

UNIVERSITY OF BUEA

FACULTY OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

**RURAL MULTILINGUALISM IN THE NORTH WEST REGION OF
CAMEROON: THE CASE OF LOWER FUNGOM**

By

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DEDICATION

To my Parents: Agwara Godfred Esene and Anyangwe Regina for providing my needs throughout these years.

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FACULTY OF ARTS

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CERTIFICATION

The thesis of **Angiachi Demetris Esene Agwara (AR10B039)**, entitled: **Rural Multilingualism in the North West Region of Cameroon: the case of Lower Fungom**, submitted to the Department of Linguistics in the Faculty of Arts in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Masters of Arts Degree in Applied Linguistics in the University of Buea has been examined and approved by the examination panel composed of:

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ABSTRACT

This work seeks to define macro sociological factors that account for individual multilingualism in Lower Fungom (a rural area located in the North West Region of Cameroon). It attempts an exposition of multilingualism in pre-colonial times in LF and highlights the importance of gathering data from an ethnographic perspective, thereby revealing possible language choices.

The immediate reasons for focusing on the above mentioned points were prompted mainly by the scarcity of literature on rural multilingualism and the lack of attention paid to pre-colonial rural multilingualism. Thus, a sociolinguistic survey was carried out with a fine-grained ethnographic questionnaire which handled both linguistic and ethnographic information. The sample was biased towards old people and men because of possible revelations that such a sample was appropriate in our quest for reasons of high rates of multilingualism in LF.

The data collection and analyses revealed that significant rates of multilingualism in the area are explained socially in terms of blood relations, marriage, in-laws, perceived proximity and similarity, religion, education, individual relations and movements.

Also, the data suggests evidence of pre-colonial multilingualism explained in terms of trade, dependability and search of security. The absence of a lingua franca and the topography of the area are favourable conditions for learning local languages.

The ethnographic approach we employed in data elicitation revealed a true sociolinguistic picture of the Lower Fungom people in that it enabled us see beyond (thick descriptions) apparent belief. Our understanding of the dynamics of language use in rural areas as opposed to urban ones was thanks to this approach.

The local language ideologies of the Lower Fungom people which consist of creating the maximum number of social networks for their own benefits (economic, political and social) underlie whatever sociological factors that account for high rates of multilingualism in LF.

Résumé

Ce travail tente de définir les facteurs macrosociologiques qui expliquent le multilinguisme individuel dans le Bas Fungom (une zone rurale située dans la Région du Nord-Ouest Cameroun). Le but est double: 1) exposer le multilinguisme des temps coloniaux dans cette zone; 2) démontrer l'importance des données linguistiques collectées suivant une perspective ethnographique dans le but de révéler des attitudes linguistiques possibles.

Deux raisons immédiates justifient cette démarche: d'abord la rareté de la littérature sur le multilinguisme rural; et ensuite l'absence d'intérêt accordé au multilinguisme précolonial. Une enquête sociolinguistique a été menée à l'aide d'un questionnaire ethnographique subtile contenant des informations aussi bien linguistiques qu'ethnographiques. Les questionnaires ont été plus administrés aux vieilles personnes et aux hommes. L'objectif était de voir si ces franges de la population pouvaient aider à révéler les raisons pour lesquelles cette zone enregistre de forts taux de multilinguisme.

Les données collectées et analysées révèlent que les taux significatifs de multilinguisme dans cette zone peuvent être expliqués par des raisons sociales telles que : les liens de sang, les mariages, les beaux-parents, la proximité perçue et la similarité, la religion, l'éducation, les relations individuelles et les mouvements migratoires.

En plus, les données recueillies suggèrent une forte évidence de multilinguisme précolonial en termes de relations commerciales, de dépendance et de recherche de sécurité. L'absence de langue véhiculaire a favorisé l'apprentissage des langues locales et la topographie de la zone comme moyen de survie.

L'importance des données ethnographiques réside dans le fait que ce type de données révèle les traits (socio) linguistiques réels des habitants du Bas Fungom. Elles permettent de voir au-delà de ce qui est perçu ou pensé. C'est seulement dans cet état d'esprit que nous pouvons comprendre la différence entre les dynamiques de l'utilisation des langues en zone rurale et en zone urbaine.

En conclusion, en dehors des facteurs sociologiques qui expliquent les forts taux de multilinguisme dans le Bas Fungom, cruciales sont les idéologies langagières locales des habitants de cette zone, idéologies langagières qui consiste à créer le maximum de réseaux sociaux pour son propre bénéfice (économique, politique et social).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CPE- Cameroon Pidgin English

Cf.– Confer

ELDP- Endangered Language Documentation Program

Ind. Rel. – Individual Relations

LF- Lower Fungom

MS- Microsoft

MA- Masters Degree

MDG- Millennium Development Goals

MUNGBAM- Munken, Ngun, Biya, Abar and Missong

NSF- National Scientific Foundation

PC- Personal computer

PE- Pidgin English

PROX- Proximal

CHAPTER ONE

PROBLEM AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Overview

This chapter, which serves as the introduction to the study, comprises: the background of the area under study, lower Fungom (henceforth LF). The chapter explains the *raison d'être* of the work, states the purpose of study, the research questions and hypotheses. It also treats the significance, before identifying the limitations of the study. The work rounds off with a review of related literature.

1.2 Background to Study

Clyne (1997:301) defines multilingualism as “the use of more than one language” or “competence in more than one language”. Research has elaborately demonstrated that multilingualism is an integral part of human society. As far back as biblical days, (see Acts 2:4 and 7-12); the apostles were multilingual since they communicated with people who came from such places like Pontus, Asia, Judea, Pamphylia, Lybia, Crete and Egypt Galilee where different languages were spoken. African communities are essentially multilingual. Blommaert (2007) buttresses this point by asserting that multilingualism is the norm in Africa. In Cameroon, the Grassfields area has been identified as the heart of multilingualism (Warnier 1979). It is for this reason that Warnier’s (1979) seminal works, focused on the reconstruction of patterns of multilingualism in the 19th century as an essential characteristic of the socio-political landscape of the region.

Despite this overwhelming available literature on multilingualism, focus has been on urban multilingualism with very little known about rural multilingualism. Works of Adeniran 2009 (144-168), Dakubu 2009 (32-44) and McCormick 2009 (204-222) support this claim. Thanks to this available literature on non-urban multilingualism, we

now know that multilingualism almost always involves at least a local minority language and an exoglossic language like English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish etc. In non-urban centres, exoglossic languages are usually not available and even if present, they are always minimal. The need to have a job is not there; and in some situations formal education is almost lacking. Such motivational factors in urban centres for people to learn another language are almost absent in the rural settings. Yet, a cursory look at the situation of LF reveals that these rural settings are often characterised by high levels of multilingualism. The dearth of research and hence literature in non-urban multilingualism makes it difficult for one to know the causes of multilingualism in these settings. One of the apparent challenges in making inquiry into the motivations of rural multilingualism is the question of which method should be utilized?

The present research seeks to probe multilingualism in LF to determine what accounts for multilingualism in this rural setting. This work demonstrates how simple ethno-linguistic surveys (using a fine-grained ethnographic questionnaire) can be used to generate data about the linguistic habits of a people. LF is situated in the Fungom subdivision, Menchum division, Northwest Region of Cameroon (see map one). The region exhibits very high rates of individual¹ multilingualism both in languages and dialects. In every thirty-two square kilometers, one language is spoken (Di Carlo 2011). Some natives of LF claimed during a survey carried out under a major documentation project² in March-April 2012 to speak an average of up to six languages.

From this background, LF is a suitable context for the investigation of the social motivations behind these unusual dimensions of multilingualism. In Lewis' (2009) classification system, which largely follows Hamm et al's (2002) classification, the villages of LF are said to be speaking seven languages and in thirteen villages (Good et

al 2011). However, in this study, eight languages are said to be spoken in the thirteen villages of LF due to recent studies³. These assumed high rates of multilingualism in this area are perplexing since the inhabitants can more or less always cope with one language.

1.3 Statement of Problem

The above background of the linguistic situation in LF logically results in the following questions: what do we really know about multilingualism in the Grassfields if non-urban multilingualism is under-studied? Obviously, urban contexts are likely to differ radically from rural ones, both in terms of the languages spoken (European languages play major roles in urban settings, whereas such roles can be minimal in rural settings) and in terms of the social motivations for developing such multilingual attitudes (i.e. the reasons why people may choose to learn/use one or the other language, in urban contexts differ from rural ones).

The second problem is that, researchers know little concerning the actual multilingual competence of speakers in rural contexts, the social motivation for such multilingual practices and particularly, nothing has been said on the social reasons of these rates of rural multilingualism in LF. That is why this work seeks to identify principally social motivations for high rates of multilingualism in LF. More precisely, possible variables that account for Rural Multilingualism (as opposed to Urban Multilingualism) are identified for example in areas of studies on multilingualism in the post-colonial era. However, the big gap in multilingual studies has been; less attention on multilingualism during the pre-colonial era.

1.4 Research Questions

1.4.1 Main Questions

This work seeks to answer three main questions:

- a) What social factors trigger multilingualism in LF?
- b) How can patterns of multilingualism and multilingual attitudes be enlightened through ethnographic data?
- c) Can one link multilingual practices only to colonial periods?

1.4.2 Specific Questions:

- a) Do people learn languages because of constructed and natural social networks?
- b) Is trade a motivating factor for multilingualism?
- c) Are people multilingual because they live in proximity with people speaking different languages or because their languages are similar to others?
- d) Do people learn languages because of movements and individual relations?
- e) Are men more multilingual than women?

1.5 Research Hypotheses

1.5.1 Main Hypotheses

This work seeks to propose tentative answers to the above mentioned questions.

- a) The different social motivations that trigger Multilingualism in LF include: favoritism, friendship keeping, spouse pleasing, security, pleasing in laws.
- b) Patterns of multilingualism and choice in language use can be revealed through ethnographic data. For example, it can be revealed through data informing kinship affiliations and marriages.
- c) Multilingualism is not only linked to the colonial era, it was also present in pre-colonial times. For example before the coming of whites and their languages, the locals traded in areas like Kom and Mmen and as such used these languages for marketing purposes.

1.5.2 Specific Hypotheses:

- a) People learn languages because of blood relations and also because of marriage.
- b) People learn languages because of the need to buy and sell goods with ease.
- c) People are multilingual because they live closer to other villages speaking other languages and also because they understand languages similar to theirs.
- d) People are able to learn other languages because of constant movement to socialize with friends and relatives.
- e) Men are more multilingual than women because they are those involved more in constant movements in search for greener pastures (a better life).

1.6 Aim

The main aim of this work is to identify social motivations for learning and speaking languages present in LF.

1.7 Objectives

- a) One of the objectives is to identify the dynamics of language use.
- b) The second objective is to capture targeted factors that account for multilingualism and reveal possible identity constructions and local ideologies behind language choices in a multilingual setting.

1.8 Significance of the Study

There will be no point in carrying out research if there is no underlying purpose behind such a study. More so, it is every researcher's hope that at the end of his or her research; there should be a significant finding which will not only change the minds of scholars but, also, the community under investigation and the world of arts at large.

This study will reveal the importance of using an ethnolinguistic questionnaire to explore sociolinguistic phenomena, in our case, Rural Multilingualism and possible reasons for such multilingual attitudes. As we already mentioned in chapter one,

research in rural multilingualism is markedly small, relative to that in urban multilingualism. Our work demonstrates that the only way to probe this phenomenon will be to include an ethno linguistic questionnaire as one of the research instruments. The data collected with such an instrument is likely to produce reliable and elaborate data that will explain such issues of social motivations for people to learn languages in a typical rural setting. The ways in which such an instrument is formulated, and how it is administered, constitute some of the main stays of this work. We hope that at the end of this work, people who are interested in such a research will find our work useful as they prepare for field work.

Our work opens up an inquiry into an area that seems to be very productive as far as knowing about multilingualism in sub-Saharan Africa is concerned. LF that we use here is a suitable setting for researchers to investigate pre-colonial multilingualism and be able to size up the characteristics of multilingualism in Africa without colonial languages. It is a journey back in time as far as multilingualism is concerned. By this the researcher means that based on the results, multilingualism existed in the pre-colonial era and presently. This for sure indicates that there is continuity of multilingual practices in rural areas. The question which emerges here is, will this same multilingual attitude be maintained in the future?

One of the characteristics of research in multilingualism is the focus on full languages (see for example (O' Barr 1971, Kashoki 1982 and Mc Intosh 2005). A newness of our work is the consideration of lects which are often missed out in multilingual studies. This is marked by the fact that we know less about our local languages; this is explained in terms of carving out language boundaries by linguistic analysis and comparison hence, local languages are likely to change in the future. However, lects reflect the localist sociolinguistic attitude characterizing the language ideology (people revealed

that languages are viewed by some individuals in this community as (lects) of Lower Fungom (and elsewhere in the Bamenda Grassfields) and, hence, are real entities, at least from the natives' point of view. Therefore, any study which fails to take this into consideration will obviously miss out on significant knowledge.

Finally, this research is significant in that it documents not only rates of multilingualism but, also, cultures of the people and their ideologies behind these multilingual attitudes. Furthermore, the community benefits in that their cultures are not only documented but, also for them to see the need in maintaining such a unique status (based on the high rates) because there is social wealth in learning and speaking languages. Dewaele (2002) and Dewaele et al (2005) adds that the more you know a language the less you suffer communicative anxiety.

Finally, the study supports one of the millennium development goals (MDG), which is: mother tongues should be taught in schools. The data revealed that the attachment of LF people towards their languages is extended such that it is not only spoken at home but among friends in school. This makes us believe that, if their mother tongues are used as medium of instructions they will perform better in school.

1.9 Delimitation and Limitation of Scope

This work surveys the social perceptions of people in LF about multilingualism and then goes ahead to use an ethnographic-informed approach to understand why people develop such 'high' rates of multilingualism. To this the work reports on the areas covered in this research providing detailed information (chapters 3 and 4). The methodology of gathering the ethnographic-informed data is explored with focus placed on the design of the questionnaire in such a way as to target two main levels: ethnographic and linguistic.

Given this scope, the work does not intend to measure the actual competence. That is no attempt is made at testing cognitive abilities as to whether claims on competence in five or six languages for example was true. Once a consultant told us he could speak 10 languages for example, we went ahead to find out where he learned these languages and when he use them. It is important however, for a study to be carried out to determine the actual language competence. This was simply outside the scope of our work.

Our target and methodology alongside other contextual factors such as time, locally implies a number of short comings and as Labree (2013) observes, there is no work without its weaknesses. The first limitation is in our sampling of the villages under study. LF consists of 13 villages where 8 languages are spoken. These villages include: Abar, Missong, Ngun, Munken, Biya, Mufu, Mundabili, Buu, Kung, Ajumbu, Fang, Koshin and Mashi. The research team (see chapter three) was present in 4 villages: Abar (economic capital of LF and our base), Missong, Munken and Buu. However, 6 other villages: Mashi, Fang, Koshin, Kung, Biya, Mufu were not visited in the real sense. However, they were represented thanks to participants who came to Abar. Abar is the sole market in the area and therefore on such a day, people leave their villages to either buy or sell goods there. The limitation here is that the people were studied outside their natural environment. Even with this, three of the thirteen villages were neither visited nor represented. These are: Ngun, Mundabli and Ajumbu.

Besides the limited time available for the work, access to the villages was a serious contributing factor. For example, it takes six hours to and from Mundabli from Abar (our base).

1.10 Literature Review

1.10.1 Definition of Term

1.10.1.1 Multilingualism

The definition of multilingualism has generated a lot of controversy amongst researchers. This controversy has increasingly come into focus with, for example, studies emphasizing trilingualism and how it may differ from bilingualism (cf. Hofmann and Ytsma 2004: cited by Di Carlo 2011). Lanza (2007) uses bilingualism as the understanding of two or more languages similar to general literature. Cook (2002, 2003) argues that any language acquired after the first one can be labeled language two (L2) and one person can possess several L2s. He further explains that a person might have acquired a language at different stages in the individual's life up to varying degrees of proficiency, but numbering is not really important. Hofmann (2001) asserts that the differences between bilingualism and trilingualism are mainly quantitative in nature as the same processing mechanism operates.

Nevertheless, Dewaele et al (2003:1), treats multilingualism on a broader scale and he asserts that, the perfect bilingual does not probably exist. Clyne (1997:301) conflates the above differences by assuming a common definition of multilingualism as “the use of more than one language” or “competence in more than one language”. We adopt Clyne's (1997) definition in this work.

1.10.2.1 Multilingualism vs. Multilectalism

LF language ideology holds that, there is a coincidence of political units (villages) with language communities. What a linguist will define as dialects of the same language is, for LF people, separate languages, though similar to one another and what they will define as languages, for LF people are lects. “A language is a coding system and a means by which information may be transmitted or shared between two or more communicators for purposes of command, instruction or play” (Lockerby 2009).

Language has rules which involve sound production (phonetics) word structure (morphology), grammar and sentence structure (syntax), word meaning (semantics) and social appropriateness (pragmatics). ‘Lects’ likewise called ‘dialects’ can be defined as a variety of the same language. They form a kind of language cluster. Researchers used this term in the descriptive sense of linguistics i.e. purely theoretical, whereby the distinction between languages and dialects comes from linguistic variables; phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics of the languages.

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

1.10.2 Justification of the Topic

There are many works on multilingualism that are worth mentioning here because they report multilingual experiences in other parts of the world and therefore inform and shape the discussions in the present work. Stroud (2007:529) examines Multilingualism in two ex-colonial countries (Mozambique and Singapore). He handles issues of language ideology associated with each language in a multilingual matrix. Stroud focuses on the socio symbolic use of multilingual practices structured along local

parameters of social class, gender and ethnicity as can be understood in the political economy of language. Phillipson (1992) takes up the issue by explaining the concept of the sociolinguistics of multilingualism in ex colonial contexts. To him, a highly vitalized language, English, is a threat to the vitality of other languages. Consequently, he focuses on the political and economic structures and institutions under the influence of English. His perspective emphasizes Mazrui's (1975:9) prediction, that "by the year 2000, there will be more black people in the world who have English as their native tongue than there will be British people". The implication of the perception of these authors is that the English language and all other "steamroller" languages are likely to be a threat to multilingualism; obviously moving the world towards monolingualism. As we can see, this perspective is driven by the bias for urban multilingualism where indigenous languages are competing with more powerful exoglossic languages. This belief is due in part to the overwhelming literature available in urban multilingualism to the detriment of the limited exploration of rural multilingualism. This dearth of literature in rural multilingualism and the resulting misconceptions necessitate work like the present one we are doing in this thesis.

While the above discussion spells out doom for multilingualism, Bailey (2007:341) engenders hope as he looks at multilingualism from the perspective of identity construction. He projects multilingual as well as monolingual practices as a tool for permissible flexibility of one's identity. This means that contrary to biological and psychological terms which see identity as static, relatively fixed in the individual (344), forms of talk portray clearly that people can identify themselves at different social levels within one or more languages. He studies issues of identity construction using metropolitan languages (Spanish, English and French). Ngefac (2008) studies post-

colonial multilingualism in Cameroon. He discusses the socio cultural and sociolinguistic ideologies that people have with regard to language choices. To him, the effect of post-colonial multilingualism has rather led people into unhealthy identity competitions leading to disharmonized unity of the community (Anchimbe 2007:71). Trudell (2009) discusses multilingualism from the perspective of virtue. She states that “multilingualism is a gift, a resource no one knows it better than Africans do”. Multilingualism to her is a reinforcement of one’s own local identity in order to permit healthy engagement with the rest of the world.

Regrettably once more, even with the hope for multilingualism, the authors above still restrict multilingualism to colonialism. The underlying question begging an answer is: Can we really tie sub-Saharan multilingualism to colonial times only? While at least one school of thought believes that African communities before colonialism lived in isolation (cf. Kashoki (1982), and therefore monolingual, another (cf. Ngefac (2009) is of the opinion that colonization, which brought along its colonial languages, the Cameroonian context was characterized by a complex multilingual landscape. Nabea (2009) adds that without these colonial languages there would have been no hegemony as local languages were used indiscriminately depending on the social context of use. One cannot but wonder why there is so much bias in the literature for colonial based multilingualism. The present thesis is driven by the strong conviction that non-colonial based multilingualism is the gold mine of knowledge waiting to be exploited and that the knowledge gap is so conspicuous that it needs to be filled. There has been different ways of looking at traditional multilingualism. Multilingualism has been discussed widely in urban context as already discussed above. A hand full of scholars have discussed traditional multilingualism in varied ways. O’Barr (1971) in his socio-ethnographic study focuses on the language repertoires of the rural Tanzanian village of

Usangi. There, he explains language use among the people of Usangi and also focuses on language use in two top languages (English and Swahili) in Usangi. Further, Warnier (1979) describes the history of the Grassfields where he tries to use the ethno historical approach to understand the complexities behind the linguistic situation in the Grassfields of Cameroon. Again, Kashoki (1982) directs his attention towards a comparison of bilingualism and multilingualism in urban as well as rural areas. He also attempts to discuss the place of some African languages within national boundaries. He concludes that because the English language is present, some educated families have adopted it as the norm in their homes. It is evident that once more, all attempts at discussing rural multilingualism seem to be haunted by some English or French language, as if without these colonial languages, multilingualism will be non-existent. As we will see for LF, this is however, not the case. Even with the presence of education in schools, the language of the home almost all the time is a local language although in rare occasions, people have said to use English to rebuke⁴. Scotton (1982) further treats multilingualism at three levels; traditional, provincial and cosmopolitan. She focuses on language use in relation to variables like education and occupation. To her, 81% of the locals maintain their local languages in homes, markets and other places. Connell (2009) explains language choice in Somié, a Cameroonian market in a multilingual setting. He investigates issues of language vitality, the use of the lingua franca, Ffulde and the ecology of the area. He makes use of two research methods: follow up of an individual in the market through a tape recorder and the Cooper and Carpenter 1976-transaction analysis (where the details of language use between traders and buyers is examined). One of the interesting findings of this research on language diversity and language choice in the Somié market was the absence of hierarchy within the endoglossic language market.

In sum, the authors have all discussed issues of traditional multilingualism but none has even mentioned multilingualism that does not involve a colonial language, talk less of elaborately discussing social motivations of traditional individual multilingualism and the ideologies behind such choices. This in effect is the reason why the present work seeks to investigate this phenomenon.

Nonetheless, the LF area has been studied in different spheres. The following authors have contributed to literature in this area. On the descriptive side of linguistics, Hombert (1980) and Hamm et al (2002: 30-32) both attempt to discuss the noun classes and provide word lists for some of the MUNGBAM varieties. They further illustrate a genetic classification of LF languages which is divided into two groups with the label “Western” and “Eastern” Bebid. This is in attempt to describe the understudied Niger Congo languages, from the Benue Congo branch in the Bantoid (non Bantu) family. Hamm et al’s study for example was to show a set of detailed maps indicating the location of each variety together with the linguistic relationship each language has with one another. Good, (2010) goes further to focus on the syntax of Naki, a Bebid language in LF. Good et al (2011) treat a grammatical overview of LF languages. They provide the grammatical structures of languages in LF dealing with for example the phoneme and noun class systems. They also try to reclassify the languages of LF and as such rule out what (Hombert 1980) terms Western and Eastern Bebid classification of LF languages to simply Yemne Kimbi (a relief feature which is found at the Western and Eastern periphery of LF region) and Bebid respectively. This is because to them, they have found no connection between Western and Eastern Bebid. Also, there is no relationship between these five languages (MUNGBAM, Ji, Ajumbu, Koshin and Fang) in LF and Bantoid non Grassfields languages.

Also, it is important to mention that no “pure” sociolinguistic studies have been carried out in LF. In contrast, data that can be used by sociolinguists is gotten only from ethnographic and anthropological inquiries. An example of such a research can be seen in the works of (Di Carlo 2011). He focuses on the reconstruction of several phases of linguistic prehistory of LF in an attempt to explain the present linguistic diversity in the area as suggested earlier before by (Dalby 1970:163 and Stallcup 1980) of the Grassfields. The concept of ‘first comers’, ‘new comers’ and ‘antagonistic new comers’⁵ are discussed to explain this present linguistic diversity. He argues that, informally referred to as crystallization (cf. Kopytoff 1981:373), the MUNGBAM and JI villages appear to represent innovative political formations from previously acephalous patterns of social organizations which did not create, indivisible communities and it further led to a political expedient ‘federation’ of kin groups which retained significant autonomy. Di Carlo (2010:15) continues to hold that, Kung and Naki are examples of whole villages which are explained as a result of in migration⁶ of refugee groups. Another example of a sociolinguistic study with aid from ethnographic data is further seen in the research of Di Carlo and Good (forth coming). Issues of diversity change and ideologies in the Cameroonian Grassfields are construed. The underlying question behind his study: of “what are we trying to preserve” calls for a second thought or a rethink in what is lost. They argue that as opposed to what authors like (cf. (Crystal 2000:32-26, Romaine 2000:14 and Harrison 2007:7) cited by Di Carlo and Good, forth coming) consider in social perspective of language as ‘the repository of cultures’. They rather focus on language as ‘a tool for flexible construction of multiple identities’.

Di Carlo (forth coming) further elucidates multiple identity constructions in relation to multilingualism, solidarity and magic. He argues that in contrast to indexical ideology,

indexing social identity implying personal prestige is obvious in exogenous language market. However, in the local language market, prestige is not of importance. It is with this in mind that there is a shift from indexing personal prestige to indexing the desire to be affiliated to a group or numerous groups. Di Carlo (forthcoming) further suggests that the top priority on Africans list is fear of the unknown. Reason why Ashforth (2005: cited and emphasized by Di Carlo, forth coming) states “[n]o one can comprehend life in Africa without understanding witchcraft and other related aspects of spiritual insecurity”. In LF, there is a semi-centralized model of political organization being practiced. Those who have political powers are responsible for handling the occult within the society. This will mean the chief is regarded as a sacred figure that is required to protect his own.

The locals hold that, each ethnic group speaks a separate linguistic form, especially with the case of single villages. With this in mind, Di Carlo (forthcoming) asserts that an individual speaking a different language can be accepted in that community and as such, receives protection from the invisible world by the chief. In other words, being multilingual can fetch a golden ticket of protection to invisible threats by a chief representing that ethnic community. Finally, Di Carlo and Pizziolo (2012) in their study of LF, showcase the importance of multi-disciplinarily approaches in probing linguistic issues. They use ethnographic plus geographical instruments among others in collecting data. They demonstrate clearly the relationship between research items in tracking historical developments of the hyper diversified linguistic situation in LF.

1.11 Conclusion to Chapter One

The chapter aimed at tracing the background to the study. It has therefore looked at the aims and objectives of the work, the research questions and the research problem. The chapter has further discussed the importance of researching a sociolinguistic

phenomenon with the use of an ethno linguistic questionnaire. Furthermore, the delimitation and limitation to the study was examined. The literature review defined the term multilingualism and contextualized it to the study. It also reviewed previous works to justify the topic. This revealed that although works have been carried out in LF in theoretical, ethnographical and geographical views, no canonical sociolinguistic study has ever been carried out and none of the works have ever focused rural multilingualism without reference to exoglossic languages, a revelation that the present work makes.

