

Language ideologies in contexts of small-scale multilingualism: Repertoires, language attitudes and use in Lower Fungom (Cameroon)

By

Angiachi Demetris Esene Agwara

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Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Gabriele Sommer

Mentor: Dr. Pierpaolo Di Carlo

Mentor: PD. Dr. Anchimbe Eric

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Dedication and Acknowledgements

Dedication

To my parents: Agwara Godfred Esene and Anyangwe Regina Anwi for their selfless support.

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Abstract

The present sociolinguistic study focuses on language ideologies, which are any set of beliefs about language and social relationships. It investigates how language ideologies shape repertoires, language attitudes, and language use in the Lower Fungom area, said to be a context of small-scale multilingualism in Northwest Cameroon. Moreover, the vast majority of studies conducted in urban spaces and outside Africa obscures a fuller understanding of sociolinguistic dynamics in rural areas that also enjoy considerable linguistic diversity and individual multilingualism. For instance, there is a lack of prominence concerning more rural-oriented research methods and data types, particularly in the adaptation of sociolinguistic tools, such as questionnaires and the matched-guise test to match locale-specific situations and meanings. Finally, issues relating to individual multilingual repertoires, language attitudes and language use have been explored independently in individual studies in past research on African settings, but none of them has tried to take the results obtained at one level of analysis to illuminate all other levels.

This work used multiple research tools to gather data from Lower Fungom in 2012, 2017 and 2019, namely, questionnaires, the matched-guise test, sociolinguistic documentation, and participant observation. The data sets obtained were all informed by the adoption of an ethnographic approach in Lower Fungom. The study population came from the 13 villages (i.e., Munken, Missong, Abar, Ngun, Biya, Mufu, Mundabli, Buu, Kung, Ajumbu, Fang, Koshin and Mashi) of Lower Fungom. Out of the 174 multilingual individuals who responded to the ethnographic inquiries, 31 Missong residents were tested for their attitudes towards languages (i.e., the Missong, Munken and Ngun language cluster and Mashi) using a culturally adapted matched-guise test. The choice of Missong was because of its unique internal cultural distinctions as opposed to Munken and Ngun. Furthermore, 35 Lower Fungom members were documented interacting in the market.

The study showed that language ideologies constitute an integral part of sociolinguistic behaviours, i.e., repertoires, language attitudes and language use of Lower Fungom inhabitants, which was uncovered thanks to an ethnographic approach. The self-reports about multilingualism gathered from multilingual individuals through ethnographic questionnaires indicate that multilingual repertoires are developed far away from diglossic models and dwell more on the multilingual speaker's relationship with others. For language attitudes, unlike what is found in the literature,

the main factors shaping Missong speakers' language attitudes are not stereotypical categorizations but, rather, considerations of relational qualities that capture locally salient features. I concluded that code choice during transactional interactions makes up an essential element of the linguistic practices of Lower Fungom multilinguals. Moreover, code choices are deliberate actions to index ideological associations to the local codes. These choices are associated with village affiliations for economic favours during market transactions and doing this without compromising one's face or a relationship. Furthermore, to signal neutrality and conceal belonging to one of the villages in this multilingual context, interactants often use Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE). This Pidgin further serves as an emergency language to break communication barriers.

This study adds to the literature on Lower Fungom identified as an area where small-scale multilingualism is practised. Furthermore, it questions the validity of existing scholarly discourses, especially on using research tools weighted with diglossic frameworks in investigating people's multilingual repertoires, language attitudes, and language use. This work, hopefully, proposes other ways of designing research tools that allow one to capture the realities of an existing context as the locals see them.

Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende soziolinguistische Studie konzentriert sich auf sprachliche Ideologien, also auf jegliche Art von Überzeugungen über Sprache und soziale Beziehungen. Sie untersucht, wie Sprachideologien Repertoires, Spracheinstellungen und Sprachgebrauch in der Region Lower Fungom formen, einem Gebiet mit kleinräumiger Mehrsprachigkeit in Nordwest-Kamerun. Es ist anzumerken, dass die überwiegende Mehrheit der Studien, die in städtischen Gebieten durchgeführt wurden, ein umfassenderes Verständnis der soziolinguistischen Dynamik in ländlichen Gebieten verdeckt, die ebenfalls eine beträchtliche sprachliche Vielfalt und individuelle Mehrsprachigkeit aufweisen können. So mangelt es beispielsweise an einer stärkeren Berücksichtigung von eher ländlich orientierten Forschungsmethoden und Datentypen, was sich insbesondere in der Anpassung soziolinguistischer Instrumente wie Fragebögen und dem Matched-Guise-Test an lokalspezifische Situationen und Bedeutungen zeigt. Schließlich sind Fragen zu individuellen mehrsprachigen Repertoires und sprachlichen Einstellungen unabhängig voneinander in einzelnen Studien untersucht worden, aber keine von ihnen hat versucht, die auf einer Analyseebene gewonnenen Ergebnisse zur Beleuchtung aller anderen Ebenen zu nutzen.

In dieser Arbeit wurden mehrere Forschungsinstrumente verwendet, um Daten aus Lower Fungom in den Jahren 2012, 2017 und 2019 zu sammeln, nämlich Fragebögen, der Matched-Guise-Test, soziolinguistische Dokumentation und teilnehmende Beobachtung. Die gewonnenen Datensätze waren alle durch die Anwendung eines ethnographischen Ansatzes in Lower Fungom geprägt. Die Studienpopulation kam aus den 13 Dörfern (d.h. Munken, Missong, Abar, Ngun, Biya, Mufu, Mundabli, Buu, Kung, Ajumbu, Fang, Koshin und Mashi) von Lower Fungom. Von den 174 mehrsprachigen Personen, die auf die ethnographischen Erhebungen geantwortet haben, wurden 31 Missong-Bewohner mit einem kulturell angepassten Matched-Guise-Test auf ihre Einstellung zu Sprachen (d.h. zu den Sprachclustern Missong, Munken und Ngun sowie Mashi) getestet. Die Wahl von Missong erfolgte aufgrund seiner einzigartigen internen kulturellen Besonderheiten im Gegensatz zu Munken und Ngun. Außerdem wurden 35 Mitglieder aus der Lower Fungom bei der Interaktion auf dem Markt dokumentiert.

Die Studie fand heraus, dass Sprachideologien einen integralen Bestandteil des soziolinguistischen Verhaltens, d.h. des Repertoires, der Spracheinstellungen und des Sprachgebrauchs der Bewohner der Lower Fungom Region darstellen. Dies wurde dank der Verwendung eines ethnographischen

Ansatzes weiter abgeleitet. Die Selbstberichte über Mehrsprachigkeit, die mit Hilfe ethnographischer Fragebögen von mehrsprachigen Individuen gesammelt wurden, zeigen deutlich, dass mehrsprachige Repertoires weit entfernt von diglossischen Modellen entwickelt werden und sich mehr auf die Beziehung der mehrsprachigen Sprecherinnen zu anderen konzentrieren. Was die Spracheinstellungen betrifft, so sind die Hauptfaktoren, die die Spracheinstellungen von Missong-Sprechern prägen, im Gegensatz zu dem, was in der Literatur zu finden ist, nicht stereotype Kategorisierungen, sondern vielmehr Überlegungen zu relationalen Qualitäten, die lokal-saliente Merkmale erfassen. Ich bin zu dem Schluss gekommen, dass die Codewahl während transaktionaler Interaktionen ein wesentliches Element der sprachlichen Praktiken von Lower Fungom-Mehrsprachlerinnen darstellt. Darüber hinaus sind Code-Wahlen bewusste Handlungen, die durchgeführt werden, um ideologische Assoziationen zu den lokalen Codes zu indizieren – die Wahl wird mit Dorfzugehörigkeiten in Verbindung gebracht –, um bei Markttransaktionen wirtschaftliche Vorteile zu erhalten. Um Neutralität zu signalisieren und die Zugehörigkeit zu einem der Dörfer in diesem mehrsprachigen Kontext zu verbergen, verwenden die Interaktinnen außerdem häufig das Cameroonian English Pidgin (CPE). Dieses Pidgin dient weiterhin als “Notfallsprache”, um Kommunikationsbarrieren zu durchbrechen.

Diese Studie ergänzt die Literatur über Lower Fungom, das als ein Gebiet identifiziert wurde, in dem Mehrsprachigkeit in kleinem Maßstab praktiziert wird. Darüber hinaus stellt sie die Gültigkeit bestehender wissenschaftlicher Diskurse in Frage, insbesondere die Verwendung von Forschungsinstrumenten, die mit diglossischem Rahmen gewichtet sind, um das mehrsprachige Repertoire, die Spracheinstellungen und den Sprachgebrauch der Menschen zu untersuchen. Diese Arbeit schlägt hoffentlich andere Wege vor, Forschungsinstrumente zu entwerfen, die es erlauben, die Realitäten eines bestehenden Kontextes aus der Innenperspektive der Einheimischen zu erfassen.

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List of abbreviations

ALCAM	Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun
CAT	Communication accommodation theory
CM	Code mixing
CS	Code-switching
CPE	Cameroonian Pidgin English
EV	Ethnic vitality
LC	Language choice
LF	Lower Fungom
MGT	Matched guise test
MP	Main participant
Mungbam	Munken, Ngun, Biya, Abar, Missong
n	Number
N	Neutral
P	Participant
Par	Paragraph
$P > t $	Significant value
SA	Strongly agree
SD	Strongly disagree
S.D	Sociolinguistic Documentation
Sd	Standard deviation
SLA	Slightly agree
SLD	Slightly disagree
Std. Err.	Standard Error
t	Test statistics
UAE	United Arab Emirates
VGT	Verbal guise technique

1 CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Different kinds of multilingualism

It is common knowledge, especially in the African context, that people understand and speak more than one language. However, multilinguals portray contrasting situations in terms of the sociolinguistic context in which multilingual speakers find themselves along with the languages spoken. Hence, differing rates of multilingualism and patterns of language use arise due to these differences.

Let us take a personal example to illustrate an urban sociolinguistic context. I was born and raised in Bafoussam, a Francophone city in western Cameroon. Later, I moved to a boarding school in Bamenda, an Anglophone town, where I spent six years of college education. Therefore, I am an urban Cameroonian, not a rural one, and for this reason, my sociolinguistic life might be exemplary of the typical approach to African multilingualism: triglossia. According to Abdulaziz Mkilifi (1972), triglossia refers to “a language situation whereby three languages are involved, having in some areas well-defined complementary functional ranges, and in others overlapping functional ranges because of their varying sociocultural bases, and also varying stages of development” (p. 198). I use Oshie, my local language, and English with my parents, English and Pidgin with my siblings, English and French at school and English, French and Pidgin with my friends. In my case, the languages involved are four since Cameroon has two official languages – i.e., English and French—but the overall structure of my multilingual repertoire perfectly mirrors what is predicted by Mkilifi (1972). The colonial languages are accorded the highest functional prestige (acrolects), the lingua franca settles in the second position (mesolect), and the local languages have the lowest prestige (basilect). As predicted, the neatly divided functions among the various languages—which form the backbone of Fishman’s (1967) diglossia theory, which lies at the root of Mkilifi’s triglossia model—are slightly less distinct because of the presence of the lingua franca. In other words, while Oshie is predominantly used in an informal context and English when talking about school issues with my parents, English and French are entirely used in the educational milieu, the use of Pidgin especially, and English have complementary and overlapping functional ranges.

Let us take a look at a different example that contrasts the urban sociolinguistic context. In a rural area called Lower Fungom, one of my consultants speaks nine distinct codes, seven that are

considered as distinct languages by linguists. The codes are Misson, Munken, Abar, Biya, Ngun, Buu, Mashi, Koshin, Pidgin, Mufu, Mundabli and Fang and English—which may be reserved for more prestige-related uses—none of these codes has specific functional loads in terms of social domains of use. This is to say that his language use patterns are hardly regulated by tri-(or poly)glossia scales; rather, the individuals with whom he interacts and the effects that he wants to achieve in terms of relationships with them determine the languages he uses. While probably in the top tier of the most multilingual people in Lower Fungom, the multilingual speaker is by no means an exception since most locals of Lower Fungom are competent in at least five local codes plus Cameroonian Pidgin English. This is telling of the fact that, while valid for urban Cameroonians like myself, Mkilifi's triglossia model or Fishman's diglossia theory does not capture the lived realities of multilingualism in rural areas of Cameroon and, most likely, Sub-Saharan Africa.

Unfortunately, most of the mainstream literature helps us understand my kind of multilingualism, i.e., the one studied in urban environments, but not that of my LF consultant. Hence, there is a dearth of rural multilingual research and methodology, which have only recently been addressed by both western and local scholars (Di Carlo, 2018; Di Carlo & Good, 2020; Esene Agwara, 2020). It must also be kept in mind that a scarcity of literature on rural multilingualism reflects scarcity at the methodology level to be used for such sociolinguistic phenomena. The kind and degree of sociolinguistic complexity of rural spaces are not comparable to urban ones, which, though undoubtedly diverse, essentially replicate the tri- (or poly-)glossia models. Finally, issues relating to individual multilingual repertoires, language attitudes and language use thus far have never been explored in individual studies (see chapter 3.3), and none of them has tried to take the results obtained at one level of analysis, i.e., the development of individual repertoires via an ethnographic approach to illuminate all other levels studied such as language attitudes and language use. These are the main gaps that the study contained in this thesis aims to fill, thus eventually contributing to advancing our knowledge about the diversity of language ideologies and uses in lesser known but likely ubiquitous contexts in Africa.

Sociolinguistics has focused mainly on urban context as opposed to non-urban contexts outside cities and towns (Connell, 2009, p. 131, Adegbiya, 1994, p. 1). This problem of paucity of literature is even being particularized in the subfields of multilingualism (see sections 5.1), language

attitudes (see section 6.2) and language use (see section 7.2). It is therefore evident that rural areas remain an invitation for future research. We must then consider appropriate ways to investigate sociolinguistic phenomena in rural contexts by offering a fresh perspective that includes more ethnography to offer a comprehensive view of main methods used in uncovering multilingualism, language attitudes and use. In other words, different societies must give rise to different ways of studying multilingualism, language attitudes and language use.

A deep ethnographic approach has rarely informed the different methodologies used by sociolinguists to look at multilingualism—i.e., self-reports about multilingual repertoires, direct and indirect methods for assessing language attitudes, and analyses of recorded multilingual interactions. We know that multilingualism can take so many different forms (see, e.g., the essays in Di Carlo & Good, 2020), and this calls for additional efforts aimed to develop a new standard of researching this domain, especially for rural multilingualism, an endeavour that many would consider simply far-fetched or even impossible altogether. No study has so far been able to showcase how language ideologies pattern with multilingualism, language attitudes, and language use by providing extensive findings from all these levels of analysis. Thus, this is the reason why I opted for an unusual yet comprehensive approach by including three main foci in this study—i.e., repertoires, language attitudes and language use—which ultimately contribute to the exploration of the role of language ideologies, all descending from the adoption of an ethnographic approach.

1.2 Aim of the study

This work seeks to critically examine how individual multilingualism materializes in self-reports, language attitudes and language use in the rural multilingual community of Lower Fungom (henceforth LF) in the Cameroonian Grassfields. Showing how interlinked the above phenomena are achieved through the concept of language ideologies, which are sets of beliefs about language and social relationships that permeate any social fabric. The absence of exploring this relationship limits our understanding of such linguistic phenomena in contexts which operate differently from the urban in terms of languages and functions of languages. More crucially, the complexity of multilingualism required that I use three different methods and focus on three different data sets. In the light of contributing to sociolinguistic scholarship in general, and the dynamics of rural

sociolinguistic spaces in particular, studying the relationship between these linguistic phenomena by way of exploring the language ideologies of the area thanks to an ethnographic approach would allow for deeper knowledge on multilingualism, the psychology of people who are multilingual, and language use of multilinguals hence, complementing works that have been done in urban areas.

1.2.1 Objectives of the study

Special attention in this study is directed towards three concerns: First, highlighting the high rates of individual multilingualism by demonstrating how a well-conceived questionnaire, filled with ethnographic inquiries can uncover self-reports of motivations for high rates of multilingualism. Second, it further delves into the language attitudes existing in the LF area by using an adapted version of the matched-guise test that projects attitude judgements far from stereotypes and more on local ideologies. Third, it informs on the conditioning of language choices through language use documentation in an interactional rural market and follow-up an ethnographically informed questionnaire as a strategy to gather “deep” information regarding the metadata of the individuals taking part in the recorded interactions.

1.3 Research question

Special attention in this study is directed towards three concerns: First, highlighting the high rates of individual multilingualism by demonstrating how a well-conceived questionnaire filled with ethnographic inquiries can uncover self-reports of motivations for high rates of multilingualism. Second, it further delves into the language attitudes existing in the LF area by using an adapted version of the matched-guise test that projects attitude judgements far from stereotypes and more on local ideologies. Third, it informs on the conditioning of language choices through language use documentation in a rural interactional market and follow-up ethnographically informed questionnaire as a strategy to gather “deep” information regarding the metadata of the individuals taking part in the recorded interactions.

1.3.1 Sub-questions

1. How can we design our questionnaires to gather data in order to better understand the language ideologies accounting for the multilingual behaviours in LF?

To design research questionnaires that tap into the local language ideologies of a given population, we need solid ethnographic knowledge about the people we are investigating. Beyond reading the relevant literature (e.g., Di Carlo, 2011), I achieved this by gathering details regarding people's biographies. Moreover, this allowed the understanding that features generally considered irrelevant for people's multilingualism would instead be important variables to target, such as the number of people's names and the histories behind their names, information about the friends, classmates and relatives, as well as their affiliations to other social groupings. I equally found out about the respondent's schooling levels, school locations, social activities and past mobility.

2. Do stereotypes shape the language attitudes of Missong people? And if they do not, as the ethnographic knowledge accumulated through questionnaires would suggest, what factors are at play in shaping local language attitudes?

This question captures the social categorization of different people entailed in the adoption of a polyglossia-based model, which is inferred through traits that are heavily characterized by status and prestige-oriented models associated with "High languages" and social attractiveness dimensions to "low languages". A revised matched-guise test was necessary to investigate the language attitudes of the Missong members whose local languages are not conceived as compartmentalized in their various functions and values. Aspects that appeal to their day-to-day lives were captured into traits for the language attitude test.

3. What factors influence language use during transactions in a rural market, and to what extent does language choice reflect the local language ideologies?

The market setting is one place where different people use multiple languages. Studying how multilinguals cope in such an environment is of interest in this study. This question relies on the assumption that multiple reasons shape language use during transactions. To obtain an in-depth understanding of language choices in transactional circumstances, several natural interactions were recorded and analyzed, crucially complemented with ethnographic inquiries, which helped give a clear picture of the speakers' sociolinguistic networks and their language ideologies.

1.4 Main hypotheses

There is a strong correlation between multilingualism, language attitudes, and language use. Language use and language attitudes depend on the quantity and quality of individual repertoires of the multilingual speaker. The quantity refers to the number of languages involved in the repertoire, which is related to the number of social groups in which one is a member. The quality in this study refers to the passive and active knowledge in the repertoires of the people. Furthermore, the relationship of multilingualism, language attitudes, and language use is highly supported by strong local ideologies rooted in the people's daily lives and sociocultural beliefs. In other words, all the sociolinguistic aspects examined in this study reveal realities that may be completely inexistent in urban areas but specific to rural milieus.

