kélə̀ṅwá
pestle (cocoyam)	kə̀ntásì	kə̀ntísə̀	kə̀ntásá	kə̀ntásə̀	kə̀ntásíkə̀nt wà
pestle (fufu)	kfô	fũ	fübə̀lǰém	kfú	kə̀ntásíkə̀nt wà
peace-plant	kìṅkìṅ	kìṅkìṅ	kèṅkèṅ	kèṅkèṅ	kèṅèṅ
snake	yúá fə̀yúá	fə̀yúá	yúá	yùá	fə̀yúá
bird	fə̀ṅón	fə̀nôn	fə̀ṅónó	fə̀nònö:	fə̀nón
hawk	fə̀ntán	fə̀ntán	fə̀ntán	ntsálán	ntsèlán
road junction	junction	ɖzjé	tə̀dzíká	ngyésèlè	tə̀dzjé
mudfish	ngwíní	ngwíní	ntǰùm	kə̀ntaèlə̀ṅ	ngòiní
soup (liquid)	mbálə̀ndzém	sí:sá	mbálə̀ndzám	sísé	mbálə̀ ndzém
swamp	lám̀bà	dólək̀èb̀ə̀tsá fə̀	dzílək̀èb̀ə̀tsá fə̀	b̀ə̀tsáfə̀	Lám̀bà/ dzílək̀èb̀ə̀tsá fə̀
maggi(native spice)	fə̀màgí	fə̀ndzónfə̀	fə̀ndzónfə̀túf ə̀	mbénəm	fə̀màgí
letter	lé̀tá	kə̀ṅòtə̀	kə̀ṅótə̀	kə̀ṅòtə̀	lé̀tá
coffin	tántán	tántán	tántán	tántán	tántánwúmè kək̀púlè
bottle	bótì	sò	sò	gyé	kə̀bótə̀
flute	ndòṅ	kə̀njón	bə̀ndón	bə̀ndón	ndón
devil	sátàn	ṁə̀tǰjè	kîm	ṁə̀tǰjè	nkîm
poison	bək̀ásí	ndò	ndò?	ndə̀?	bək̀ásé
feather	bək̀ə̀	tə̀gúntə̀	gùn	bə̀békə̀	bək̀ə̀
lice	kàlàngwá	mə̀nkə̀lə̀ṅp	mə̀nkə̀lə̀ṅgò ṅ	fə̀ṅkə̀lə̀ṅwá	kə̀lə̀ṅwá
caterpillar	kàlápítá	kə̀gbímbélé	kə̀gbímbélé	kəmémé	kə̀ngòm̀sénè
seed	sám	ngò	sám	démè	sám

seedlings	ngò?	bèngó	sám	kə̀bò̀ènè	mèǹsám/ng ò
zinc	zìŋ	bə̀gú̀ólè	bə̀gú̀ólá	zìŋ	zìŋ
cloud	kə̀nɲfú̀ò	kə̀nɲfù	tsù	kóm	kóm
wind	fílè	fílè	fílè	bjé	bjé
dry season	lòm	lùm	álùm	lùm	álùm
raffia	bə̀fùmè	bə̀fùmá	fúmá	ntòŋ	mbə̀lémèfú má
rainy season	tsìm	tsìm	àntsəm	tsìm	ántsím
co-wife	kfókfò	fùfə̀	kfə̀ kfə̀	kfúkfù	fúfá
cocoyam-leaf- soup	yó̀ènkrèm	yúá	mbálə̀yúá	yúá	mbálə̀yúá
senegalese kucal	fə̀nón	kə̀nə̀lól kúkú	bə̀ɲfólè	góŋə̀	kəkókũ
lion	láyòn	dzè	ɲàm	dəmû	dəmô
tiger	tájgà	bə̀mkə̀líkán á	ɲàm	fə̀ɲámɲè	dzè
tobacco leaf	grí/grífə̀yáŋ	yéngvə̀	gvə̀fə̀yóŋ	yén/grífə̀yáŋ	yénfə̀yàŋ
lazy man	mə̀wə̀wílá	ɲə̀wə̀gbó	mə̀bə̀wélá	ɲə̀wə̀bá	ɲə̀wə̀bô
tyre (car)	táyà	bə̀mkə̀mótò	gólól	kə̀ntsn	gwòmútù
funnel	fónè	bə̀mkə̀kólé m	kə̀ntóŋgólé	ngì	fónè
groundnut- basket	kə̀nkrèŋ	kə̀nkrèŋkə̀b ə̀ɲfóŋnə̀	kə̀nkrèŋkə̀b ə̀ɲfóŋnə̀	kətám	kətám
coarse flour(kende)	kèndé	bə̀síké̀nè	ɲzjém/bə̀ljé m	mə̀nkèndé	kèndéŋ
aerial yam	tû	tû	tətú	tətúá	tətô
father-in-law	gbùn	tálúm	tsìlélúmá	nálùŋmè	búné