CHAPTER TWO

CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at giving some contextual information on LF: by describing its linguistic, geographical and socio-economic situation.

2.2 Geographical Situation

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

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

Physical boundaries distinguish LF from the surrounding context. The Kimbi River otherwise known as Katsina Ala in Nigeria indicates clear cut boundaries to the East, West and North. To the West, Yemne stream marks physical borders with Isu. To the East and North, the Kimbi River cuts LF from Bum and Fura-awa. LF registers large amounts and different sizes of rivers which flow from the North West-South East axis that run into the northern track of Kimbi or Mbum (Di Carlo 2011). This makes LF a blessed area filled with abundant water.

The climate in LF is of the savannah monsoon type. The dry season lasts over a period of five months, running from mid-November to mid-March. Then, with the approach of the rainy season, the atmosphere is more conducive for them because their life span reduces in humid and hot periods. Despite the humid nature of the place, tsetse flies are uncommon during the wet season because of the altitude and good drainage systems. The rainfall has been estimated at 1700-2200mm per annum by researchers (see for example Nettle 1996:417, Nji Fogwe and Tchotsoua 2010:20) Patches of forest are still visible on hilltops and in the form of galleries along the humid bottoms of valleys. The area covers two types of distinct vegetal environment; on one side wooded areas in which oil and raffia palms are easily seen and the other elephant grass, the vegetal spices that dominate most of the Bamenda Grassfields.

2.3 Economy, Demography and Communication

This subsection describes the economic, social and geographical situation of the people of LF, the community under investigation. Economically, the main occupation of the inhabitants of LF is subsistence farming. They cultivate products like corn, beans, groundnuts, plantains, cocoyam and cassava. The drive behind the cultivation of these products is to alleviate hunger and in case of excesses, it is traded. Also, products like palm fruits and oil are mostly cultivated and traded in the Grassfields. Warnier (1979) attested to this by stating that palm oil among others was a regular commodity for trade.

It further fostered willingness in the learning of local languages. Di Carlo (2011) adds that any activity regarding the culture on oil and raffia palms, including oil extraction processes are normally handled by men.

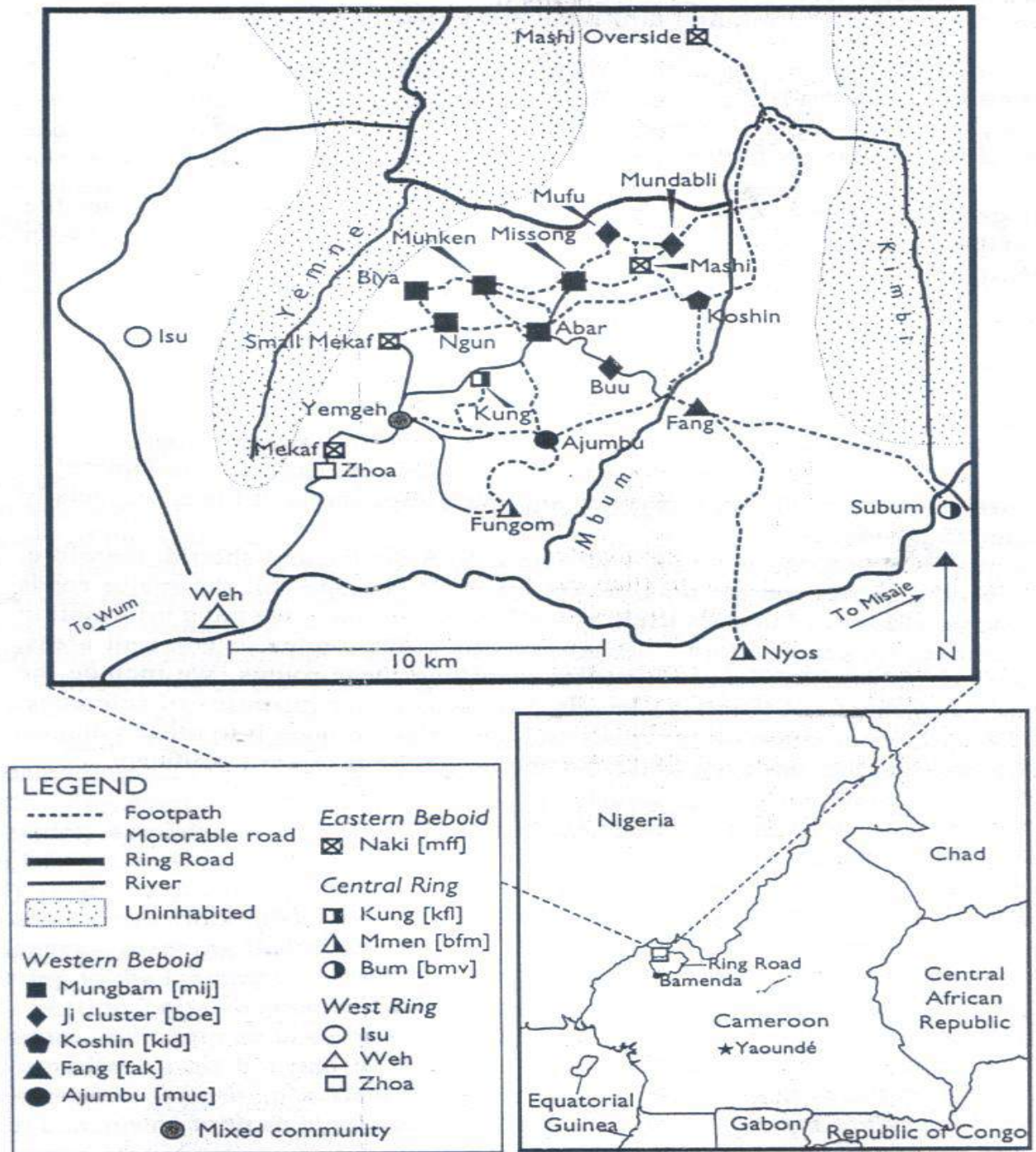


Figure 1: Villages and languages of Lower Fungom and surrounding area

Figure 1: Villages and Languages of LF

Map adapted from Good et al (2011)

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

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

Table 1 Lower Fungom villages (adapted from Good et al 2011)

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

With respect to communication, there is a motorable road linking Weh to Abar though not in very good condition (see map 1). In the villages themselves, the whole area is crossed by foot paths. However, there are minor motorable tracks mostly travelled by a few motor bikes. Warnier (1985) asserts that the major trade roads did not pass through LF, rather, through the east (Ibi-Bum road) and the west (Makurdi-Isu road). There is also a lack of electricity in the area, nominal health care and school facilities are limited.

2.4 Linguistic Situation

LF found at the borders of the Cameroonian Grassfields, has a great deal of languages spoken in the area. It registers eight languages spoken in thirteen villages. The 13 villages include: Missong, Abar, Ngun, Biya, Munken, Buu, Mundabli, Mufu, Mashi, Kung, Fang, Koshin and Ajumbu. This is distributed as follows: different language varieties are spoken in five villages. That is to say Missong, Abar, Munken, Ngun and Biya each speak a variety of the same language. In other words they are lects. Mufu and Mundabli which represent single villages speak varieties of the same language. The polities of Buu, Koshin, Kung, Ajumbu, Fang and Mashi each speak a separate language. Good et al (2011) seem to pick out Missong as a different variety in the MUNGBAM cluster (cf. table 1). However, Voll⁷ states that Buu is a separate language from Mufu and Mundabli cluster. Ngako⁸ supports this claim. Lovegren (2011) further investigates the linguistic phonetic properties of MUNGBAM vowels. He makes clear that while speakers of the other varieties claim comprehension in each other's variety, it is rather different with the Missong variety. However, his documentation of basic lexical items and grammar sketch corroborates what the speakers claim. Nevertheless, this is not to say Missong is a different language as the inherent intelligibility has not been employed to ascertain this claim (Lovegren 2011).

Hombert (1980) grouped: Koshin, Fang, Ajumbu and the language clusters of, (Abar, Missong, Munken, Ngun, Biya) and (Mufu and Mundabli) now referred to as MUNGBAM⁹ and JI¹⁰ respectively by (Good et al 2011) under the appellation Western Beoid. This was because he saw these languages as belonging to the same group. Good et al (2011) has however found no connection between Western and Eastern Beoid. Languages spoken in LF are separate from any other Bantoid non-Grassfields languages. These five languages except Kung and Mashi mentioned above have no close relations with any other language spoken outside LF. The above assumption by Hombert led to Good et al's appellation of the unsupported genetic label Western Beoid to Yemne-Kimbi a geographical label (the names of two rivers delimiting this area) and Eastern Beoid simply Beoid. The other two languages; Kung and Mashi share important similarities outside LF and therefore can be affiliated with already known groups of Bantoid languages. The village of Mashi speaks a variety of Naki. This language is spoken by a number of villages (Mekaf, Small Mekaf and Mashi Oversight) outside LF. The people of Mashi appear to speak a distinct variety of Naki. The language Kung has been classified with the central ring languages found in the South and Mashi with Beoid group.

2.5 Conclusion to Chapter Two

This chapter sought to describe the linguistic, geographical and socio economic situation of LF. At the geographical level, relief features, climate and physical boundaries were discussed. Also, the economic, demography and communicative aspects were treated. LF is said to have a population size of about 14000 with their main occupation being subsistence farming. One can assume here that most of them are engaged in trading. The linguistic situation of LF has also been discussed. While Hombert grouped languages of Ajumbu, Koshin, Fang and otherwise termed

MUNGBAM and Ji as Western Beoid. Good et al (2011) on their part named them Yemne Kimbi after a relief feature due to the realization that there is no connection between these five languages to languages outside LF. In all, the LF region can be viewed as significantly diverse. The next chapter will provide us with the methodology employed in collecting and analysing data for this work.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to state and demonstrate how necessary tools were designed and used to attain the goals of this research. The main goals, if we may remind ourselves are to identify social motivations of being multilingual, how important it is to rely on ethno linguistic information and finally to investigate the existence of multilingualism in the pre-colonial era. This chapter also seeks to discuss and describe instruments, data collection and process of analyzing data collected in the field. It will also explain the choice of an ethnographic approach, the need to include lects as part of the study of multilingualism and the local language ideologies and attitudes towards languages. Further, the chapter will account for the use of a questionnaire and to explain how ethical issues were handled. It exposes the work plan, participants, data collection procedures, meta data collection and data transformation.

3.2 Language and Society

Language has been defined in divergent ways for example by Nordquist (2013) as: (1) a body of words and the systems for their use to a people of the same community or nation, the same geographical area or the same cultural tradition; (2) a communication using a system of arbitrary vocal sounds and written symbols, signs, gestures in conventional ways with conventional meanings; (3) any system of formalized symbols, signs, sounds or gestures used or conceived as a means of communication. However, language is not only a system of symbols used to codify meanings and communicate between speakers, say in a particular society or nation. Language is also a social tool (social meaning) used to do many things beyond "mere" communication of meanings: for instance, through language, one can construct his own social identity (identities).

Also, through language one can express solidarity and unity among others. The former approach is the one used in descriptive linguistics which describes phonology, morphology, and syntax of a given language after it has been by and large "cleaned up" from variation. This is further explained in Saussure's "langue" as opposed to "parole": where "Langue" represents in sum the grammar or underlying structure of language and "Parole" represents the products of langue; which is the expression of language through speech acts and writing. The latter approach, on the contrary, is essentially based on the analysis of language use and language variation within one given group of speakers. This social approach to language is my main concern in this study. The underlying questions here are; why are people multilingual and what are benefits of being multilingual? (cf. chapter 4 and 5).

3.3 An Ethnographic Approach

The ethnographic approach can be traced back to centuries ago, in the Mediterranean world, with Herodotus being its most famous proponent (cf. Hymes 1996). Ethnological questions were traced back in the Americas with the first discovery of the new world (Hymes 1996). Researchers over the years like Hymes (1996:4) and Zoltan (2007:129-130) have underscored the controversies involved in defining Ethnography. Hymes (1996) attempts to define the traditional approach to ethnography as participating and observing the study of people in question not ourselves, with the use of methods other than those of the experimental design and quantitative measurement. Hamersley and Atkinson (1995) have called "ethnography" in other words 'qualitative research'. Zoltan (2007) describes a classical ethnographer as one who goes 'into' the community and becomes immersed in the culture by living among 'natives'. Nunan (1992) maintains that ethnography places great store on the collection and interpretation of data. Indeed, the researcher supports Nunan's (1992:56) claim that using an ethnographic-informed

questionnaire is a positive start in the process of data collection, alongside observations. In addition to these definitions, an ethnographer should have a democratic mind when collecting data. By this the researcher means taking into consideration the opinions of the participants which then lead us to Geertz approach to ethnography. He states that ethnographic studies require an intellectual effort and an elaborate venture, what he terms in other words; “thick description” (Geertz 1973).

3.3.1 Different Ways in Carrying out Sociolinguistic Studies

Sociolinguistic studies embody lots of facets or ways of studying language(s) in a society. Eckert (2012) for instance in her study focuses on the analytical practice of the three waves of variation study. She basically describes the first two waves and focuses more on the third wave. Her three waves variation studies are distributed as follows: (1) the relationship between linguistic variables and macro sociological categories like: class, gender, age and ethnicity and exemplifies such a wave with the works of Labov. She mentions Labov (1996) studies on the social stratification of English in New York City and his use of survey studies in exploring his research. Labov made use of recorded interviews with an attempt of correlating features of speech (linguistic denotations) to macro sociological categories in order to represent a sample of the community of New York. The variable of class for example was explored to access the use of standard language and their exposure to linguistic change. This was solely exploited by the use of vernacular¹¹. Vernacular has been regarded by Eckert (2012) as central to the theory of variation. Again, variables were considered to mark gender dynamics and socio-economic status. For example the use of “t” as in “thing” was more prominent in the lower class. To Labov, style (casual interview, formal interview or reading passage) was a representation of one’s speech. Eckert (2012:4) however contradicts this way of looking at style as to her style should be the individual’s natural

choice of use depending on the context in which she finds herself. This is because observer's paradox may result in the suppression of a natural cognitive process during conscious interviews. In sum, this first wave approach construed the social importance of variation on the basis of general understanding of the categories that serve to select and classify speakers rather than through direct knowledge of the speakers themselves and their communities (Eckert 2012).

The second wave consists of the use of ethnographic methods to explore the local categories and formation of parts that constitute macro sociological factors like class, age, gender and ethnicity. In this wave, there is an achievement of theoretical status in the main stream of variation. Eckert (2012) states that; linguistic features do not index sociological categories. This is explained by the fact that in her ethnographic study on, adolescents of high school in the predominantly white sub-urban area of Detroit, she sought to find out the role of class in adolescent variation. This was all incited by the plausibility that adolescents lead in sound change and in the use of vernacular. That is to say adolescents from the sub-urban area of Detroit speak the vernacular differently at the level of sounds. This study revealed two social categories; "jocks" representing the middle class and "burnouts"; the working class. In this school milieu, the "jocks" index extracurricular sphere and the "burnouts" index vocational curriculum i.e. no room for extracurricular life. However, the mismatch between the upper half and lower half representing the "jocks" and the "burnouts" respectively, simply illustrates that variations are not set in childhood but develop much more with social identity. Therefore, this separation was ensured taking into consideration the sociolinguistic geography of the wider urban place. Eckert (2012) further explains that as the socioeconomic status increases, the use of urban linguistic variables reduces with distance from Detroit. The results show that "burnouts" lead in the use of non-standard

negation. Eckert (2012) explains this result in connection to mother's education as well as social category. However, the sound changes correlate more with social category rather than parent influence. This leads to Eckert's conclusion to her two wave variation study in that variations are not set in childhood but serve as a resource in the construction of identity later in life. This demonstrates that a wider class correlation is not simply stemmed from education, occupation but they rather reflect local dynamics rooted in practices and ideologies that shape and in turn shape class. The ethnographic method employed here brings stylistic practices into view.

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

In her attempt to establish a theoretical foundation for the third variation approach, he argues on the following: (a) she sees variation as a strong social semiotic system, capable of expressing the full range of social concerns in a given society. This means that variables cannot be homogeneous markers of fixed meanings but are flexible based on social-semiotic moves speakers make, reinterpreting variables, combining and recombining them in a continual process of bricolage (Hebdige (1984) cited by Eckert (2012)). Indexical order is central to the mutability of indexical signs (Silverstein cited by Eckert 2012). This is interpreted for example in cases where a speech quality is noticed and hence, is used to index membership of the community in context. This is further illustrated in Zhang's study of Beijing, whereby the yuppies who were seen as locals are now raised to the status of cosmopolitans and the state managers now are seen

as locals due to the stylistic practices. For instance, this is explained in the case of the voiced fricative: /z/ associated with worthless character which is out of place for a transnational business person. This is rather avoided by yuppies and used more by male state managers. (Zhang (2008) cited by Eckert (2012). b) The meanings of variables are underspecified gaining more specific meanings in context of style and (c) variations do not simply reflect but construct social meaning and subsequently, a force in social change. In sum, the third wave summarizes the notion that style places speakers not as stable speakers and carriers of dialect but as stylistic agents, shaping linguistic styles of ongoing and lifelong projects of self-construction and differentiation. Therefore patterns of variation do not simply unfold from the speaker's structural level in a system of production but are part of active social differentiation (cf. Eckert 2012: 12). However, in the third wave variation study, it cannot hold for the case of LF as it is still too early to adopt a focus on style reasons being that most local languages are still unknown.

3.3.2 Thin vs. Thick Description

The concept of thin vs. thick descriptions emerges from the Geertz (1973) study, in his interpretation of cultures. He rules out "the many definitions" of culture by Kluckhohn (1944 cited by Geertz (1973), as the total way of life of a people; the social legacy the individual acquire from his group; a way of thinking, feeling and behaving. This to Geertz is "self-defeating not because there is only one direction which is appropriate to move, but there are so many it is necessary to choose". Geertz (1973) then defines culture from a semiotic point of view, wherein he sees man as an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun. This is further explained as: culture represents the web and the analysis of it not to be experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search for meaning. In other words, culture is determined by an

individual or a society because of the varying cultures, and consequently, for culture to be meaningful, we have to interpret independently and not by relying on general laws gotten from experiments. In order to understand people's cultures, we should rely on ethnography. With ethnography as our research tool in the picture in understanding one's society, we uncover the real picture because what we think may not be what is; (cf. Geertz 1973: 15). The first wave produces mostly "thin" descriptions. This can lead to illusory or straightforwardly erroneous results as it does not allow us to really observe phenomena. We must recognize that we have certain types of "lenses" before our eyes, and that the things we deem important at home can be totally unimportant elsewhere and vice versa.

3.3.3 An Attempt in Lower Fungom

We start from the recognition that LF languages as well as LF societies (as most of Africa) are still largely unknown. It would be a mistake to apply directly the macro-categories used in other studies which are focused on non-African and/or urban contexts. Our recognition of "ignorance" is the reason why we adopt an ethnographic approach: we have to discover what the best categories are in our specific case. How can we do that? Through an ethnographically-oriented study, that is, through a better knowledge of the local "culture" in its most general meaning. More specifically, our main goal is to uncover portions of social motivations for developing multilingual attitudes and the local language ideologies. In the quest for uncovering social motivations for learning languages, we realize that what we consider as a reason for learning a language may not be directly true to the participants (cf. chart 40). This is evident in this study, for instance, proximity is diagnosed as a macro factor in explaining high rates of multilingualism in LF. However, we have to go above this surface meaning to a more elaborate venture by engaging our ethnographic-informed

questionnaire. Consequently, we realized that what we thought (proximity) was an obvious reason to learning languages was not really the case. In a few words; ethnographic approaches help reflect people's thoughts.

3.3.4 Language Ideologies and Multilingualism

3.3.4.1 Multilingualism can be studied in Different Ways

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

3.3.4.2 Language Ideologies

Language ideologies are implicit or explicit representations that interpret intersections of language and human beings in a social world (Woolard 1998). Ideologies of languages are not about languages alone. On the contrary languages are merged with identity issues, morality, aesthetics and epistemology (Hill and Irvine 1998). Language ideologies underpin not only linguistic forms but social groups as well as fundamental institutions as religious rituals, child socialization, gender relations and schooling. In multilingual societies, there has been a conscious self-struggle over language. Researchers have treated language ideologies as socially, politically and linguistically significant (Woolard 1998). Following McIntosh (2005), she addresses the language problem from a sociolinguistic perspective. To her, “language was treated as if it were the bearer of itself and of special ontological processes. If language was conceptualized as having power and potency then it can be construed as changing the very constitution of the people who can speak and use it. In other words language is not a vacuum. It is because of what McIntosh addresses that the language ideology on issues of identity constructions can be raised. In LF, people speak different languages other than theirs

because to them they want to engage in communicative and passive competence. More so, local ideologies in rural areas specifically LF, practice more of indexical ideologies. This is in contrast with urban areas (dominance in metropolitan languages) as issues of prestige, aesthetic reasons and instrumental reasons are great motivating tools for people to use languages. In LF, people learn languages because they want to index themselves to several linguistic communities¹². To them language is the only key to acceptance and recognition in a given community. This is the reason why Di Carlo (forthcoming) in his paper on multilingualism and magic stresses that the chief is a sacred figure expected to protect his indigenes with “chop, bush, pikin”. This will mean that he is supposed to see through that his people have a comfortable and secured life. Therefore by learning many local languages one can identify himself in different linguist groups. In local communities like LF, when speaker A speaks language X, he is recognized as a member of community X by default. By so saying, he can gain protection from the chief required to protect his own. This is contrary to McIntosh (2005) study of the Swahili and Giriama people. In her study, language is the only tool linking one group to the other; reason why the Giriama people when asked if they could be considered Swahili, more than half denied. While the Giriama people are less receptive to languages, the people of LF are much more receptive to languages and even go a mile to joyfully want to identify themselves with a language other than theirs. To the Giriama people, it is unheard of that someone like Mc Intosh from a ‘different’ ethnic community speaks Kigiriama. This shock was greatly expressed when a young Giriama boy of thirteen asked her aggressively if she was Giriama or a white person? This strong essentialist ideology is noticed by Mc Intosh in a three way relationship between ethnicity, language and land. To many, God gave every man a place and his language and as such Mc Intosh (2005: 1928) suggests that by speaking, a Kigiriama

when you are not from Giriama was perceived as threatening and unnatural. “Language ideology” is a cover term that includes all the possible answers to the question “what do people think about the languages they use and about their own concrete language uses. Therefore, an ethnographically-oriented sociolinguistic study focused on the social motivations for individual multilingualism in a region like LF is, essentially, an inquiry into LF language ideologies. Far from being conclusive in any regards, this work is a first step in this direction.

3.3.5 Instruments for Data Collection

In line with the ethnographic approach, the researcher used the following instruments for data elicitation: the questionnaire, a tape recorder and interviews. The researcher focused on the questionnaire in section (3.3.5.1). Nevertheless, the interview and the use of a tape recorder will be discussed in section (3.3.6.3).

3.3.5.1 The Questionnaire

The questionnaire was an indispensable tool in this research. It functioned more or less as a guide for unstructured interviews. It was clearly written and pilot studies carried out to ensure reliability of the instrument. A pilot study was carried out in Wum, the head division of Menchum. This was because the economy of Wum in relation to that of LF is much more vibrant; with schools, hospitals and constructed roads. As a result, it attracts the inhabitants of LF to Wum for socio-economic reasons. To this effect, getting samples was not difficult. A pilot study was carried out by testing the questionnaire with five participants of LF resident in Wum. It was however administered to the interviewees through interview. This was because the sample population was dominant with low levels of literacy. The researcher’s choice of unstructured forms of interviews was implemented in order to create a flexible and friendly environment. This strategy was necessary because with a free and conducive atmosphere, the interviewees may

reveal much more relevant data we did not think of at the time of designing the research.

The first part of the questionnaire has a strong ethnographic orientation. The respondent was asked not only to provide his personal data (official name and non-official names, date of birth) but also his residence. Again, priority was given to variables such as affiliations and social networks. This was aimed at collecting data that might better capture features of local customs and identity constructions. In particular, track of any names the interviewee may have been given by any of his or her relatives was considered. The researcher was not concerned with nick names but, rather actual names that are used in special contexts (e.g. a name given by a maternal grandfather or paternal grandfather). In connection with the above, an attempt was made in relation to identifying fine grain descriptions of all potential affiliations the interviewee may have in separate social networks due to agnatic or cognatic relations.

The linguistic part of the questionnaire was developed with the goal of assessing the degree to which individuals living in this linguistically highly diverse area develop multilingual attitudes. By assessing here means not practical test per se but, giving figures which rated different levels of competencies (cf. appendix). The main dynamics of language learning and use was identified. Further, the researcher tried to evaluate some major features of language ideologies with special attention paid to ritual and aesthetic uses.

3.3.5.2 Ethical Issues

Ethical issues in field analysis require sure and a high sense of responsibility. The researcher attempted to exhibit these qualities. Research has as priority the participants and the general population in that target context. The case study here being LF, even with the more or less 'small sample', when quantifying 95 compared to about 14.000

Good et al (2011), the general population of LF was considered. As Brown (2004) attests, there is need for concern for the audience of the study. As the linguist Bower (2008) puts it, there are ethical considerations which include: recording participants, the potential for inflicting harm, gaining permission to work on a language and observe people and diverse research participants. Once we took off for LF¹³, the first stop was to meet a political authority (SDO of Zhoa, subdivision of Fungom) for his accord. In Abar village, the consent of the chief was sought and a request made for two field assistants, who spoke at least Pidgin English. This measure was necessary to cater for cases where respondents would find it difficult to comprehend and speak Pidgin English. At the levels of initial interviews and recordings, the opinions of the participants were sought; permission to record and ask questions. If their accord was given, then, they were briefed on the goal of the research. A majority equally had no objection to that but for a few who refused to be recorded, this was respected. However, informing them does not cancel the worry of the observer's paradox. Indeed, as Bower (2008) says, having a recording device trained on you is a barrier to producing naturalistic speech. Nevertheless, the researcher's goal was not to record speech per se, but to get answers from the questionnaires in any language the respondent could express his or herself. The interest is not in the actual language use, but in the social phenomenon of language.

The participants were acknowledged (cf. acknowledgement) for their time and answers. After every interview, hearty thanks were always mentioned. The local rulers of the villages shall receive a copy of my thesis. This will motivate the communities because they will see a product from the research.

3.3.6 From Fields to Charts

This sub section articulates more on process; how the data was collected, transformed in order to facilitate computational analysis and hence, possible revelations of results.