1.4.1 Sub-hypotheses

The choice of hypotheses advanced in this work is guided by previous knowledge of the research area, academic literature related to the topic, and observations in the field. The tentative answers to the sub-questions are the following:

1. The ethnographic approach uncovers rates of multilingualism present in LF as this may lead us to essential motivations for learning languages, such as explaining security issues, favouritism, and keeping relations.
2. Social categorizations or stereotypes do not shape language attitudes in LF. The local language ideologies uncovered through test items that directly reflect the way of life of the people (i.e., sociological, historical understanding) generally condition the language attitudes of LF people.
3. Factors influencing language choice in the market situation are constrained by multilingual abilities, interpersonal relationships, and context. Language ideologies, for the most part, explain language use during transactions. However, discourse-related meanings, for instance, also shape language use.

1.5 Relevance of the study

The study of language ideologies to understand the relationship between multilingualism, language attitudes, and language use in LF contributes to the mass amount of literature on sociolinguistic scholarship and the sparse literature on multilingualism outside the urban contexts. The findings of this study illustrate the benefits of considering that depicting a true picture of the LF society as well as other similar African scenarios justifies the need to act locally. Linguistic diversity, multilingualism, language attitudes and language use are some of the phenomena existing in all societies. However, we should recognize that they can be in varying degrees. Consequently, different societies carry with them peculiarities that must be studied from diverse methodological and theoretical perspectives. The greater acceptance of this heterogeneity rationalizes the need for more effective, transformative approaches. Thus, awareness from the results of this study would allow us to indulge in good research practices. Emphases on local language ideologies would help uncover critical areas on individual multilingualism, language attitudes, and language use. Hence, new methodological and theoretical ways of approaching African societies may be arrived at.

The pertinence of this work lies in the several methodologies used in this study, with all originating from an ethnographic approach. An attempt to understand multilingualism's dynamics in a linguistically superdiverse community like LF demands to reconsider our data gathering tools to guarantee valid and reliable results. This research demonstrates how a sociolinguistic questionnaire filled with ethnographic undertones can uncover social meanings that are tied to local language ideologies that explain the development of multilingual repertoires. Additionally, drawing from existing beliefs and practices, and not assumptions or rather not entirely applying tools developed in Western environments, would allow us to adapt tools like the case of the matched-guise test to fit our contemporary societies. In short, paying attention to the concept of language ideologies can help gain access to the sociolinguistic dynamics of the LF people.

1.6 Structure of the work

The thesis comprises eight chapters, and it is organized as follows. Chapter two consists of a general literature review on principal terminologies and theories as it cuts across the various domains of analysis (i.e., repertoires, language attitudes and language use). Moreover, multiple

specific literature reviews will be captured in the following chapters. This structure is meant to emphasize the breadth of this study and make it easy for readers when consulting the work. Chapter three exposes the ecology of the research context of the study. Furthermore, it reports on past research carried out in the LF area. The fourth chapter presents and describes fieldwork experiences to provide sketches of the data-collection methods and instruments to explore language ideologies and their connection with multilingualism, language attitudes, and language use in LF. It also presents the choice of utilizing a mixed-method research approach in gathering and analyzing data. Chapter five follows with a detailed description of the ethnographically informed research instrument used in investigating individual multilingualism. The presentations and discussion of empirical findings on the tendencies to understanding individual multilingual patterns are exposed. The chapter presents a relationship between individual multilingualism and social patterns in rural areas. Chapter six provides specific literature on language attitudes about the concepts, approaches, and theories. It further examines empirical discoveries about the dynamics of language attitudes of Missong members in LF. It explores context-relevant analytical dimensions that account for language attitudes, and suggests, by so doing, that attitudinal judgements are void of stereotypes. Moreover, it highlights the connection between language attitudes and language ideologies. The seventh chapter discusses the dynamics surrounding language choice in the LF market. The chapter sheds some light on past research on language use and some concepts and theories. It equally reveals the importance of sociolinguistic documentation for a fuller comprehension of language choices and social meanings that emerge during transactions. Chapter eight handles the conclusion to read the summaries of key findings and their significance to the study. It equally suggests avenues for further research.

2 CHAPTER TWO: CONTEXTUALISING THE WORK: CONCEPTS AND THEORIES

2.1 Introduction

This study examines the relationship that language ideologies have with multilingualism, language attitudes and language use. However, it is common to treat multilingualism, language attitudes or language use in isolation. Hence, a clearer understanding of these phenomena is achieved by adopting multiple methods and data sets, largely shaped by language ideologies. This provides a broader understanding of the sociolinguistic dynamics in rural LF through diverse context-relevant methods. For this reason, I study the general literature review in this chapter. Thus, I deal with all the main theoretical and terminological issues, while each of the chapters, i.e., 5, 6 and 7, will include topic-specific literature reviews.

In this light, I review relevant literature according to seven main sections. Firstly, I report on the different definitional issues with bilingualism, multilingualism, plurilingualism, individual and societal multilingualism, languages, language varieties, codes and lects in section 2.2. I further look into the main approaches to the study of bi/multilingualism from linguistic and psycholinguistic approaches and sociolinguistic approaches in section 2.3. I equally treat the elements of the ethnographic approach with particular attention to the language ideologies and identities and the indexical order, as it cuts across the various domains of analysis in section 2.4. In section 2.5, I examine the rural VS urban dimension of multilingualism in sociolinguistic studies. Finally, section 2.6 handles the conclusion.

2.2 Multilingualism: basic terminology

2.2.1 Bilingualism, multilingualism, plurilingualism

The basic dictionary definition states that “one who speaks two languages” is considered bilingual (Bilingual, 2018), and “one who speaks several languages” is multilingual (Multilingual, 2018). The explanation for this distinction is logical, considering the word history. However, the contestation in linguistics whether to consider bilingualism as multilingualism or to make a distinction remains.

Some distinguish between bilingualism and multilingualism. For instance, in Lanza's (2007) study on multilingualism and the family, she sees bilingualism as the acquisition and active competence in two or more languages and considers multilingualism the acquisition and use of more than two languages. This appears to mean that the term bilingualism is treated generally, while multilingualism is restrictive to no less than three languages. In the same light, Cook (2003) uses the term bilingualism as a cover term for multilingualism in her study on the effect of first language users on second language users' minds. A bilingual individual may possess any language(s) after L1 as L2(s). In other words, any other languages acquired after the L1 is regarded as L2(s) no matter the chronology of learning and the level of proficiency. These examples show the preference for bilingualism and not multilingualism as an umbrella term.

While the above authors discuss bilingualism as a general term to mean two or more languages, other researchers prefer the cover term multilingualism. According to Lopez-Baquedano & Kattan (2007), "a multilingual is recognised as one who is able to acquire two or more languages and can use them in a socially correct manner in the society the person is exposed to" (p. 69). This definition suggests that multilingualism is not restricted to grammar proficiency but sociolinguistic competence. In addition, Clyne (1997) advances that "a multilingual is one who uses more than one language or one who has competence in more than one language" (p. 301). He moves from a more restrictive sense of multilingualism, considering the passive or/and active competence as a more flexible concept. Wei and Moyer (2007) further support this flexible position as they see "a multilingual individual as anyone who can communicate in more than one language, be it active (through speaking and writing) or passive (through listening and reading)" (p. 4).

Hence, I adopt a less extreme definition of multilingualism as an umbrella term to capture a multilingual as someone who is able to comprehend or/and speak more than one language. There is no stress on language use as a defining factor. The reason for this is the fact that this study is not a work on language proficiency assessment, nor a psycholinguistic one but, rather, one that focuses on the social dimension of multilingualism. To add, I am not interested in looking into the quality of bilingualism or multilingualism that has been questioned by scholars over the years, with contrasting adjectival terms like; 'perfect', 'balanced', 'native-like' bilingualism (Bloomfield, 1933; Dewaele, Beardsmore, Housen & Wei, 2003). I rather regard language to be culturally meaningful (Hamers & Blanc, 2000) and ideologically significant (Silverstein, 2003). After all,

one key assumption shared by many ethnography-minded linguists and sociolinguists is that “nobody possesses the full range of skills and resources, everyone has control over just parts of them, and nobody is a perfect speaker of a language or the perfect member of culture or society” (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, p. 2-3). To exemplify, a multilingual speaker may comprehend most aspects of a language but lacks active competence. Nevertheless, s/he communicates as s/he uses the language based on the dispositions available in his repertoire.

Another confusing term I address that often appears in multilingualism research is “plurilingualism”. The Council of Europe (2007) defines plurilingualism at an individual level as “the potential and/or actual ability to use several languages to varying levels of proficiency and for different purposes”. “Plurilinguisme” is a term that is widely used in Francophone literature in opposition to “multilinguisme” and is equivalent to what I call here “(individual) multilingualism” in opposition to “linguistic diversity”.

2.2.2 Individual vs societal multilingualism

Studies on multilingualism have been treated following two distinct dimensions. The situation where a speaker communicates in more than one language is known as “individual multilingualism”, while “societal multilingualism” is based on a society-wide multilingual repertoire. To illustrate somewhat, in Arab countries, Classical Arabic is used in official documents, literature, movies and mosques, whereas modern varieties are used in everyday communication (Kennetz & Carroll, 2018). Elsewhere, Elhambakhsh and Allami (2018) show that Persian is used in the Zoroastrian community in Iran in schools and other administrative sectors. Dari is favoured at home with friends and family members. These are all forms of diglossia that are instances of societal multilingualism where both forms and uses are clearly demarcated.

From this perspective, it will become evident that in the terminology I adopted in this work, contexts in which a number of languages are spoken in any given area are best defined as instances of “linguistic diversity” (see Di Carlo, 2011; Di Carlo, Good & Ojong, 2019; Lüpke, 2016; Stallcup, 1980). In this sense, a country is not multilingual as such; instead, it is linguistically diverse. In other words, the presence of numerous languages within a particular geographic area, i.e., a sub-division, city, region, country, can have a low, sizeable or high degree of linguistic

diversity. Simons and Fennig (2018) indicate that most (if not all) of the world's countries are recognisably linguistically diverse. The imbalance distribution counts 7099 living languages present in only 189 sovereign states. By contrast, societal multilingualism then looks into how languages pattern within a society (Di Carlo & Good, 2020), treating aspects such as the distribution, the function, the status and the vitality of distinct languages (see Anchimbe, 2014; Wolff, 2016).

2.2.3 Languages, varieties, lects, and codes

Throughout this research, a useful distinction is on the repertoires of individual multilinguals in terms of languages and lects. This conceptual divergence can be produced when two perspectives on what counts as a language are considered: the point of view of professional linguists and the speakers' perspective. The linguist conceptualises "languages" as grammatical codes that are not mutually intelligible with each other. In other words, speakers of two languages have trouble understanding each other. Dialects are rather described as language varieties that are seen to be grouped in relation to a person's geographical area or social background (Crystal, 2008). In this sense, speakers of two dialects can understand what each other is saying.

However, in the LF area, what counts as a language is based on the sociocultural understanding of the representation of a "village" viewed beyond a geographical residence. A village is a very important socio-political unit that is headed by a traditional ruler, and the language spoken in the village land indexes identity. Di Carlo, Good and Ojong (2019) further support that "language" spoken in the village "is a crucial part of the identity of these villages as traditionally independent polities, result in the local ideological equation of one village/chiefdom = one language" (p. 233, p. 11). Thus, in LF, locals equate the thirteen villages found in the area to thirteen local talks. It is therefore important for an ethnographically informed sociolinguistic study to understand this ideological layer of political structures and language for the development of multilingual repertoires in LF. I therefore label this local idiom as "lects"—that index neutrality regardless of their genealogical relationship with other named languages. Thus, French and English count as two lects just like Missong and Munken (both language varieties of Mungbam, from a linguistic point of view) and Kung and Fang (from a linguist point of view are distinct languages) (see also

Connell, 2009; Di Carlo, 2015; Esene Agwara, 2020; Ngué Um, Makon & Assomo, 2020 for the use of this term).

The term “code” broadly embodies all sorts of systems of communication that people make use of when communicating. Holmes (2013) defines a code as “any set of linguistic forms which patterns according to social factors: i.e., used under specific circumstances” (p. 504). According to her, the term ranges from accent, style, dialect to whole languages. When one compares a monolingual to a bilingual or multilingual, it is normal for the monolingual to use codes depending on the social parameters. The monolingual would shift from one style or register (Duranti 1997) and the bilingual, may switch to say a language variety, a language or even a register. “Codes” is engaged as a cover term to refer to languages or language varieties or lects.

2.2.4 The terminology used in this thesis

For the sake of clarity as to these uses in the different streams of literature and how they are used in this work, I summarise the terminological choices in the list below:

- 1) Multilingualism: individual multilingualism, plurilingualism / plurilinguisme
- 2) Linguistic diversity: many languages are spoken in a given area, “multilinguisme”

It will be noticed that one term that is present in the literature is not found in the list above: societal multilingualism. This can be misleading in the context of “small-scale multilingualism”—a term introduced by Friederike Lüpke (see, e.g., Lüpke, 2016). The same kind of phenomena have been referred to differently by other authors, including traditional multilingualism (Di Carlo, 2015), endogenous multilingualism (Di Carlo et al., 2019) and indigenous multilingualism (e.g., Vaughan & Singer, 2018). Small-scale multilingualism refers to contexts where several languages are found within a small geographical area, and there is little or no exposure to western ideas of standard ideologies. It is characterised by the presence of linguistic repertoires of most speakers that are dominated by a number of local languages and codes, on top of possible lingua francas and other languages of wider diffusion.

Furthermore, the communicative practices are neither characterised by specific social domains nor conditioned by notions of prestige. Finally, by adopting a language ideology perspective, one transcends societal multilingualism as this is, in fact, “absorbed” by language ideologies. Societal

multilingualism means the language ideological background shared in a society that establishes when and for what goals a particular language must be used in interaction.

2.3 Main approaches to the study of bi/multilingualism

2.3.1 Linguistic and psycholinguistic approaches

There are three broad research traditions in the study of bi/multilingualism, namely: linguistic, psycholinguistic, and sociolinguistic. Within the linguistic perspective, two aspects are of interest: the nature or structure of the grammar of a multilingual and the multilingual use. Concerning the nature of the grammar of a multilingual, attention is on the different number of languages multilinguals interact in. For instance, the linguist is interested in seeing if the multilingual mixes language at word, clause or sentence position or uses one language at the time (see, for example, Muysken, 2000; Poplack, 1980 on the structural patterns of bilingual code-switching). The last aspect that the area of linguistic research handles is with respect to bilingualism and multilingualism, focusing on how individuals put their knowledge to use. Numerous studies have examined language choice according to topic, setting and participant (see Fishman, 2000 on the domain analysis) and discourse functions of code-switching such as addressee specification, reiteration, and interjection (see, Gumperz, 1982a).

The second tradition on bilingual and multilingual studies involves the psycholinguistic perspective. The psycholinguist is interested in the multilingual's acquisition process and closely similar to the linguistic perspective, knowledge and use. The significant differences, however, lie in the research methodologies. While the descriptive linguist is inclined to describe and explain the grammatical structures of the multilingual's talk thanks to audio recordings and observations, psycholinguistic research relies on experimental techniques to explain multilingual behaviours. Here, their interest lies in the mental processes involved in the reception and production of bilingual or multilingual speech.

Grosjean and Li (2012) introduced the notion of waxing and waning over time—which is characteristic of psycholinguistic studies thanks to a grid matrix to define bilingualism factors and describe language fluency and use. A particular MC's language proficiency and use was tested at 26 and ten years later, i.e., at 36, to examine the bilingual changes that took place over time. MC

registered three languages at 26, i.e., English, French, and German. While MC was fluent and frequently used the English language, French was used regularly, but he was not as fluent as in English. He learnt German at school but never used it. At 36, MC took a drastic change. While MC registered a dominance in English and French, the level of use reduced because of his new residence. German that was never used was now his everyday language. Grosjean and Li (2012) extended their research with another bilingual, LD, who changed his language just like MC and acquired two new languages: while Spanish was known and not frequently used, Swiss-German was frequently used with limited proficiency. LD lived just for one year in Spain, and his constant mobility in Switzerland accounted for these changes. Grosjean and Li (2012) add that in those moments of stability and changes, language can be forgotten because the domains of use greatly diminish, and signs of loss appear over time. Hence, the bilingual user encounters word-finding problems and hesitations while using language.

2.3.2 Sociolinguistic approaches

The sociolinguistic inquiry into bilingualism and multilingualism diverges from the linguistic and psycholinguistic dimensions both at the level of the research methodologies and its foundational objective. Sociolinguists regard multilingualism as a socially driven occurrence. In addition, the multilingual individual is seen as a social actor. For instance, the act of choosing one language over another is not limited to ensuring effective communication but as a marker of identity (Fuller, 2007; Lüpke & Storch, 2013). By choosing one language over another, “we are reconnecting with people, situations ... our attitudes towards people and languages concerned” (Wei & Moyer, 2007, p. 13). Some relevant dimensions of sociolinguistic approaches are discussed in the following subsections.

2.3.2.1 Sociological dimension

Drawing on the study of language attitudes to discuss the sociological dimension of sociolinguistics, Sarnoff (1970) refers to language attitudes as a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects” (p. 279). This class of objects may well be language users (see

details in chapter 6). Relevant to the sociological perspective of language attitudes are intergroup relations.

Ryan et al. (1984) provide some insightful contributions to language and intergroup attitude modelled around two contrasting language varieties—on the one hand, is the dominant variety, loaded with a relative standardness (LV1), and on the other hand, a subordinate variety, weighted with relative vitality (LV2). They come up with four levels that capture intergroup language evaluations and cognitive processes that justify speaker judgements.

On level one, when language evaluations are made with one dominant group projecting a relatively low standardisation and the subordinate group, a relatively low vitality, the preference for the dominant group is eminent. In and out-group members raise dominant group members on status and solidarity traits, while subordinate groups downgrade themselves. Ryan et al. (1984) describe the cognitive process of subordinate group members as self-hate. Moreover, when their group vitality is extremely low, social mobility is bound to occur. In this case, members of the subordinate group associates themselves with the praised qualities of the dominant group, who by no means think of themselves as less valuable. At the second stage, when the dominant group possesses relatively low standardness and the subordinate group has a relatively low to medium vitality, the lower group members upgrade themselves on solidarity traits while maintaining status and solidarity qualities for the superior group. In this case, while the dominant group captures the cognitive process of justification, social creativity is activated with subordinate group members. At the third level, when the prevalent group enjoys a relatively medium standardness and the subaltern group obtains a relatively high vitality, there is a general preference for in-group speakers. Each group upgrades itself on both status and solidarity traits. In this case, cognitive influences reveal that dominant in-group members are oriented towards competitive differentiation, and for subordinate in-group members, the process of social competition motivates their evaluations. Finally, the last stage captured as a model of language and intergroup attitudes reveals that when the major group possesses a relatively low-medium standardness and the minor group a low-medium vitality, both groups evaluate dominant group members positively on status qualities. The same is true for subordinate groups on solidarity qualities.

As suggested in Ryan et al.'s (1984) intergroup model, these four levels capture complex evaluations by inter groups backed up by psychological processes, at least for the determinant

dominant and subordinate groups in a sociocultural context. Acknowledgements of the limitations of such intergroup processes are expressed by Ryan et al. (1984) in that “the determinants of speaker evaluations are much more diverse” (p. 153) and may not have been covered in this intergroup model, thus, allowing for a reasonable understanding of speaker evaluations under different social conditions. One can see that the mode of comparison centres on uneven linguistic profiling, in the sense that one group enjoys relative standardness and dominance, and the other group enjoys relative vitality. Hence, a contrasting scenario in this study. Such classifications fundamentally trigger strict linguistic categorisation upon which stereotypic language evaluations emerge.