3.3.6.1 The Field Trip

Recall that the goal of the research is to account for high rates of multilingualism in LF and how possible revelations as to local language ideologies and identity constructions can be revealed. It is with this goal in mind that a field trip was made to LF. The field trip kicked off sometime in May 2012. Limited numbers of questionnaires were tested and corrections effected in Wum. A visit was made to Missong village (estimated 1 hour 15 minutes' walk) in order to elicit data. After seeking consent of the chief, a request was made for two field assistants. The quarters visited were Bikwom, Bidzumbi and Mbiang Dzam. A total of twenty-five interviews were carried out. Abar village was the base because of the economic activities and social structures found. It has a dispensary, a market and a primary and secondary schools. These facilities are found only in Abar and for this reason there is massive influx into Abar especially on market days. The permission of the chief was sought and after acceptance, two field assistants were given. The quarters visited included Agako, Loongko, Mban, Otong, Ogan and, Ambiang-Tokam. A total of seventeen interviews were carried out. A visit was later made to Munken village (estimated at 1 hour 5 minutes' walk) in order to elicit data. The consent of the chief was sought and two field assistants given. The quarters visited included; Mbu, Atsafe, Bifim. A sum of fourteen interviews was carried out. Finally, a visit to Buu was executed so as to elicit data. With the permission of the chief, two field assistants were gotten. The quarters visited were; Mgbwe, Tsiemte, Tza. A total of seventeen interviews were carried out.

A total of ninety-five interviews were carried out in ten villages (Missong, Munken, Abar, Buu, Biya, Mashi, Kung, Mufu, Koshin, Fang). However, a visit was not carried out in all these because of time constraints and inaccessible roads. Fortunately, participants who belonged to the villages of Koshin, Fang, Mashi, Mufu, Kung and

Biya were gotten thanks to the market day in Abar village and in Wum. The exercise of data collection and data description lasted for approximately fourteen days.

3.3.6.2 Sampling Procedures

A total of 95 samples were carried out in LF reason being; the process of moving from one place to another carrying out interviews is very strenuous and time consuming. Dornyei, (2007: 38) buttresses this point when he states that; qualitative research is very labor intensive. Therefore with this type of qualitative research, small samples are indispensable. Also, the process of data collection was time consuming because most of the interviewees did not understand English, talk less of speaking Pidgin English (PE). A non-probability sampling was sought, with the sampling technique being purposive (cf. Cohen and Manion, 1985). The goal of this research as we have mentioned was not to over articulate generalizations. Rather, considering the sampled size, the contribution or aim is to reveal social motivations as to why people in the LF region are multilingual. Purposive sampling was instituted as focus was on the participants. In connection with our sample population; there was a reason for selecting the sample in a bias way. For example more men than women were sampled and the old were more sampled than the young. This was because of possible revelations the biased sample group could bring as to why people in this area register high rates of multilingualism and also, to tackle some of the research questions (see 1.3).

The researcher sampled mixed genders but was biased on particularly men and the old people. This was in order to capture possible revelations of reasons that lie behind multilingual attitudes in LF with reference to the pre-colonial era. Bias towards men is because researchers like OBarr (1971, Warnier, (1979) and Scotton (1982) all attest to the fact that men are more mobile than women; in terms of job opportunities and trade. It is with this reason that they seem to be more exposed to languages than women. The

old are biased in the sample because it is only with this that multilingual practices in pre-colonial era can be highlighted. Also possible targeted factors can be revealed hence the use of variables to capture reasons for rates of multilingualism in LF. Selections were also based on quarters in the villages. This was motivated by the need to get an even distribution of the samples in the villages so as to achieve representativeness. In Abar village, six quarters were visited out of seven (see field trip). The seventh quarter is called Ndu (quarter for strangers). In Missong, a visit was made to all the quarters. It included Bikwom quarter, Bidzumbi and Biang Dзам. In Munken, a visit was made to Mbu, Atsafe, Ambu and Bifim quarters. In Buu, the Mgbwe, Mfongba, Tsiemte, Tza quarters were visited. It is important to make clear that the villages of Kung, Mufu, Mashi, Koshin, Fang and Biya were not visited due to time constraint. However, the participants from the mentioned localities were interviewed in the villages actually visited. This was made possible by the fact that people from these localities find themselves in the areas visited because of health, market, educational and other economic reasons. Fortunately enough, participants were in a way evenly distributed per quarter for example, from Koshin participants came from Bedong 1, Beebumbum and Bahbe 1. In Mashi, the participants came from Bunduba, Buntansi and Botsaha quarters. In Biya, participants came from Blangba and Ughem. In villages like Mufu and Kung quarter distribution were not highlighted because only one participant for each village was available.

3.3.6.3 The Interview

The interview was carried out in this sociolinguistic study with the questionnaire acting as a guide. This was executed because the informants were non literates and as such could not have had possible understanding and consequent responds to the questionnaire. While the semi-structured interview was carried out, a pen was used to

jot down important aspects. Also, during the interviews a tape recorder was used so as not to miss out any tiny detail which could be used during the data analysis. The interviews were carried out in the different localities visited; in their kitchens, homes and open air settings. Each of these interviews lasted not more than an hour.

3.3.6.4 Meta Data

The meta data was obtained after the data had been collected. The Meta data simply describes the data. The meta data concerns recordings and notes that is on the data. It is important to keep track of the fact that this research topic was conceived under a major documentation project. The researcher was part of the team that collected data on the field. This major documentation project was headed by Pierpaolo Di Carlo (Post-Doc fellow at the University at Buffalo) and Ntem Angela (PhD in the University of Yaoundé I) a collaborator. The questionnaire was coded according to first, the initial of our names followed by the number on the questionnaire. Each of these questionnaires was now recorded and stored digitally. This means each recording was named and stored numerically under each village and each interview. This was in order to keep track of any missing data during the paper and questionnaire jotting exercise. After listening to each recording again following the coded questionnaire, information missed out was inserted manually into the questionnaire so as to facilitate data entries into the pc. The recordings lasted depending on the number of languages an interviewee reported to speak. On the excel sheet of data description, the areas of concentration included the date of interview, the place of interview, the researchers name, the audio file name, the file name (questionnaire and audio file name), the size and duration, the consultants name, the consultants primary linguistic identity and the status (that is where the digital document was preserved) and finally on the meta data a section was previewed for notes. This exercise was carried out in order to keep track of the basic

information needed at first hand and also to locate where each audio file was so as to match with the questionnaire. The second interest in the data description includes extra information gotten in the time of interview which will foster understanding as to why people in LF are multilingual and also revelation of possible local language ideologies. A male for instance, says that he has no interest in learning the wife's language and even worst is he does not understand it. This is because to him, he attributes negative connotations to the language. To him, if you speak Bassa then you are treated as wayward and not very responsible. Therefore, to him if you speak this language you are looked at in this pejorative way. Ironically, with this at the back of his mind, he married a woman from Bassa. One thing to note here is, the importance of notes taking in data collection and description. Questions which apparently were unnecessary became crucial in the course of the interview and as such notes taking become indispensable in data collection.

3.3.7 From Qualitative to Quantitative

The method of research used here is the mixed method. Dornyei (2007:25) defines mixed methods of research as involving different combinations of qualitative and quantitative research either at data collection or at the analysis level. Brown (2004:486) coins both mixed methods of research as the "qual-quant continuum". At the level of data collection, the stand point was a qualitative one, the researcher collected discursive data following the questionnaire and at the level of data analysis a quantitative method was employed. However, Van Lier's (1988), parameters of intervention and selectivity was used. The researcher intervened in the data collection process by interacting and watching the participant's converse. For instance, a question was asked to someone seating nearby who understood a certain language claimed by the interviewee. This was a times to verify if the respondent meant what he said. Also, selectivity was involved

since the researcher chose the participants based on age, sex and village and the quarters. This was because the quarters in LF coincide with kin groups and as such the intention was to diversify as much as possible the kin provenance of the respondents.

Dornyei (2007: 269) states that the obvious means by which qualitative and quantitative data can be integrated during analysis is to transform one data type into the other, thus, allowing for statistical and thematic analysis of both types together. Grotjans (1987) further points out that, the parameters of data analysis in this case use numerals to interpret data.

3.3.7.1 Excel

The sole form of data analysis the researcher used was Microsoft excel. Excel is an electronic spread sheet program which can be used for storing, organizing and manipulating data. After undergoing a four week period of Excel lessons¹⁴, the researcher was able to store, organize and manipulate data conveniently. Under the domain of storing and organizing data, the researcher navigated through an excel sheet for example, created new sheets in the same work page, keyed in data and selected data depending on the need. The researcher made use of functions like freezing panes (this helps in keeping headings at the top for example from disappearing as you scroll in any direction) to help you in the filtering (setting conditions so that only certain data is displayed), sorting out (help you pick out data from large amounts of data depending on the criteria sought), in the work. Further, formulas like Auto Sum (add up numbers), AVERAGE (find out the average in a selected range of cells), COUNTIF (count the number of times specific data is found in a selected group of cells) and the COUNTIFS (to count the number of data records in a selected range that meets two or more specified criteria). Again, under the excel software, tools like charts were manipulated to clearly demonstrate the data (cf. chapter four).

3.3.7.2 Data analysis procedures

3.3.7.2.1 Variables

This section basically describes the variables that were used and how they were analysed. The researcher considered variables such as age, sex and villages (cf. 3.3.2). According to the variable age, the sample was distributed so much so that five levels were captured. It was grouped as follows; participants between the years 1915-1930, 1931-1946, 1947-1962, 1963-1978, 1979-2004. On the spread sheet, these different age ranges were keyed in and letters a-e given to represent each group. The function key used was filtering. The letters were filtered accordingly and the option auto sum was used to get the total number of people from each age range. Next, the variable sex was considered. It is an important social phenomenon especially as it tallies with the socio linguistic survey. In an attempt to answer a question like are men more multilingual than women the sex variable is indispensable? In the analysis, the names of participants and their sexes were keyed in. the option COUNTIF was implemented to count the genders respectively. Finally, the variable villages were considered in order to ensure that the participants came from the respective villages of LF. Here, the function used was filtering. A criterion was selected in the filter and counts were realized in each village respectively.

3.3.7.2.2 Variable Correlation

Correlating variables simply demonstrates the relationship between two variables. However, the researcher does not rely on 'deep' statistics like rating scales and does not intend to show any statistical relevance with large quantity of data like using t test. Rather, a simple description is explained from the easy counts gotten on the excel sheet. For example the researcher correlated two variables which were age and gender. This was in a bid to count male and female who fall between a certain age group. The function used here was COUNTIFS. This function was also used to show the

relationship between genders and the number of passive and active languages and lects claimed by the participants. Also, a correlation was executed between showing values in the target villages that report passive and active competencies in local languages as well as metropolitan languages like English (cf. chapter 4). The villages were keyed in and values given to those who understand and speak these languages. Then, a sum was realized per village and this was followed by a subtraction from the total number of participants for each village to get the number of those who are not competent and do not perform in the languages in question. Finally, age was correlated together with those who claim active and passive knowledge in the languages. This was done to observe if age, the independent variable has a role in revealing important information in relation to the participants who report active and passive performances (the dependent) in the languages. It is important to mention that in correlating variables, one can make prediction on one based on the other.

3.3.8 Targeted Factors

Targeted factors are in other words known as social factors. These factors are crucial in explaining why people in a community as LF are multilingual thus answering one of the researchers' research questions. These social categories include: individual relations, marriage, education, religion, movements, blood relations, in-laws, perceptions of proximity and structurally affinity. Usage of these sociological factors was to accommodate variables like languages which are structurally affine. The MUNGBAM sample was used because it carried a good number of participants who came from this language cluster unlike the JI group which carried only one sample. Languages which were said to be proximal were indexed by physical closeness. On the excel spread sheet the MUNGBAM variety was filtered and values were keyed in following the targeted factors. These values were keyed in following the number of times participants

reported passive and active knowledge for each category. An automatic sum was implemented and charts plus percentages for each motivating factor were inserted.

Again, targeted factors accommodated issues of proximity. Proximity here was considered in terms of physical boundaries. Therefore, for each participant with respect to men, the researcher was guided by their main linguistic identity and proximal languages and lects were sought. In the case of women who either marry internally or externally their linguistic identity was decided upon based on their local ideologies and on the fact that they move to meet husbands. The women who were interviewed remained firm on the assumption that when they marry they become properties of their husbands. This makes them see themselves as people from the villages of their husbands in question and not their parents. Thus the researcher followed their thoughts and sought out proximal languages from where they are married. The researcher however did not assume that all the proximal languages identified were the reason for the participants to be multilingual. As such, targeted factors were sought and values were given in each category according to the responses of participants. A sum was realized, charts and percentages were inserted.

Another category in capturing targeted factors was on defining residual languages. Residual languages here mean languages left out after taking into consideration variables representing why people are multilingual. These variables captured include: exogenous languages, languages as perceived by the researcher as proximal and structurally affine languages and also, a few local but historical languages like Kom, Mmen, Mungaka. The ones unexplained are the residual languages that are the ones left out. Social categories such as blood relations, movements, friendships, in-laws, marriage, education, religion and perceptions of similarity and proximity by participant were captured in a quest to explain all residual lects and languages. Values were given

based on the responses of the participants. An automatic sum and percentages were allocated to demonstrate social motivations in explaining multilingualism in LF.

The last area of concern was explaining why people are multilingual by involving all languages and lects. Here, targeted factors as mentioned above were used and values given in each category depending on the number of times participants gave reasons why or how they became multilingual. A sum was gotten and charts and percentages inserted. One of the researchers' fundamental questions is why people are multilingual and this section sought to answer this question.

3.3.9 Marriage Patterns

Marriage patterns in LF were a necessary tool in understanding patterns of multilingualism in LF. It also helps in revealing local language ideologies and understanding the construction of multiple identities. In LF, there are two angles in marriage. People can either marry in the village where they originally come from or outside their villages. In the data base, filtering was done so as to count the number of people who marry internally or externally or who do not marry at all. This was followed by a chart inserted with their percentages given so as to show more clearly which pattern is practised more in LF. Again, the researcher decided to keep track especially of external marriage patterns. This was aimed at revealing which gender understands and speaks more of their spouses' language. Such an analysis required that in the original data base, filtering be done to pick out only the cases of external marriage. With this, two columns were allocated for passive and active competence in spouses' language. Then, the value 1 was given if the participant understands and speaks a spouse's language and 0 if the reverse. Counts were realized with respect to passive and active competence which was preceded by filtering of male and female genders respectively.

3.3.10 Conclusion to Chapter Three

This chapter presented the methods of data collection and the process of data collection and analysis. It discussed the effect of an ethnographic informed questionnaire, and language ideologies. It further expanded on the dichotomy between languages and lects, sampling procedures, instruments of data collection, the interview, the Meta data and data analysis procedures. It also described how the analyses were carried out considering the different variables. An in-depth explanation of the fundamental question underpinning this research, which is social motivations of being multilingual in LF was also provided. The analysis did not aim at achieving statistical relevance but it is hoped that in the future, studies will be carried out to achieve this. The next chapter will take the readers directly into the presentation of data analysis and some discussions.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction to Chapter:

Multilingualism has been and is a central drive to studies in sociolinguistics. It is due to the alarming rates of multilingualism in LF that the researcher sought to find out why? The previous chapter, described the research design, the method of data collection. Justifications were made as to the selection of the sample. The purpose of this chapter is to present data collected in clearly explicit forms through the use of tables, graphs and charts. The chapter will present the sample in variables such as gender, age and village. The data will further demonstrate these variables in correlation with passive and active competence in languages. The language markets (exogenous and endogenous languages) are presented with each of these languages accounted for with the above mentioned variables in relation to active and passive competence. This chapter presents and explains variables in correlation with the employment of targeted factors in explaining structurally affine languages and proximal languages. The chapter also discusses the tool used in analysing the data. Illustrating patterns of inter marriage in LF by use of tables and charts to close with a summary conclusion to the chapter.

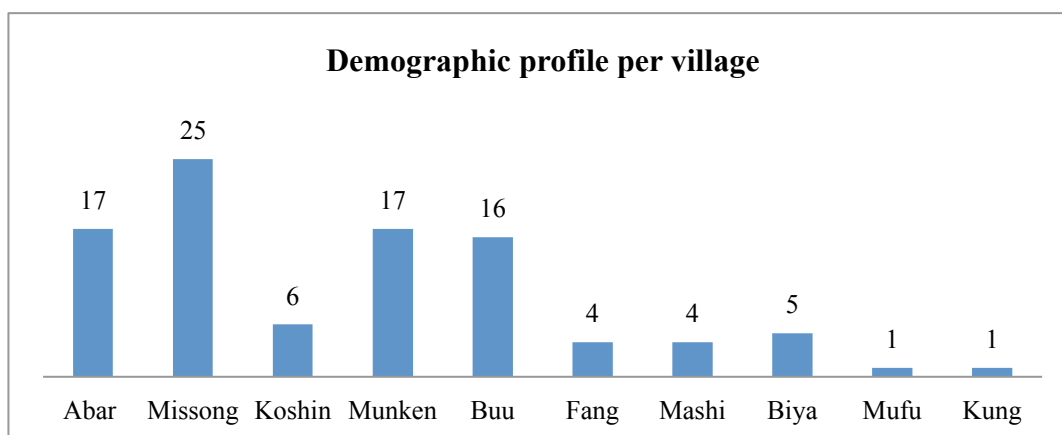
4.2 Presentation of the Sample

4.2.1 Demography

Table 2 Demographic profile of language consultants in LF

village	Abar	Missong	Koshin	Munken	Buu	Fang	Biya	Mashi	Mufu	kung
N° of interviews	17	25	6	17	16	4	5	4	1	1
village	Abar	Missong	Koshin	Munken	Buu	Fang	Biya	Mashi	Mufu	kung
N° of interviews	17	25	6	17	16	4	5	4	1	1

Chart 1 Illustrating the demographic profile of informants in LF



The interview demographic profile of language consultants per village presented in table 2 and illustrated by chart 1 represent heterogeneous values. The research team in which I was part of (cf. note 2) carried out in total ninety-five (95) interviews and these interviews covered ten (10) villages. This does not mean however that, all these villages were visited as outlined in chapter one. Informants covering these villages were gotten from Wum, Abar, Missong, Munken, Buu (cf. chapter three). Looking at the table, the sample is biased towards number of interviews per village. This was however not intentional because data collected at village level depended on availability of interviewees, how fast they understood and responded to the questions and availability of time. The table reveals Missong registered the highest number of participants (25). Koshin, Fang, Biya, Mashi, Mufu and Kung registered relatively low numbers because these areas were not visited per se by the research team.

4.2.2 Age

Table 3 Distribution of respondents in LF according to age range

Age range	1915-1930	1931-1946	1947-1962	1963-1978	1979-2004	Total
N° of people	8	33	34	16	4	95
percentages	8.4%	34.7%	35.7%	16.8%	4.2%	100%

Table 3 contains the age ranges of respondents subdivided into the following five age ranges: 1915-1930, 1931-1946, 1947-1962, 1963-1978 and 1979-2004. Only 4 from the total sample fall between early twenties to thirties and 8 fall in the oldest range. The population came from the 2nd and 3rd age ranges. A majority of the sample fall in the age range 50 to 85 years.

Chart 2 Age range of respondents in LF

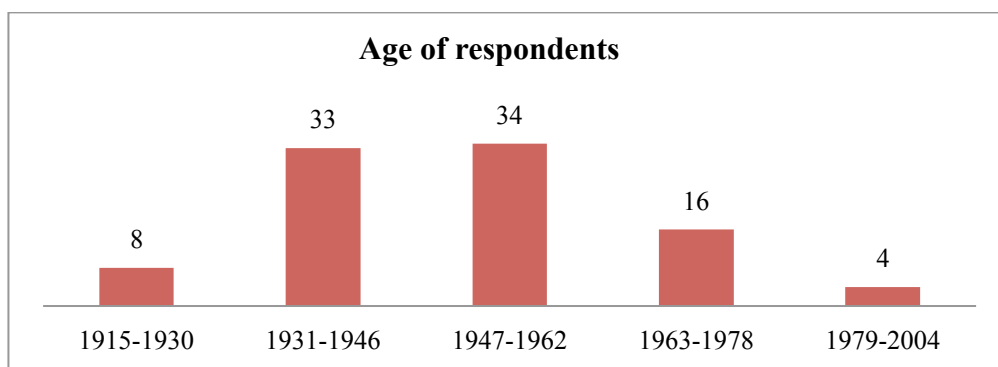
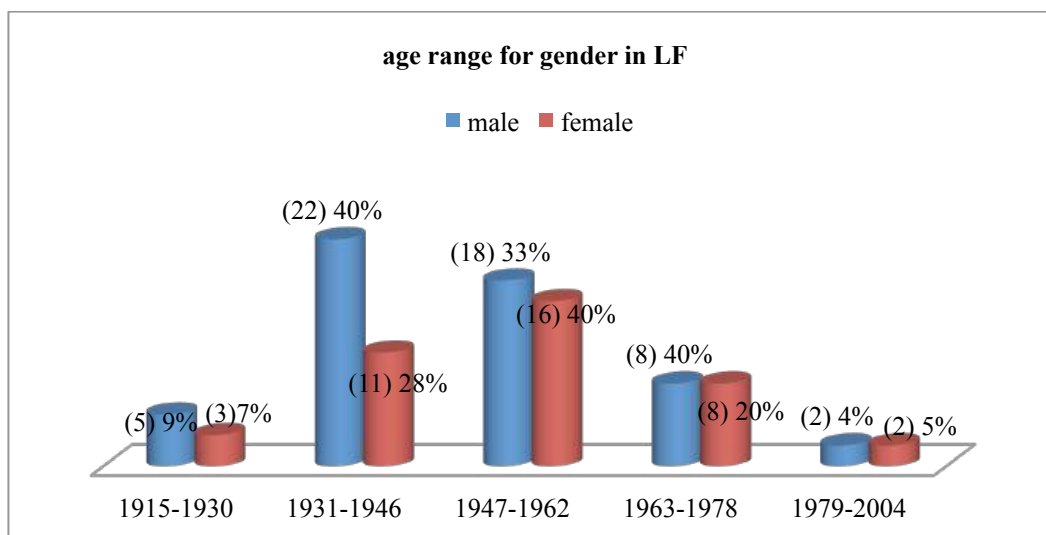


Table 4 Age range for gender in LF

Age range	1915-1930	1931-1946	1947-1962	1963-1978	1979-2004
male	5	22	18	8	2
Percentage	9%	40%	33%	14%	4%
Female	3	11	16	8	2
percentage	7%	28%%	40%	20%	5%

Chart 3 Age range for gender in LF



Looking at chart 3, the age ranges (1931-1946 and 1947-1978) indicate male domination over female in terms of number. The other age ranges have an almost equal distribution of values.

4.3 Lower Fungom as a Pluralistic Society:

Tables 4 and 5 reveal the linguistic ecology in LF. While table 4 reveals the languages present in LF, table 5 reveals the lects present. It is important to mention that the universe of languages and lects was gotten thanks to the questionnaire administered. The use of these varieties of languages or languages themselves is determined by the context in which people find themselves.

Table 5 Languages present in LF

1	Ji group	11	Mankon	21	Weh
2	Buu	12	Nkwen	22	Hausa
3	Fang	13	Jukun	23	Kom
4	Mashi	14	Oku	24	Dumbo
5	MUNGBAM	15	Bamum	25	Nso'
6	Koshin	16	Aghem	26	Bambui- Bambili
7	Munggaka	17	Bum	27	Bafut
8	Kung	18	Ajume	28	Mukuru
9	Mmen	19	Pidgin English	29	Isu
10	Ajumbu	20	English	30	French

A universe of languages obtained through our questionnaire reveals the presence of thirty languages. However, eight of these languages are the languages of the LF area. They include: MUNGBAM and Ji clusters, Buu, Kung, Koshin, Fang, Mashi and Ajumbu. Most of these other languages are languages spoken by people of the North West region of Cameroon for example Bambui and Bambili (varieties of the same language), Mungaka, Mankon, Nkwen, Weh, Isu just to name a few. Also, languages of the Nord and the West of Cameroon like Hausa, Bororo and Bamum are present in the languages of the language consultants. Inclusive also, are the official languages of Cameroon present which include: English, French and the lingua franca, Pidgin English. In a few words, LF is a hyper pluralistic society. The pluralistic situation of LF is

dominant as compared to, for example, the linguistic ecology in Somié, found in the Adamawa region of Cameroon. It registers the presence of twenty lects and fewer languages (Connell 2009).

Chart 4 Illustrating reported passive and active competence in languages for number of individuals per language

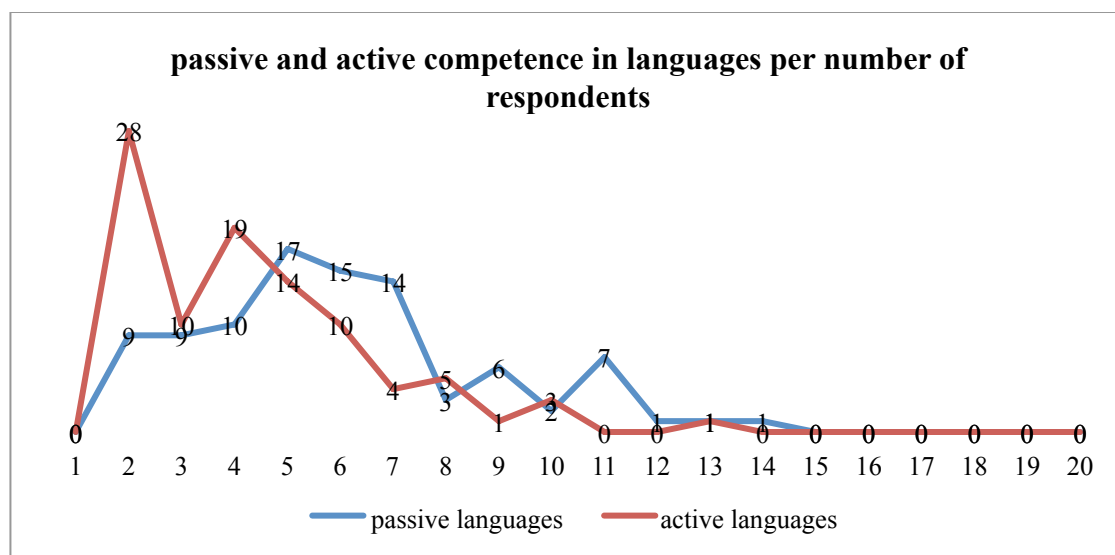
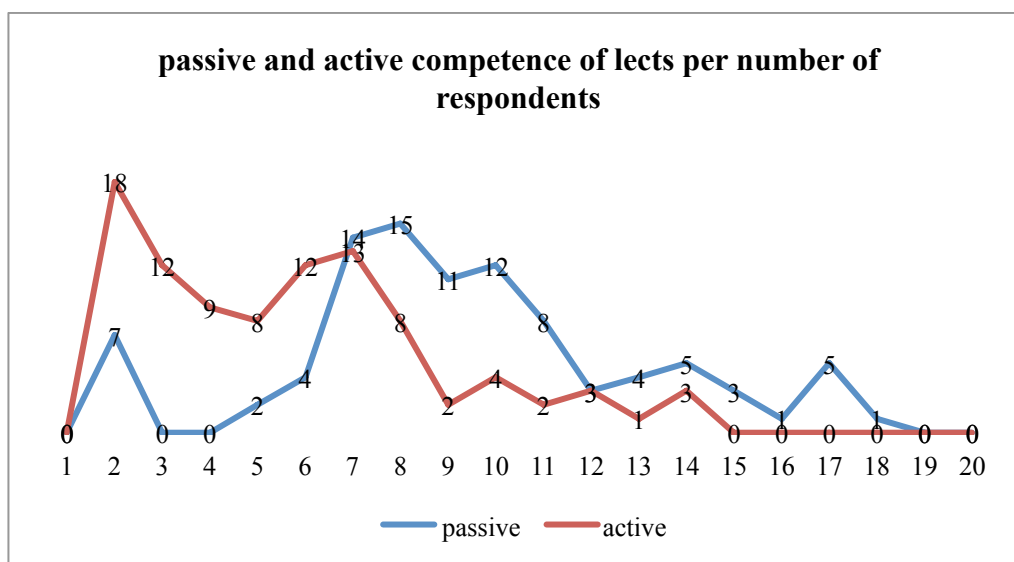


Chart seeks to illustrate the number of respondents who report passive and active competences based on the number of languages. A look at chart 4 reveals that a majority of the sampled; twenty-eight report active competence in two languages and seventeen respondents report passive competence in five languages. Further, the chart shows that a majority (79 on 95 for active languages and 57 on 95 for passive languages) of the sampled respondents who reported passive and active knowledge in languages fall between 0 to 6 languages. However, a lesser number of the sampled (16 on 95 for active languages and 38 on 95 for passive languages) fall between a higher numbers of languages i.e. from 7 to 20 languages. Although a lesser number of the total people sampled fall within a higher number of languages, only three persons report passive competence in twelve languages and above, while three persons reported active competence in ten languages. In line with the number of passive and active languages through data collected, revealed an average of 6 to 7 languages.

Table 6 Lects present in LF

1	Mufu	15	Pidgin	29	English
2	Mundabli	16	Fungom	30	Mukuru
3	Buu	17	Bum	31	Modele (a variety of Befang)
4	Fang	18	Aghem	32	Ajume
5	Mashi	19	Isu	33	Weh
6	Missong	20	Ngun	34	Hausa
7	Koshin	21	Biya	35	Bororo (Ffulde)
8	Abar	22	Ajumbu	36	Kom
9	Munggaka	23	Mmen	37	Dumbo (Kemezung)
10	Munken	24	Kung	38	Bafut
11	Mankon	25	Nkwen	39	Jukun
12	Nso'	26	Bambui	40	Bambili
13	Nser	27	Oku	41	Kumfutu
14	Bamum	28	Nyos	42	French

Chart 5 Illustrating reported passive and active competence in lects for number of individuals per language

This chart reveals that both passive and active knowledge in a single lect is the exception. An immediate comparison with chart 4 showing number of passive and active language respondents know illustrate that, many more lects are known and spoken than languages. Logically, one language is to two or more lects. This is however not found in all cases as there are languages spoken in single villages. For example varieties of Mmen are: Nser, Fungom and Nyos. By implication, a respondent who attests to passive or active competence of Mmen will likely understand and speak its varieties. The chart reveals that, eighteen respondents are active in two lects and fifteen

respondents passive in eight. The graph also reveals high rates of multilectalism as fifteen respondents understand fourteen to eighteen as opposed to chart 4.

Chart 6 Illustrating gender and reported number of known languages

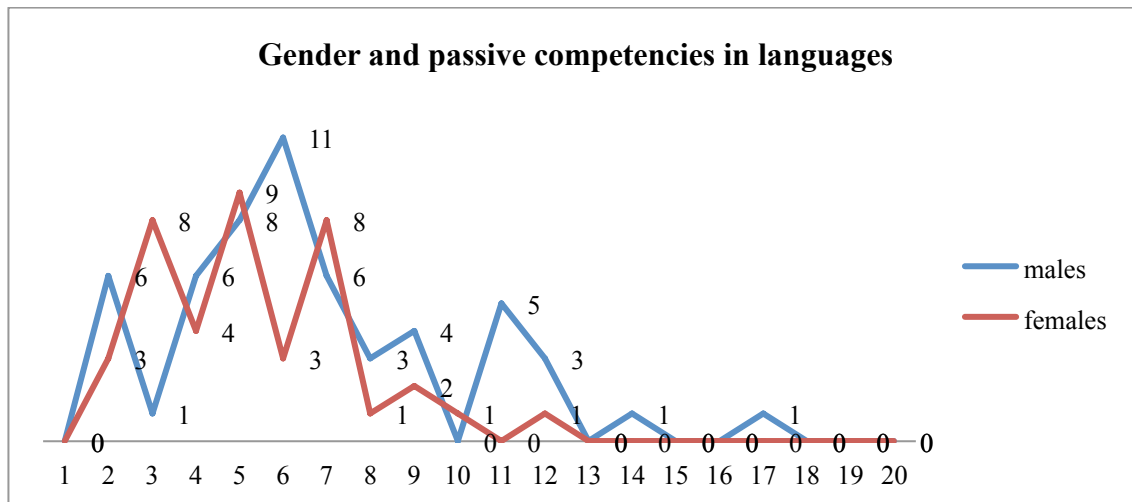


Chart 7 Illustrating gender and reported number of spoken languages

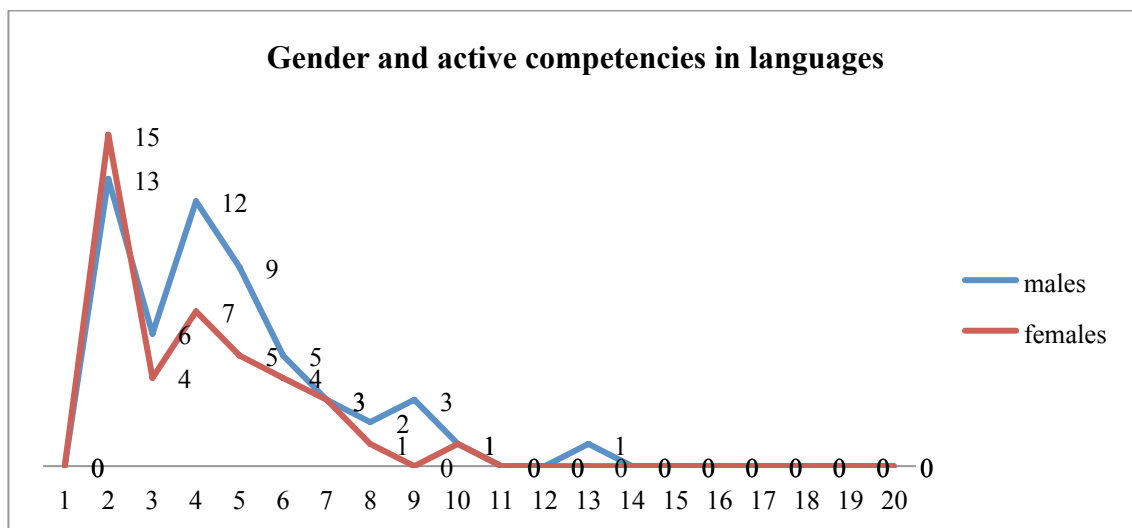


Chart 6 reveals that 5 males claim passive competence in 11 languages and no woman claims as such. However, women dominate male in relation to passive competence in two languages. One male reported passive knowledge in 17 languages whereas the highest number of languages a woman reported to know is 12 languages for one case only. At the level of active competence, chart 6 demonstrates that both genders claim active competence in two languages and female dominate at this level. However, the

males seem to dominate as 12 claim active competence in 4 languages while 7 women claim competence in 4 languages. It is crucial to observe that one male claimed active competence in 13 languages and in contrast, only one woman claimed active competence in 10 languages.

The chart reveals one male claiming passive competence in 17 languages. Though, no woman knows more than 12 languages. From the chart, male reported passive competence more in 11 languages and female in 5 languages.

Chart 8 Illustrating gender and reported number of known lects

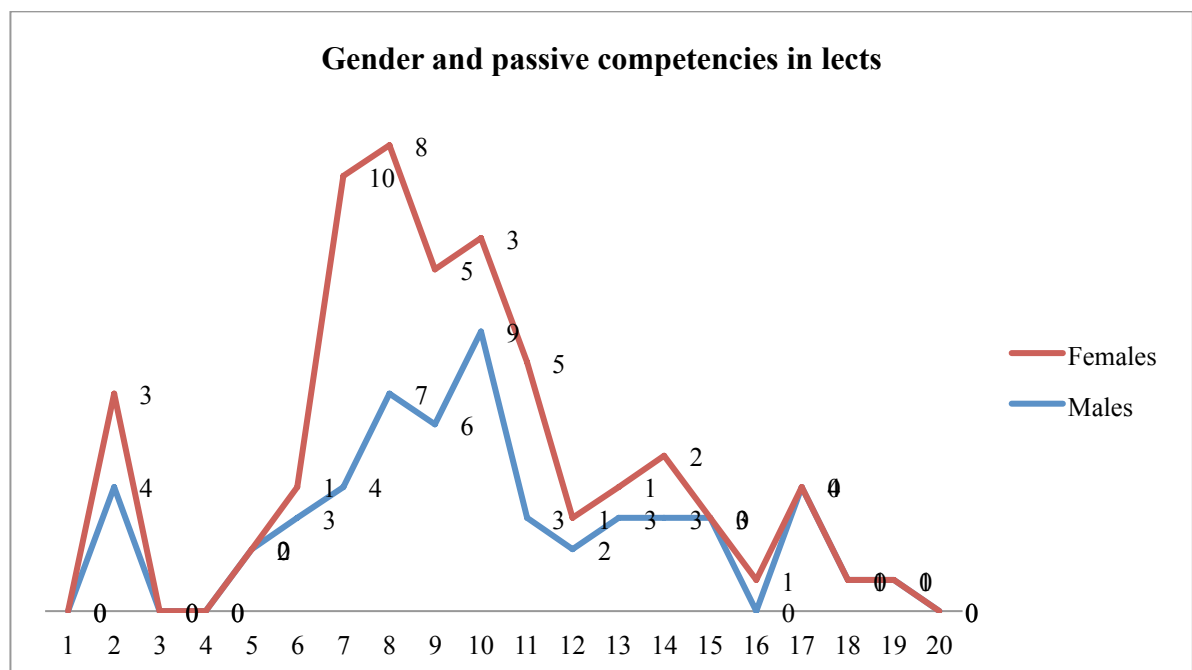
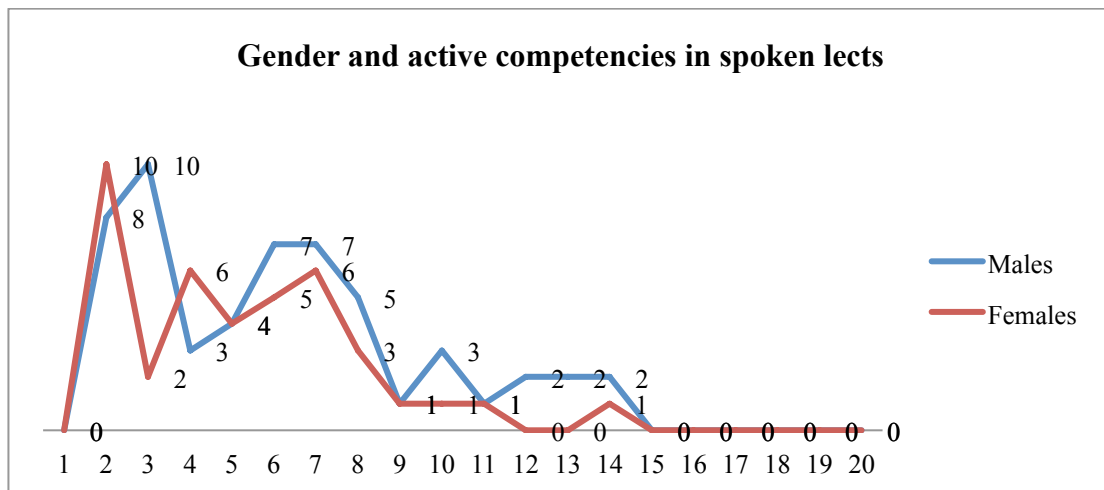


Chart 9 Illustrating gender and reported number of spoken lects



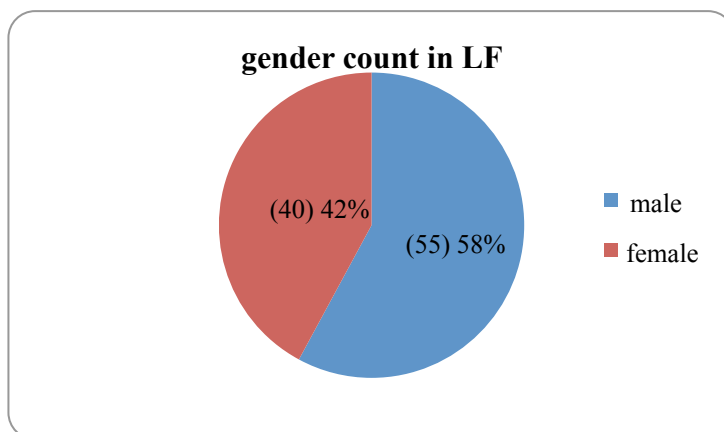
Looking at charts 8 and 9, it is realized that women report more in passive competence in lects than men. However, men report active competence in lects than women. At the level of passive competence six males know from 17 to 19 languages and no woman claimed this. Rather, one woman claimed passive competence in 16 lects and at their peak is 10 women claiming passive competence in 7 lects. Two men claimed active competence in 14 lects whereas one woman claims active competence in 14 lects.

4.4 Gender

Table 7 Presenting gender profile in LF

Male	Female
55	40

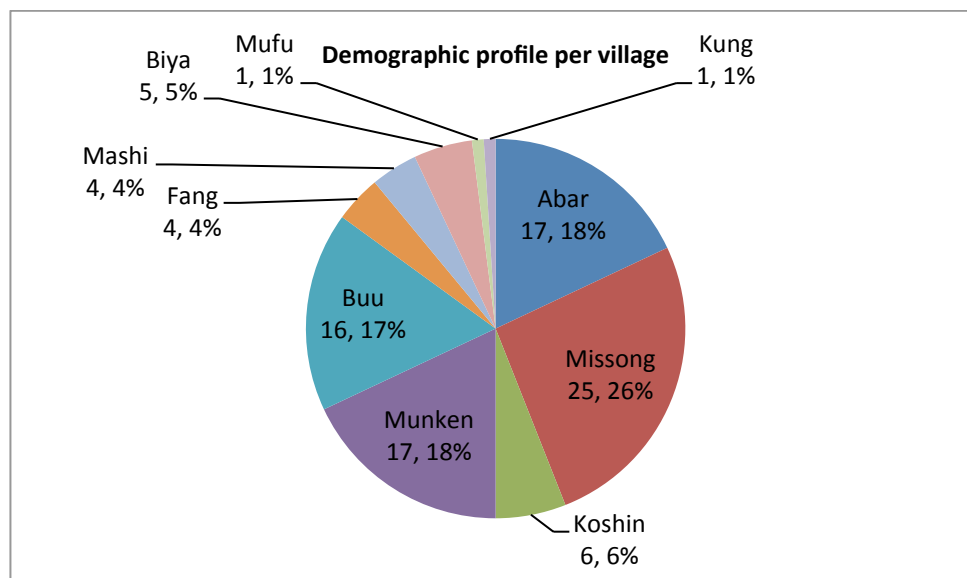
Chart 10 Illustrating gender profile in LF



The profile for gender shows that out of the 95 respondents, 40 are women and 55 men.

Table 8 Demographic profile as per village

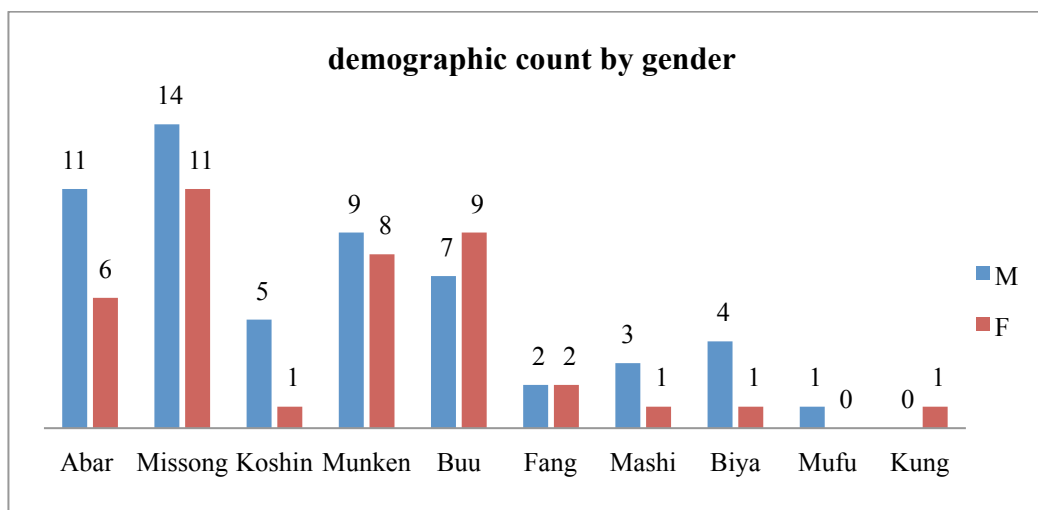
village	Abar	Missong	Koshin	Munken	Buu	Fang	Mashi	Biya	Mufu	Kung
N° of people	17	25	6	17	16	4	4	5	1	1

Chart 11 demographic profile as per village

From the total population of 95 people sampled from 10 villages, Missong represents the highest number with 25 interviewees. Abar and Munken follow with the second highest number 17. In Buu, 16 samples were carried out. Koshin and Biya had a total of 6 and 5 samples carried out respectively. Finally, in Fang and Mashi, a total of four interviews were conducted. Mufu and Kung had the lowest number of samples with only one person each.

Table 9 Demographic profile of gender per village

village	Abar	Missong	Koshin	Munken	Buu	Fang	Mashi	Biya	Mufu	Kung
male	11	14	5	9	7	2	3	4	1	0
female	6	11	1	8	9	2	1	1	0	1

Chart 12 Demographic profile of gender per village

Generally, male interviewees were more than female interviewees in the samples in almost all the villages except Buu and Kung. In Buu, 9 females and 7 males were interviewed while in the Kung, 1 woman and no man was interviewed. This can be explained in terms of the relatively higher availability of women than men for the interview. The samples for Fang show that the number of men and women interviewed were equally. Finally, villages of Abar, Missong, Munken, Mufu, Biya, Mashi and Koshin show that men dominate in the sample than women.

4.5 LANGUAGE MARKET ONE: EXOGENOUS LANGUAGES

Exogenous languages are also known as languages of wider communication. These exogenous languages can be for media use, language of education, in the courts. The presence of these languages can be accounted for historically. Colonization of Africa took place after World War 1, and with the departure of the white man in the mid-50s their languages were left behind. As Rosendal (2008) rightly puts it, the colonial past has substantially shaped the present-day linguistic situation of Cameroon. The languages in the Cameroonian context include: English, French and Pidgin English (a lingua franca).

4.5.1 A brief history of the presence of the English and French language in Cameroon

After World War I, the League of Nations gave the French a mandate over 80% of the area, and the British 20% adjacent to Nigeria. After World War II, when the country came under a UN trusteeship in 1946, self-government was granted, and the Cameroon People's Union emerged as the dominant party by campaigning for reunification of French and British Cameroon and for independence. French and English Cameroon got its independence in 1960 and 1961 respectively and became “The united Republic of Cameroon” in 1972 and later, “The Republic of Cameroon” in 1984. With the unification of Cameroon, language policies were spelt out accordingly with English and French as official languages as the country opted for the policy of official language bilingualism. These languages would be used mainly in: schools, government businesses and the media among others. Article 1, paragraph 3 of the Constitution of 18 January 1996 is abundantly clear in this regard:

The official languages of the Republic of Cameroon shall be English and French, both languages having the same status. The State shall guarantee the promotion of bilingualism throughout the country. It shall endeavour to protect and promote national languages.

Lower Fungom in the North West Region of Cameroon is part of the English speaking sector, making the presence of English language evident unlike the French language which is spoken on the Eastern part of the country, the part that was earlier administered by France. However, variables were not analysed based on this linguistic code. This is explained by the fact that there is almost no influence of this language in the LF area which for sure is construed historically. It will be insignificant and a waste of time for our variables to be captured using a small number; only one person reported passive and active competence in French. Also, relevant information about this particular language

choice and the local language ideologies will not be revealed. These two reasons above are good enough to focus attention on the English language only.

Table 10 Passive and active competence of English by gender

Gender	Male	Female
Total sampled	55	40
Passive/active	21/16	4/3

Table 10 reveals that out of 55 male sampled; 21 (22%) of them reported active competence in English and 16 (17%); report passive competence. By contrast, out of the 40 women interviewed, 4 (4%) reported active competence in a non-pidginized form of English and 3 (3%); reported passive competence in English.

Chart 13 Passive and active competence of English by gender

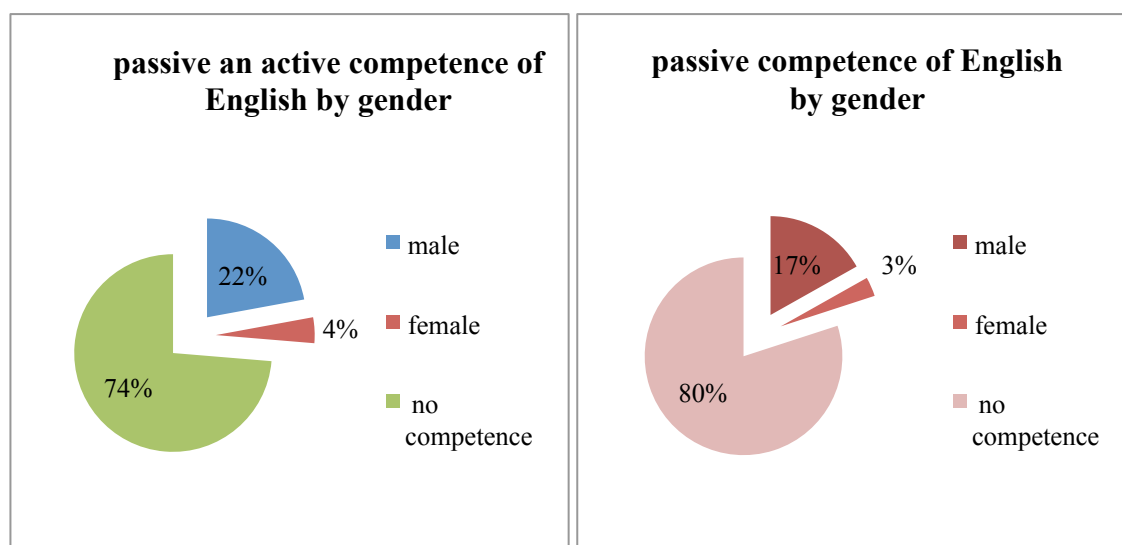


Table 11 Statistics of reported passive and active competence in English by villages of LF

Villages	Abar	Missong	Munken	Koshin	Fang	Mashi	Kung	Mufu	Biya	Buu
Total n°	17	25	17	6	4	4	1	1	5	16
Passive/active	4/3	5/5	8/3	1/1	0/0	0/0	1/1	0/0	3/3	2/2

Table 11 presents passive and active competence of English by village. Even though the Missong sample is more than that of Munken, for example the individuals of Munken

claim more passive competence as they obtained the highest value. These figures might have been influenced by the fact that: “English” for LF villagers is, in fact, “Pidgin”, as we later on discovered. What we called English language during the survey of this group of people is “Grammar”. The Missong sample is higher than Munken maybe because of some misalignments between the 3 researchers involved. The higher value of Munken may have been attributed to their positive attitude towards schooling and also, it maybe because an influential political figure devoted to socio economic progress of youths especially that died recently. While the Munken sample obtained the highest value in passive knowledge of the English language, Missong registered the highest number for those who claimed active knowledge of the language. In other words all those in Missong who claimed passive competence also claimed active competence.

Chart 14 Passive and active competence in English by village in LF

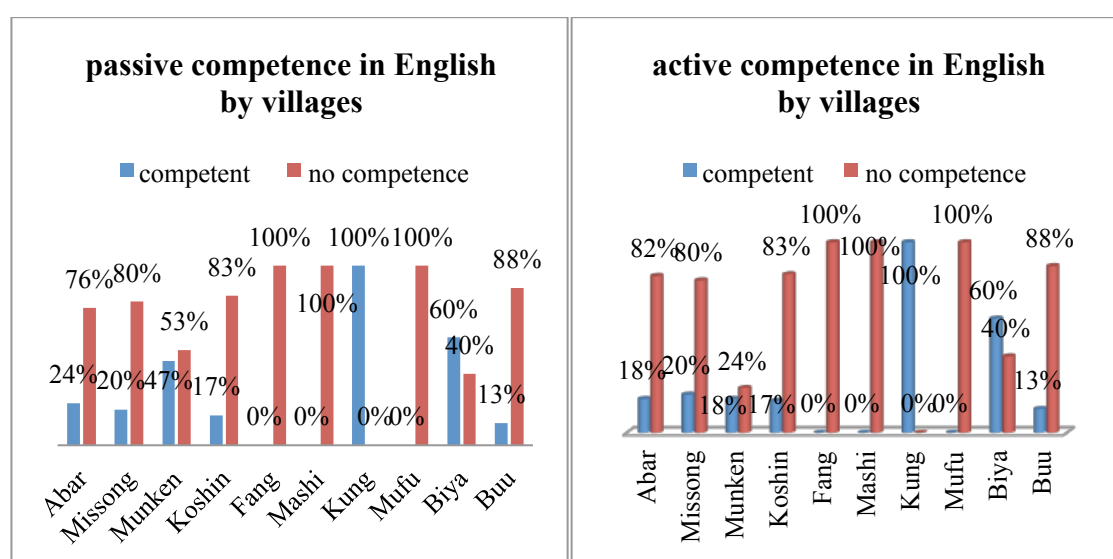
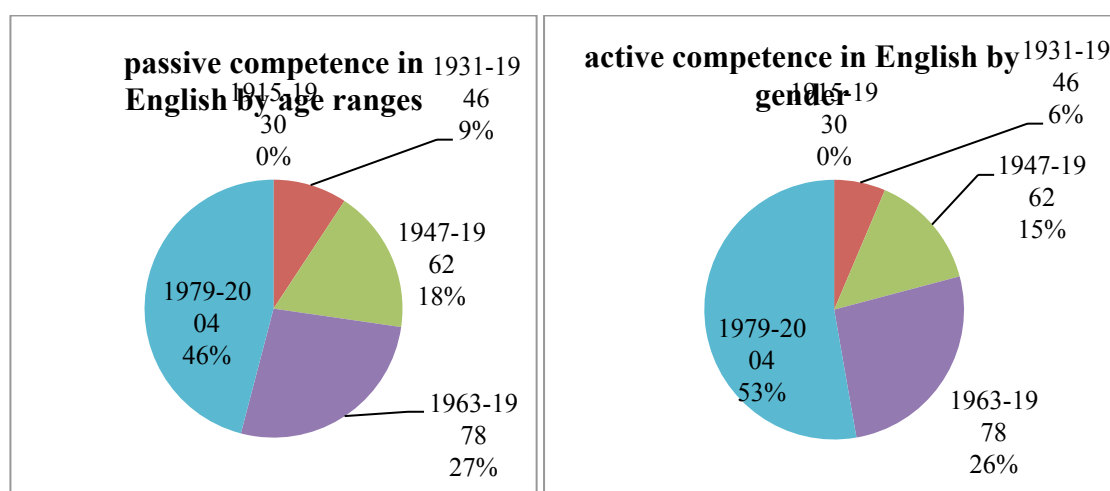


Table 12 Statistics of passive and active competence in English by age ranges in LF

Age ranges	1915-1930	1931-1946	1947-1962	1963-1978	1979-2004
Total n°	8	33	34	16	4
Passive/active	0/0	5/3	10/7	7/6	3/3

Table 12 demonstrates that 8 people, representing the aged sampled, fall within 1915-1930 age range. None of these participants reported passive and active competence in English. 3 out of 4 of the younger generation sampled, claim passive and active knowledge of English. The information in table 12 is represented in chart 15 by use of pie charts.