2.3.2.2 Diglossia and societal bi/multilingualism dimension

First introduced in the late 1950s (see Ferguson, 1959) and later on extended by Fishman’s diglossia as a concept is based on a framework that organises, categorises and explains multilingual behaviours that emerge from multilingual contexts. According to Fishman’s (1967) theoretical model, societies, where two or more languages or language varieties co-occur in complementary distribution regarding their functions in the speech community, reveal macro-sociological factors that reflect the speaker’s choices of languages to use. In this sense, languages are ranked hierarchically according to their perceived prestige in formal settings. The languages perceived with “low prestige” are reserved for use in informal communication settings. Aspects such as topic, domain and role relations were treated in connection with the diglossia theory. However, the idea that clearly articulates this theory is social domains (Fishman, 1972). Social domains being particularly useful constructs that are assumed to largely determine individual linguistic behaviours (Fishman, 1972, p. 75). For instance, all members of a society, who possibly associate this domain with an informal communication setting, conceptualise the “home” domain. Fishman identified five main domains: education, family, friendship, religion, and work (Fishman 1972) and these domains are frequently aligned with a particular language or language variety. In this case, the formal domain, which includes religion and work, is ascribed to a particular set of language(s) perceived as prestigious, and the informal domain, e.g., home and market, makes use of informal language(s).

Analyses towards multilingualism have mainly been focused on the “formal” or “prestige” and “informal” or “solidarity” dichotomy. Thus, in settings where different languages are clearly separated in the speakers’ minds in terms of their social functions, for instance, a standard or prestige form is meant for the “school” domain and would fit the diglossia theory. The division of labour of linguistic repertoires in the society has greatly influenced how multilingual questionnaires have been framed and used in urban and rural spaces (see section 5.2.1).

2.3.2.2 Focus on language use

Code-switching (CS) emerges as one of the elements in research on bilingualism and language contact that captures a speaker’s language use patterns. Studies on CS, for instance, have suggested that multilingual analysis should go beyond distinct languages and investigate codes that carry social meaning of the speakers to understand the individual as a social actor (Heller, 1998). Thus, CS is recognised as a feature that serves stylistic and pragmatic functions and captures discourse-based and identity-driven motivations.

Discourse-related meanings can be grouped under situational, discourse contextualisation and metaphorical switching, which is heavily studied in the literature on CS and code-mixing (Auer, 1999; Gumperz, 1982). A widely used definition of CS in conversation is the one pioneered by Gumperz in the early 1980s. He posits that CS is “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two grammatical systems or subsystems. Most frequently, alternation takes the form of two subsequent sentences” (Gumperz, 1982, p. 59). It is often the case that CS serves beyond a single discourse-related meaning.

In situational switching, switches occur when there is a change in the situation in which language users find themselves. Such situational changes coincide with the change in the interlocutor, setting, topic or participants (Coupland & Jaworski, 1997).

In discourse contextualisation switching, individual switches do not necessarily co-occur with external changes in context. For instance, switching due to the users’ language preferences and their linguistic competencies may not always have to do with the sociocultural setting or topic. Nevertheless, these individual switches, as noted in Auer (1999), set off some contextualisation to signal a change in footing or communicative activity. Auer provides a model on which discourse-

related switching is based. First, it occurs in a sociolinguistic space where switching signals a specific class of activity that is otherwise expressed regularly or associated with a preference for one language at that time (situational). Second, with an established code of interaction, switching into another code may index “otherness” of an upcoming contextual frame and thereby achieves a change of “footing” (participant related). Auer emphasises that precedence in the analysis of the new switches. It should be achieved individually, even though a previous episode may shed more light on the new switch. Bailey (2007) points out that in discourse contextualisation switching, the participants ignore the discourse meanings involved in instances of CS, but non-members may see them as salient.

Metaphorical switching sets itself apart from situational and discourse contextualisation or participant switching in the sense that they may just include the norms of speaking conditioned by interactants’ repertoires, setting and topic and structuring of conversational sequences. Metaphorical switching instead projects a situation in which the setting does not necessarily match with the code selected. In other words, switching takes place to discuss a topic in a language usually not meant for that conversational domain. In this case, the alternation sheds light on constructing the social reality while enriching social relationships. For instance, a language generally used at home is occasionally heard in school because the topic (e.g., formal to informal) participants are discussing is associated with the home. In short, metaphorical switching occurs when a change of topic requires a change in the language used (Gumperz, 1982; Wardhaugh, 1998). However, in the context of LF where there are no clear distinctions as to which topic is to be discussed for which domain, switching depends hugely on the individuals participating in the interactions.

Finally, CS serves certain pragmatic functions for speakers. Gumperz (1982) outlines and illustrates the pragmatic functions with some naturally occurring data from India, Austria and the U.S., his research areas. (a) Quotations: switching codes may be recognised in direct quotations or reported speech. (b) Reiteration: A message said in one code is repeated or modified to clarify, emphasise, or amplify. (c) Message qualification: switching codes is meant to qualify or further explain an idea. (d) Interjections: They mark interjections or serve as sentence fillers. (e) Personalisation vs objectivisation: A speaker switches between codes to reflect his personal opinions from generally known facts. It is meant to demonstrate a speaker’s involvement in what

is being said. Therefore, it is essential to note that interactants may be unaware of their CS styles, for their main goal is to achieve communication. Although these functions are said to capture CS practices as described by Gumperz, it is neither exhaustive nor fully explains meanings embedded in CS. Interpretations should not be generalised but, rather, be more or less organised on individual cases. Thus, Auer warns that “the significance of CS must not be equated with the “social meaning” of the various languages within a multilingual repertoire” (Auer, 1999, p. 311). Identity-driven switching occurs when a code change activates speaker ideologies (see section 7.12).

Factors such as globalisation, national and international mobility, and the spread of new technologies have demanded a need to study multilingualism (Cenoz, 2013). It is without a doubt that the study on bilingualism and multilingualism has been approached in numerous fields such as psycholinguistics, linguistics and sociolinguistics. However, in general, this study is primarily situated within the field of sociolinguistics and focuses mainly on identity-driven motivations rather than discourse-based ones.

2.3.2.3 For an ethnographically informed approach

Recent studies indicate that using an ethnographic approach to investigate aspects of multilingualism reveals the complexities of African multilingualisms (Di Carlo, 2020; Lüpke & Storch, 2013; Ojong, 2020). In this study, the kinds of data sets—reported data, language attitude data and speech data—analyses and—data interpretations are framed differently to capture multilingual behaviours as a social process. The ethnographically informed approach cross-cuts the various domains of analysis and that it leads to the understanding of the indexical order (see section 2.4.2) and language ideologies (see section 2.4.3).

2.4 Ethnographic approach and what it entails

2.4.1 Some background

Sociolinguistics is very much considered a discipline that requires an interdisciplinary drive. Sociolinguists have advanced that a solid social theory is needed to match up the framework captured in structural linguistics (Coupland, Sarangi & Candlin, 2001). Tusting & Maybin (2007)

have added that the stringent lines between the traditional variationist, sociologist, ethnographer and sociolinguist have become flexible (p. 576). However, from a more restrictive practice of ethnography, Ellen (1984) noted participant observation as an old practice of anthropology dating as far back as the 19th century. She reports that Malinowski, in 1914, used this field method to gather specific anthropological information. The origins of ethnography have been associated with anthropology, not linguistics nor sociology or psychology (Blommaert & Ji, 2010, p. 6). More and more, other disciplines have taken up this practice, including sociolinguistics.

Ethnography is not a new appellation. Hymes (1996) points to the term first used during the ancient Mediterranean world and even more used as shown in reports during the days of the Americas. The general idea behind ethnography has been methodological, to investigate people and their cultures from a physically closer perspective. In this case, the researcher, who wears the hat of an ethnographer, immerses himself or herself in the environment of the people. At the same time, s/he observes and participates as the research is carried out. Thus, according to Hymes (1996):

ethnography is the study of the people in naturally occurring settings or ‘fields’ by methods of data collection, which capture their *social meanings* and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data systematically, but without the meaning being imposed on them externally. (p. 4)

Despite the overwhelming use of ethnography, after several decades, Blommaert and Ji (2010) highlight that the ethnographic tradition has been “misunderstood or misrepresented” (p. 1). The notion of ethnography is evoked from different dimensions. It is generally viewed as a scientific tradition, specifically as relating to a fieldwork process, and method, with an overall aim of gathering ethnographic data (Blommaert & Ji, 2010, p. 1). In this work, I discuss the various dimensions of ethnography (see fieldwork as a process of ethnography in section 4.3, and for the ethnographically informed tool, see section 5.2.2).

2.4.1.1 Ethnography as a scientific tradition

Ethnography is not limited to methods and methodology (Blommaert, 2007, p. 684; Blommaert & Ji, 2010, p. 5; Brewer, 2000, p. 11), but goes far into a larger framework upon which complex social behaviours can be understood. Arguments on the relevance of ethnography as a constructive

frame that explains social behaviours cannot be overemphasised in Blommaert (2005). It is said that “the immense value of ethnography as a complex of theory, method, and epistemology is overlooked” (p. 5). Some authors consider ethnography as a viewpoint (Blommaert 2005, 2007) rather than a way of doing (Burgess, 1984).

Among the numerous theories ethnography addresses, Sealey (2007) talks about functionalism, Marxism, and interactionism (p. 642). Blommaert & Ji (2010) identify behaviourist-functionalist and cultural relativism. The paradigm most widely associated with the ethnography is realism (Blommaert, 2007; Sealey, 2007; Hamersley, 2006). It holds that there is a reality at the level of the sociocultural context, and this is where relevant data is gathered. In this case, judgements or interpretations are geared towards reality, which “opens linguistics up” (Tustin & Maybin, 2007, p. 581). The implication of doing linguistic work with an ethnographic touch is a positive one, such that a better understanding of social reality can be realised. To this end, Brewer (2000) renames it as “big” ethnography (p. 17).

In this study, data gathered (employing ethnographic interviews), analysed (social structures decoded), and interpreted (participant’s and researcher’s perspective) is realised in such a way that the bearings are borne from “real-life situations”, as such plausible accounts and thick descriptions are realised in the cultural context upon which the researcher immerses himself or herself.

2.4.1.2 Ethnography as a theory

The potential of ethnography as a theory has been overlooked, and rather it is limited to a method and methodological endeavour. However, some scholars think that it should be recognised for the potential it offers as it analyses a set of facts in their relation to one another through descriptions and interpretations (Blommaert, 2007, p. 682; Nader, 2011, p. 211). Blommaert (2007) summarises the magnitude and profoundness of the linguistic ethnographic theory as it sets out to comprehensively provide explanations for complex social events by bearing in mind the insider’s perspective. It further dwells on the exclusive nature and structure of micro-events as a combination of variation and stability while paying attention to the methodological concern for reflexivity. Hence, ethnography outlines the following utilities: it provides thick descriptions to complex social meaning. In addition, it ensures plausibility in its accounts. Again, the ethnographer

immerses himself or herself into the cultural context where possible social meanings can be reached.

In addition, Eckert's (2012) three-wave model in sociolinguistic studies is used while highlighting the ethnographic input. The understanding of social meanings through sociolinguistic variation is based on the weaknesses of the pre-existing waves used in variation studies. The first wave study was concerned with correlating broad sociological categories with speakers of targeted linguistic varieties, such that the social differentiations reflected fixed social entities. For instance, the speakers were grouped depending on their linguistic varieties under categories such as class, age, gender, ethnicity, and religion. This first wave allowed for broad distinctions like the status and solidarity and the "we" and the "they" code distinctions. The methods used to achieve such results were mainly through surveys, formal and informal, questionnaires, word lists, and reading. The second wave of variation studies aims at drawing a connection between social categories as understood in their local context. In this wave, social categories were created locally to fit the sociolinguistic variations. The appeal here is on local salience. The methods used in achieving the second wave was through ethnographic methods. Although this study provided interesting feedback from actual situated context, Eckert feels that such local categories are static, and social identities are reflected upon the local categories constructed.

Social meanings through the essential feature of language are not meant to be associated with fixed entities because the speakers themselves change long-life projects. As such, there is constant self-construction and differentiation. Eckert's standpoint allows for a third way of understanding variation studies within sociolinguistic studies. Her focus is rather on style, not in the denotational sense of the word, but an ideological one. In this sense, the direct link between variables and social categories should mainly be indexical, in which case it can change over time, laying down a set of multiple meanings.

Moreover, the third wave approach emphasises studying fewer people while identifying the peculiarities reflected in their practices and ideologies that shape the understanding of social meanings. This approach centres on more profound ethnographic studies. There are no grids assigned to the society or community under study, but the individual acts as the agency—individuals use language to construct social meaning.

Interestingly, this study draws partly on Eckert’s three-wave model as it patterns very well with the ethnographic approach (Blommaert, 2007)—as the primary approach and the indexical order theory (Silverstein, 2003)—as a product of ethnography. This work focuses on the local social dimensions observed from the ethnographic approach to inform social meanings through the sociolinguistic practices of multilingual individuals in LF. According to Duranti (1997), an ethnographic approach ensures plausibility in its accounts, as its reports and interpretations focus on understanding context. The overwhelming research on multilingualism centred on urban scholarship indeed depicts a bias (Adeniran, 2009, p. 144-168; Dakubu, 2009, p. 32-44) and a limitation of an understanding of rural context.

2.4.2 Indexicality

Indexicality refers to pointing to or indexing some objects—that can be words or expressions in a language in the context in which it occurs. Blommaert (2010) states that “indexicality” refers to “registers”, which are “social categories, recognisable semiotic emblems for groups and individuals” (p. 38). Moreover, taking an ethnographic approach means taking the indexical function of signs seriously. He adds that semiotics, precisely the indexical function has different orders of meaning in different contexts and can better be understood when one takes the ethnographic approach.

2.4.2.1 Prerequisite: the theory of signs

The influential works of Pierce (1963) and Silverstein (2003) draw awareness on the significance of language ideologies for explaining context-bound multilingual behaviours. Pierce’s semiotic theory starts by defining the sign as any recognisable item that comprises (1) a “signifier” or vector—which is the form of a sign that could be a sound, photograph, word, gesture and (2) “a signified”—which is the meaning that is represented. Based on the types of relationship existing between the signifier and the signified, there are three types of signs, according to Pierce: the icon, the index and the symbol.

An icon is a sign that shares a physical resemblance with the signified or imitated its object. A good example of an icon is saying “woof!” imitating the barking sound of a dog. An index, on the contrary, is a sign that shows a logical or existential connection between the signifier and the signified. For instance, the actual meaning conveyed by deictics (like “this” or “yesterday”) cannot be established once and for all as it is fully context-bound. In sociolinguistic terms, using a certain language in a certain context may be a choice aimed at “meaning something socially”, like one’s class, education, or provenance: in that case, the language is the signifier and the social meaning the signified, which is communicated through the connection that people know exists between the given language and a certain group of people. Indexical signs can be referential or non-referential in nature, as discussed further in the subsequent section. The understanding of the signified via the symbol must involve some cultural learning since symbols are arbitrary. For instance, there is nothing inherent in the letter “a” to indicate a certain sound or number, “5”, or the red traffic sign. It must be culturally learned. In this work, multilingual behaviours’ interpretations are linked to “indexical signs” that denote social meanings.

2.4.2.2 The indexical order

As noted by Jaffe (2016), indexical relations have been of interest to sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists in terms of making a connection between speakers and the social and situational context in which they find themselves (p. 86). Indexical signs refer to referential or non-referential signs pointing to an object or class of objects for which layers of meanings can be uncovered. Thus, there is always a significant index upon which indexical associations are made that vary in degrees.

Introduced in 2003, the theory of the indexical order (Silverstein, 2003) was developed to cater for multiple layers of meanings centred on verbal interactions, with varied linguistic aspects as the focus in a social context. According to him, associating macro-sociological features such as social status, age and gender to a certain linguistic phenomenon of a targeted sample (Eckert, 2012; first wave approach, Labov, 1963) is only an initial step to understanding existing deeper sociocultural meanings. In addition, drawing grammatical inference with behavioural rates in a social context (Goffman, 1983) is short of exploring other necessary and sufficient conditions in understanding an utterance of a particular form. Thus, according to Silverstein, both studies and others restrict

the possibility of uncovering far-reaching sociocultural meanings that are embedded in day-to-day interactions. It is for this reason that the concept of indexical order was developed.

The indexical order is based on the assumption that semiotic signals, in this case, index signs are brought out through linguistic expressions that have associative social meanings, ordered in degrees or multiple layers. Lexical items, phonological features, grammatical structures and the choice of a language or dialect can index one thing and another. Indexicality also dwells on the contextualisation of linguistic and non-linguistic signs in usage. Meanings and interpretations can be established when the contextual conditions of which users have meta-pragmatic knowledge models or shape a certain kind of interaction (Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008). These meanings are informed by people's communicative experiences and their ideologies surrounding such interactions. Examples that Silverstein sources from sociolinguistic research to explain the processes of indexicalization include: registers, T/V systems, class, style and phonological variability. In addition, he illustrates with his data on the language expressed during wine tasting, which he terms "oinglossia". He shows how indexical meanings that are connected to particular forms starting from the first level or "order" can inform other levels following. The discourse of wine talking of a particular elite class is pregnant with cultural meaning by which any individual who finds him-herself using such a discourse in the appropriate contexts is immediately indexicalized as a member belonging to the elite class. Using a particular "lingo" associated to traditional English gentlemanly, which is normally used by wine critics after tasting wine, entails prestigious social class. When lower class society members, "yuppies" use these expressions when drinking wine, their status changes to well-bred and interesting people. The yuppie is immediately upgraded to the level of the professional wine courteous and refined critic. The signifier wine and the wine language (the non-referential index) project a first order of indexicality, i.e., a certain discourse around wine tasting that projects high social class. This high class then suggests they are well-bred and rich as a second and third order of indexicality.

Silverstein's argument on the concept of orders of indexicality surrounds two tenets: indexical presupposition and indexical entailment, which he also calls appropriateness-to context and effectiveness-in context. The former notion refers to the contextual parameters between users, and the latter explains how such parameters are articulated in the context. In other words, what are the situations brought to light, and what or how has it been said or done? He suggests that for

indexicality to be more meaningful, we must look above referential meaning to pragmatic or cultural meaning. In this way, we establish the mode or code of understanding between users in the particular in-context and the entailment that lays out procedures of the comprehension of the indexical sign. For example, two individuals in an interaction of the same social status and age group would intuitively allow for them an informal mode of interaction that is the appropriate-in context in their social space. As such, semiotic signs that are linguistic (tu) in nature and non-linguistic (hugging using opposite sides of each other's chest) are brought to light either vocally or by action or both. In such an environment, power relations are absent, and both interlocutors understand the code of communication, hence, act upon it.

According to Silverstein, the concept of indexical order links up a linguistic form and social meaning, achievable in various layers. The formation of an indexical order begins from the n-th order, captured by an index. Then, it moves to the first order, i.e., an $n + 1$ -th, if the connection becomes socially meaningful, informed by the local ideology. Any n-th order means that there is an organisation of some sort that is achieved per a specific context for which we can satisfactorily exemplify its usage (Silverstein, 2003, p. 193). The first indexical order associates linguistic form to socio-demographic identity or semantic function. Johnstone and Kiesling (2008) add that more often than not, this connection is deduced by an outsider, for instance, by linguistic observation. The second indexical order correlates linguistic form with a social identity. Group members uncover this form. For example, Johnstone and Kiesling have shown that social meanings decoded from metadiscursive data of non-standard hearable forms in Pittsburghese can sound incorrect, working-class, masculine or local (Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008, p. 10). The third indexical order can be further developed if the semiotic feature continues to produce more salient social meanings that have an ideological undertone. This can be indicated through overt discourse in which local words and their meanings and reflexive performances all articulate emblematic local identities (Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008, p. 11). Because different communities or people have different sociolinguistic experiences and histories, some may not be aware of the degrees of indexicality. For others, their widely shared schematisation of linguistic and social meaning relationships can be limited to a lesser number of indexical orders.