Chart 15 Passive and active competence in English by age ranges



4.5.2 Pidgin English

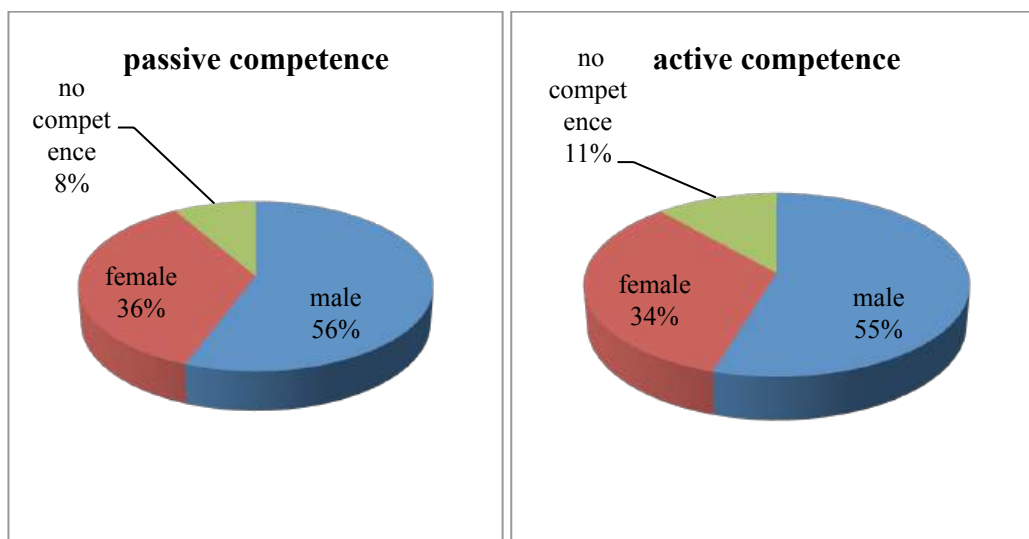
A Pidgin is a "contact language" that is used when two parties with different native languages find it necessary to communicate in a third, non-native language. Such a contact language is usually a simplified version of the language from which the pidgin draws its stock of vocabulary (lexifier) it could later creolize to become another language. Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE) is one of such languages and it is widely used not only in the North-West and South-West regions but, also, in the Littoral and West regions and central regions. Presently, its influence is felt in several major towns of the Francophone provinces. In short, CPE is no longer perceived exclusively as a lingua franca of the English-speaking population, but a language that has a possible national dimension (Echu 2004, Neba, Fogwe and Atindogbe 2006). In urban as well as rural areas like LF, CPE can be heard in market places, churches, motor parks, and on

the streets, as well as in other informal situations. More importantly, it has become a mother tongue for children born to parents from different ethnic backgrounds in especially urban centres (see Neba, Fogwe and Atindogbe 2006 for a detailed discussion of this). In rural areas like LF, the impact of CPE is less felt due to domineering indigenous languages. It is important to underscore here that all the respondents interviewed reported both passive and active competence in their kin languages. The positive attitudes of people towards indigenous languages and the prescription of local customs and traditions of the people argue in favour of this inclination towards indigenous languages to the detriment of CPE. O' Barr (1971) buttresses this point when he notes that speaking a language other than their mother tongue at home is a sign of disrespect for parents and elders by the young. Table 13 reveals the PE ecology in LF as per the number of respondents in relation to passive and active competencies in PE.

Table 13 Statistics of passive and active competence of PE in LF by gender

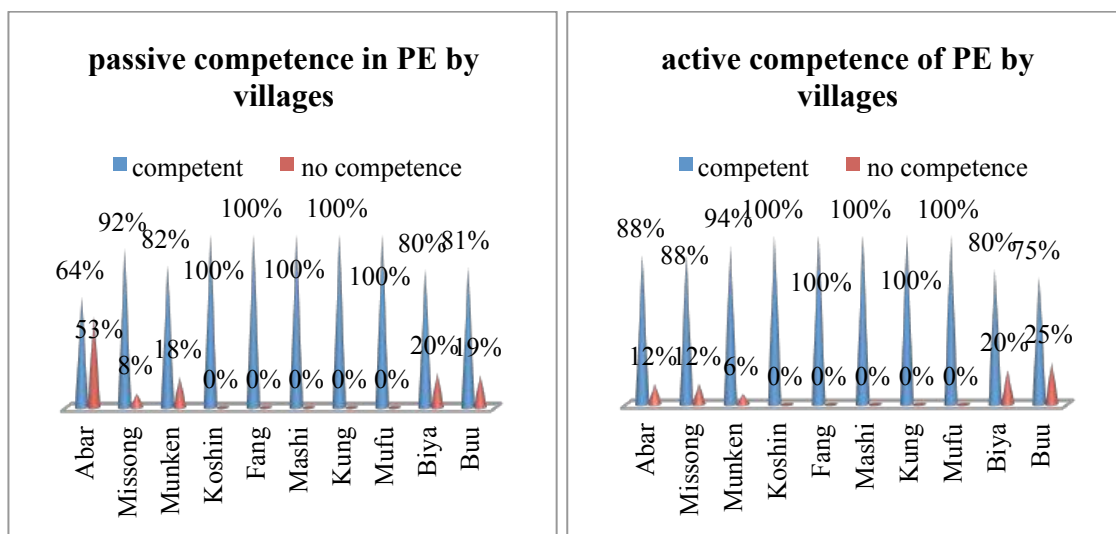
Gender	Male	Female
Total sampled	55	40
Passive/active	53/52	34/32

Table 13 shows that 87 respondents reported passive competence in PE and 84 respondents reported active PE. This is not the case with English as demonstrated in table 10. We notice that of the 55 men interviewed, 53 (56%); claimed passive competence and 52 (55%) claimed active competence. Of 40 women sampled 34 (36%); claimed passive competence in PE and 32 (34%); claim active competence in PE. the chart 16 is a graphical representation of statistics in table 13.

Chart 16 Passive and active competence in PE by gender**Table 14** Passive and active competence of PE in LF by village

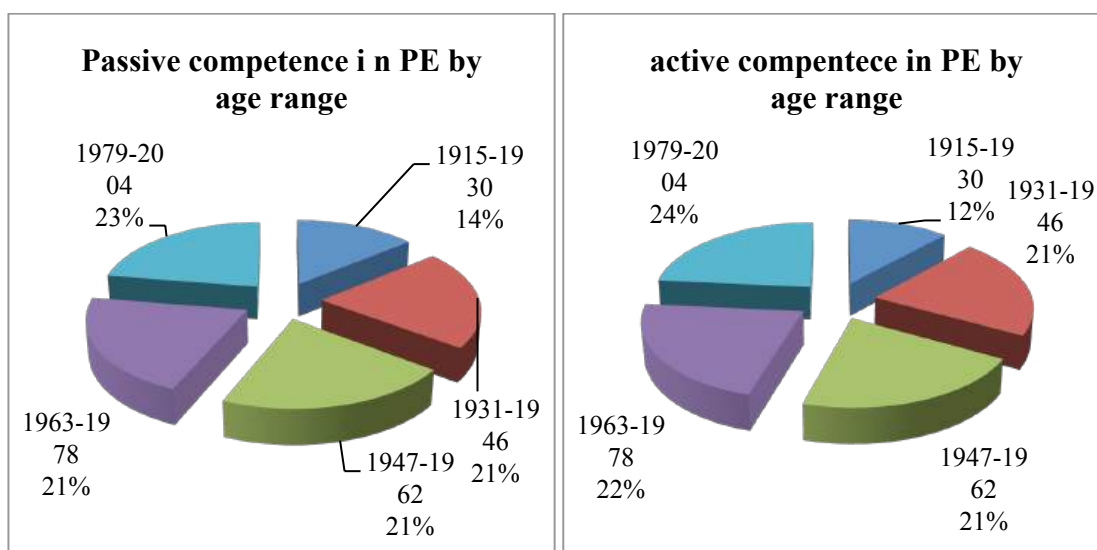
Villages	Abar	Missong	Munken	Koshin	Fang	Mashi	Kung	Mufu	Biya	Buu
Total n°	17	25	17	6	4	4	1	1	5	16
Passive/active	16/15	23/22	14/14	6/6	4/4	4/4	1/1	1/1	4/4	13/12

Table 14 presents the number of persons per village who claimed passive and active competence in PE. It is not surprising that either one or two persons at the most, claimed no competence at all in PE. Only one person in Abar, reported for example no competence at all of PE and 2 respondents; having only passive competence of PE. However, participants in the villages of Mashi, Kung, Koshin and Fang all claimed both passive and active competence in PE.

Chart 17 Passive and active competence in PE by villages**Table 15** Statistics of passive and active competence in PE by age ranges

Age ranges	1915-1930	1931-1946	1947-1962	1963-1978	1979-2004
Total n°	8	33	34	16	4
Passive/active	5/4	31/30	32/31	15/15	4/4

Table 15 presents age groups in LF that report passive and active competence in PE. We notice that relatively, the younger age group speak PE the most. The table shows that all age ranges but for range; 1915 to 1930 have either one individual who reports no passive competence of PE. In this oldest category, 3 people claim passive competence in PE and four; no active competence. This suggests that the old attached more importance to local languages while the young easily take up the pidginized form of English.

Chart 18 Passive and active competence in PE by age ranges

4.6 Language Market Two: Local Languages

LF is a pluralistic society, among which local and metropolitan languages are spoken. However, dominance in local languages is evident because the context is local. Tables 5 and 6 show a good number of the local languages present thanks to our ethnographic-informed questionnaire. However, this present thesis analyses only three local languages: Kom, Mmen and Mungaka. These three languages are selected among the numerous linguistic codes for two reasons: (1) they add to significant history of the Grassfields in terms of trade (Kom and Mmen) and religion (Mungaka). (2) These languages play a greater role numerically unlike the other local languages where only one or two persons may speak particular local language in question. This does not mean that, the other local languages are completely ignored in the analysis. Their presence also contributes to the rates of multilingualism in LF. All endogenous languages with one or two respondents were not captured per variable. Therefore, our results will be insignificant considering the small sample gathered from the other local languages (cf. table 5 and 6).

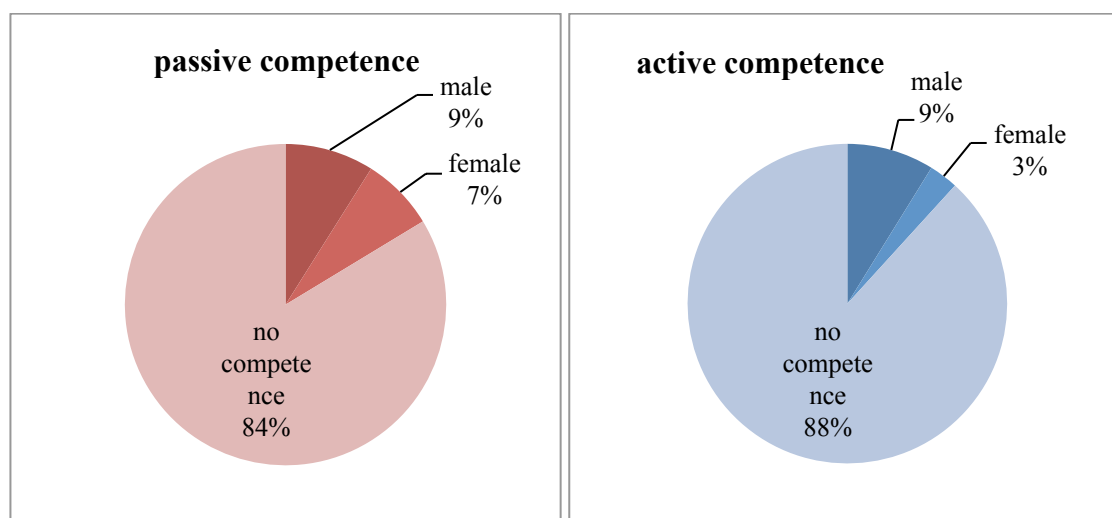
4.6.1 Kom

The Kom language is a Grassfield Bantoid language spoken in the North West Region of Cameroon. Nkwi (1976) discusses that the people of Kom practise agricultural farming predominantly. They produce items such as: palm oil, beans, corn and coffee, thus confirming Warnier (1979) study on the economic situation of the Grassfields. He mentions that the area was characterized by a high dependency of agricultural production. Kom, is one of the communities in the Grassfields that is engaged in mixed economic activities like wood carving, animal raring and agricultural produce. One may predict that this local area is economically viable.

Table 16 Passive and active competence in Kom by gender.

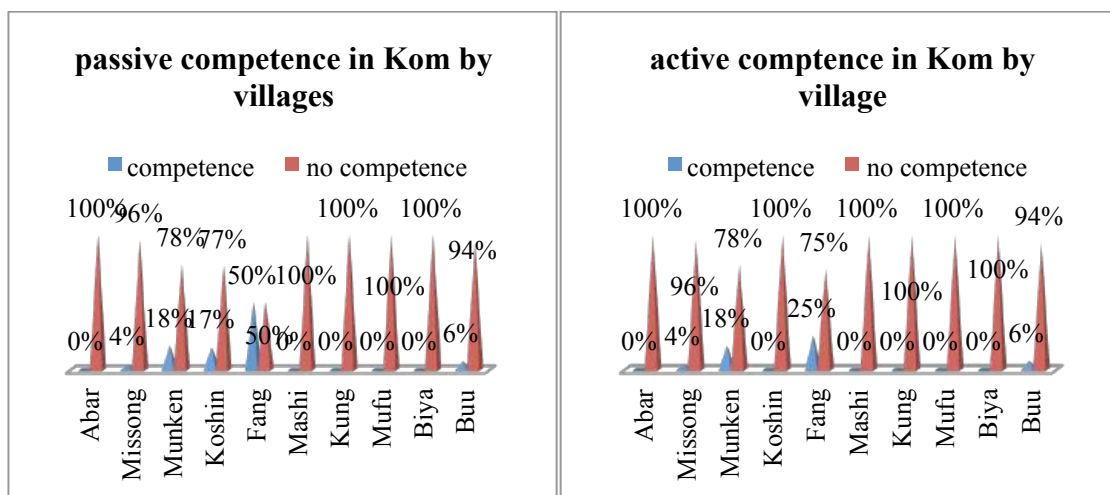
Gender	Male	Female
Total sampled	55	40
Passive/active	5/5	3/1

Table 16 presents counts on gender in LF that report passive and active competence in Kom. All 5 males who claimed passive competence also claimed active competence in Kom. However, only one of the 3 women who reported passive competence reported active competence. Based on the total sampled: 95 (100%), 87 (84%) participants had no passive competence and 89 (88%) participants had no active competence in Kom.

Chart 19 Passive and active competence in Kom by gender.**Table 17** Statistics of passive and active competence in Kom by village.

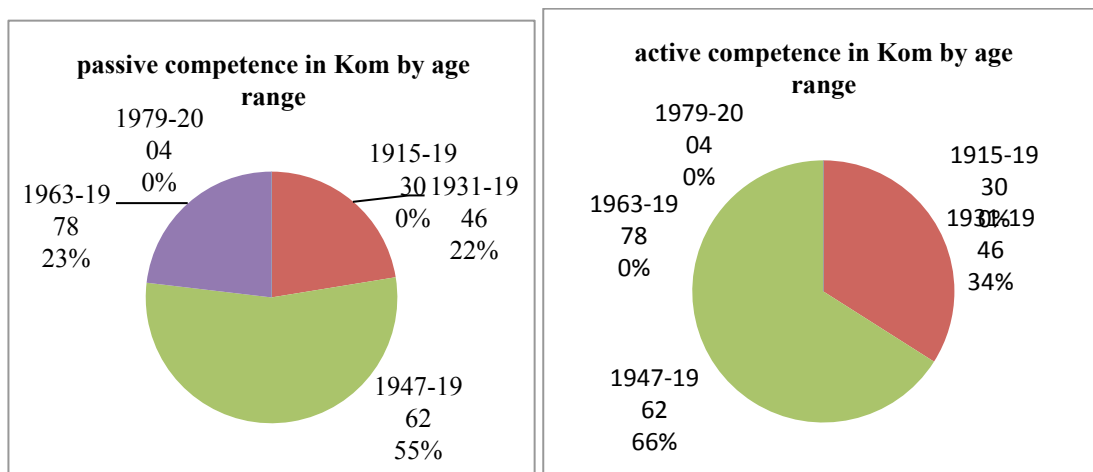
Villages	Abar	Missong	Munken	Koshin	Fang	Mashi	Kung	Mufu	Biya	Buu
Total n°	17	25	17	6	4	4	1	1	5	16
Passive/active	0/0	1/1	3/3	1/0	2/1	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	1/1

Table 17 reveals villages in LF that reported passive and active competence in Kom. In Abar, Mashi, Kung, Mufu and Biya, no respondent claimed competence in Kom. While in Koshin and Fang not all who claimed passive competence claimed active competence in Kom. One interviewee from Koshin claimed passive competence in Kom and 2 respondents; claimed passive competence in Fang. However, out of the 2 respondents who claimed passive competence in Fang, only one reported active competence. Also, this table reveals that all those in Munken and Missong who reported passive competence also have active competence in Kom.

Chart 20 Passive and active competence in Kom by villages.**Table 18** Passive and active competence in Kom by age ranges

Age ranges	1915-1930	1931-1946	1947-1962	1963-1978	1979-2004
Total n°	8	33	34	16	4
Passive/active	0/0	2/2	5/4	1/0	0/0

This table shows age ranges in LF that reported both passive and active competence in Kom. The ages of the sample population falls within the range 1915 to 2004. However, the oldest and youngest groups have no competence in Kom. One respondent claimed passive competence but no active competence in the range 1963 to 1978. The majority of those who claim passive and active competences in Kom fall in the range 1931 to 1962. This indicates that participants within the age range 52 to 82 years seem to dominate in the knowledge of Kom.

Chart 21 Passive and active competence in Kom age ranges.

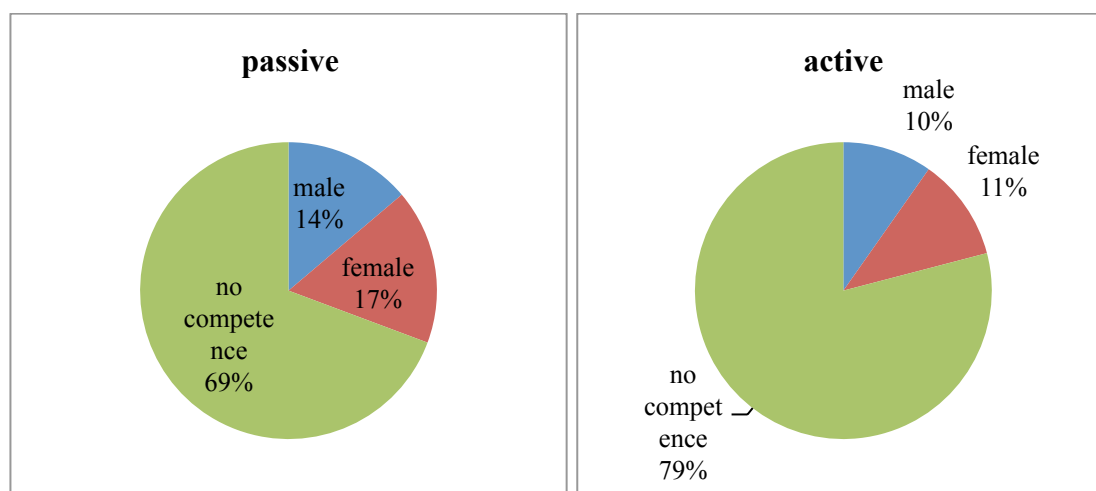
4.6.2 Mmen

Mmen, also known as Bafmen (cf. ethnologue 2009) is found in the Menchum division of the North West Region of Cameroon. It is found around the Fundong road. The people of Mmen are noted for subsistence farming. They produce: corn, beans, groundnuts and cash crop like coffee. Warnier (1979) also reports that the people of Mmen are highly interested in palm oil, iron and meat as they mostly market them.

Table 19 Statistics of passive and active competence in Mmen by gender

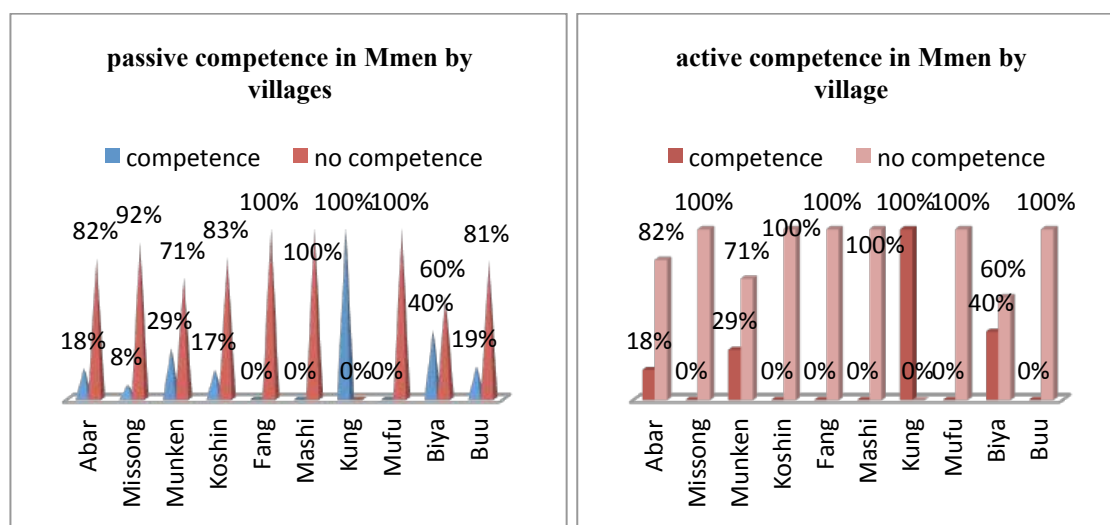
Gender	Male	Female
Total sampled	55	40
Passive/active	9/6	8/5

Tables 16 and 19 reveal that the respondents of LF are more conversant with Mmen than the Kom language. Table 19 presents statistics of respondents who reported passive and active competence in Mmen by gender. 9 (16%) of the 55 men are passive in Mmen and only 6 (11%) claim active competences in Mmen. Out of the 40 females interviewed 8 (20%); are passive and 5 (13%); active in Mmen. Based on the total sampled: 95 (100%), 78 (82%) participants had no passive competence and 84 (88%) participants had no active competence in Mmen.

Chart 22 Passive and active competence in Mmen by gender.**Table 20** Statistics of passive and active competence in Mmen by village

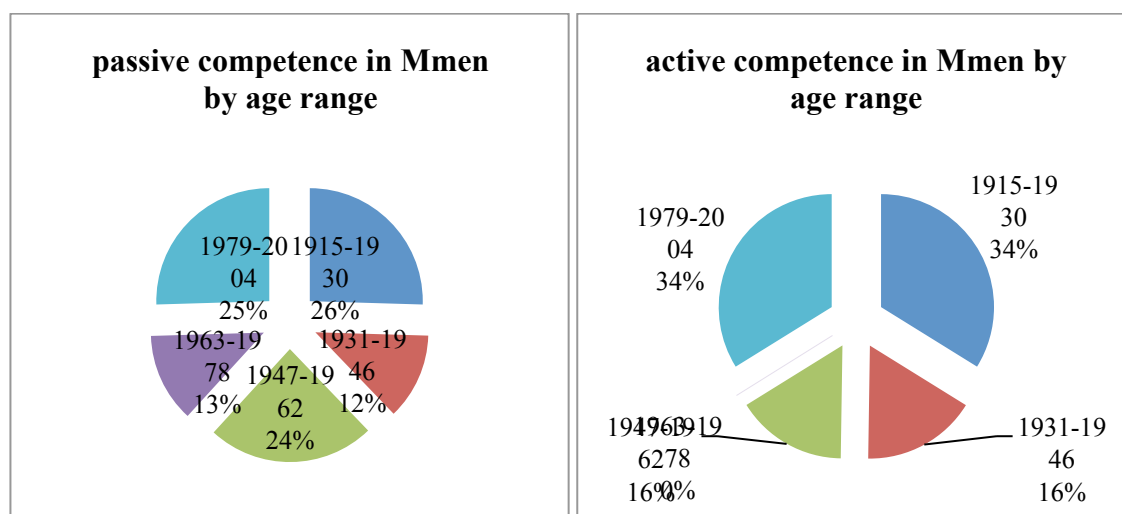
Villages	Abar	Missong	Munken	Koshin	Fang	Mashi	Kung	Mufu	Biya	Buu
Total n°	17	25	17	6	4	4	1	1	5	16
Passive/active	3/3	2/0	5/5	1/0	0/0	0/0	1/1	0/0	2/2	3/0

Table 20 explains villages in LF that report passive and active competence in Mmen. We notice that respondents in the villages of Fang, Mashi and Mufu claimed neither passive nor active competence in Mmen. However, one respondent each in the villages of Missong, Buu and Koshin claimed passive competence however; none reported active competence in Mmen. Most interestingly, all those in Abar, Munken and Biya who reported passive competence also reported active competence in Mmen.

Chart 23 Passive and active competence in Mmen by village**Table 21** Statistics of passive and active competence in Mmen by age ranges

Age ranges	1915-1930	1931-1946	1947-1962	1963-1978	1979-2004
Total n ^o	8	33	34	16	4
Passive/active	2/2	4/4	8/4	2/0	1/1

Table 21 presented statistics of respondents who reported passive and active competence in Mmen by age range. 2 (25%) out of 8 persons sampled in the oldest age range (1915 to 1930); claimed both passive and active competences. This is also true for the second oldest category, 1931 to 1946. In this age range, all 4 who reported passive competence and active competence. The youngest category falls in the age range 1979 to 2004. In this range, only 1 person reported both passive and active competence. However, the age groups of 1947 to 1962 and 1963 to 1978 show that, not all who reported passive competence reported active competence. The age range of 1947 to 1962 reveals that out of the 8; who report passive competence, 4 reported active competence. The age range of 1963 to 1978 reveals that out of the 2; respondents who report passive competence, neither reported active competence.