What Silverstein's theory does is that it not only indicates the interconnectedness between semiotic values and social meanings but also, by extension, articulates the language ideology of the cultural

group under study. He points out the need for context sensitivity, in which the sign produced needs to be socioculturally understood. Then, we are better equipped to explain indexical signs.

2.4.3 Language ideologies

2.4.3.1 Language ideologies and language attitudes

Language attitudes are subconscious judgements that people make towards a particular code. They further entail making evaluations based on a set of traits within a group of speakers or towards different language users based on their experiences and the metapragmatic knowledge of dealing with the population (Dragojevic, Giles & Watson, 2013). However, the main factors considered in matched-guise studies are connected with status/prestige and solidarity/social attractiveness traits stereotypically attributed by people to the various speaker populations (see details in chapter 6).

Studies like Giles (1970) on the language attitudes of secondary school students towards South Wales and South West England accents, Hugyen and Vaughan (1983) on a range of speech styles of British, Dutch, Maori and Pakeha speakers, or even the foundational work by Lambert et al. (1960) on attitudes toward English and French in Canada show that speakers who are perceived as having high and powerful speech styles are stereotyped on status-related traits defined, for instance, by high education and socioeconomic standards. By contrast, the low speech varieties are usually stereotyped on the social attractiveness dimensions such as sense of humour, warmth, and entertainment (Hewstone & Giles, 1984; Hewstone & Giles, 1997; Mgbo-Elue, 1989; Obiols, 2002). The promotion of such distinctions is caused by the roles assigned to certain languages.

Recent research has clarified that this type of language ideological matrix while featuring massively in the literature, is far from being universal in contexts of widespread individual multilingualism (Cobbinah, Lüpke, Watson, 2017; Di Carlo, 2018; Di Carlo et al., 2020; 2018; Lüpke, 2016; Vaughan & Singer, 2018). Matrixes that differ from the ideological construct of language compartmentalisation and hierarchisation possibly require a different way of studying language attitudes (see chapter 6).

2.4.3.2 Language ideologies and identities

Language ideologies embody everything about social relations in connection with language and ideas of the language users (Kroskrity, 2004). Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) articulate the understanding of language ideology in the specific sense that people respond to the relationship between language and society by providing, explaining and understanding their deep views concerning the language and social component (p. 62). Language ideologies are further referred to as “the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (Irvine, 1989, p. 255). Silverstein (1979) offers a simple understanding of “language ideologies” as “any set of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use” (p. 193).

Identity is of primary importance as one end of many indexical trajectories, which is also an important part of language ideologies inferred through understanding the cultural context. Sociologists Brubaker and Cooper proposed to identify at least two main types of identity: categorical and relational. While these two kinds of identities are introduced from the domain of sociology, they are instead innovations that are yet to become properly recognised in the sociolinguistic literature (see Di Carlo, Esene Agwara & Ojong, 2020; Di Carlo, Good & Ojong, 2019, for its use). Two key elements that differentiate existing language ideologies in urban contexts from rural ones have been termed in Brubaker and Cooper (2000) and Di Carlo, Good and Ojong (2019) as “categorical” as opposed to “relational” ideologies that by extension shape identity conceptions.

Categorical ideologies denote the characteristics through which members share categorical qualities—such as race, ethnicity, language, nationality, citizenship, gender (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). These features are more essentialist in nature and imply more biological, stable and encoded power than social in origin, unstable and little power-oriented. Categorical ideologies emerge when speakers of a particular language index more personal and moral meanings. Relational ideologies, by contrast, refer to an indexical sign whose social meaning can be interpreted based on the positionality of the speaker within a web of relations. A relational identity is triggered via an indexical sign, “where only group membership is implicated in the use of a language” (Di Carlo, Good & Ojong, 2019, p. 35). In the literature, identity is usually discussed in terms of categorical identities since relational ones seem to be repetitive of associative patterns of little depth and

limited interest. “Member” vs “not member” is a meaning that says very little if the specificities of the group in question and the particular context are not considered. The ethnographically informed approach aims to fill this gap by providing in-depth locally salient features that showcase the relevance of relational identities.

Di Carlo, Esene Agwara and Ojong (2020) have shown that the use of English, an exoglossic language in the LF contexts, represents categories that call up images of authority and prestige that embody physical or categorical or essentialist qualities. However, the use of local languages suggests a relational or indexical feature that can best be understood through metapragmatic and metadiscursivity knowledge (Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008).

2.5 Rural vs urban multilingualisms

Following the sociolinguistic perspective on the topic of multilingualism, a large body of studies has been concentrated in urban areas. While the reasons for researching urban-based environments are worthwhile—e.g., for proper policy and planning schemes and nation growth in general, the problem of under-researched rural areas remains. The idea that “the majority of Africans live in rural regions, and multilingualism is clearly of much older provenance than the urban counterpart” (Di Carlo, Good & Ojong, 2019, p. 1) goes to emphasise the importance of describing and examining multilingualism research from a rural dimension.

Admittedly, there has been a mass wave of mobility over the decades, from rural areas to urban centres, in search of better job opportunities. Gough, Esson, Andreasen and Yankson’s (2019) research conducted in three African countries, i.e., Cameroon, Ghana and Tanzania, suggests youthful migration to some major cities in search of better livelihoods. Kashoki further indicates that urbanisation, geographical mobility, education and industrial development are all characteristics of urban environments (Kashoki, 1982, p. 144). The presence of different language speakers coming into contact in these urban areas gave rise to complex linguistic configurations. As a result, there was a need for researching multilingual patterns at individual and societal levels to draw up new language policies as a target for state-building. Thus, an apparent reasonable and valid research to carry out. One sees that in urban environments, exoglossic languages, African lingua francas, and local languages mark the linguistic repertoires. This triglossic pattern, often

ordered according to prestige ideologies, is organised in terms of specific functions used in specific domains. This clear-cut linguistic division of labour underscores the sociolinguistic studies on societal multilingualism starting with Fishman's (1967) diglossia concept.

In rural settings, the multilingual picture is dissimilar when compared to the urban settings. The idea that African ethnic groups or "tribes" were considered to be linguistically homogeneous communities (Povey, 1983), and shown as each village having their language with an absence of dynamic patterns of social interaction was debunked later on in research on multilingualism in Africa (Lüpke 2016). Myers-Scotton's (1982) study for example, conducted in Shiveye, Kenya revealed that unlike her initial description of the Shiveye area as linguistically homogeneous (p. 26), a great majority of the individuals reported knowledge in an additional language other than Shiveye. She found the presence of bilingualism extremely exciting that she considered it one of the most novel findings. Thanks to new ways of investigating individual multilingualism by using the ethnographic approach (see Di Carlo, 2016; Esene Agwara, 2013, 2020), we can readily claim that the idea that fixed or isolated tribal entities along with their "pure language forms" each used within political boundaries is erroneous. First, because of the extreme linguistic diversity like in the case of LF, and second, due to the high linguistic repertoires mainly composed of local codes, local language ideologies and the dynamic local social practices that are not discernible in urban zones. Di Carlo and Good (2020) have pointed out "an assumption of linguistic homogeneity has led to rural areas playing a relatively marginal role in the study of multilingual behaviours" (p. 17). Thus, this research seeks to add to the few studies on multilingualism so far.

In terms of the geo-economic characterisation of rural areas, it is observed that the intense mobility into the cities for better economic opportunities is already telling that in the rural areas, availability of jobs and occupational diversity is negligible. This seems to be a contributing factor for linguistic repertoires for individuals living in urban areas. The main occupation in rural areas is farming. Equally, transport facilities and electricity are relatively restricted. Housing is highly constructed using mud bricks and sometimes roofed with thatch. Geographically, one can intuitively tell that the population density in rural areas is much less than in urban areas. Di Carlo and Good's (2020) study classifies some rural areas in Central and West Africa as spaces marked by high language density and high rates of individual multilingualism. Finally, another area that portrays significant

differences between rural and urban multilingualism is language ideologies, as underscored throughout this study.

There is no shortage of evidence that individual multilingualism studies conducted both in rural and urban centres point to the distinctive roles that languages play within the targeted societies. Ullrich (1982) examined the individual multilingual patterns in both urban and rural areas of Karnataka, South of India, while focusing mainly on the regional (Kannada), national (Hindi) and international language (English) of the area. The remaining languages were grouped as “other languages”. He studied the patterns of use with respect to specific domains and found out that multilingualism exists in varying degrees, with the fewer members practising multilingualism in rural areas. The people in the rural areas use the local language more often than not and less English unless in job-seeking situations; the situation in urban settings is more dynamic in terms of multilingualism. There is a fair blend between English and Kannada in all domains except for informal domains where the regional language is mostly used. More, both rural and urban respondents identified the English and Kannada languages as languages of economic stability, marital happiness, and only English for education and career advancement. While Hindi was valuable for intra-India communication, Kannada was valuable for patriotism. The overall finding indicates that those in rural areas live ideal multilingualism, as very few practice multilingualism. Those in the urban centres live a multilingual reality, with English dominating most often in different domains.

Kashoki (1982) followed a similar trend by studying individual multilingualism in rural and urban Zambia. He tried to evaluate the importance of national languages as well as local lingua francas in Zambia, by appreciating their face values in the Zambian society. The questions focused upon in the survey captured the specific domains in which languages are used. Kashoki relies mainly upon secondary data that focuses on a mass media survey in Zambia (Mytton, 1973, as cited in Kashoki, 1982) to support his research. Some of the findings show that the general vitality of Zambian languages has been attributed to historical evidence, whereby the pre-independence era encouraged all official languages to be used as vehicle of formal instruction (Kashoki, 1982, p. 157). In addition, Bemba varieties, Nyanja and Tonga enjoyed the most vitality due to migration, labour mobility and urbanisation. Another significant finding regarding rural and urban multilingualism reflects imbalance levels of multilingualism. Kashoki advances that urban areas

are more liable to be multilingual because of a mix of heterogeneous groups, whereas rural areas are trending in bilingualism.

Early work around the 1970's and 1980's (see, Kashoki, 1982; O'Barr, 1971; Myers-Scotton, 1982) on individual multilingualism in urban and rural areas focused mainly on the role of exoglossic colonial languages and lingua francas in intra- and intergroup communication in multilingual societies. As such, local languages indicated relative uninterest (see, especially, O'Barr, 1971, p. 290-3). O'Barr (1971) examined the linguistic repertoires of 159 Usangi rural inhabitants in Tanzania to describe their language use patterns in distinctive domains. He mainly capitalised on the regional language, Asu, the lingua franca; Swahili, and the colonial language English. An encounter with other languages outside the aforementioned, defined nowadays as local "named languages" (see Di Carlo, Good & Ojong, 2019; Esene Agwara, 2020; Lüpke 2018) as viewed from a localist perspective was instead lumped up as African vernaculars in a single category leading to the loss of any form of data exposing the "local language ideology". This, therefore, meant that the sociolinguistic perspective from a local stance was toned down. O'Barr's findings indicate that Asu and Swahili both have a diglossic function, where Asu is mostly used at home, and Swahili is used mostly outside the home, i.e., present in schools, shops, hospitals, courts, Mosques. His study undoubtedly indicated that rural inhabitants are partly monolingual (O'Barr, 1971, p. 298).

In short, these studies indicate that the forms of rural multilingualism are highly informed by the diglossia approach and with the topic overall less studied from a rural perspective.

2.6 Conclusions

The purpose of this literature chapter was to review related literature that supports the relationship of language ideologies and multilingualism, language attitudes and language use. The chapter provides basic insights into the general concepts and theories that cut across the subsequent chapters of this work. Given this objective, definitional controversies to bilingualism, multilingualism, plurilingualism were offered as well as presented notions on individual and societal multilingualism. Furthermore, terms such as language, language varieties, codes and lects were addressed. All these terminological discussions show how these concepts are used in this

study. The approaches to the study of bi/multilingualism from linguistic, psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic dimensions were examined to situate the scope of interest on the latter dimension. The choice of the ethnographically informed approach was further exposed as it fully captures aspects of indexicality and local language ideologies that are all considered useful frames in explaining sociolinguistic phenomena in this work. The patterns of urban and rural multilingualism were captured while portraying the dichotomies that exist between them. It is clear from the reviews that rural multilingualism in general and other sociolinguistic behaviours such as language attitudes and use specifically are still under-researched, hindering undescribed local language ideologies associated with these phenomena to be called up. Along with this, it is also clear that the field of sociolinguistic research in rural areas and Africa at large requires new ways of carrying sociolinguistic studies.

3 CHAPTER THREE: THE LOWER FUNGOM SETTING: BACKGROUND AND REVIEW OF THE AREA

3.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to achieve two objectives. Firstly, section 3.2 describes the research context of the study, with attention to the region's overall ecology. Secondly, section 3.3 lays out an extensive review of literature on the linguistic, sociolinguistic, and ethnographic studies that have been carried out in the area over the years while highlighting the importance of this study.

3.2 Overview of research area

3.2.1 Geographical placement

At the fringe of the North West Grassfield'sⁱ territory lies Lower Fungom. The total land coverage of this area is estimated at 240 sq. km (Di Carlo, 2011). It falls within the Zhoa sub-division and the administrative division of Menchum in the North-West Region of Cameroon. The name Lower Fungom came as a result of the first native court in the village of Fungom by the British colonial administrators. "Lower" designates the lower elevation of LF area balanced against those to its east, west, and south. It is worth mentioning that Fungom, Small Mekaf, Mekaf, and Zhoa do not make up part of LF. LF is quite distinguishable from relief features like the Kimbi River, which demarcates the north and east boundaries. The Yemne stream separates the Isu area to the west, to the north, Bum (Boyo Division), and the Kimbi River separates Furu-awa (Menchum sub-Division) areas. Land topography, i.e., low elevation, keeps LF distinct from the areas lying to the south, such as Fungom, Cha', and Bum. The LF area is mostly sharply hilly, with an average of 250 to 300-meter climb. The climate is of the savanna monsoon type. The wet season begins from April to October and the dry season from March to November, with the coldest being August and the hottest January. LF has elephant grass (common in Grassfields) and wooded areas (enormous oil and raffia palms). There is, however, a minimal presence of forest on hills and damp bottoms of few valleys.

3.2.1.1 Language names and hamlets

Almost four decades ago, the Cameroonian Grassfields was identified as one of the most linguistically diverse areas in the world (Stallcup, 1980, p. 4). Today, the Grassfields is continuously noticed in the same light as in the past (see Di Carlo & Good, 2020). Good et al. (2011) recognize LF in the Grassfields as the most diverse with an impressive linguistic diversity when looking at the language density average. Evans (as cited in Di Carlo, 2018) counts one language per 100 sq. km in the Vanuatu area, unlike LF that records one language per 30 sq. km. The main coverage used expands about 10 km from north to west and east to west. If we include less packed far-flung areas, the complete area amounts to roughly 240 sq. km. The number of codes that qualify as “languages” is still debatable because the data available are incomplete. So in some publications, we have seven languages (e.g., Good et al., 2011); in others, eight (e.g., Di Carlo, 2018). In considering the most recent publication, while six LF languages confined to single villages, the other three are varieties spoken in a cluster of villages. In other words, Buu is expressed in Buu, Koshin is spoken in Koshin, Kung is spoken in Kung, Fang is spoken in Fang, Ajumbu is spoken in Ajumbu (otherwise known as Mbu), and Naki is spoken in Mashi. In addition, the other clusters of villages that speak varieties of the same language can be distributed as follows: the Mungbam cluster includes Munken expressed in Munken, Ngun spoken in Ngun (otherwise known as Nsung), Biya spoken in Biya (otherwise known as Za), Abar spoken in Abar, and Missong uttered in Missong (otherwise known as Bidzun). In the Ji group, Mufu is spoken in Mufu, Mundabli is spoken in Mundabli. This language picture is analogous to an ethnographic description that clearly shows the social organization across the villages (see Di Carlo, 2011 for more details). In LF, some of the villages are known via names different from their original names today. Missong originally is known as Bidzumbi, where Bidzun is spoken. Biya, for instance, is the name of the village before the arrival of the Germans. Presently, the government uses Zaah, and the chief of the Biya recently asked us to use Zaah-Biya in our publications.

3.2.2 Overview of LF languages

LF registers eight languages spoken in thirteen villages—i.e., Missong, Abar, Ngun, Biya, Munken, Buu, Mundabli, Mufu, Mashi, Kung, Fang, Koshin and Ajumbu (see the previous section

for their distribution). The status of Missong has been questioned in Good et al. (2011). Lovegren (2013) seems to pick Missong as a different variety in the Mungbam cluster (see section 3.2.3.2). Nonetheless, the status of Buu has been clarified as a separate language from Mufu and Mundabli language varieties. Voll (2013)ⁱⁱ states that Buu is a distinct language from Mufu and Mundabli cluster. Ngako (2013)ⁱⁱⁱ supports this claim.

Hombert (1980) grouped Koshin, Fang, Ajumbu and the language clusters of Abar, Missong, Munken, Ngun, Biya on the one hand, and Mufu and Mundabli on the other (now referred to as Mungbam and Ji respectively (Good et al., 2011) under the appellation “Western Beoid”. Hombert (1980) saw these languages as belonging to the same group. In addition, he classified the Mashi as “Eastern Beoid”. Good et al. (2011) have, however, found no connection between Western and Eastern Beoid. The fact that Good et al. (2011) did not find any significant genetic signal linking the languages of LF with Eastern Beoid led to the association of Yemne-Kimbi, a geographical label (the names of two rivers delimiting this area) to the other languages, and the languages of 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 Mashi people speak Mashi, which is a variety of Naki. Some villages (Mekaf, Small Mekaf and Mashi Oversight) outside LF use Naki. The people of Mashi appear to speak a distinct variety of Naki. The language Kung has been classified with the Central Ring (see Figure 1).