Chart 24 Passive and active competence in Mmen by age ranges in LF

4.6.3 Mungaka

Mungaka is a language spoken by the people of Bali Nyonga, situated in the Mezam division of the North West Region of Cameroon. The Bali Nyonga people are commonly known as Bali. They belong to the Chamba Leko group that migrated from the Chamba area today known as Northern Cameroon to their present site (Fokwang 2003). This language has a long history which can be traced as far back as the German era in the 18th century in Cameroon. The Bali Nyonga people were in strong alliance with the German colonial masters; their language was bound to be vibrant. It was used by the Basel missionaries to preach the gospel to the locals of the North West region of Cameroon (Warnier 1979). Warnier (1979) attests that the Mungaka language in the 19th century was the lingua franca of the Grassfields. Mungaka was less used by missionaries when they realized the importance of communicating in pidgin from 1960 onward.

Table 22 Statistics on passive and active competence in Mungaka by gender in LF

Gender	Male	Female
Total sampled	55	40
Passive/active	10/8	2/2

Table 22 presents gender in relation to reported passive and active competence in Mungaka in LF. 2 (5%) out of 40 women reported both passive and active competences in Mungaka. 10 (18%) out of 55 men reported passive competence in Mungaka and only 8 (15%) men reported active competence. Based on the total sampled: 95 (100%), 83 (87%) participants had no passive competence and 85 (89%) participants had no active competence in Mungaka.

Chart 25 Passive and active competence in Mungaka by gender

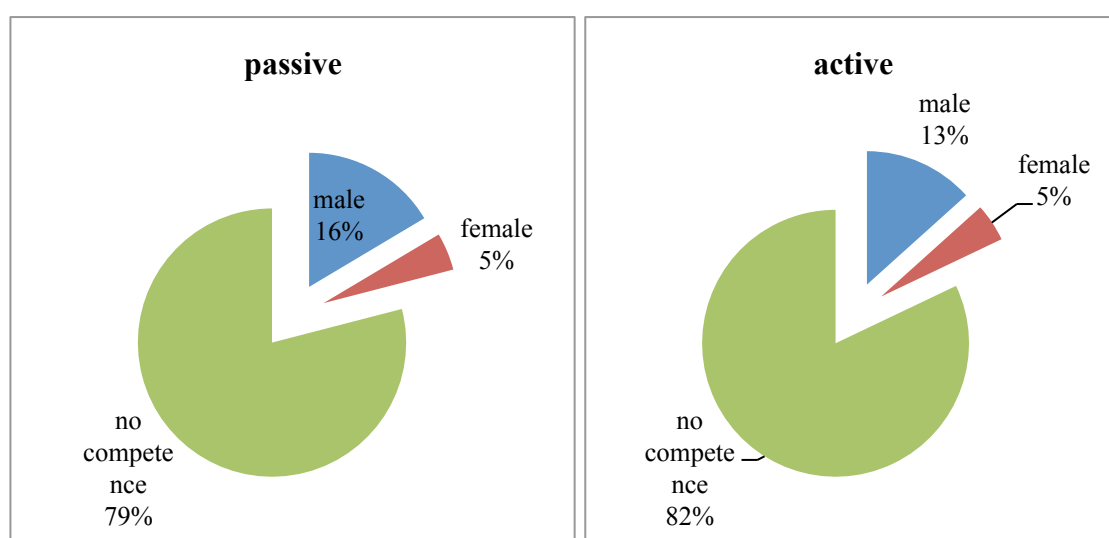
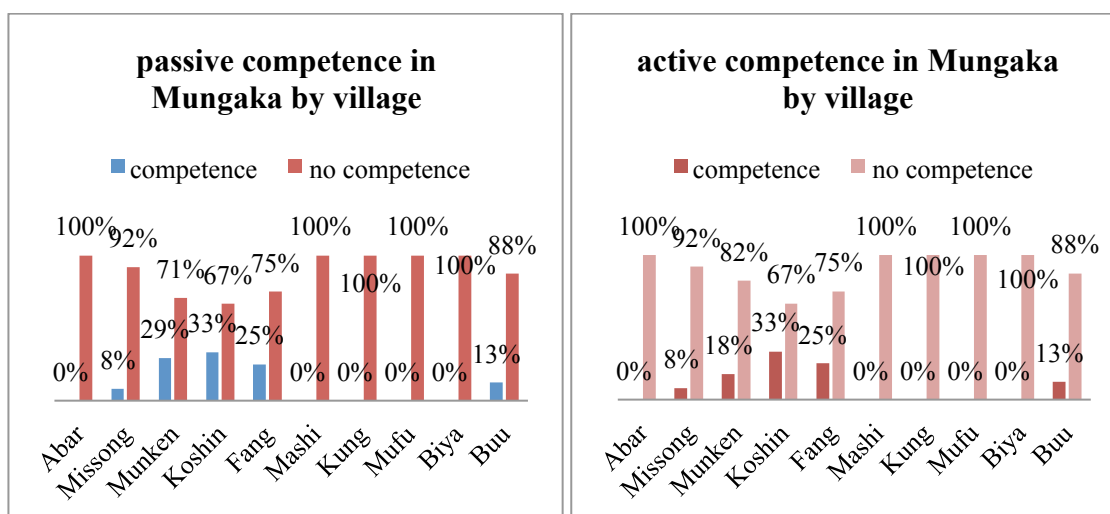


Table 23 Statistics of passive and active competence in Mungaka by village

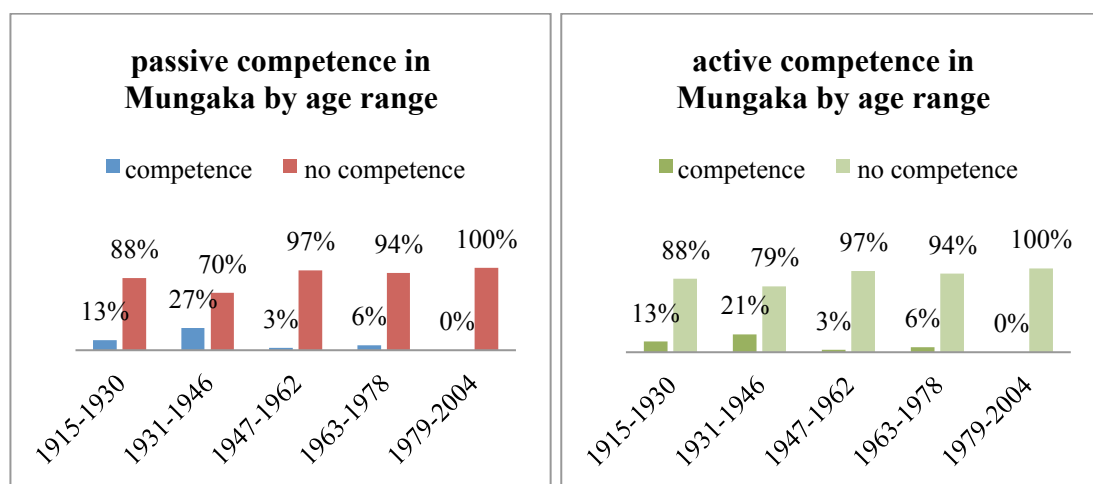
Villages	Abar	Missong	Munken	Koshin	Fang	Mashi	Kung	Mufu	Biya	Buu
Total n°	17	25	17	6	4	4	1	1	5	16
Passive/active	0/0	2/2	5/3	2/2	1/1	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	2/2

Table 23 presents statistics of villages in LF that claim passive and active competence in Mungaka. Not even one person in Abar, Mashi, Kung, Mufu and Biya claimed passive competence in Mungaka. However, all respondents who claimed passive competence also claimed active competence of Mungaka from Missong, Koshin, Fang and Buu villages. Out of 17 sampled in Munken, the 5 (29%); reported passive competence and 3 (18%); reported active competence.

Chart 26: Passive and active competence in Mungaka by village**Table 24** Statistics of passive and active competence in Mungaka by age ranges

Age ranges	1915-1930	1931-1946	1947-1962	1963-1978	1979-2004
Total n°	8	33	34	16	4
Passive/active	1/1	9/7	1/1	1/1	0/0

Table 24 shows the statistics of claimed passive and active competence in Mungaka in LF by age range. The majority of those who claimed passive and active competence fall between the age range 1931 to 1946. Out of the 9 (27%) who reported passive competence, 7 (21%) reported active competence in Mungaka. No respondent in the youngest age range, reported neither passive nor active competence in Mungaka. This seems to suggest that the dynamics of learning this language changed with time in LF with Mungaka no longer being the language of religion but several other local languages. The age ranges: 1915 to 1930, 1947 to 1962 and 1963 to 1978 all had one participant each who reported both passive and active competence in Mungaka.

Chart 26 Statistics of passive and active competence in Mungaka by age ranges

4.7 Targeted factors captured from the study

The nature of the world, Africa, and Cameroon in particular necessitates factors that affect and direct our life styles. We live in a multicultural setting and as such there are many factors that shape our attitudes based on the decisions we make. Language wise, we find ourselves engulfed by so many languages. Whether we disentangle (by knowing other languages) ourselves or not depends largely on the decisions we make under the influence of social factors. This is because social factors influence individual behaviours and help explain why people in certain circumstances decide to speak many languages. Targeted factors in multilingualism are explained in terms of social categories. These targeted factors were grouped into: individual relations, movements, blood relations, in-laws, marriage, perceptions of proximity and structural affinity, religion and education. This section basically answers one of the research questions: what are the factors that account for multilingualism in LF? We decided to include the social factors: religion and education when introducing targeted factors to explain all the lects and languages used in LF.

4.7.1 Individual relations

Individual relations can be defined as the connection between persons. We discovered in our survey that individual relationship is one of the social categories that trigger high rates of multilingualism in LF. The data revealed that people learned languages because they wanted to create and maintain friendly ties. The social aspect of the lives of LF people is explained in terms of the constructed relations the people keep. Respondents in LF said they learned languages because they wanted to communicate with their friends. Some of the variables grouped under individual relations are: friendship, school mates, market.

4.7.2 Movements

Movement (a change in place) is one of the social factors for learning languages. Kashoki (1982) demonstrates that Zambians moved to South Africa (externally) for a better life. Consequently, they learned other languages and returned to Zambia. Some of the variables captured under movement are: movement for trade reasons, movement to visit relatives and friends, movement for medical reasons and movement in search for jobs. This variable seems to be one of the most influential reasons as to why people learn languages (26 % and 25% respectively for passive and active competence explained in terms of movement).

4.7.3 Blood relations

Agnatic or natural relations are said to be relations defined by blood lineage. They can either be parents, grand-parents, aunties, uncles or siblings. Blood relations stood out as one of the social factors that are crucial for multilingualism in LF. The variables considered under this category are: mother, father, grandparents, siblings, cousins, aunts and uncles (cf. table 31)

4.7.4 In-laws

This social variable turned out to be one of the reasons why people in LF learned languages. The data gathered revealed that people in LF learned languages of their in-laws because they wanted to please them and to be fully integrated into their respective families. Put differently speaking and understanding the language of in-laws, is a way strengthening family ties. In-our survey, we considered in-laws as: father in-law, mother in-law, brother in-law, sister in-law and all the possible networks there are to it. It is important to mention that unlike in LF (rural setting), in-laws is not a crucial social variable in urban multilingualism. As Kashoki (1982) demonstrates that in Zambia, a good number of educated families use English at home.

4.7.5 Marriage

Related to the in-law variable is that of marriage variable. As we have already seen above, marriage is one of the potential avenues as to why people in LF are multilingual. By marriage we mean union between two persons who are not bounded or related by blood. The spouses sometimes come from different linguistic backgrounds. Our data revealed that in such cases, spouses (especially female) earn more love if they learn their spouse's language. These cognatic relations remain a favourable tool in accounting for multilingualism.

4.7.6 Proximity vs. Perceptions of Proximity

The notions of 'proximity' and 'perceptions of proximity' are quite similar but at the same time distinct in the world of research. It is important to state here that these two notions were accommodated in this work. 'Proximity' is approached in objective terms; geographical proximity, which is physical closeness to the target language. This areal approach was considered on our sampled languages in order to deal with subgroups of them as opposed to the whole (i.e. too big) sample. 'Perceptions of proximity' by contrast involves thoughts i.e. what people think is close to them may not be physically

true (X may consider Missong to be close to Abar physically but Y rather sees Mufu as close to Abar). These thoughts go beyond actual physical closeness. This phase of proximity captures reasons as to why people in LF learn languages. In order to ensure reliability of results, and to showcase importance of ethnographic methods in a sociolinguistic study like this one should for a fact incorporate local perceptions of the people (perceived proximity) in question and what actually is (objective proximity). Table 25 presents a list of proximal (objective) languages arranged by villages. This table helps distinguish between ‘true physical’ closeness as opposed to ‘perceived closeness’.

Table 25 Proximal (objective) languages arranged by villages

Target language	PROX 1	PROX 2	PROX 3	PROX 4	PROX 5
Abar	Munken	Missong	Ngun	Buu	Kung
Missong	Abar	Munken	Mufu	Mashi	
Munken	Abar	Biya	Missong	Ngun	
Biya	Munken	Ngun	Mekaf		
Fang	Buu	Mashi	Koshin		
Koshin	Mashi	Mundabli	Fang	Mufu	
Buu	Abar	Mashi	Fang	Missong	
Mufu	Missong	Mashi	Mundabli	Koshin	
Mashi	Missong	Mufu	Mundabli	Koshin	Buu
Kung	Ajumbu	Buu	Abar	Ngun	Yemgeh

4.7.7 Structural Similarity vs. Perceived Structural Similarity

Just like ‘proximity’ and ‘perceived proximity’ dichotomy explained above, the concept of ‘perceived structural similarity’ and ‘structural similarity’ also differs to an extent. ‘Structurally affine lects’ is a factor that facilitates language learning processes. Structurally affine lects are lects which are found in the same language cluster (researcher-defined). In other words they are dialects of the same language, therefore genetically related. For instance Munken, Ngun, Biya, Abar and Missong i.e. MUNGBAM are varieties of the same language (scientifically established). Also, this sub categorization we made on our sampled languages in order to deal with subgroups

of them as opposed to the whole (i.e. too big) sample. Unlike ‘structural similarity’, ‘perceived structural similarity’ is explained in terms of thoughts. That is what people of LF consider to be genetically close to their target languages. By considering both structural similarity and perceived structural similarity gives a better picture as to why people in LF are multilingual.

4.7.8 Education

Education is one of the social variables explaining why people learn languages. Education is defined here as instruction and teaching especially of children and young people in schools, universities. Our data shows that (21.3% for passive competence and 20.4% for active competence) people learn languages because of education. Our respondents especially the younger age groups revealed that they learned the English language in school (primary and secondary).

4.7.9 Religion

We found that religion is one of the reasons why people in LF learn languages. Religion is defined as a particular system of belief or worship. The people of LF practise Christianity and their denominations are: Catholics, Presbyterians and a group of Pentecostal churches. In urban centres, Catholics for example worship in English, French and Pidgin English. However, in rural settings the interview revealed that the local languages of the area, PE and rarely in English are the languages of worship. Warnier (1979) in his study revealed that Mungaka in the 19th century was a lingua franca which was used in schools, churches and administrative purposes. However, this is not the case in real time, because after the departure of the Germans (i.e. 1917-1918) Mungaka was gradually disappearing with the coming of the British and French although it long remained the Presbyterians liturgical language.

4.8 Variable correlation

After explaining in some detail the various targeted factors that account for multilingualism in LF, this section shows the relationship between these targeted factors (individual relations, movements, marriage, in-laws, perceptions as similar and proximal) or better still, using targeted factors to capture a language cluster, target proximal languages, all residual lects and languages and all lects and languages.

4.8.1 The MUNGBAM Variety

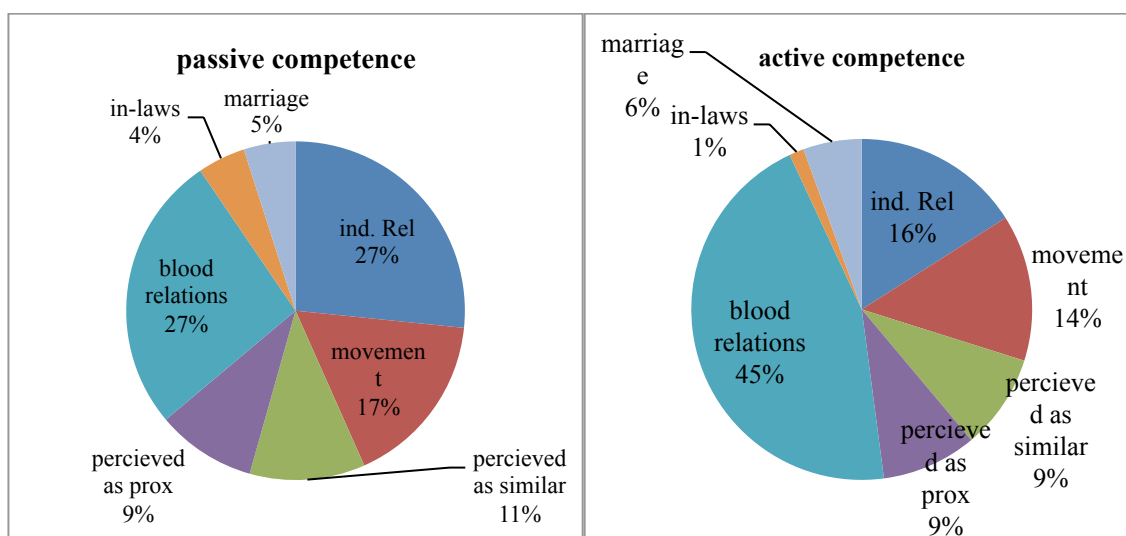
MUNGBAM consists of five speech varieties; Munken, Abar, Missong, Ngun and Biya. Some of the speakers of this variety disagree with Lovegren's manuscript (2010) 6 months research that these speech forms are dialects. These speakers perceive their languages as independent. This is classical with most communities in Cameroon who assert language independence for identity reasons. MUNGBAM is a semi-acronym which is derived from the names of the five villages. Good et al (2011) mentioned that the word 'MUNGBAM' refers to a grass in all the five varieties. Why MUNGBAM? Most of our samples came from MUNGBAM. It is therefore evident that the social factors be used to explain this language cluster so as to give a meaning to the research as patterning to this variable. The result will tell us what factors account for one's multilectal competence.

Table 26 Passive and active competence in MUNGBAM by targeted factors

MUNGBAM VARIETY							
Targeted factors	Individual relations	Movements	Perceived as similar	Perceived as proximal	Blood relations	In-laws	marriage
passive	70	44	29	25	70	12	13
active	23	20	13	13	65	2	8

Table 26 presents a correlation between targeted factors and the language cluster, MUNGBAM. It seeks to explain the MUNGBAM cluster in terms of targeted factors. The targeted factors employed here include: individual relations, movement,

perceptions as similar and proximal, blood relations, marriage and in-laws. Generally, we could immediately assume that people who say they are competent in the MUNGBAM languages can be directly explained by the fact that they are similar. However, in order to get a real picture of local attitudes, we rely on ethnographic data. Thanks to this method employed, it may seem to be that what we think is (thin descriptions) is not what really is (thick descriptions). We see from the table that individuals and blood relations dominate when explaining languages which are similar. Based on the number of languages spoken by each individual, 70 is registered for both blood and individual relations at the passive level while 65; is registered for blood relations at the active level and 23; is registered for individual relations at active level. Also, movement accounts greatly for people learning languages in this category. We notice that based on the number of languages spoken by the individuals, 44; is registered for passive competence and 20; for active competence. Perceptions as similar which is said to be the obvious reason as to why people learn languages in this category rather registers one of the lowest values. 29; is registered for perception as similar at passive level and 25; for perception as proximal at the passive level and 13; is registered for both perception as similar and proximal at the active level. The variables: marriage and in-law are the least captured in this category. The total number based on the number of languages claimed by speakers is explained as such: 12 is registered for in-laws, 13; is registered for marriage at passive level. However, the value 8; is registered for marriage at the active level and 2; for in-laws at active level.

Chart 27 Passive and active competence in MUNGBAM by targeted factors.

4.8.2 Proximity

The sub category proximity (objective) was used to capture targeted factors explained in 4.7. The objective of including perceived proximity as already mentioned is to go beyond thin descriptions. We therefore used targeted factors to capture reasons for learning languages in proximity.

Table 27 Passive and active competence in proximal languages by targeted factors

Targeted factors	Individual relations	Movements	Perceived as similar	Perceived as proximal	Blood relations	In-laws	marriage
Passive	53	66	22	34	114	14	16
active	43	36	14	13	113	5	14

Table 27 presents a correlation between targeted factors and proximal languages. Generally, in line with table 26, we could immediately assume that people who say they are competent in languages can be directly explained by the fact that they are in close proximity with these target languages. Nevertheless, we use targeted factors to explain proximity (sub categorization) in languages. This table shows that blood relations have the highest value when summing total number of languages per respondents. 114; is registered for blood relations at the passive level and 113; at the active level. Also,

movement comes in second position and individual relations in third position when capturing languages learned because of our described proximity. Individual relations register 53 and movement 56; at passive level and 43 and 36; respectively at the active level. More, in terms of perceived proximity, 34 is registered for passive and 13 for active. In line with perceptions as similar, the value 22 is registered for passive competence and 13; active competence. In-laws and marriage are the least in terms of value that capture proximal languages with 14 and 16 respectively for passive competence and 5 and 14; for active competence.

Chart 28 Passive and active competence in proximal languages by targeted factors.

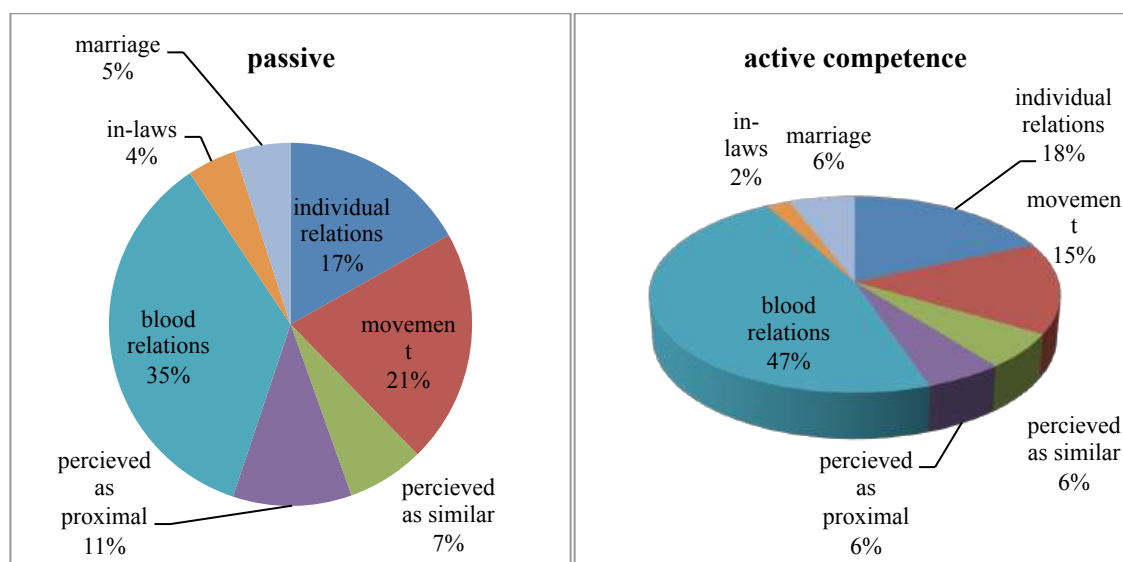


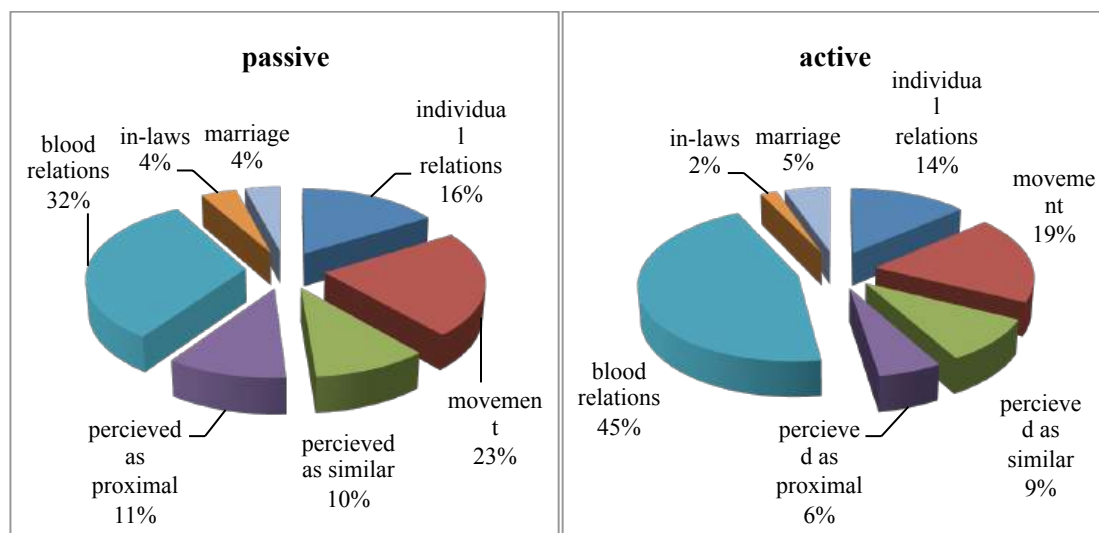
Table 28 Passive and active competence in proximal lects by targeted factors

Targeted factors	Individual relations	Movements	Perceived as similar	Perceived as proximal	Blood relations	In-laws	marriage
Passive	62	86	40	42	125	16	16
active	35	49	25	15	119	5	14

Table 28 shows a number of targeted factors employed in explaining proximal lects. The variable blood relations register the highest value in terms of total number of languages per respondents. It registers 125 for passive competence and 119; for active

competence. Also, movement comes in second position and individual relations in third position when capturing learned because of proximity. Individual relations register 62 and movement 86; at passive level and 35 and 49 respectively at the active level. More, in terms of perceived proximity, 42; is registered for passive and 15 for active. In line with perceptions as similar, the value 40 is registered for passive competence and 25; active competence. In-laws and marriage are the least with the value 16; for passive competence and 5 and 14 respectively; for active competence.

Chart 29 Passive and active competence in proximal lects by targeted factors



4.8.3 Residual Lects and Languages

Analyses of residual lects and languages are employed so as to use targeted factors to capture them. Residual simply means language 'left out' after taking into consideration certain variables. These variables are: proximity and similarity (established by the researcher) languages of trade (Kom and Mmen), religion (Mungaka), presence of lingua franca (PE) and the English language. When all this is taken into consideration, the languages which remain unexplained or not captured by the above mentioned variables are what are known as residual languages.

Table 29 Passive and active competence of residual languages by targeted factors

Targeted factors	Individual relations	Movements	Perceived as similar	Perceived as proximal	Blood relations	In-laws	marriage
passive	99	52	32	9	22	26	15
active	33	32	12	1	19	17	9

Table 29 presents the various targeted factors and values attributed to each variable. These values represent the total number of residual languages as per individual. These targeted factors are used to explain these residual languages. Individual relations are the highest in terms of value when explaining residual languages. Individual relations register 99 at passive level and 33; at active level. Again, movement registers 52; at the passive level and 32; at the active level. Perception as similar comes in third place when capturing residual languages. It register 32; at passive level and 12; at the active level. In-laws register 26; at the passive level and 17; for active competence. For blood relations 22; is the value at passive level and 9; at the level. The least in terms of number are marriage and perceptions as proximal. For marriage, 15 are registered for passive competence and 9; for active competence. In the case of perceptions as proximal, 9 are registered for passive competence and 1; for active competence.