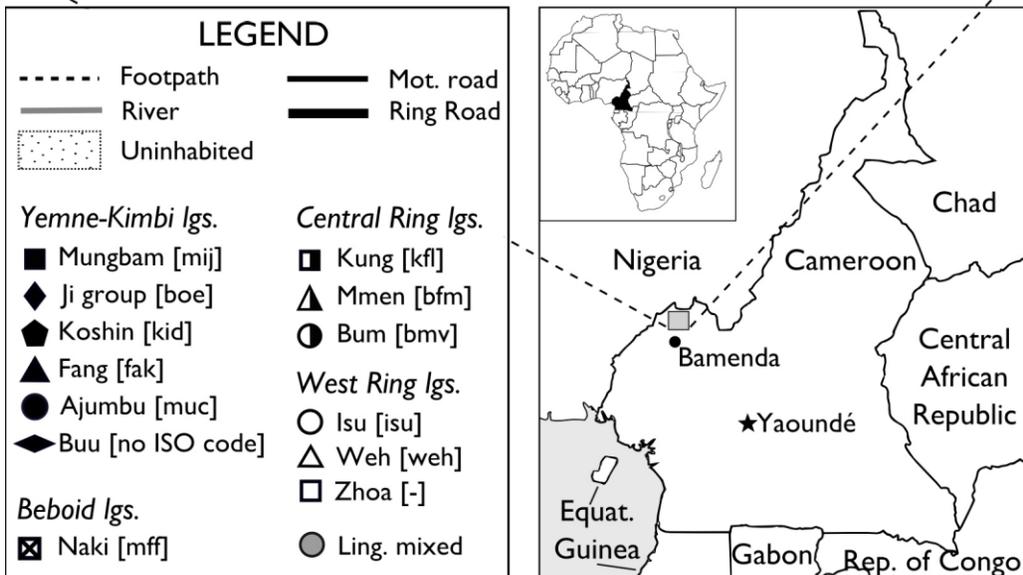
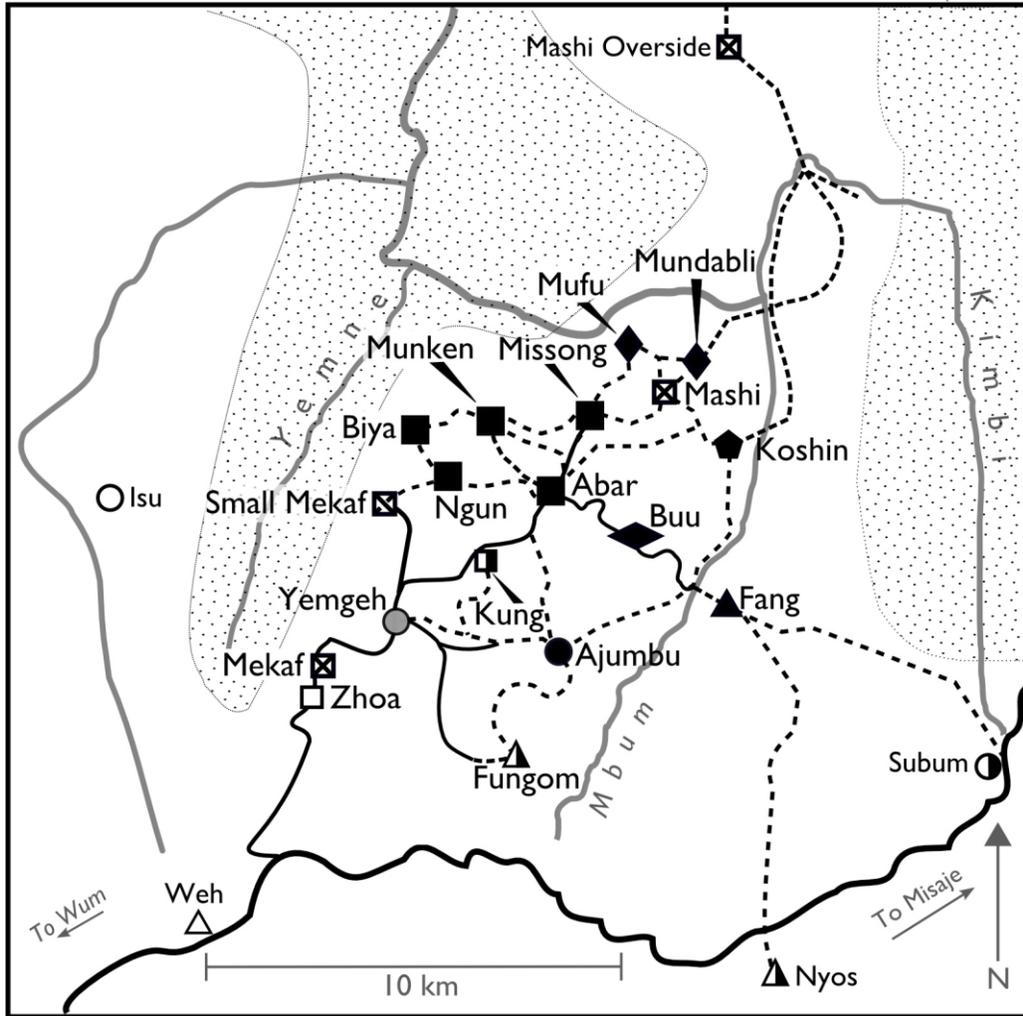


Figure 1: Linguistic map of Lower Fungom based on Pierpaolo Di Carlo 2011

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 [mf]	Mashi	300-400
Central Ring	Kung [kfl]	Kung	600-800

Table 1. Lower Fungom villages based Good et al. 2011

3.2.3 Sociocultural and historical context

3.2.3.1 Lower Fungom as a whole

LF consists of part of the Grassfields area. Even though the LF do not speak the area’s languages (see section 3.2.1.2), they share some common features, which I briefly mention below. What they have in common with other Grassfields areas lies in a shared economic specialization (palm oil, wood carving), sociopolitical consolidation, and organization (villages, quarters, chiefs, subjects, secret societies) shaped to an extent by the local ecologies and migration histories (Di Carlo, 2011).

In the same light, the LF people share similar sociocultural and historical patterns at the basic level. Di Carlo (2011) explains that until colonial times, each village used to be politically independent under the leadership of a chief. In addition, members of the same village come together to sell their produce during market days. Another major element in LF is the formation of quarters, which are exclusive residences of smaller population units that are often separated by a considerable distance. These quarters can be compared to cities that make up a country. Just like villages, quarters enjoy political (quarter heads) and social (come together) independence. In addition, smaller units are formed from quarters referred to as compounds (with the first syllables’ “bu” or “mbiang”, meaning children of) headed by an appointed family head.

Moreover, except Kung (matrilinear) and some newly founded mixed quarters in Abar, Missong and Yemgeh, in all the other villages, quarters are residential and exogamous units, i.e., people cannot marry within the quarter. In LF, villages are headed by a traditional ruler who is known as a “Nkung,” i.e., chief. They are chosen mostly through a monarchical style of government and command respect from their people. Their role is to provide “produce, game, and offspring” to their people (Di Carlo, 2011). Elsewhere in the Grassfields, it is believed that coronation considers contact with the ancestors.

3.2.3.2 Missong area vs the rest of Mungbam area

This research context covers the entire LF area. However, in chapter six, attention is paid to the Mungbam area, with Mashi being an extra addition outside Mungbam. Mungbam^{iv} is an acronym coined by Good et al. (2011), and it is classified as ISO 639-3 code [mij] to represent the varieties/villages of Munken, Ngun, Biya, Abar and Missong. Seminal works on Mungbam, precisely Missong, begin with Hombert (see section 3.3). Further work has been carried out (Hamm et al., 2002) on the word lists of Abar and Missong. Lovegren (2013) seems to pick out Missong as a different variety in the Mungbam cluster. He further describes the peculiar status of Missong when compared to the other four Mungbam varieties. Even though Missong shares commonalities with the other four varieties (Good et al., 2011), Lovegren (2013) holds that there is only sketchy linguistic evidence. This, however, does not restrain language attitude studies or the topics addressed in this thesis. Culturally, LF members hold a strong sociolinguistic attitude whereby every village claims ownership of a language, i.e., every village has its own talk. However, while some Mungbam members agree that the Mungbam language clusters rhyme, a great majority claim that Missong is different.

Nevertheless, the basic ideological formula in LF is the “one village= one language” situation (see section 2.2.3). Moreover, such differences are still not ascertained in linguistic research, but Missong’s conspicuous difference sets itself apart from other Mungbam varieties (cf. 6.8.1 for details). Such hints rather warrant the need to investigate language attitudes and relationships between in- and out-groups.

3.2.4 Economy and demography

The main economic activity in LF is subsistence farming. The produce is purposely for consumption, and the fine grains and other items are exchanged for money. The elderly pay school tuition and provide basic medical care and clothing for their children from the produce traded for money. Other economic activities, which contribute to their income, consist of hunting and extraction of oil, kernels, and local wine from palm trees. Palm tree activities are generally associated with men (Baeke, 2004, p. 90). By the same token, other activities such as hunting animals like antelope, bush dogs, monkeys, birds, and snakes are male occupations. Fishing is also a practice in LF, especially in areas that have large bodies of water. Occasionally, a handful of people go to the towns to buy necessities such as body lotions, clothing, footwear, and cell phones for trading in the area. The population size of the settlers of LF is approximately 1400 (see Table 1 for details).

3.2.5 Religion

The examples of the various religions found in LF is based on the definition by Durkheim (1915), who sees religion as a cultural system of designated behaviours and practices, e.g., world views, texts, sacred places, organizations. Religious practices may consist of sermons, sacrifices, rituals, and festivals. The people of LF believe that there is “God” in biblical terms, but they also believe in their own “gods”. While they acknowledge the presence of the ‘God’ worshipped by Christians, they do not rely on “him” in their sociocultural practices, for example, when pouring libations, during birth and death celebrations. From an interview carried out in early 2017, one of the parents of a young Christian explains that allowing his child to fellowship in the church does not stop the child from traditional obligations. However, he added that he could not compel the children to stick only to their own “god”. One may be tempted to say although Christianity came to Africa a long time ago, it has not yet influenced the strong beliefs and traditions of the LF people. Some Sundays sometimes coincide with the “country Sundays”^v—i.e., the traditional 8-day week set aside as a day of rest; people, notably elderly men, prefer staying at home than going to church.

Nevertheless, their children are allowed to attend church service and youth fellowships. One can equally find a few women who attend as well. LF have a varied number of Christian denominations represented in the area. There are Presbyterian, Catholic, and Baptist churches.

3.3 Past research carried out in the LF area

A good number of studies situate the LF area as a suitable environment for linguistic studies. One of the reasons for attracting research in the Grassfields and particularly LF is its high linguistically diverse nature (Good et al., 2011; Watters, 2003).

3.3.1 Classical descriptive works

Works on few areas in the LF region commenced in the late 1970s, with Chilver and Kaberry (1974) providing a brief word list to investigate the linguistic boundaries of the Western Grassfields, and verify the statements of respondents about the identity of their neighbours. Hombert (1980) continued with a sketch of the noun class systems of four Beboid LF languages, namely: Naki, Koshin, Missong (a variety of Mungbam) and Buu (variety of Ji group). His aim following the noun class research was meant to illustrate further a genetic classification of LF languages which he subdivided into two groups with the label “Western” and “Eastern” Beboid (cf. Figure 2). This was an attempt to describe the understudied Niger-Congo languages from the Benue Congo branch in the Bantoid family. He concluded that there is credibility in grouping all the languages of LF as Bantoid as they have noun class systems similar to Bantu languages. However, he argued that some features distinguished his appellation “Western Beboid” from “Eastern Beboid”, with the latter having close relatives established outside the LF region. One point one must clarify here is that the area was poorly known even geographically, and this accounts for the fact that Hombert had just a few of the LF languages in his data set. In addition, it is a fact that Hombert worked with consultants in Bamenda and never visited the area personally. Dieu and Renaud (1983) share Hombert’s appellation and classify four LF languages as “Western Beboid”: Naki, Bu, Missong and Koshin.

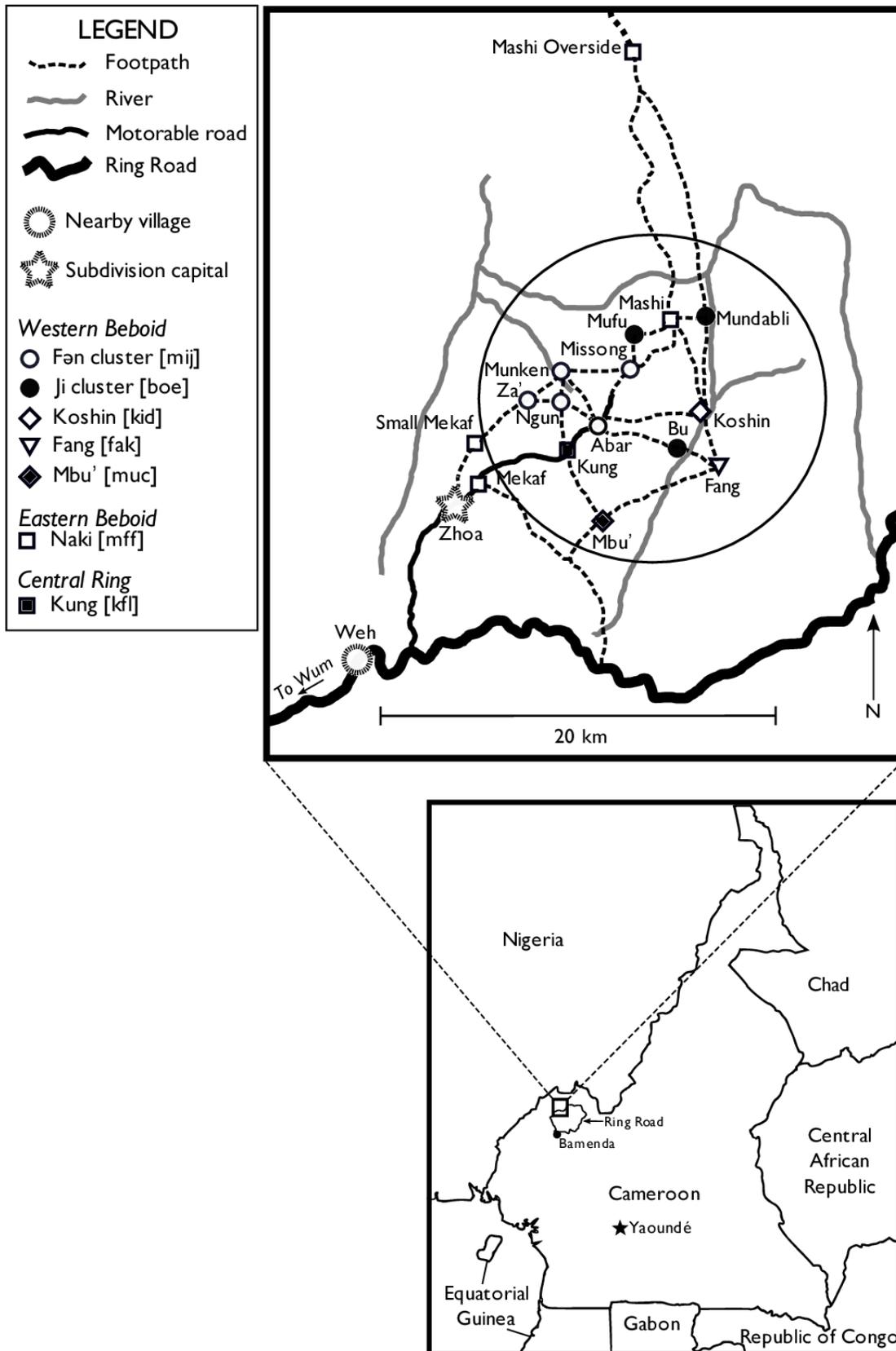


Figure 2: Map of Lower Fungom region based on Hombert 1980

Hamm and his collaborators (2002) were the first to visit the area for less than a week. They used the ALCAM list of 126 words to test the mutual intelligibility of the so-called “Western Beoid” languages of LF following reported intelligibility and lexicostatistical analysis. Their survey included eight LF codes, namely, Abar, Fang, Koshin, Mundabli, Buu, Ajumbu, Naki and Missong. They found out that Mashi was highly unintelligible with the other codes. Moreover, there was some degree of low intelligibility of Fang with the other codes. Hamm et al. (2002) did not ascertain the degree of intelligibility of the remaining codes. Lexicostatistical results showed Abar, Missong, and Mundabli and Buu share above 75% of lexical similarity. In contrast, Buu and Abar, Koshin and Fang and Ajumbu and Buu share below 65% of lexical similarity. Thus, while Hamm et al. (2002) agree for the most part with Hombert’s (1980) genetic classification, they go a step further to explain mutual intelligibility as inherent or learned. They say, for instance, that from a lower lexicostatistical analysis between Koshin and Fang, it takes more learning for the said members to understand each other.

Lovegren, Good, and Di Carlo conducted the first extensive fieldwork in the area. Good et al. (2011) attempted to reanalyze the classification of six of the LF languages otherwise termed “Western Beoid” following Hombert’s classification because they neither found out that there are any established close relatives outside the area nor established relationships among them. Good et al. (2011) proposed the name Yemne-Kimbi, which represents two rivers found on the west and east of the LF area, to capture what Hombert referred to as “Western Beoid” languages. They compared data on phoneme inventories, pronominal forms, noun class systems and verb systems following the Niger-Congo context to prove this contention. Good et al.’s (2011) findings show that “although the region shows a wide parallel spectrum, it is yet to find a shared innovation, which could account substantially for its treatment as a genetic unit as there is a remarkable disparity with its noun class system” (p. 58). In addition, they suggest that using mutual intelligibility as criterion to count the number of existing languages is not enough. As a result, there is a likelihood to lower the number of languages (see Figure 1 with Buu and Missong villages separated from other closely related speaking villages). Ngako’s (2013) Masters thesis on Buu seems to distinguish Buu as a separate language from Mufu and Mundabli (see Good et al., 2011). However, the status of Missong as a distinct language from the other Mungbam speaking varieties has not yet been established (see Lovegren 2013, PhD thesis). Following these recent researches

on the status of LF codes, the number of languages in LF is perhaps eight instead of seven. Descriptive work is essential in defining and highlighting the linguistic diversity under study.

Lovegren (2013), through texts and elicited data, describes the phonetics, phonology, morphology and syntax of Mungbam, a language cluster spoken in LF. Mungbam consists of five speech varieties, namely: Munken, Ngun, Biya, Abar and Missong. He summarily states that the perceptions of speakers of Mungbam provide contrary views as they refer to these more or less mutually intelligible codes as distinct. Nonetheless, he mentions that Missong seems to register lower intelligibility when compared with the other four Mungbam codes. Furthermore, from a descriptive linguist viewpoint, he shows that a small portion of the lexical items of the Missong variety represents differing roots where the other four varieties share the same roots.

Moreover, even when the Missong variety shares the same cognates as the other varieties, the sounds are inconsistent. Despite this observation, Lovegren (2013) remarks that the grammatical structure of Missong is not entirely different from the rest of the Mungbam varieties. Nonetheless, he maintains that a lack of detailed and complete description makes it difficult to determine whether Missong can be considered a separate language.

3.3.2 Documentary and multidisciplinary studies

To complement Good et al.'s study, Di Carlo (2011) takes on the study of LF from a multidisciplinary point of view to account for linguistic diversity. He demonstrates that ecological factors cannot sufficiently capture the remarkable linguistic diversity present in the LF area. They equally considered historical explanations, ethnographic inquiries, geographical and archaeological inputs for reconstructing or separating linguistic and cultural boundaries in LF. For instance, seeking natural protection from outside threats required historical insights into the area to understand cultural boundaries. Thanks to ethnographic and historical surveys, McIntosh (2005) uncovered that African societies valued wealth in land ownership and wealth in people. According to Di Carlo (2011), the process of entry and establishment in the LF area by different sets of communities suggests linguistic implications. He mentions that newcomers who early settlers or landowners incorporated during the non-conflict period established peaceful cohabitation. As such, they must have picked up the cultural and linguistic habits of their landowners.

Di Carlo (2011) further provided twenty sociocultural features to identify cultural boundaries, separating similar groups (otherwise termed LF canon societies) from dissimilar groups (non-canon societies). He found out that there was a direct relationship between cultural and linguistic boundaries. The Mungbam and Ji speaking villages form the canon societies, and the one-village languages make up the non-canon societies. Oral histories also support this important distinction. One-speaking villages make up part of the recent settlers, and the language cluster-speaking villages may have settled and spoken the Mungbam and Ji varieties for much longer.

In their study of LF, Di Carlo and Pizziolo (2012) display the importance of multidisciplinary approaches in probing linguistic-related issues in the diverse LF area. Their study consisted of reconstructing the prehistory of languages and capturing patterns of language change using linguistic, ethnographic, historiographic, archaeological, geomorphological and environmental data. Their attempt to represent past language dynamics, such as the history of the LF languages on a map, reveals that Naki-Mashi, for instance, is a recent arrival in the LF area and the Mungbam are relatively older settlers. Geographical evidence reveals that “one-village languages like Koshin, Fang and Ajumbu lie on the southern and eastern margins of an area whose centre is largely occupied by two language clusters (Mungbam and Ji) plus one variety (Mashi) of Naki, which appears as an internally homogeneous language cluster centred outside of this area” (p. 163). From a historical and linguistic perspective, they advance that the Ji and Mungbam clusters register a high degree of internal differentiation, possibly suggesting early splitting and settling in separate locations leading to distinct local varieties. Moreover, long-term cohabitation promoted some parallel cultural norms. Thus, their study contributes to the value of engaging multidisciplinary approaches when focusing on language change, especially alongside linguistic prehistory.

In 2014, Di Carlo and Good contributed to language documentation studies in Africa by drawing significant examples from the exceptionally diverse LF. They hold that rather than preserving lexicogrammatical codes of each language, it is more revealing to document language dynamics that involves the local meaning of “language” in the LF area. Studying the language in isolation, with the exemption of diversity, change, and language ideologies, fails to mirror the African reality. Their encouragement of integrating language documentation approach that focuses on grammatical data should be achieved alongside ethnographic and historical inquiries. It is possible

to consider some local languages as social semiotic tools symbolizing short-lived political formations that should not be taken as deeply rooted historical identities (Di Carlo & Good, 2014). Inferences from historical and oral data reveal that while kin groups or whole village migrations led to the formation of whole groups as units of LF, other units were formed through the process of crystallization, wherein autonomous kin groups grouped into federated villages to increase their potential for power (see, Di Carlo, 2014, p. 245; Kopytoff, 1981, p. 373). The formation of the linguistic situation of LF was not because of the natural differentiation of languages into dialects and then into new languages, but social, ecological and historical factors sparked it off. In addition to the external factors such as migrations, internal social factors are mentioned, like the momentary formations of the socio-political entity in need of a semiotic tool to express its being as a “real unit”. Di Carlo and Good (2014) advocate for language documentation practices that involve grammatical efforts and multilingualism and language use in social interactions through ethnographic and historical inquiries, hence the documentation of language dynamics.

3.3.3 Studies of multilingualism

Di Carlo and Good paved the road in 2014 in their publication, but the article was written in 2011. Their work was the first to mention multilingualism in LF. Esene Agwara (2013) was the first study explicitly devoted to multilingualism in LF. To further understand what motivates individual multilingualism in the LF area, Esene Agwara (2013) discussed the dynamics of individual multilingualism in LF, particularly before colonialism. To this end, the study mainly targeted the older age groups to tap into the motivations of high multilingualism rates and reach the oldest local language ideologies possible. Thanks to the use of an ethnographic questionnaire, she suggested a possible relationship between multilingualism and blood relations, individual relations, physical movements, perceived proximity and perceived linguistic similarity. She noted that speaking local languages for prestige and job opportunities was far from ideal among local codes; instead, language repertoires develop due to the facilitation of local trading, emotional dependability and social security.

Di Carlo (2015, 2018) explored new perspectives of language ideologies, drawing inferences from multilingualism while appealing to an ethnographic approach. By using a questionnaire that

reflects the cultural realities of the LF, he was able to see that the notions of class and prestige do not influence multilingual behaviours, but by being able to speak several codes to “maximize the number of latent networks of solidarity through a construction of distinct social identities” (Di Carlo, 2015, p. 297). Di Carlo (2018), on top of accentuating locale-specific tools for describing linguistic behaviours that exist in exogenous areas like the one in LF. He illustrated the tightly connected relationship between cultural knowledge and sociolinguistic behaviour. He showed this by providing an example of how multilingualism helps to overcome ritual insecurities. The chief who has visible control over the village, an index of a political institution, supposedly has invisible power and is expected to protect his subjects (Di Carlo, 2018, p.152). Speaking multiple languages to index affiliation in numerous chiefdoms hypothetically means the multilingual speaker activates a code of spiritual dependency when s/he speaks the codes of the ones s/he counts on for supernatural protection.

3.3.4 Current developments

In the same vein, Ojong (2019, 2020) studied patterns of language use among a few individuals in LF using ethnographic and language documentation methods. She showed that while code-mixing existed among local codes and CPE, the region’s lingua franca, there are very rare codes-switching situations. There are simply no alternations or back and forth movements at intersentential positions. Instead, she refers to “code regimentation”—where you find a complete shift from language A to B in a long conversation. Moreover, these shifts are not easily captured by existing theories like the accommodation theory, but explanations that are more restricted to social meanings require deep ethnographic studies. For instance, two interactants who share almost the same codes happen to use code A, the primary language of the older interactant, but at some point, the younger interactant switches to code B because of his discontentment of being addressed as a “child”. His first choice marked the need to activate his village membership with the older member, but when he switches because of the supposedly abusive word “child”, he decides to create a social distance by using code B.

In their recent research in the LF area, Di Carlo, Good and Ojong (2019) concentrate on multilingualism and language choice in LF while attempting to distinguish between the

endogenous and exogenous language ideologies of the area. They associate endogenous ideologies to local codes that were already in existence before colonialism, and exogenous ideologies are connected to the languages brought in during colonialism. They mention that choosing a code over another should not be generalized as a signal of solidarity representing the categorical way of viewing identity, as this only overshadows other context-relevant revelations. Instead, switching from one code to another is triggered by multiple affiliations that members uphold, which points to relational identification found in the endogenous ideologies.

Inspired by previous works on rural multilingualism in the area, Esene Agwara (2020) advanced a methodological point of view, describing extensively what an ethnographic questionnaire should consist of. Furthermore, she argues that the ethnographic questionnaire demonstrates the importance of identifying and understanding patterns of high rates of multilingualism. Relevant sociocultural categories are not limited to age, gender and education, but to features such as names, friendships, marital relations, multiple paternal and maternal networks. Additionally, respondents via the semi-structured interviews give historical accounts of what, how, where, and why they learned a particular lect. These sensitive cultural ways of approaching rural multilingualism presented intriguing responses to multilingualism and revealed local language ideologies. Finally, Esene Agwara (2020) suggested that there seems to be a correlation between the numbers of names and the reported rates of multilingualism. In other words, the higher the number of names represented in differing village networks, the higher the number of lects present in the multilingual repertoires of the members.

Di Carlo, Esene Agwara and Ojong (2020) further discuss the heteroglossia of ideologies in LF through language use data. They focused on the different kinds of identities that can be projected with the use of certain languages. CPE is used for inclusiveness so all a sundry can easily communicate when no shared local language is evident. The use of CPE was experienced during fieldwork interactions and market exchanges with foreigners, predominantly. The use of English portrays authority and power when during a church assembly, the lay preacher, in the power of command, rebukes his Christians for hesitating to tune a welcome song because Esene has not yet been introduced. The researchers further expose that the use of English is linked to a locale-specific institutionalization where English is not associated with anything—wealth, education, more than authority. The local languages are used to project village affinities (see Ojong, 2020).

Finally, Mba and Nsen Tem (2020) introduced ways to assess multilingual competence in small and under-described languages in LF as the first study of its kind. Using an adopted recorded text testing originally created to test mutual intelligibility, a two-hundred-word list was used for testing passive competence. More, locally salient visual stimuli were introduced to investigate the active competence of multilinguals. Judges' native to the targeted codes evaluated the responses advanced by the respondents, and the researchers designed the scores. Despite the methodological and theoretical challenges acknowledged, they attempted to show a positive correlation between reported high rates of multilingualism and passive and active competencies.

From the studies conducted in LF, one sees a representation of different sets of data—linguistic data on the one hand, where lexico-grammatical codes are captured, and sociolinguistics data on the other that deal with interview and speech data. The researchers share the idea that no single method can be able to capture locally salient data. A wave of multidisciplinary approaches is introduced, such as oral histories, anthropological, archaeological and geographical inquiries. While these works are simultaneously inspiring, allowing room for further research, there seems to be no escaping from the present research that partially overlaps with past literature. However, this step depicts one of the strengths in this study as it tries to bring all of the previous works together, thereby allowing a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomena under study.

It is evident that no single study has been able to connect the link between language ideologies and multilingualism, language attitudes and use in comprehensive research. In other words, the studies reviewed here explored novel domains, which this work now systematizes and puts together, with the addition of the MGT and transactional interactions in the market that were not studied before in LF. There is a shortage of painting a detailed picture as far as methods of data collection and types are concerned. Moreover, in a situation where forms of multilingualism are so diverse, coupled with the bias in rural multilingual studies, making a standard of doing research is simply far-fetched or even impossible altogether. Thus, this is the reason why I opted for an unusual yet comprehensive approach by including three main foci in this study—i.e., multilingualism, language attitudes and language use while striving to explore the role of language ideologies—all descending from the adoption of an ethnographic approach. It is worth noting that so far, language attitude studies (see chapter 6) is an innovation in LF as the only prior study is Chenemo and Neba's (2020) work in Lower Bafut.

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, the general ecology of the area from the geographical, linguistic, sociocultural, historical, economic, demographical, and religious characterization of the area was explored. The region is said to be one of the most diverse globally, and for this, different kinds of linguistic studies have been carried out in LF.

4. CHAPTER FOUR: WORKING IN THE FIELD

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of fieldwork experiences to outline the data-collection methods and instruments to explore language ideologies and their connection with multilingualism, language attitudes, and language use in LF. The data gathered for this study is predominantly from fieldwork. Tagliamonte (2006a) highlights the importance of fieldwork as she states that “fieldwork may be the best secret of sociolinguistics” (p.17). In fact, the sociolinguistic complexities arising from different settings highlight the importance of doing fieldwork. In this chapter, a summary of the step-by-step processes in data gathering and data analyses that are portrayed extensively in the analytical chapters with an ethnographic orientation are portrayed.

Because of the complex nature of this work, I decided first to discuss the generalities surrounding fieldwork and fieldwork protocol. Second, I proceed succinctly to cover a range of data-collection methods and instruments used in this work. Third, I discuss the research design and research approach. Thanks to fieldwork and consequently the choice of the various research methods, (i.e., an ethnographically informed questionnaire, an adapted matched-guise technique, sociolinguistic language documentation) used in investigating sociolinguistic phenomena (multilingualism, language attitudes and language use), I tried as much as possible to utilize tools that uncover the sociocultural realities in LF.

4.2 Some background: the fieldwork process as an ethnographic effort

Carrying out fieldwork from an ethnographic perspective requires more than designing a research instrument and heading into the field for data gathering. Fieldwork emerges as one of the components of ethnography whence empirical evidence is collected. Researchers insist on the need for ethnographic fieldwork to be “treated as an intellectual enterprise, a procedure that requires serious reflections *as much as* practical preparation and skill’ (Blommaert & Ji, 2010, p. 2). Gathering ethnographically informed data essentially requires fieldwork whereby the participants and the researcher are the players. Indeed, one of the fundamental activities of the ethnographer is

the ability to spend considerable period of time in the field, without which an understanding of the cultures of the people where the research is carried out is far-fetched.

Three stages are highlighted as an overall fieldwork process relating to ethnography as explicitly explored (Blommaert & Ji, 2010). The initial stage is prior to the field. While I do not wish to overemphasize this primary stage here, the practicalities will inevitably be reflected in step two, i.e., stay in the field and three, i.e., after fieldwork. It is important to note that the researcher requires a structured attention and must understand that ethnographic research is described and interpreted upon situations in natural environments, based on interactions between the researcher and the consultants.

Stage two explains the actualities of the field. Emphasis is placed on observations, making recordings and taking notes. Worthy of note is the resourcefulness of the field notes gathered through recordings, photographs, sketches, and observations, which frequently complement ethnographic interviews. Blommaert and Ji (2010) caution that a neutral status should be upheld by the researcher such that the traditional interview (brief, “next question” type of phrase) should be obscured. It should be ordinary, cooperative, and dialogical. In my experience, familiarizing oneself with the people’s way of life while participating and encouraging them draws a unique formal/informal conversation during the semi-structured interviews. This surely limits the identity authority perception by the interviewee. One way of achieving this is by asking questions that spur narratives. Questions relating to the biographies of the consultants were posed. Information concerning locations and social networks was uncovered in the narrative that provided information on language contact and multilingual influences.

Finally, Blommaert and Ji (2010) teach us that making partial sense of parts of one’s data is completely human immediately after fieldwork. Much listening, transcriptions of data, and description of metadata is one way to have clear ideas. In this research, the focus was on describing the metadata as it enhances ordering and structure, thus, providing the basis for clarity. Equally, descriptions and inferential statistics give a vivid picture of the people’s complex social life; one tries to make meaning of them while associating them with interpretations.

4.3 Entering the field and negotiating my role

Much more is required while on the field as a researcher than just data collection and analyses. Without proper immersion into the community under investigation, so much can go unnoticed, and the data collected might not reflect certain linguistic behaviours or unsatisfactorily cater for them. The immersion into the LF community (i.e., physical presence and constant participation in daily and cultural practices) allowed me to navigate the villages easily while going about my research activities. In addition, the length of stay, my constant engagements in cultural activities and the respect of the culture of the LF people permitted me to gather relevant information, which before my entry into the village seemed farfetched.

I must acknowledge that entering the LF area was not entirely new to me, especially as of 2017; I^{vi} had already made two visits to the area during my MA studies some five years ago. Before our initial visit in 2012, political tension was absent. However, my 2017 field trip coincided with the ongoing crisis between the separatist and the central government Francophone Cameroonians that started in late 2016 but escalated in 2017. This physical tension changed the fieldwork dynamic. Hence, acknowledging this challenge meant taking precautions and finding ways to gain confidence while on the field. As an Anglophone Cameroonian who has spent all her life in an urban centre and coming from abroad, it could carry a somewhat negative signal. Some inhabitants thought that I was a government spy. To another extent, I was seen as a cultured-rich child who had come to make money out of them. There were very few instances that I was bullied by some young men from Munken at the Abar market who outrightly told me I was in LF to spy on them. Nonetheless, the fear evaded them when I became involved in cultural activities and spent time with the people. My constant presence and interactions brought immediate feelings of trust and security to the members.

4.3.1 Stay in the field

Fieldwork experiences show that being friendly is one of the relevant characteristics a researcher should have. This can be achieved through open-mindedness and the acceptance of cultural diversity, rather than alienating oneself and making (negative) judgements. In fact, it is important

to note that being sociable, in addition to other qualities just mentioned, makes way for positive outcomes. For instance, the researcher and the consultants find each other approachable. In this way, one can study and gather valid data in natural environments with some ease. Natural scientists, for example, go out to the field to study living things in their natural environments rather than observe them in some enclosed space. Likewise, when psychologists go to the field, their objective is to study their subjects' behaviours as they happen in real-life settings instead of studying them in a lab setting. In the same vein, when sociolinguists go to the field, they investigate the language and the context and the people who speak it. Fieldwork then emphasizes the point of socialization for the researcher.

One way of looking at a fieldworker's duration and interaction in the field is traditional ethnography. In doing ethnographic fieldwork, the idea points to how being part of a community can produce far-reaching results, thereby interpreting what Geertz (1973) calls "webs of meaning". Thus, in line with one of the objectives of an ethnographic approach, this work, spending considerable time in the field, was relevant for meaningful analysis. Thus far, I spent roughly five months in the field at different intervals, gathering different data sets during this project.

4.3.2 Some sociocultural engagements

Psychologists who reflect on good research practices suggest that covert prejudice can be avoided when one engages in brief cultural activities with someone or members of another group (Brannon 2013). In this way, these prejudices may sometimes hinder the research in general. In this study, I got involved in sociocultural activities, with part of them carried out daily—some of the interactions comprised of paying visits to consultants in their homes and sharing in their meals. In addition, I participated in njangis^{vii} and meetings organized by different quarters in Missong village. I joined in the singing, dancing and drinking during their meetings and other celebrations. I equally paid condolence visits to some bereaved families. For example, I attended the wake-keep and burial of the Chief of Abar's mother. Also, I was present during the burial and dead celebration of a senior member of the chief of Missong's counsel. More, homage was paid to the late Fon of the Missong village who recently passed away at his graveside. This was accompanied by some traditional performances such as gun salutations, removing feathers of a living cock on his grave

and farewell speeches. Aside from condolence visits, I also made visits to the Presbyterian Church in Missong and the Abar market severally. I discussed with people of diverse ages in the market and shared some traditional liquor in their beer parlours. I also interacted frequently with a group of young women who assisted in carrying out non-related research activities. Sometimes, myself and the research assistants trekked some 2 km to carry water and fetch firewood for cooking. In a few cases, I offered help with fever and pain relief drugs that were much appreciated. The word of this good deed spread like wildfire. Although this action was not intended to receive glory and praise, it brought me closer to the LF people. I was not only seen as a researcher but as a daughter, a granddaughter, a sister and a friend.

4.3.3 Ethical issues

Research in itself is useful in bringing about development. However, it is also as important as finding appropriate or ethical ways of investigating phenomena without causing misunderstanding, suspicion and tension, which may interfere in getting credible data. Bower (2008) attempts a broad definition of ethical research to work that the researcher, the research community and the language community think is appropriate. A number of ethical considerations were taken into account when fieldwork was carried out in LF.

The issue of gaining access to the people was quite relevant in this research. For the community, I presented authorized research documents from my university to the local administrative authorities, i.e., the divisional officer of Fungom, the various chiefs, their notables and the villagers. Once permission was granted, the local authorities called a brief meeting to inform the locals in LF. The rights of individuals were not suppressed after gaining community access. So, for instance, my field assistants and consultants were approached for their consent before data gathering of any form was collected. No consultant was forcefully assigned by the local authorities to us. This work was determined by the individual's approval. Despite that consent forms were not distributed for written signatures; I was able to get permission through oral acceptance recorded on tape. To illustrate, before any interview was done, consultants were informed on the research objective except for the information that could influence the data. I always asked consultants whether they could be recorded or not.

In line with ethical awareness, the following was achieved. To begin with, respect for the locals was paramount. Some of the ways I showed respect towards the field assistants and consultants was by keeping to time, allowing them to listen to the recordings and reporting methods of data collection and procedures honestly. I always organized the working plan with the consultants. Recording sessions, for example, were planned and known to the consultants well ahead of time to organize themselves accordingly. In addition, I made sure that detailed records of my research activities were documented using well-detailed metadata. Even though I hardly ever came across information that was indexed as confidential, I respected the privacy of the consultants when they so desired. A case in point involved some ritual practices that take place in the secret bush when the chief dies. The chief's son demanded that I should not make a recording, which was respected. Another ethical step was taken because the purpose of carrying out research in LF was made clear from the onset. This was done to clear any misunderstandings as, usually, some people tended to believe that it is was a profit-making endeavour. Therefore, consultants were informed beforehand on who financed the research and expected outcomes after the research. Every job done required a reward in some appropriate way, nonetheless. In the case of the LF people, monetary compensation is acceptable. Compensations were defined by the time spent with each consultant. Gifts were also given to a few individuals who preferred gifts to money. However, there was one consultant who took neither money nor gifts. In this case, a simple "thank you sufficed".