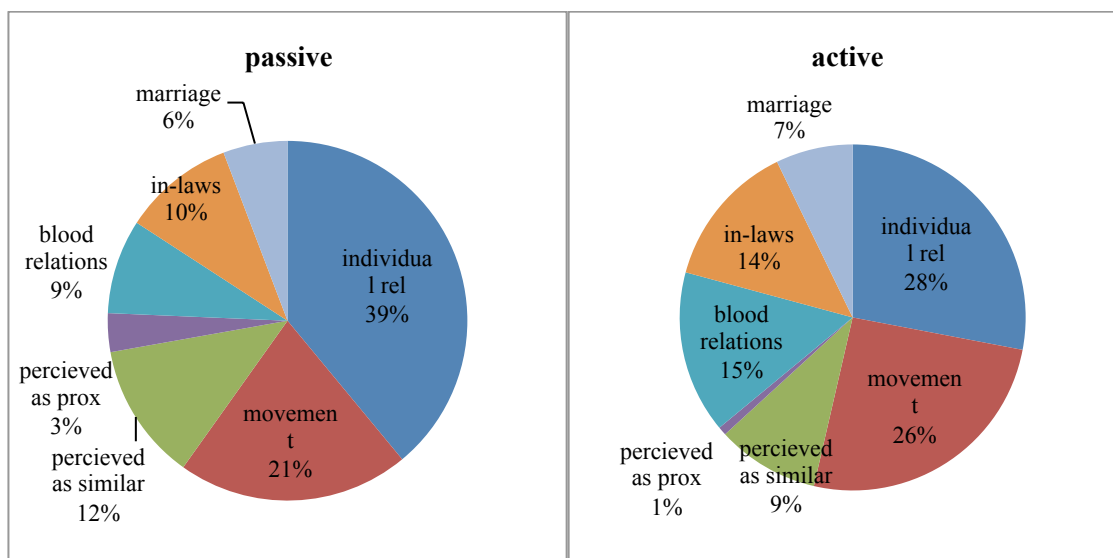
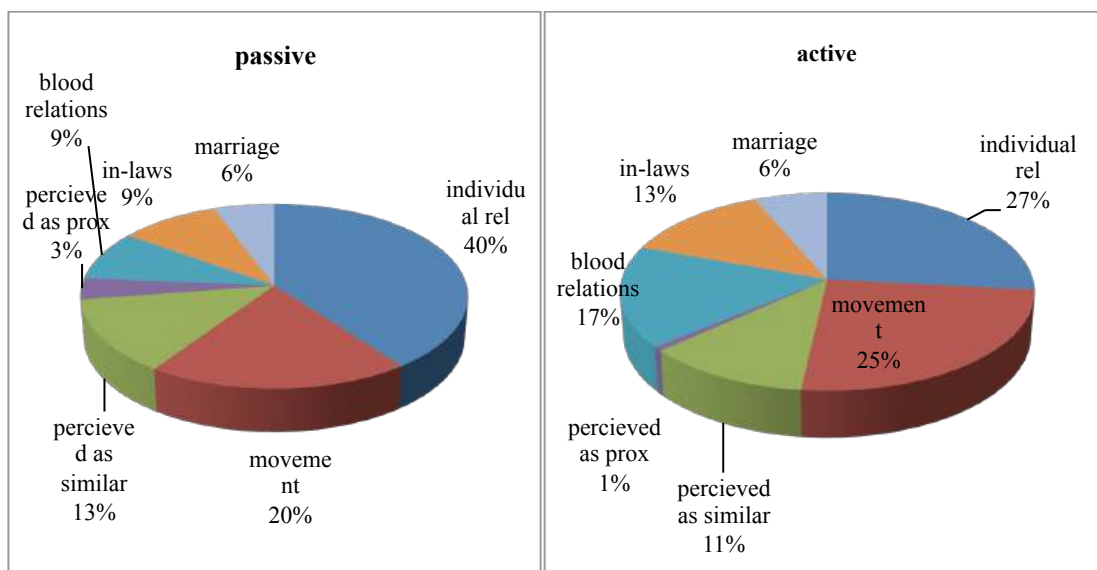
Chart 30 Passive and active competence of residual languages by targeted factors

Table 30 Passive and active competence of residual lects by targeted factors

Targeted factors	Individual relations	Movements	Perceived as similar	Perceived as proximal	Blood relations	In-laws	marriage
Passive	117	59	39	11	26	28	17
active	35	35	16	1	23	18	9

Table 30 presents the various targeted factors and values attributed to each variable. These values represent the total number of residual lects per individual. The table reveals that individual relations are the highest in terms of value explaining residual languages. Individual relations register 117; at passive level and 35; at active level. Again, movement registers 59; at the passive level and 35; at the active level. Perception as similar comes in third position when capturing residual lects. It registers 39; at passive level and 16; at the active level. In-laws register 28; at the passive level of and 18; for the active level. For blood relations, the value 26; is registered at the passive level and 23; at the active level. The least in terms of values are marriage and perceptions as proximal. For marriage, 26; are registered for passive competence and 23; for active competence. In the case of perceptions as proximal, 11; are registered for passive competence and 1; for active competence.

Chart 31 Passive and active competence of residual lects by targeted factors

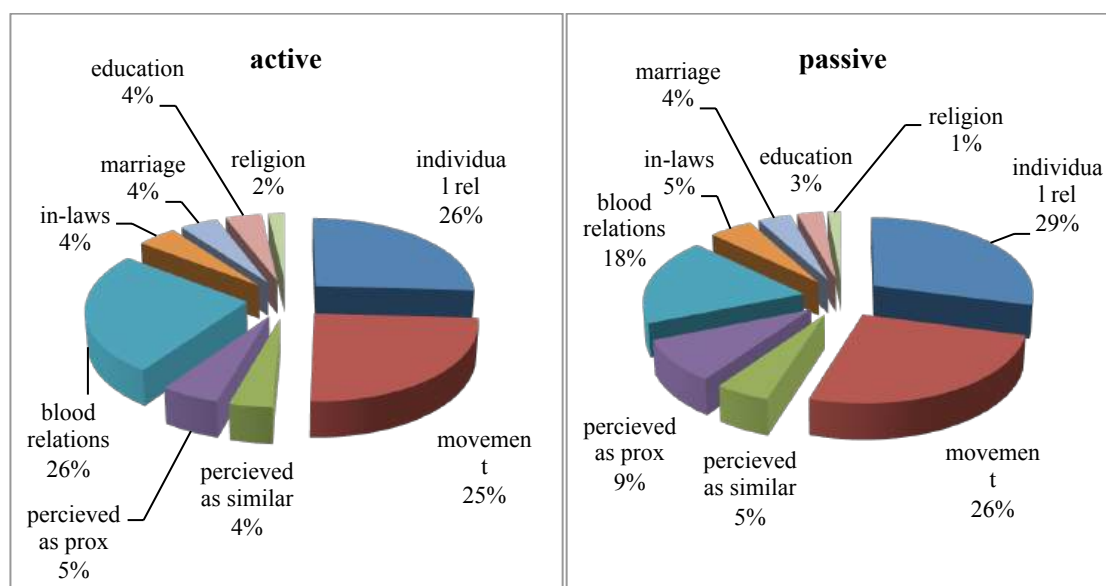
4.8.4 Explaining all the lects and Languages

The objective of this section is to account for reasons for learning all languages and lects by use of targeted factors.

Table 31 Passive and active competence in all languages by targeted factors

Targeted factors	Total number in passive / active competence	Targeted factors	Total number in passive / active competence
Individual relations	208 / 124	In-laws	36 / 22
Movements	187 / 119	Marriage	27 / 21
Perceived as similar	36 / 19	Education	21 / 20
Perceived as proximal	66 / 26	Religion	11 / 9
Blood relations	133 / 125		

Table 31 presents targeted factors that explain why people learn languages in LF. We realize that blood relations seem to be the most obvious reason as to why people learn languages. These values represent the total number of languages for all the respondents. It registers 133; for passive competence and 125; for active competence. Individual relations register 208; for passive competence and 124; for active competence. Movement registers 187; for passive competence and 119; for active competence. Perceived proximity registers 66; for passive competence and 26; for active competence. Perceptions of language as similar and in-laws share the value 36 at the passive level. However, at the level of active competence while perceptions of language as similar register 26; in-laws register 22. The variables of marriage, education and religion are the least captured in terms of values when explaining all languages. Marriage registers the value 27, education; 21 and religion; 11 at the level of passive competence. At the level of active competence, marriage registers 21; education; 20 and religion 9.

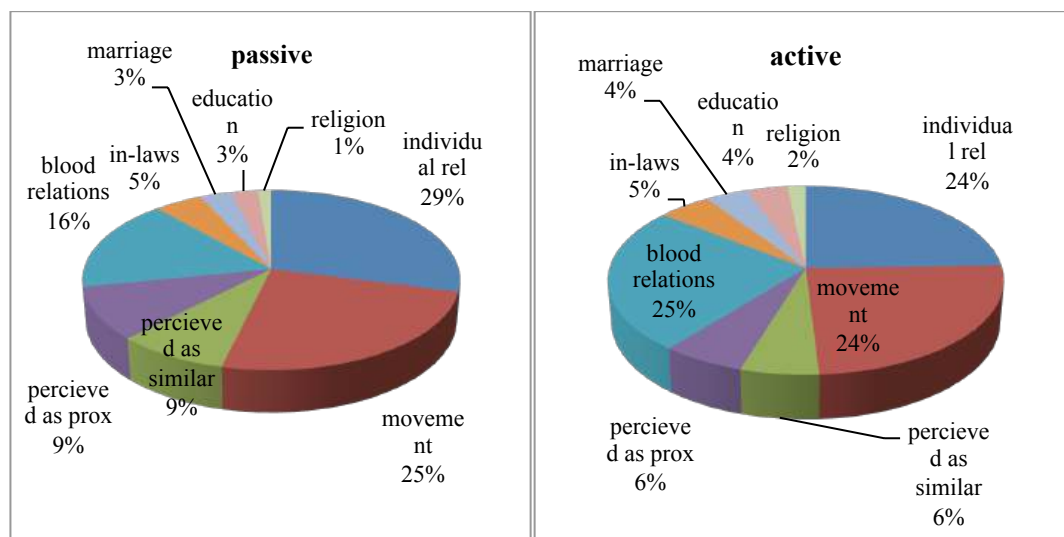
Chart 32 Passive and active competence in all languages by targeted factors**Table 32** Passive and active competence in all lects by targeted factors

Targeted factors	Total number in passive/active competence	Targeted factors	Total number in passive/active competence
Individual relations	244 / 128	In-laws	40 / 26
Movements	211 / 130	Marriage	26 / 21
Perceived as similar	73 / 30	Education	22 / 20
Perceived as proximal	81 / 32	Religion	11 / 9
Blood relations	141 / 132		

Table 32 presents targeted factors that capture why people learn lects. We realize that individual relations seem to be the most obvious reason as to why people learn languages. These values represent the total number of lects for all the respondents. It registers 244; for passive competence and 128; for active competence. Movements register 211; for passive competence and 130; for active competence. Blood relations register 141; for passive competence and 132; for active competence. Perceived proximity registers 81; for passive competence and 32 for active competence. Perceived similarity of lects registers the value 73; at passive level and 30; at active level. In-laws register 40; for passive competence and 26 for active competence. The variables of marriage, education and religion are the least captured in terms of numerals when

explaining the presence of lects. Marriage registers the value 26, education; 21 and religion 11 at the level of passive competence. At the level of active competence, marriage registers 22; education; 20 and religion 9.

Chart 33 Passive and active competence in all lects by targeted factors



4.9 Marriage patterns in LF.

In LF, there are two patterns of marriage; internal and external. In cases where women for example get married outside their village of origin, (virilocal Marriages) they move. By moving they completely change their identities¹⁵. In the case of internal marriages, the women considered themselves as members of new quarters they move into.

Table 33 Statistics of marriage patterns in LF

Married externally	Married internally	Not married
34	60	5

The marriage patterns of LF from this table reveal that 60; marry internally 34; externally and 5; are not married.

Chart 34 patterns of inter-marriage in LF

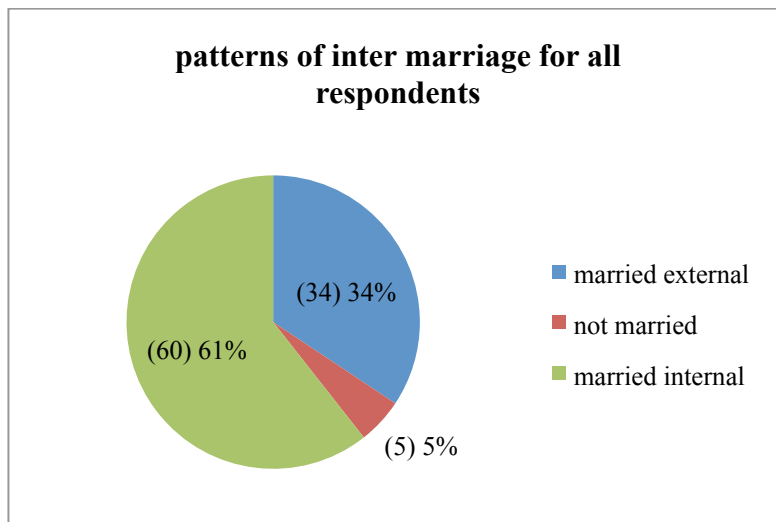
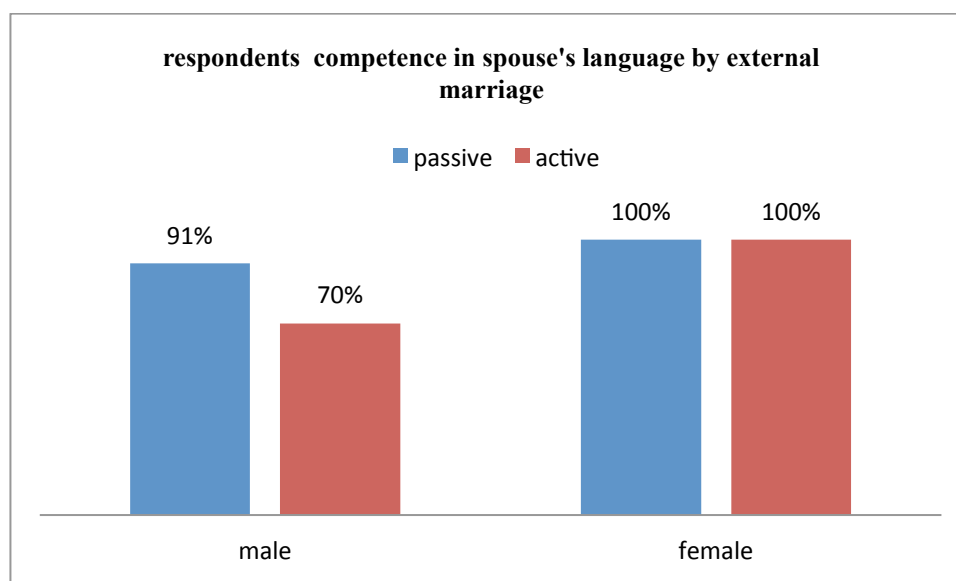


Table 33 and chart 35 reveals patterns of inter marriage in LF. The chart reveals an overlapping number due to the practise of polygamy. Those who practice polygamy may inter marry internally or externally.

Table 34 External patterns of marriage and gender by passive and active competence in spouses' language(s)

Marriage external		
Gender	Male	female
Total n°	23	11
Passive/active	21/16	11/11

Table 34 explains external patterns of marriage in LF. Out of the eleven women who marry externally, all reported passive and active competence in their husbands' languages. Unlike the male, the situation seems to be somewhat different. Looking at the twenty three men in this criteria, two; report no passive competence in their woman's languages while seven; report no active competence.

Chart 35 Respondents competence in spouse's language by external marriage

4.10 Conclusion to Chapter Four

Chapter four has presented the chapter using descriptive statistics (tables and charts (pie, bar and graphs). The presentation has taken into consideration such variables as village representation, age range and gender. The chapter has clearly illustrated the presence of exogenous languages (English, Pidgin English and French) and local languages. The French language was not considered because of its insignificant presence in the area. Besides the above mentioned endogenous languages were also presented and correlated with age, village and gender as social variables with regard to active and passive competences of the these language(s). The chapter introduced and discussed macro sociological obtained from our survey. These factors were used to explain language varieties, proximal languages, residual languages and all other languages. The chapter finally presented and illustrated patterns of inter marriage in LF. The next chapter that follows will analyse the data presented.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

5.1 Introduction to Chapter

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

5.2 Results

Results are the findings gathered from data and analysis. We may want to remind ourselves of the research questions which include: (1) what are the different social motivations that trigger multilingualism in LF? (2) How can patterns of multilingualism and multilingual attitudes be enlightened through ethnographic data? (3) Can one link multilingual practices only to colonial periods? Under the guide of the research questions plus the research problem, (cf. chapter one) data was gathered and analyses carried out. The following results gathered are studies gotten from multilingual studies in LF. The results are stated as follows:

1. There are no monolinguals in LF. Every individual happens to have in his/her linguistic repertoire at the least two languages.
2. There appears to be a significant rate of multilingualism in LF. Our analyses show that people in LF claim to be able to speak 13 languages and understand up to 14 languages. As an average of the whole sample, individuals in LF claim to be multilingual in 5 to 6 languages.

3. Equally, there are significant rates of multilectalism in LF. Analyses reveal that, reportedly, people in LF can understand up to 18 lects and speak up to 17 lects.
4. People in LF aged 83 to 98 years i.e. the oldest sample are not multilingual in PE. This goes further to give insights as to the multilingual nature during pre-colonial times.
5. The study reveals that a majority of the respondents in LF who are competent in Mungaka come from the older group.
6. Sociological factors such as: blood and individual relations account for the most reasons why people learn languages. Other factors that account for these blood relations include: in-laws, perceptions of proximity and similarity, religion, education, marriage and movements. Three underlying reasons why people learn languages are based on the desire to affiliate to a linguistic community, gain favour and intercept evil.
7. Pidgin English registers as the highest language found in the linguistic banks of the respondents of LF both at the level of passive and active competence. A total of 89.47% of the total population sampled attest knowledge in PE, whereby 92% report passive competence and 88% report active competence.
8. The presence of Kom and Mmen. The presence of these languages in the profile of the sampled population of LF, especially of elderly people, reveals the importance these languages used to have in the past for trade reasons.
9. Through the ethnographic approach, we reflect people's thoughts. This is evident from the data collected thus leading to one of the results which are perceived proximity and similarity accounts for one of the reasons why people in LF learn languages. Also, the absence of prestige is revealed in the attitudes of LF people.

10. In LF, men are more multilingual than women.

5.3 Discussions

The aim of this discussion section is to describe and interpret the significance of the researcher's findings.

5.3.1 No Monolinguals in LF

The results state that there are no monolinguals in LF. African communities are hyper significantly diverse in terms languages and cultures. In our rural context especially (extended family), there is always a feeling of affiliating (in terms of language use) more than what it already exists (like in-laws, aunties etc.). More specifically, in rural areas it is a norm for one to acquire first his mother tongue, then a lingua franca and in most cases; a national language giving a total of 2 to 3 languages in an individual's linguistic repertoire. The participants asserted that, they understood and spoke at least two languages (cf. charts 4 and 5). This result is similar to that of Warnier (1979) work in his attempt to reconstruct the patterns of multilingualism of the Grassfields in the 19th century. He stated that multilingualism was a common phenomenon (Warnier 1979:417). This is also evident in the sociolinguistic works of Auer and Li W. (2007:21), Lanza (2007:65) and Garcia et al (2007:207) who support that multilingualism is the norm in Africa. Conciliation of many languages is viewed as tribal tools for communication and as an asset (social wealth) whereby people can use these languages in different social milieux. People acquire more than one language because they see language as 'a resource', whereby; one can tap or benefit either economically (buying at cheaper rates for example), socially (keeping friends, creating social groups to patronise one another) and politically (to gain a position in a secret society or by learning a language they identify themselves with that community,

consequently gaining protection from the highest authority- the chief (see Di Carlo 2013).

5.3.2 High rates of Multilectalism and Multilingualism

Another interesting finding from the study was the high rates of multilingualism and multilectalism. The data revealed that people in LF claim to speak from 2 to 13 languages and from 2 to 14 lects and claim passive competence in 2 to 18 lects and from 2 to 14 languages (cf. charts 4 and 5). This seems to corroborate the high rates of multilingualism noticed by Good et al (2011) and Di Carlo (2011). Similar studies by O'Barr (1979) on multilingualism in rural Tanzanian village of Usangi reveal the presence or use of 8 languages and 9 lects in the area. However, rates of multilingualism as compared to LF are low because there are 30 languages and 42 lects which are heard in LF. We can attribute these high rates in LF, first, by the numerous languages found in the region; 8 languages are spoken in 13 villages. Di Carlo (2011) locates one language in every 32 sq. km. Also, these high rates of multilingualism and multilectalism can be accounted for the fact that early researchers like Nkwi and Warnier (1982:86) mentioned that in the 19th century, the Grassfields region was marked by slave trade, Chamba raids and inter-tribal wars. These insecurities led to rapid movements like Kung and Mashi who happen to have come from outside LF to settle in their present site (Good et al 2011). Di Carlo (2011) in his work further explains patterns of movement of LF societies. The Biya people were considered as "new comers" into LF and were said to have come from present-day Fang area (Di Carlo 2011). By implication, there must have been a sociolinguistic change as the coming to a new site meant bringing other cultures, languages together with them to their present site.

5.3.3 Absence of Prestige

In LF, there are no canonical traces of what have been called “polyglossia scales”, that is the local language repertoires seem not to be organized internally by hierarchical principle (status planning). The main fact indicating this rather unexpected feature (already mentioned in Connell 2009, also focused on the rural area of Cameroon) is the total absence of prestige as a meaningful variable for “ranking” endogenous languages. In urban centres, there is a massive use of exogenous languages from literacy to administrative purposes to the home. It is common for inhabitants to index themselves with these metropolitan languages most of the times because of prestige; to them English marks education. They want to create impressions in friendly milieus and most especially, many prefer to use English even in not so favourable context as a weapon of greatness. This is the reason why Ngefac (2010) noticed in his study that most people prefer to speak in an exonormative languages rather than speaking in the languages that are uprooted in their socio-cultural realities. The wide spread of English, for example, has caused Garcia et al (2007:207) to see English as a threat to multilingualism thus, confirming Mazrui (1975) prediction to an extent that; by the year 2000 there will be more black people having English as their mother tongues than British people. In rural settings like that of LF, prestige is not of principal concern as local languages are used interchangeably in domains like: the home, churches, social gatherings, markets and even schools.

5.3.4 Pidgin English

Furthermore, another interesting finding from the data analysis is the presence of Pidgin English. PE registers the highest value in terms of passive and active competence claimed by the participants. A total of 89.47% of the total population sampled attest knowledge in PE, whereby 92% report passive competence and 88% report active competence. The fact that PE dominates in terms of competence in the language shows

that it has achieved the status of a lingua franca in LF. No doubt that the lingua franca for the English speaking parts of Cameroon is PE. The data also reveals that age plays a significant role in the acquisition of PE. The oldest sample registers the lowest percentage in PE; 14% for passive and 12% for active competence. This only goes to strengthen Ngefac (2010:4) study on choices in post-colonial multilingual Cameroon when he asserts that PE has become the mother tongue of some children. It is more distinct in the other age groups because of sociocultural evolvment; which is further explained in terms of lack of mutual intelligibility among interlocutors and as a result the initiation of PE. The younger groups learned and use PE due to their needs (search for jobs, movement to trade, health reasons and to communicate). However, the 10.53% which captures no competence in PE by the oldest sample can also be explained in terms of historical reasons. During the German colonial era and until the 1950s, Mungaka was said to be the lingua franca of the Bamenda Grassfields as there was no lingua franca in the 19th century (Warnier 1979). Mungaka was at the lime during the German annexation because Bali was accorded paramount authority over other neighbours by the Germans under Zingraff. Our data corroborated this statement as majority who claimed such competence were above 50. What is interesting here is; only a single person in the oldest sample (1915-1930) claimed both passive and active competence in Mungaka despite Warnier's findings of Mungaka as a lingua franca in the 19th century. The reason for this competence was because he moved. The question we can ask is: was Mungaka prominent in LF 80 and beyond years ago? What is certain here is those below 80 and above 50 years learned Mungaka due to their exposure to basic education managed by the Basel mission (i.e. the Presbyterians) who translated the gospel in Mungaka and introduced this language in their liturgy.

5.3.5 Pre-colonial Multilingualism

This work substantiates the claim that, prior to the colonial era, there existed multilingualism in rural Cameroon. Warnier (1979) holds strongly that “there was no lingua franca in the nineteenth century Grassfields. The implication here is that there was a lack of a language of wider communication. Arguably, the people of the Grassfields relied solely on their indigenous languages; the reason why in 1884, Zintgraff, a German explorer came with carriers and interpreters from the coast to the Grassfields (cf. Warnier 1979:124). What is of great interest here is practical multilingualism gained grounds before the wide spread of PE (this is specific to the older category who have no competence in PE but are multilingual in other local languages (see 5.3.4.) however, this finding contrast Ngefacs (2010:5) statement that there was a wide spread of PE for over 500 years. We may be tempted to say that those older samples who claimed multilingualism can be attached to the need to move. Again, trade reasons can give an image of pre-colonial multilingualism. The economy of 18th century to early 19th century was characterised by a system of trade by barter. As such, the older sample for example revealed knowledge of Mmen (a language of trade); all 6 respondents from 1915-1946 claimed both passive and active competence in Mmen. More so, some of our older respondents recounted that their fathers traded with people from Mmen and Kom¹⁶. Also, we can say that because of the insecurities and the geography of the area at the time (see Warnier 1979) the people of the Grassfields relied on internal trade; the reason why most of the respondents learned only languages in their surroundings. The reason of dependability, trade, absence of a lingua franca together with the topography of the area explains why we think pre-colonial multilingualism existed.

5.3.6 Social motivations and constraints for the development of multilingual and multilectal competence

This study shows that the reasons for the high rates in LF include the need to be married, in-laws, educational and religious reasons, blood relations, perceived similarity and proximity and the need to create individual relations. The above factors were deduced thanks to our fine-grained ethnographic data. We did not just pick macro sociological categories at random but embarked with an open mind to gather data. The desires to be married, to move and to trade for example have also been discussed in the works of Warnier (1979: 15), O' Barr (1979:12), Kashoki (1982) and Connell (2009:7). These two factors have accounted for developing multilingual attitudes in past works and therefore similar to this study. However, our ethnographic data revealed that almost all the participants learned languages because of blood relations. This will mean that the drive behind people learning languages is mainly because of natural relations. Although both urban and rural inhabitants are driven by the need to learn their parents' languages, this is maybe more intense and significant in rural areas. Almost every individual interviewed responded that they understand and speak excellently languages from their backgrounds of origin. What is more interesting here is, in rural areas, people even stretch their "boundaries" by learning their grand parents'¹⁷ languages if different.