Finally, the issue concerning how the community benefits from my research is also an ethical concern to be addressed in this work. I was concerned with the benefits of the research to the LF people, as Bower (2008) clearly states that giving back depends greatly on the community (p. 193). While some members of the community expected more socio-economic developments in their communities, such as road constructions, new health centres and other development projects, which my project could not afford, others were contented in knowing that their communities are known to the outside world. Their level of education, to some extent, permitted them to understand that the outcome of my PhD thesis will advance scientific knowledge and preserve their cultures through the data I have gathered. The older age group is quite interested and enthusiastic about my research in this regard. All this is my way of giving back to the people who opened doors for me and devoted their time to respond to questions. The ethical considerations though not exhaustive, try to echo Bower's (2008) discussion that the advancement of knowledge and the pursuit of

information are not in themselves sufficient justifications for overriding the values and ignoring the interest of research participants.

4.4 Preparatory phase

Fieldwork requires planning and some clear activities to be undertaken while on the field. The choice of research site, readings on the language, and the sociocultural background of the LF people available in the literature, designing research instruments and finding consultants are well-planned fieldwork activities that were considered. All these steps prepared me, to an extent, for the challenges of the field and allowed a serene kick-off plan.

4.4.1 Choosing my research site

The starting point of my interest in LF began with Jeff Good and his team of researchers' initial project on the languages of LF. He noticed a remarkable linguistic diversity of the area. Later on, Pierpaolo Di Carlo identified multilingualism in the area. At this point, I and Angela Tem were enrolled on a new phase of studying individual multilingualism in the LF region. The projects in which I started working on in LF were of a documentary nature. My first scholarship was funded through the United States National Science Fund. This means that I was exposed to language documentation best practices, which prominently data archiving figures (see, Good, 2012 on language documentation).

In this light, part of the research conducted in this study was limited to Missong, within the LF context that I had a chance to work on during my Masters' study. This was thanks to the relevance of previous studies in the Grassfields and LF (Di Carlo, 2011; Esene Agwara, 2013; Good et al., 2011, Hombert, 1980) that laid the groundwork for this study. The particular case of Missong was quite intriguing because it happens to be the only variety in the Mungbam cluster that seems to be linguistically disparate from the others (see section 3.3.1). In some of my discussions with Missong residents in Missong, it was suggested that it is quite easy for Missong people to speak the other Mungbam varieties. However, it is not always easy for members within the Mungbam cluster to

speak Missong. The non-Missong residents repeated this claim also. According to some Mungbam people, Missong people are God-gifted with language learning capabilities. Likewise, Mungbam speakers say that they cannot speak Missong because it does not “rhyme” with their talk. Other sociocultural differences that distinguish Missong from the rest of Mungbam (see section 6.8.1) sparked up interest to uncover individual multilingual repertoires and their language attitudes and language use. In short, my choice of Missong among the Mungbam was motivated by secondary sources and pragmatic reasons. For the latter reason, it was somewhat easier to work in familiar terrain.

4.4.2 Finding field assistants

It should be noted that entering the field was not initially achieved individually but collectively. My initial exposure to the terrain was through Pierpaolo Di Carlo and George (a Mekaf man). Ikom (an Aghem man) guided my recent field trips until my last trip, which I managed alone. One lesson learnt by entering the field with local assistants is centred on people’s perception when you first arrive. The fact that I was introduced to members of the LF community “correctly” made it easier to connect with my consultants. Their first point of trust was triggered by the presence of people who were more local than me.

During my initial contact with LF, I observed some great degree of hospitality and openness of the locals. For example, it is normal to request drinking water as an outsider, and one will be given or ask for directives, and one may be surprised as to how far the local will be willing to offer help. However, finding LF field assistant(s) required more than just walking up to someone seeking basic help despite hospitality. Initial contacts were first made with people from the Aghem area, who facilitated meeting with the chiefs, who then appointed some local assistants. Apart from having a local backup, some extra public relation skills such as wearing smiles, speaking one of the local languages or/ and the lingua franca of the area was necessary.

Usually, in small communities where everyone knows everyone, it is easy to notice a strange face. The most evident thing I did to avoid suspicion was to pay a courtesy visit to the area’s local authorities. At the beginning of the research, I was assisted by Ikom^{viii} and two PhD colleagues, Maruis and Nelson^{ix}, to greet the Fon of the targeted villages, i.e., Abar, Missong, Ngun, Munken

and Mashi. The courtesy call was meant to make my presence in the area known and layout the purpose of my visit. We received official permission to carry on with research with the LF people by the various rulers. It is important to mention that being familiar faces in LF did not stop me from officially paying a visit to the communities after several years. With my intention known, it was time to identify potential field assistant(s). I was interested in a committed, strong individual competent in all the 13 local talks spoken in LF and CPE. Two males aged 49 and 68, respectively, from Missong (my principal research area), were identified by the Missong people as speaking several languages inside and outside of LF. The principal guide (male, 49) accompanied me to the targeted villages to help make contacts with consultants and possibly carry out some interpretations from the local languages to CPE. The older male (68) offered help sporadically due to his health conditions to establish more contacts. I equally made use of the help of a female who prepared my meals.

4.4.3 Other aspects to consider

The working culture of the people provides a key element to take note of when planning to go for fieldwork. In my case, the members of LF are farming people who are generally busy during the day. Therefore, the questions of when to go to the field and how long to go for was relevant in my research considering the four-year time plan for my PhD. The LF people rely on their farms for survival. Their cycle of farming spans throughout the whole year, i.e., from grass cutting to tilling the soil (depending on the soil and produce), to planting, weeding and finally harvesting. With this in mind, my trips to Cameroon were usually during the non-wet season (i.e., from October to March) when they are less busy.

Furthermore, travel documents and field equipment were relevant to start fieldwork. Official travel documents from Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies and authorization from local authorities were indispensable as they guarantee a comfortable start for doing fieldwork.

4.5 Design the research instruments

Research instruments are tools one uses to collect data from consultants. Data reliability and validity rest on the research instrument chosen for data collection, a fundamental component of research design. Research questions are properly answered and analyzed when the right tools are employed. Schilling (2013) emphasizes that spending long periods on the field, under sometimes, uncomfortable conditions should be worth it if data gathered are of good quality. In this research, a good number of instruments were utilized per the objective of the research, one of which sought to demonstrate how language ideologies manifest through sociolinguistic phenomena such as multilingualism, language attitudes, and language use in the LF community. As earlier mentioned, I briefly touch on the various tools used in gathering different data sets as an in-depth description is provided in the subsequent chapters.

4.5.1 The semi-structured interviews

Inspired by the role of ethnography, captured in Blommaert and Jie (2010), “ethnographic fieldwork aims at finding out things that are not often seen as important, but belong to the implicit structure of people’s life” (p. 1), a sociolinguistic questionnaire filled with ethnographic inquiries (see chapter 5.2.2 for details) was designed. Esene Agwara (2020) suggests the importance and relevance of using such a tool for the understanding of the development of individual repertoires. An ethnographic approach, as reflected in the questionnaire, targeted questions that reflected members’ social affiliations with one another from diverse linguistic provenances. Questions such as names and histories behind the given names of the respondents, friendship ties, blood relations, and marriage connections were elicited. I equally questioned how exposed respondents are to the languages they report passive and active knowledge. For instance, where, how, and whom they use the languages they report to know and speak. This tool highlights the existing local ideologies that allow us to describe and interpret multilingual behaviour. In addition, by identifying multilingual respondents, I selected potential consultants for the matched-guise test (MGT).

4.5.2 The matched-guise test

In a bid to investigate the language attitudes of Missong people, I used the MGT (see chapter 6.9). The MGT technique (Lambert et al., 1960) developed in Western settings consists of a speaker who reads a context-relevant text in the targeted language varieties or languages. The listeners listen to the recordings in a sequence produced by the same person and are asked to rate “the speakers” on a semantic differential scale along status and solidarity dimensions. What the listeners are unaware of is that they hear the same voices. Such an approach has been applauded for tapping into unconscious language attitudes that reveal much deeper linguistic behaviour (Lambert et al., 1960; Schilling, 2003). To ensure that the findings are a reflection of the cultural realities of the LF people, I adapted the MGT as I moved from stereotypic categorizations to traits that emerge thanks to an ethnographic approach that infers to an understanding of the way of life of the people.

4.5.3 Sociolinguistic documentation and observations

The question that sheds light on the patterns of language choice in the market and its implication on language ideologies called for a more novel approach of documenting interactions in a sociolinguistic context (see chapter 7.7.1). The advancement of sociolinguistic documentation (S.D) as a method lies in the argument made by Childs et al. (2014) that in highly multilingual contexts, language use is centred on the multilingual settings rather than the native languages. Successful SLD relies on documenting sociolinguistic contexts and taking into account the set of codes used. Furthermore, it emphasizes that social and cultural features be documented alongside the configuration of the event documented. In this sense, the instruments used were the video recorder alongside a set of ethnographic questions to get better insights into the configuration of the event documented. Such an approach facilitates the observation and understanding of actual language use in market transactions and reduces the possibility of relying on theoretical deductions.

4.6 Data organization and data storage

Organizing one's data and storing it is a good research practice because it creates a record of data about data, which connects or helps one situate the data when needed. This means producing metadata, a central concept in archiving that is useful in creating online archives housing documentary data about endangered languages. Describing information about data can be very time consuming and painstaking. However, it is worthwhile because it ensures data safety, preservation, access, and it is also an efficient tool in analyzing data (Schilling, 2003). I have found this exercise beneficial because it limits the risk of being bored and overworked, especially when the data gathered is described at the end of every workday. This helps psychologically because one is faced with relatively smaller data to describe. Everything collected that day remains fresh in one's memory; thus, navigating and entering data would seem effortless. The database for storing and cataloguing all information was achieved through using excel. Although organizing needs all the planning before actual fieldwork, the metadata process all begins from the moment before the recording.

Practically, the digital audio and video recorders were set up in the compressed format, that is, mp3 for audio files and mp4 for video files. The choice was conditioned mainly by the kinds of data gathered. I did not go into the grammatical description of data about language, but I looked out for language repertoires, language attitudes and language choice identification. I checked that the time and date settings were set in real-time to avoid mixing up files before recording at the beginning of a new day. Metadata information was stored in several spreadsheets according to themes. For instance, for the general information on all data sets, including the following fields: date, file name, place of recording, file type, duration, name of consultants, type of data, the status of data and comments on a single spreadsheet. Other categories, such as the session category that captured more details about the data, enumerated the following: fieldtrip name, session name, session title, session date, session description, country location, region location, location, genre, sub-genre, subject, communication context involvement, social communication context, communication context event structure, languages, video, audio, other resources, duration, device, notes, actor, and actor's role. Another category itemized was actor, this time, special reference to the consultants was made. Therefore, their first names, full names, questionnaire code, language description, year of birth, gender, education, contact name, contact email and contact organization.

In addition to the major fields described, different data sets with corresponding microscopic details were achieved to make cross-referencing and analyses easier. The easiest way, I have found, was to key in items capturing different variables per spreadsheets in the form of data description so that eventual analyses such as graphic generations could be handled with some comfort after the fieldwork.

4.7 Research designs

Research design simply is described as the procedure involved in collecting data, analyzing and reporting the data (Creswell, Clark, Gutmann & Hanson, 2003). It generally considers the entire steps one undertakes when carrying out research to answer research questions successfully. This research uses multiple research designs and data sets, also known as the triangulation strategy (see Cohen & Manion, 1994, for details). A combination of qualitative and quantitative research designs was employed in this study. The use of both qualitative and quantitative forms have been termed as the “mixed-bag approach” (Creswell, 2015) or “qual-quant continuum approach” (Dörnyei, 2007). It has been noted that the creation of journals at the national and international level tend to focus on mixed-method research (Creswell, 2015). Many scholars undertake such an approach to elaborate further on their findings (Angouri, 2010, p. 35).

Notwithstanding the merits of carrying out mixed-method research design (see section 4.7.3), there seems to be a definitional controversy at the level of how each research design, i.e., qual and quant, feed into each other. Dörnyei (2007) defines mixed research design as involving different combinations of qualitative and quantitative research either at data collection or at the analysis level (p. 25). This definition clearly separates both approaches functionally. Bergman (2008) strays away into a more open definition when he states that the mixed research design involves bringing together at least one quantitative element and one qualitative element in a single research. However, the level of involvement is not clearly exposed in this definition. Creswell (2015) takes a different turn by specifying the role of each approach in the realization of the effectiveness of a mixed research design. He emphasizes on the equal nature of both approaches as both should be highly valued and not only seen as one adding on the other and vice versa. Therefore, he views the

mixed research design as an approach to research in which the investigator collects, analyzes, and interprets qualitatively and quantitatively (Creswell, 2015).

One commonality that all definitions share is the presence of both the qualitative and quantitative approaches, with a difference only in the magnitude of their roles. For example, if the original data collection is mainly experimental design, then the weight might fall on the quantitative aspects. However, if the data collection design is principal of an ethnographic kind, one might need more qualitative approach. The example proposed by Dörnyei (2007) to view both the qualitative and quantitative research designs as a continuous sequence with both extremes seems to be meaningful depending on the research objectives. A clear example begins at the questionnaire level, where the gender is elicited qualitatively and age quantitatively. This means that the presence of both the non-numerical and numerical features only shows that both research designs are not completely distinct from each other but form a continuum.

This research documents and analyzes the role of local language ideologies on individual multilingualism, language attitudes and use in the LF area while highlighting the importance of using different methods and data types. This research aim sets out to target a multidimensional research design, data types and even sampling levels. Angouri (2010) has called it “triangulation” (p. 35), utilized in general terms to encompass all the stages of research activities. Indeed, Cohen and Manion (1994) suggest that amongst the key features of good research designs, triangulation occupies one of the top positions on the list (p. 233).

This study encompasses three major threads concerning language ideologies: (1) triggers of rural individual repertoire, (2) language attitudes of Missong people, (3) identification of patterns of language use. To look into these sociolinguistics phenomena, an unusually comprehensive multidimensional approach is required. First, let us consider some practical issues in research designs.

4.7.1 Descriptive, exploratory and the ethnographic research designs

The starting point was to understand why to carry out this research. The only obvious answer arrived at is to understand human actions. For instance, what are the languages involved, and why

does one list a number of languages in their repertoires? What are the ideologies behind knowing and speaking these languages? Why are people's language attitudes patterned following certain language ideologies? Why are people choosing one code over another? These are all questions an attempt to social meaning is put forth. Schwandt (2003) advances that interpretivism belief gives meaning to a certain social action (p. 296). As such, actions can truly and fully be interpreted only when we understand them embedded into the systems they belong to. Geertz (1973) states that "a wink is not a wink", he elaborates using the sound of a drumbeat to mean multiple things. It can be interpreted as requesting silence, announcing some information, or announcing the arrival of an important personality. However, in social research, contextual meaning is only derived in an essentially context-bound situation.

This calls on a need for a descriptive research design employed to describe characteristics of a targeted population. Such an approach addresses the "what, where, when and how" questions. In this study, it was imperative to describe existing social structures. The research targeted how multilingual people are, their language attitudes, blood and social relationships exist, kinds of marriages, age, gender, educational levels, and how they pattern with repertoires. This design provided the basis for in-depth observations of sociolinguistic practices. I was able to jot down aspects of language choice during the research in the market. I equally made use of the ethnographic-multilingual questionnaire to gather data about individual repertoires.

Furthermore, another research design used was exploratory. I did not go into the research context with a clear hypothesis but a general idea. The "how" and the "why" are fundamental questions that probe into such a design. This enabled more knowledge about the research. Research on language attitudes in this setting had not been carried out before. Thus, questions about how and why language attitudes pattern in a certain way necessitated one-to-one interviews with the help of an MGT. Finally, the ethnographic research design was applied to study sociolinguistic behaviour in real-life situations, which otherwise exploited, one may miss out on unexpected outcomes. Thus, recording market transactions in the Abar market in the LF area following observations was achieved. This way, I was able to identify patterns of language use in the social communication between the interactants.

4.7.2 Qualitative and quantitative designs

Following the nature of this research, it was essential to employ the qualitative and quantitative research designs in the data gathering process and the analyses. At the questionnaire level, numerical questions included age, education, number of languages known and spoken. The qualitative questions, which were later coded for statistical analysis (see section 5.6) were indeed necessary because of what I intended to achieve by using the open-ended nature of the questions. The questionnaire itself was ethnographically informed. Hence, allowing the respondents, for instance, to provide long narratives about what, where, when, and how exposed they were to the languages listed in their repertoires was of importance. In addition, the origin/residence and those of their spouses, one's parents and grand/great grandparents provenances, and other family members were posed. As for the language attitude data, I made use of the 5-point semantic differential scales for rating. The listeners were asked questions related to targeted traits and given a range of options, in this case, to tell whether they agreed or disagreed. Finally, on the language use data, both the data gathering process as well as the analyses, were to a larger extent qualitative in nature. Moreover, statistical data analyses were applied to variables contributing to the development of multilingual repertoires and descriptive statistics for the understanding of language attitudes.

Truly, the interpretations were guided first by the numerical reports, then followed by qualitative interpretations. While it is important to back up findings with figures, representing meanings expressed consciously or unconsciously under different circumstances is worth interpreting. People's realities should be probed based on their understandings of their worlds, which can be best realized through an ethnographic approach. This means that a quantitative approach cannot be the sole way of doing interpretive research. The following section tells us why using a mixed-bag research design is better than a unidimensional research design.

4.7.3 Rationale for doing a mixed research design

Matthews and Ross (2010) acknowledge that there have been serious contentions over five decades concerning the benefits of quantitative or qualitative approaches to collecting and analyzing data. Creswell (2014) and Rasinger (2010) summarily believe that quantitative research is highly

formalized from the onset, more controlled than qualitative, and makes generalizations possible about the realness of the social world. By contrast, qualitative research is considered a less formalized procedure, more flexible and less controlled, aiming not necessarily generalizing under the assumption that society is socially constructed (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls & Ormston, 2014, p. 31-38). Angouri (2010) argues that by upholding a pragmatist point of view of mixing qualitative and quantitative approaches as including diverse styles, the image of the researcher's world view. More and more, research in the social sciences, particularly sociolinguistics, has widened, and data-related technology continues to take new forms (Schilling, 2003), adapting to the rapidly changing times.

In agreement with Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004), the objective of mixed research is not to replace qualitative with quantitative methods and vice versa, but to draw from both strengths and minimize possible weaknesses (p. 14). Some of the advantages articulated when applying mixed methods include the following. Matthews and Ross (2010) maintain that getting different perspectives and a fuller picture of what is studied can be attained if one considers a range of different data types by using different methods, which is guided by research questions. Another major advantage of mixed methods, as largely discussed in Angouri (2010), is that multilayered designs are generally preferred to unique approaches for eliciting detailed findings. Finally, Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls and Ormston (2014) reinforce that both approaches utilized are scientifically advantageous, especially when one considers the relevance of using both methods in research (p. 39).

In addition, while the qualitative approach is said to be highly subjective, thereby permitting bias on the side of the researcher because of his involvement in the research, the quantitative approach is seen to be passive about the context of the consultants under investigation, leaving out small groups with significant social differences because of the need to generalize. Finally, both approaches are viewed as triangulating each other. In triangulating, Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls and Ormston (2014) suggest that both approaches complement each other towards the realization of describing social phenomena from different directions. Moreover, they make up for methodological "blind spots" evident in single approaches.

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, a number of ethical, practical and methodological issues have been raised in connection to field research, starting from suitable periods for one to enter the research area, making contacts, finding field assistants and consultants, and organizing and storing the data. At the beginning of this chapter, I have tried to show that immersing oneself in the best way possible and engaging with the research community begins with socialization. This research area was foreign, hence the need for flexibility, friendliness and open-mindedness to win the trust and respect of the people. The members of the community needed to be updated in one way or the other on what this research was all about, hence the starting point for acceptance into a research community. Moreover, announcing one's arrival can only be properly initiated in this area through courtesy visits to the authorities.