But these are general considerations. Let us go now in order and targeting our topics more closely. In the following we will be focusing on each sub categorization (MUNGBAM, proximity, residual lects and languages and all lects and languages) using targeted factors to capture why people learn languages in LF as it has been introduced in chapter 4. We will limit our summary and new analyses to lects as results obtained from lects are expected to be of higher significance than those obtained from languages. This can be accounted for by recalling two main facts: (a) our knowledge of the local languages is still limited and, being the drawing of language boundaries

basically a matter of linguistic analysis and comparison, the number of the local languages is likely to change in the future. (b) By contrast, lects reflect the localist sociolinguistic attitude characterizing the language ideology of Lower Fungom (and elsewhere in the Bamenda Grassfields) and, hence, are real entities, at least from the natives' point of view. Again, we handled two variables; blood and individual relations in the four sub categories mentioned below. This is because they are the most distinct factors why people learn languages. However, only one of these factors (blood and individual) was treated in the different categories (proximity, MUNGBAM, residual lects and all lects). The idea here was to explain passive and active competence in lects by gender in the most distinct factor. We discussed one factor each i.e. blood relations for proximity and MUNGBAM and individual relations for residual lects. Nevertheless, these two factors were treated in the last category because we explained all the lects.

5.3.6.1 Proximity

As we have already said, proximity is a relative criterion as it is individual-specific: people living in different villages will have different sets of proximal languages and lects (cf. table 25). Let us recall that targeted factors have been devised to capture the social constraints for the development of multilingual and multilectal competence.

By a quick glance through charts 29 and 30, we notice that learning languages in the proximal sub category of languages and lects is accounted for in most cases by blood relations. This seems to be accounted for by marriage patterns. Ethnographic information reveals to us that there are significant inter-marriage practices in LF. Respondents who developed multilingual competence do so as a consequence of exogamy in a virilocal environment. For example a male respondent from Buu speaks a language or lect (Abar and Missong for example) of proximity because his father (a Buu man) married a woman from Abar and his grand-father (a Buu man) married a woman

from Missong. This peculiarity of language learning is explained by the fact that people in LF learn not only languages which are close to them but, also, by the fact that their blood relations (especially from the maternal side) come from these places. At this point, it will be interesting to see how gender is captured by targeting blood relations and as already mentioned we focus on lects and the most distinct factor.

Chart 36 passive and active competence of PROX lects by gender in blood relations and individual relations. Numbers in brackets show number of lects.

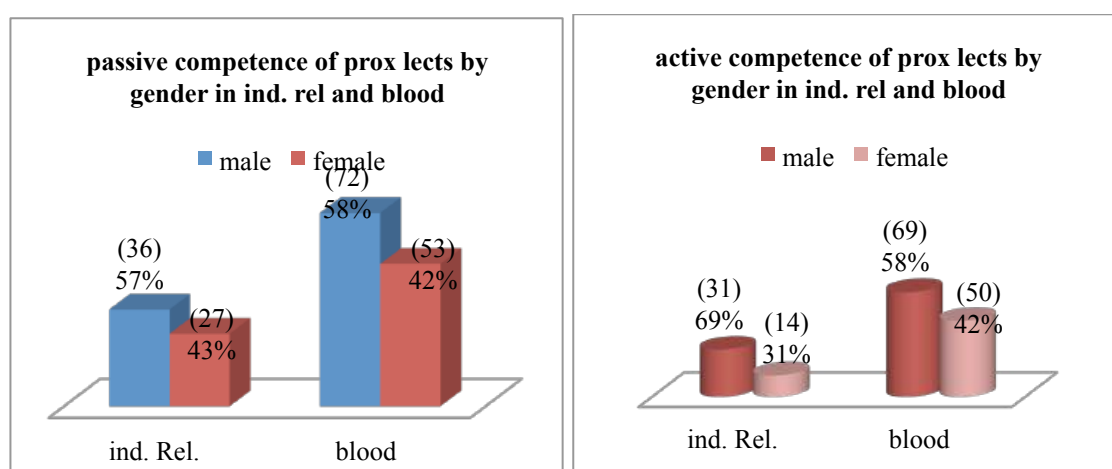


Table 35 Statistical representation of passive and active competence of PROX lects by gender in blood relations.

Passive	Ind. Rel.	Blood	Active	Ind. Rel.	blood
women	20	38	women	11	38

Table 35 presents a statistical representation of passive and active competence of proximal lects by gender in blood and individual relations. The values on the tables represent the total number of male and female individuals who claimed passive and active competence in proximal lects identifying blood relations as the main factor. Chart 37 displays the number of lects in brackets and their percentages that follow. The aim of this chart and table is to verify how many women or men claimed competence in lects spoken in neighbouring villages (i.e. villages sharing boundary with their own

village of residence) because of blood relations. We recall that the sample is biased towards men; whenever we look at these charts in the following sections we should remember that there are 40 females and 55 males. The proportion is 1.375 when we divide 55 from 40, making an estimate for every 1 woman there is 1.375 men. When we look at our charts we realize that male have slightly higher values and percentages than female because of the bias. As a consequence, there is a near balance between the two genders, thus suggesting that genders do not behave differently at this level.

5.3.6.2 MUNGBAM

Once we established similarity as a criterion to select our basis of data, we looked at factors to account for the values we will uncover in our data. MUNGBAM sample was x-rayed because of the larger number of individuals speaking a MUNGBAM variety present in our sample.

Again, chart 28 reveals that learning languages in the sub category of MUNGBAM of lects is accounted for in most cases by blood relations. This can be accounted for by marriage patterns. Our ethnographic data gives us insights as to marriage practices in LF in this case people marry in and out of the village. Just as with the proximal category, similarity in lects reveal respondents who developed multilingual competence do so as a consequence of exogamy in a virilocal environment. For example a female respondent married to a Munken man and father comes from Munken, speaks Biya, Ngun or Abar varieties of the same language because her father (a Munken man) married a woman from Abar and her grand-father (A Munken man) married a woman from Biya. This peculiarity of language learning is explained by the fact that people in LF learn not only lects which are similar to theirs but, also, by the fact that their blood relations (maternal line) come from the same language cluster. We also try to find out if

gender is a suitable variable in showing if male or female account more for multilectal competence in targeted factors by similarity.

Chart 37 passive and active competence of MUNGBAM by gender in blood and individual relations. Numbers in brackets show number of lects

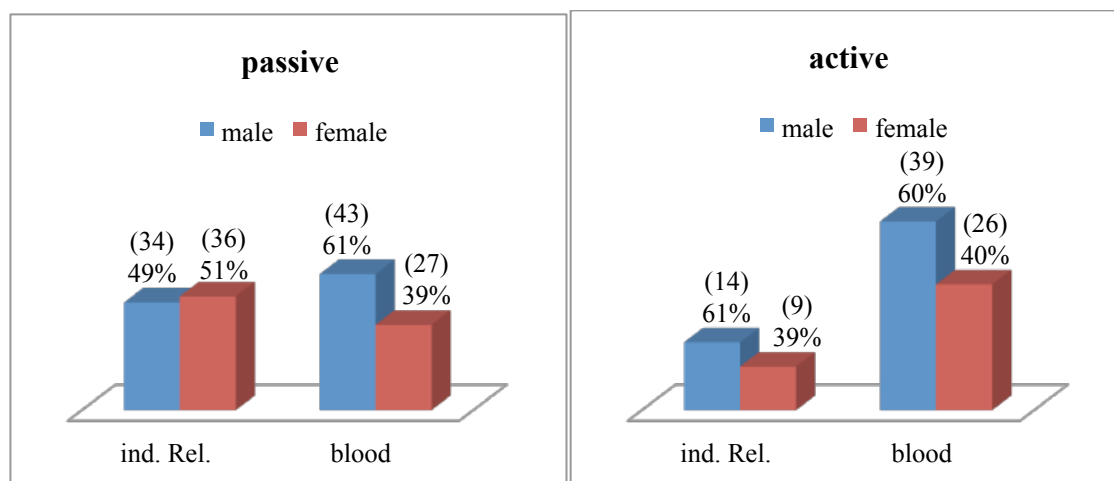


Table 36 Statistical representation of passive and active competence of MUNGBAM by gender and blood relations.

Passive	Ind. Rel.	Blood	Active	Ind. Rel.	blood
men	19	36	men	13	35
women	14	21	women	7	20

Table 36 presents a statistical representation of passive and active competence of MUNGBAM by gender in blood relations. The values on the tables represent the total number of male and female who claimed passive and active competence in individual and blood relations and chart 38 shows the number of lects in brackets and their percentages that follow. The aim of this chart and table is to see how many women or men claimed competence in blood relations because similarity. Just as proximity, there is a near balance between the two genders thus, suggesting that genders do not behave differently at this level.

5.3.6.3 Residual lects

One of our methodological procedures was to sub categorize residual lects and languages as one of the variables used in capturing targeted factors that explained why people had multilingual and multilectal competence. As we already mentioned, we isolated residual languages and lects by including variables such proximity, structural affinity, presence of English (education), PE (lingua franca), Kom and Mmen (trade languages) and Mungaka (religion) in order to capture reasons why people learn lects. As a consequence, all other languages and lects left unexplained were then residual.

Chart 32 reveals another distinct factor among other targeted factors; which are individual relations. We notice that there is a difference in charts 37 and 38 from the present chart (39). In the later charts, blood relations are the most distinct factor captured contrary to the former chart that captures individual relations. Our ethnographic information reveals the supra sociable nature of the people. The respondents revealed that they learned lects either because of friendship with members of different linguistic communities outside LF, in school with their classmates and at the market place. Respondents told us that they learned these lects because they wanted to keep and maintain friendly ties and to market their goods with ease and buy at cheaper rates. We can say that people learn lects because of individual relations and these lects are situated outside LF. We will want to further investigate if gender is a suitable variable for capturing individual relations as a factor that says why people learn lects in LF.

Chart 38 passive and active competence of residual lects by gender in individual and blood relations. Numbers in brackets show number of lects

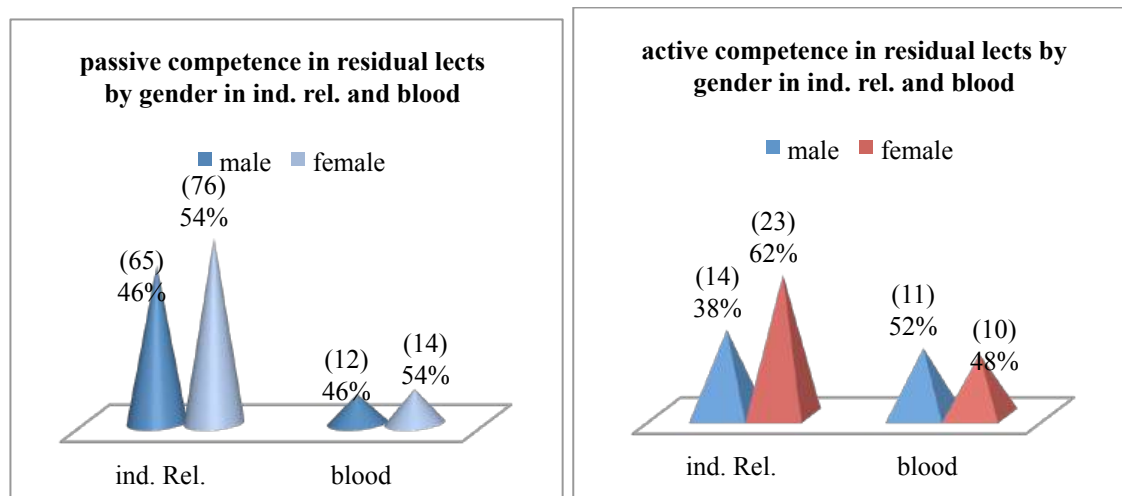


Table 37 Statistical representation of passive and active competence of residual lects by gender in individual and blood relations.

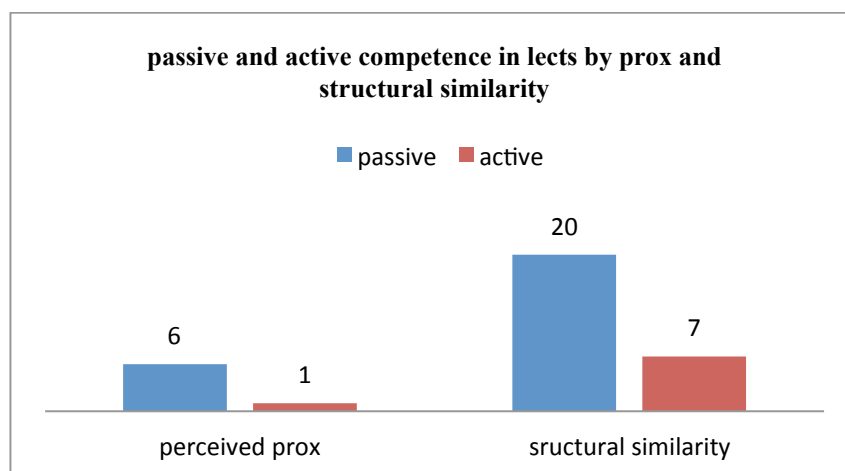
Passive	Ind. Rel.	Blood	Active	Ind. Rel.	blood
men	34	11	men	13	9
women	22	9	women	14	9

Table 37 presents a statistical representation of passive and active competence of residual lects by gender in individual and blood relations though focus is on the former. The values on the tables represent the total number of male and female who claimed that they learned a given lect, passively or actively, because of individual relations. Chart 39 displays the number of lects in brackets and their percentages that follow. The aim of this chart and table is to see how many women or men claimed competence because of individual relations. More, women generally have higher degrees of passive competence in lects than men at individual levels. We may attribute lects learning to women because of their friendly nature. However, when we look through charts 28 to 31, we notice men are generally more competent at active levels. We may attribute male active competence to the social constraints. Women are less exposed to develop their

passive competence to active competence due to house hold activities (laundry, cooking) and child bearing etc.

To add to this, our methodology of including residual lects to capture targeted factors to explain multilectal competence was implemented by identifying our respondent's main linguistic identity to capture other variables. We considered variables such as: the presence of English, Kom, Mmen, Mungaka, proximity and structural affinity (cf. chapter 3 for more). This method therefore favoured more of individual relations as the most reasons why people learn lects. However, ethnographic importance is highlighted as the importance of interpreting or looking deeply into understanding the ideologies of the people and cultures in general is revealed. Chart 40 presents perceived proximity and similarity as opposed to objective proximity and researcher-defined similarity.

Chart 39 Passive and active competence in lects by perceived proximity and similarity.



We see from the chart that although proximity and structural affinity was already introduced in the residual category, 6 and 1 respondent still claimed passive and active competence for perceived proximity and 20 and 7 for structural similarity.

5.3.6.4 All lects

As a final count, we considered all the lects represented in our sample and tried to account for the reported competence according to the different factors.

Chart 34 reveals all the targeted factors that account for developing multilingual and multilectal competences in LF. Individual and blood relations stand out as the reasons for these competences to develop. We included gender to see if it was suitable variable in showing if male or female account more for multilectal competence by all lects. More, we included both blood relations and individual relations by gender in explaining multilectal competence. As we have read before, only one factor each was discussed for 'the sub categories of proximity, MUNGBAM and residual lects by gender. However, since we are accounting for all lects by gender we will introduce the two factors; blood and individual relations.

Chart 40 passive and active competence of all lects by gender in individual and blood relations. Numbers in brackets show number of lects

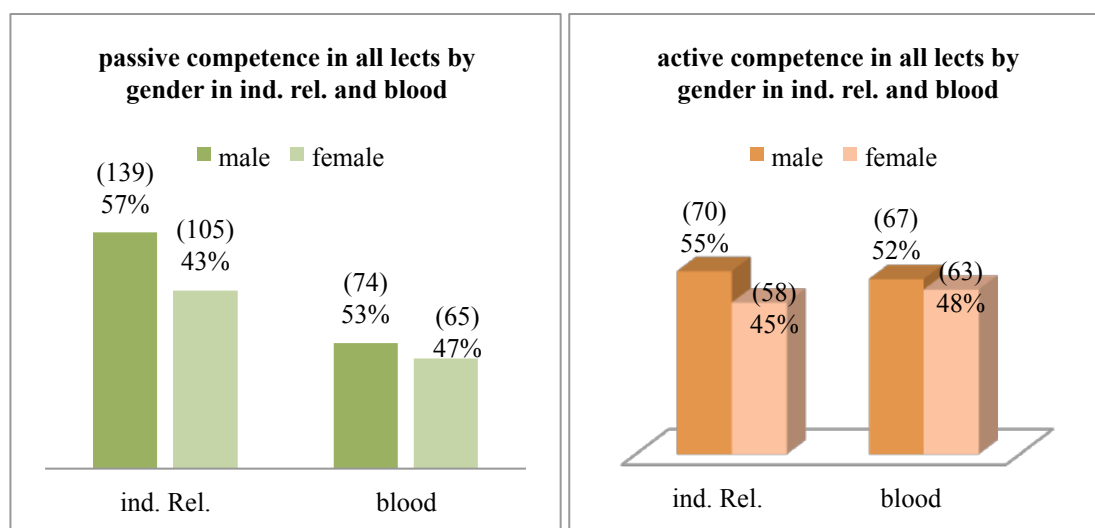


Table 38 Statistical representation of passive and active competence of all lects by gender in individual and blood relations.

Passive	Ind. Rel.	Blood	Active	Ind. Rel.	blood
men	48	53	men	43	54
women	39	35	women	36	36

This chart (41) represents passive and active competence of all lects by gender in individual and blood relations. This insignificant disparities make gender a non distinctive feature that captures targeted factors by all lects. Nevertheless, chart 34 illustrates all targeted factors that account for multilectal competence in LF.

5.3.7 Multilingual Men

Male individuals turn to dominate women based on the number of languages and lects they are competent in. Charts 6, 7, 8 and 9 reveal this aspect of male dominance. One of the reasons for male domination in multilingualism is due to movement and individual relations (languages outside LF are learned). Most of our male sample attested to their learning of languages because of movement in order to trade or in search for jobs. They also moved due to friendship relations either for traditional ceremonies, birth or death ceremonies. They even showed proof of friendship by naming their children after friends. One of our respondents confirmed this when he told us he named his son after a merchant from the Northern parts of Nigeria who was a friend of his. He explained that he learned Hausa because of the friendship he had with his merchant friend. Our results show that these two factors account greatly for why people learn languages (cf. charts 31, 32, 33 and 34). O'Barr (1979:292) also noticed male multilingual dominance over women when he attributes this dominance to the fact that men move in order to find jobs. Another reason for male domination in multilingualism in LF is because of education. Generally speaking, education in rural Cameroon has a different mirror to that of the urban areas. In these local areas, people thought and still think schooling is for the male child. Some of the factors behind the gender inequality in education include negative cultural values, attitudes and practices that foster teenage pregnancy, early marriage, sexual harassment, excessive domestic chores and the disregard of the importance of girls' education (Mlama 2005). One supposes that the gender-based

constraints to education tend to be more pronounced in rural areas due to the fact that the environment is normally more accommodative of gender inequality. In rural areas generally, there is more focus on strict adherence to traditional cultural values, attitudes and practices (Mlama 2005). As such practices detrimental to girls' education such as early marriage, abduction, genital mutilation, sexual violence, excessive domestic chores, male superiority and domination of women are tolerated and encouraged by the community (Mlama 2005). Although this research did not focus on collecting data in educational practices, we however, uncovered that one of the causes of male dominance over women in multilingual practices is the absence of education. This is confirmed in this work when most of the females responded that they did not know English because they rather marry early and as a consequence could not go to school¹⁸. This gender bias on girl child education is still practised in LF; one of the male respondents said he learned the language from his son who is schooling in Wum and his daughters are with him in the village helping out with farm work. This corroborates the fact that in rural areas like LF people at the time did not go to school; rather, they were involved in trade, farming and other kind of physical labour. Those who claimed passive and active competence all live in Wum, which is a growing urban area as it is the capital of Menchum Division. It can be regarded as a semi-rural area and, as a result, the ideology towards education is somewhat different from those in pure-rural areas. It is clear that not all husbands ignore their wives languages. In the survey, it was realized that many men also deem it necessary to speak their spouse's language, even just for being able to talk with their mother and father in-laws. Movements are attributed mostly to men in LF as they moved to the coast to work on plantations and as such learned languages. This finding is similar to that of O' Barr (1971:5). Movements in search of jobs, education

and learning of wife(s) language(s) are the reasons that account for male dominance in terms of multilingualism to women.

5.3.8 Marriage patterns and gender-based difference

Our studies on multilingualism revealed that the people of LF practice inter-marriages. This is noticed on chart 33 where-in 34% of the sample marry outside their villages and 61% marry in their villages. However, 5% do not marry at all. It is common to find these patterns of marriages in Cameroon; nevertheless, what is unique in rural areas, specifically LF is that all children from dual linguistic backgrounds are 99% of the times competent in the two languages, therefore, those who marry externally are two times richer linguistically, economically and socially. In all the cases who were interviewed all responded at least passive competence in their parent's languages. This is uncommon in urban settings; usually what obtains in the home of multicultural parents is usage of a national language (English or French) or the lingua franca (PE). This feature has also been mentioned in the works of (Mazrui 1975, Ngefac 2010). Further, what we notice in chart 36 is an issue of gender-based difference. We see that all the female who marry externally are 100% competent in their husband's languages whereas it is not the case for men. In the case of men, 91% are passive and 70% active in the spouse's primary language. We may describe this bias in learning their spouse's languages on the part of men as 'show off of male dominance'. Most importantly, the social norm requires that women not only move but, also, learn the language of their husbands. For example when an Abar woman (Abar-paternal affiliation) gets married to a Missong man (Missong-husbands affiliation) she not only speaks the language of her husband but accepts the members of the community and equally expects recognition from the members of the Missong community. However, she does not completely disregard her paternal affiliation but prefers to be seen as a person from Missong.

Women by default are more exposed to passive and active competence in husband's language because they move from the paternal home to the husband's (virilocality). The data reveals men as more multilingual than women ironically some of the men do not have their spouse's language in their language repertoires.

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Appendix one: Questionnaire

Researcher

Date

Audio files

Village

Quarter

Personal Details

Paternal name

Maternal name

Other names

Gender

Date of birth

Occupation

Paternal affiliation

Maternal affiliation

Spouses' provenance

Spouses languages

Fathers' provenance

Fathers' languages

Mothers' provenance

Mothers' languages

Children's languages

Known languages

Date..... Village.....

Consultant's paternal name.....

Language name

Degree of competence

1= hears a bit; 2= hears but no talk; 3= talks a bit, 4= fluent; 5= native

Language sheet village..... consultant's paternal
name.....

Language name

Where did you learn it?

Where did you use it?

What are the advantages from knowing this language?

Any special occasions in which you use it? (e.g. prayers, songs, invocations)

Language name

Where did you learn it?

Where did you use it?

What are the advantages from knowing this language?

Any special occasions in which you use it? (e.g. prayers, songs, invocations)

Language name

Where did you learn it?

Where did you use it?

What are the advantages from knowing this language?

Any special occasions in which you use it? (e.g. prayers, songs, invocations)

Notes

¹ Individual multilingualism here means, one individual speaking several languages as opposed to one community with many languages. Societal multilingualism simply put is the understanding of a community as multilingual (explained by the presence of languages) regardless of how effective it is (individuals in this community using this language).

² The project is a major documentation project on endangered languages; sponsored by Endangered Language Documentation Program (ELDP). This research work is one of many postgraduate research works sponsored by funds from this grant. This was an INDIVIDUAL POST DOCTORAL FELLOWSHIP grant, headed by Pierpaolo Di Carlo.

³ Good et al (2011) suspects Buu and Misong both varieties of MUNGBAM and JI respectively, as separate from the other language clusters. Rebecca Voll (personal communication 28th February, 2013) confirms Good et al conjecture about Buu. Doriane Ngako (MA student of the University of Yaounde I) has also provided evidence to the effect that Buu is a separate language from the JI group. The Misong variety has not been adequately studied to establish its status.

⁴ This will mean that the people of LF literarily see English as an unfriendly language. This will probably mean that the view of this language will be linked to the colonial era of great control, domination and marginalisation. Hence the parent will use it as a mark of control when he wants to rebuke his child.

⁵ These terms are underlying explained in terms of migrations. The 19th century was characterised by numerous movements as this was the case of the Grassfields (see Warnier 1984:399). The terms ‘first comers’ (the earlier occupants of a given territory), ‘new comers’ (newly arrived settlers when considering the presence of already a settled people, in this case first comers) and ‘antagonistic new comers’ (opposition/hostile to be incorporated into first comers group of interest) are evident in LF history (see Di Carlo 2012).

⁶ The villages of Kung and Naki are the only two explained in terms of movements from one place to the other in the Grassfields.

⁷ Personal communication with Rebecca Voll, PhD student in the University of Leiden (28.02.2013)

⁸ Doriane Ngako an MA student at the University of Yaoundé I has elaborately worked on the Buu language thus seeing it as distinct from Mufu and Mundabli.

⁹ MUNGBAM is an acronym gotten from the initial letters of each village. It was created by Lovegren (PhD student at the University at Buffalo) who carried out descriptive analysis of some languages in LF. This acronym refers to the villages of Misong, Ngun, Biya, Abar and Munken. It was further used in the work of (Good et al 2011).

¹⁰ The appellation JI refers to Mufu and Mundabli varieties, which was created by (Good et al 2011). This is accounted for lexically in that each of the villages mentioned above have the root word for ‘dog’ as ‘ji’ which is otherwise is not found in the region.

¹¹ Vernacular is a speakers first acquired and most automatic hence, naturally systematic linguistic production (Labov (1972b) cited in Eckert (2012)).

¹² In one of the interviews a man from Buu village, I will say almost sounding boastful told me that he learned the Abar language so as to be identified as an Abar man. Also crucial is when he mentioned by learning this language he could attend secret society

meetings. This supports McIntosh's (2005) description of language as an instrument of power and potency.

¹³ The project is a major documentation project on endangered languages; sponsored by the Endangered Language Documentation Program (ELDP). It is headed by Jeff Good and Pierpaolo Di Carlo. I was opportune to benefit from this sponsorship and during the field work; I collected data for my thesis alongside data for the major documentation project.

¹⁴ Many thanks to Wandum Hubert (excel tutor) for giving me lessons in excel to enable me go through this work.

¹⁵ In the data collected, almost all the women admitted that they completely assume the identities of their husband's villages after marriage.

¹⁶ Some of the older samples of LF told us that their fathers use to go to Mmen and Kom to buy oil and meat in exchange for food items like corn and beans. They explained further that their parents spoke in these languages so as to gain favour that is why some of them continued with the practices of their parents.

¹⁷ The learning of Grandparent's languages is explained in cases where the paternal grandfather's language does not coincide with grandmothers' language. In order to please both grandparents the child learns both languages.

¹⁸ Women in LF told out rightly said they could not understand English; worst still speak because their parents sent only the male children to school and they were sent into marriage.