Furthermore, I have also stressed that due to this research's complex yet comprehensive nature, identifying and designing suitable research instruments for different sets of data collection was a key factor. I have briefly pointed out the various data sets that were dealt with in this chapter, as details are found in the subsequent analytical chapters. I mentioned that understanding the dynamics of individual repertoires in the LF context required interview data elicited through an ethnographically informed questionnaire. For the exploration of language attitude data, an adapted matched-guise technique test was solicited. Finally, language use data was gathered thanks to a sociolinguistic language documentation approach. Indeed, these different data sets revealed the varied nature of both methods and types of data, which is likely uncommon but comprehensive to systematically respond to targeted sociolinguistic phenomena.

To follow the multidimensional method and data approach applied in this research, emphasis on the research methodology as a whole suggested that there are no single strategies to be used in this study. The research design and methodology could not be limited to a single approach based on the nature of the research questions and objectives. The descriptive, exploratory and ethnographic research designs emerged, thus leading to the quantitative and qualitative approaches used. While I approached the corpus from the language use recording more qualitatively, the interview data and matched-guise test approaches used the quantitative and qualitative data gathering, findings and analyses. As we have seen throughout the chapter, the fieldwork process starting from

preparations for fieldwork was an essential component for the limiting challenges and ensuring the reliability and validity of data gathering and interpretations.

5. CHAPTER FIVE: INDIVIDUAL MULTILINGUALISM: SELF-REPORTED EVIDENCE

5.1 Introduction

There are many ways to approach multilingualism, and in this, I make use of several (see chapters 6 and 7). In this chapter, I begin by self-reported evidence of multilingualism which figures prominently in works in the sociology of language and in many sociolinguistic studies of multilingualism (see Di Carlo, Esene Agwara & Ojong, 2020; Kaji, 2013; Kashoki, 1982; O'Barr, 1971). After briefly recounting field experiences while gathering different data sets used in this project in chapter 4, in the first part of this chapter, I explore past research methods that have been used in investigating individual multilingualism while demonstrating the need for the development of a tool that matches the sociocultural realities of the LF people. In the second part of the chapter, I describe the questionnaire filled with plenty of ethnographic information for the semi-structured interview data. I further delve into the selection of consultants and the procedure for data gathering. The third aspect of the chapter will identify and discuss the factors and the motivations that trigger individual multilingualism. Finally, I conclude the chapter with discussions on the topic of individual multilingualism.

The extremely high density of linguistic diversity found in the western and central parts of Africa (Dalby, 1970) and the remarkable individual multilingualism identified in a few parts of the region (Cobbinah, 2010; Di Carlo & Good, 2020; Esene Agwara, 2020; Lüpke, 2016) give rise to the essence of studying individual multilingualism. However, there is a call to attention to the relatively few studies carried out in rural settings as against urban ones (Connell, 2009; Di Carlo, Good & Ojong, 2019). To exemplify, studies on multilingualism, regardless of the setting, were mainly preoccupied with the status assigned to the competing languages and their functional relationships vis-à-vis the individual. Little was known about multilingual situations characterized by linguistic non-hierarchical relationships. The latter case has been described as a situation of small-scale multilingualism (Lüpke, 2016), which is often encountered in rural areas (Cobbinah, 2020, p. 69).

In addition, the mainstream approaches to gathering data on multilingualism in the past tended to be applied to all kinds of settings, i.e., rural or urban or both (see, for instance, Connell, 2009;

Kashoki, 1982; O’Barr, 1971), and only most recently a few other studies have made use of an ethnographic questionnaire without having to reflect diglossic/polyglossic tendencies (Di Carlo, 2015; Esene Agwara, 2013). This chapter, therefore, seeks to identify the variables that trigger individual multilingualism while revealing the importance of an ethnographic questionnaire. It further accounts for the motivation for high rates of individual multilingualism. Finally, it uncovers the existing language ideologies that shape multilingual repertoires among respondents in LF.

5.2 Two main approaches in the study of self-reported individual multilingualism

Two methodological approaches have generally constrained gathering self-reports from multilingual individuals in sociolinguistic scholarship: on one side, the diglossia theory (see section 2.3.2.2), and on the other side, the ethnographic approach (see section 2.4). In this subsection, I review some studies that have used the diglossia approach in African rural settings from a methodological point of view (see next section), followed by what the ethnographic questionnaire entails (section 5.2.2) and how I explore it

5.2.1 Multilingual questionnaires informed by diglossia

The conceptual approach of diglossia (see section 2.3.2.2) has influenced the way we collect data, not excluding the way we use questionnaires and the questions found therein. By working in a rural context, the diglossia approach is put to the test as well as previous research evidenced that it does not work there. This is why the questionnaire had to be developed differently, e.g., ignoring concepts such as the domain of use. In the paragraphs that follow, I demonstrate how the diglossia approach has influenced the way questions were framed by using the few studies on individual multilingualism in non-urban areas (see Connell, 2009; Kaji, 2013; Kashoki, 1982; O’Barr, 1971; Myers-Scotton, 1982; Ullrich 1982).

O’Barr (1971), for example, used a survey to study the individual repertoires of Usangi people in rural Tanzania. He was far more concerned with the colonial language—English, the *lingua franca*—Swahili and Asu—than in the local language of the area. He grouped all the other local languages in one category as “other vernaculars” (p. 290), though sixteen percent of the

respondents reported some competence in one of these local codes. This way of grouping limited the understanding of the sociolinguistic space of the people and possible local language ideologies. For instance, he stated that the sixteen percent of Usangi people who report some abilities in speaking the other African vernaculars is through mobility, and they have spent some years in school. O'Barr's (1971) questions consisted of domain-specific questions, exempting the use of the other vernaculars. An example of such a question is— where do you use Asu, Swahili and English?

Kashoki (1982), through a sociolinguistic survey, studied the patterns of bilingualism and multilingualism of some individuals in the northwest and western provinces of rural and urban Zambia. His interest centred on the role that the regional, national and international languages spoken in Zambia played in intra- and intergroup communication. He explored the importance of the targeted languages and the lingua francas by questioning the development of individual repertoires according to social domains. What language do you speak at home or at work?

Connell (2009) attempts to uncover the language choices of multilinguals in Somié village, Adamawa Region of Cameroon. He does not explore the issues around the development of context-specific questions. His traditional written questionnaire projects a strong sense of diglossic orientation and a lack of ethnographic information. He dwells largely on social domains leaving other determinants of multilingual behaviours aside. His sociolinguistic questionnaire lacks the exploitation of social networks and multiple affiliations, which has been identified in African societies (see Di Carlo, 2016; Kopytoff, 1987). In addition, importance is not accorded to names in the respondents' metadata information. To him, pseudonyms or aliases suffice. Questions concerning language use are mainly domain-specific. For example, the general matrix for questions posed is, which language does X use in a Y situation? A large part of Connell's questionnaire focuses more on the internal networks of the respondents rather than the respondents themselves. This means that detailed information concerning how and to what degree respondents are exposed to the claimed multilingual competencies are hardly present. Moreover, the kind of relationship activated by choosing one language over the other present in their repertoires is hardly known.

Like Kaji (2013), a more recent study used a sociolinguistic questionnaire to investigate the individual multilingual patterns of members living in the city of Hoima in Uganda to examine how

multilinguals cope without a lingua franca. The principal question posed was what language members use when speaking to people. Even though the undetailed questionnaire was purposeful, there was a stream down of questions focusing on particular languages spoken in the West of Uganda. This approach limited a far-detailed sociolinguistic picture of the targeted individuals. In addition, questions were asked only about the language of origin of the respondent's parents, limiting all possible networks the respondents may be exposed to, such as grandparents and great grandparents. The demographic characteristics captured, especially on the aspect of the name, was achieved as a formality. In fact, in the entire literature on multilingualism, names are not considered in capturing multilingual behaviours. Initially, the effect of names on multilingualism was not clear until my immersion into the field research.

The studies on rural multilingualism presented above expose the limitations of past research approaches on individual multilingualism because the questions framed pointed towards the diglossia approach. During our initial field experience, questions were shaped following past studies. What materialized when first asked “what language do you use when you are at work/home/school” inspired by the diglossia theory was met with different results. The language use of multilinguals in LF proved to be more dynamic than what the theory of diglossia would capture. I noticed that multilingual speakers used several languages in various domains and multiple languages in a particular domain. This, therefore, meant that speakers do not particularly compartmentalize languages with the domains of use. A non-polyglossic perspective was thus regarded that allowed one to collect information patterning to cultural-specific components that were made possible thanks to our ethnographic fieldwork and instrument. Over a continuous exposure in the research area, I quickly realized that selecting a code over another hardly could be accounted for by the diglossia theory; instead, more significant were the multiple relationships that a speaker has or is involved in. Hence, focalizing on the speaker's metadata—a sound ethnographic description of an individual's social connections and language ideologies in relation to his linguistic repertoire—can shape our understanding of individual multilingualism in LF.

5.2.2 From the ethnographic field method to the ethnographic questionnaire

We have already seen in section 2.4 that the ethnographic approach emphasizes “finding out things that are seen as important but belong to the implicit structures of people's life” (Blommaert and

Jie 2010:1). Moreover, this has been achieved through spending considerable time doing field research (see section 4) and using methods that can best capture multilingual realities, hence, thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) for reliable and valid interpretations. In this chapter, I have sourced data gathered in 2013 during my Master's degree, together with the collaboration of Di Carlo and Angela Tem for their respective researches. In addition, data gathered in 2017 and 2018 extended the sample with new sets of questions. This was only possible by spending a significant period of time in the research context and taking part in sociocultural activities. My stay lasted for eight months across three trips, with the most time spent during my PhD research.

5.2.2.1 Respondents' metadata

In appendix one, I present the detailed questionnaire gathered via semi-structured interviews designed to last between 15 and 45 minutes. The questionnaire consists of three main sections. In the initial part of the questionnaire, I asked questions regarding the biographies and geographies of people, as there was a likelihood that they would affect reported competence. Next, I looked at the number of personal names that a member has and the history behind such names. Previous research on data collected in the area (Di Carlo & Good, 2014; Esene Agwara, 2020) exposed that respondents names might have an effect on the individual repertoires in LF. The family, the environment and the situation surrounding the birth condition determines the number of names a newborn receives. Every child bears one or more names, with the naming trend provided by the existing social networks. For instance, the father gives a child a name. Then, another name by the maternal or paternal grandparents, and then other names are given by the maternal or paternal great grandparents or even more distant relatives and friends. Christian names are not excluded from the naming profile of the LF people.

More importantly, the naming traditions are associated with social networks, which by extension are often times connected to different villages. A linguistic ecology such as that of LF, where every village is presumably having its own code, may certainly promote additional lects to members' repertoires. Loyalty and identity constructions are established at a deeper level when a child speaks the lects of the social networks s/he shares affiliation with.

Our questionnaire also targeted questions about the respondents' provenance or place of origin as well as their residence, as these questions reflected my research interests. Questions concerning provenance were also linked to the members internal and external networks. Considering that people do not live in isolation thus, language contact was obvious. The revised ethnographic questionnaire took into account the impact of geographical proximity on multilingualism. I knew that exploring the codes spoken in close proximity to the respondents' residency location could be relevant for studying the repertoires of the multilingual individuals. More so, the extended questionnaire included a possible extension of the individual's metadata by probing provenance questions to the third generation of the respondents' maternal and paternal lines. Information concerning in-laws was captured as well.

Another vital aspect of the revised questionnaire considered other social networks, such as friends and classmates. The number of friends, as well as their origins and affiliations, were of interest. Additional questions about the schooling levels and location of their schools were touched. I also asked questions about their social activities (e.g., dance groups, financial groups) and their past mobility. Finally, questions about marriage patterns—how many spouses they have, where their spouses came from—were also included.

5.2.2.2 Self-reported multilingual competencies

The second part of the questionnaire targeted self-reports about multilingual competence. Respondents were asked to list all the lects they reported passive and active competence in. I should make it clear that this study also has “limitations” because it relies on self-reported competence. This, however, is not the first of its kind, as previous studies on multilingualism have dwelled on self-reports (see Di Carlo, 2016; Esene Agwara, 2020; Kaji, 2013; O'Barr, 1971) and have acknowledged this “weakness”.

However, several measures were taken to minimize the number of “false claims” if at all there were. Depending on the narrative of the respondents, as to what code and how well or less likely s/he spoke the codes listed helped in my evaluation of their linguistic competencies. For instance, a reported code that was strongly associated with provenance or extended stay in residence was graded as having native-like competence. Respondents who have shared affiliations by marriage

and blood (grandparents, uncles or close relatives) and have spent a long time in those locations were rated with near-native like competence. Those who had frequent contacts with non-family members were rated as having average competence or near-native like competence, depending on these relations. Finally, members who were exposed to the language either thanks to regular market visits or some social gathering with no close affinities were evaluated as having passive competence at varying degrees. This exercise was mainly to confirm whether the self-reports were at all true.

Nonetheless, knowledge of reported competence and linguistic relationship was only a first step to the evaluation as other ways were considered. My highly multilingual consultant assisted in evaluating the respondents' abilities in the local languages through some given phrases. Evaluations towards Munggaka, English, CPE, French and other languages spoken outside LF were judged differently. In the case of English, reported ratings were not only limited to the respondents' remarks but also to the degree of schooling and use of the language with the researcher during the interview. Munggaka was also evaluated based on age. It was used as a medium of communication by the Basel missionaries during the German colonial era and up until well into the 1930s (Lang Michael Kpughe p.c.). Other languages, such as Mmen, Kom, Aghem, Isu and Zhoa were evaluated based on economic mobility, social relations, and educational opportunities. Aside from anything else, the high multiple affiliations and constant social contact that LF people have make it even easier for one to list the number of codes another person has in his/her repertoire. An example was during one of the courtesy visits where some fifty inhabitants of Missong were in attendance. After my reason for the visit was briefly mentioned, I then went further to ask those who could speak all the languages of LF, only a single person at the time identified by show of hand, with heads nodding by those in attendance. This exercise continued until the last group of persons stood up, attesting to speak three languages.

5.2.2.3 Local ideologies

The third part of the multilingualism questionnaire aimed at capturing aspects of local language ideologies. The questions aimed at understanding how the respondents were exposed to the lects they had reported competence in. In other words, where they were exposed to the lects they have in their repertoires. Another question was directed to how they learned each lect. This question

was deeply connected to their diverse relations who may have taught the respondents the lects. I also asked when and where they used the lects. Questions of this kind provided information about situations and places they visited. Inquiries as to the benefits of using each lect were also targeted. I gathered detailed information about each individual's motivations and different types of identities for understanding and speaking the lects listed in their repertoires.

5.3 Methods and methodology

5.3.1 Validity of questionnaire data

According to Litosseliti and Edley (2010), the legitimacy of interviews has been questioned on the grounds of gathering manufactured information (p. 156). To them, it should be recommended as the last option when doing research. However, Hoffmann (2014) provides a counter-argument by stating that the standard tool for sociolinguistics fieldwork is a sociolinguistic interview (p. 33). More and more, interviews are received with familiarity by consultants since a good number of researches have been conducted in the Cameroonian Grassfields area in general and LF in particular (see, e.g., Di Carlo, 2016; Esene Agwara, 2020; Good et al., 2011; Ojong, 2020; Warnier, 1979).

Some studies employing interviews have shown that the relevance of this tool can be valid depending on what kind of data the researcher is looking for (Hernández-Campoy, 2014, p. 17). For example, if a researcher is interested in dance performances or ritual rites, the best way is to depart from interviews. However, interviews might just work if the interest is on demographic information and its relationship to sociolinguistic variation or ethnographic information as a trigger to reported multilingualism.

I have relied on data collected via the ethnographic approach (fieldwork and questionnaire) in this study. In fact, this research anchors heavily on speaker metadata comprising their social networks, self-reported multilingual competencies, and local language ideologies. One is tempted to believe that gathering data using a fine-grained ethnographic questionnaire to guide sociolinguistic semi-structured interviews sanctions the tool's validity. Therefore, this research captures variables that suggest a relevance on individual multilingualism, and interviews might just be one suitable way. However, the concerns over the validity of questionnaires are not conclusive. This is the

motivation to keep this tool as a first step in studying multilingualism but complementing it with the other foci—language attitudes thanks to the indirect method and language use data.

Others believe that naturalistic data can be gotten through interviews depending on the question types and how skilled the researcher is in such an activity (see Hoffmann, 2014). He shows that asking questions that require some narrative can produce naturalistic data (p. 34). It could be in the form of biographical information or some cultural practice. In this case, I inquired how exposed the individuals were to the languages they reported to speak. An example of a question requiring some narrative includes How did you start speaking X language? In which places did you attend school? How long were you staying in these locations? In such questions, the respondents provided a narrative in response to the queries. The ethnographically informed questionnaire touches on respondent's personal experiences, social affiliations, and motivations for understanding and speaking many languages. The choice of semi-structured interviews was also conditioned by the low literacy levels of the respondents.

5.3.2 Finding multilingual consultants for the sociolinguistic interview

For this work, I relied on 174 LF respondents in total, 97 members partly sampled during my Masters' studies in 2012 in collaboration with Di Carlo and Angela Tem, and 77 during my PhD. The decision to merge the previous data with the data gathered most recently was mainly to reflect a larger size of multilingual patterns in LF.

For the proper selection of multilingual respondents, I took into account both the macro-sociological and ethnographic factors. One of the variables factored in was the age of the respondents. The choice was based on Bailey's (2007, 2008) notion of apparent time, where linguistic differences could be found among different generations. For instance, there could be a likelihood that the causes of individual rates of multilingualism for the much older samples may not coincide with the younger samples. If one considers the educational component, one may see a sharp increase in educational attendance for the younger generation as opposed to the older generation.

From an ethnographic perspective, respondents were sampled by provenance, residence, quarters, and compounds or families. Such variables suggest that multilingual patterns were maybe

informed by the respondents' geographical location, social networks, and historical affinity. Therefore, selecting members from the different LF villages could provide an overview of the dynamics of patterns of multilingual individuals.

5.3.3 Study population and method of selecting individuals

My research population consisted of people living in LF. The significant linguistic diversity in LF indicates a great mixture of people of different linguistic backgrounds within the area. Kashoki (1982), Kaji (2013) and Lüpke (2016) observed that the contact of languages is very much present in diverse linguistic areas, where people speaking different languages live side by side with one another. While this is true, the LF picture also depicts social situations where a high frequency of interaction is present. The shared markets, shared dispensary, shared secondary school can equally facilitate close language contact that influence codes in the individual's linguistic repertoire.

The study comprised a purposive, snow-balling sample selection, with the main aim of targeting individuals with multiple codes in their repertoires. Additionally, Schilling (2013) supports that it feels natural, and trust is assured when making contact with a friend of a friend or an acquaintance, otherwise known as snow-balling. Researching a terrain more or less unfamiliar to oneself required the help of a guide to lead me just to the right people. Interestingly, from informal discussions and participant observation, everyone seemed to know everyone in LF area, up to the extent of the awareness of multilingual abilities. Unsurprisingly, close contact is inevitable in an area of about 240 sq. km where 14000 inhabitants share a singular market. More significant is perhaps the free inter-marriage across villages. Besides, the culture of solidarity through church meetings, financial groups, social meetings, and people coming together to celebrate life and death makes it easier for the snow-balling technique to be applied successfully.

5.3.4 Data collection procedure

The procedure of gathering data on individual multilingualism required some ethical measures. Despite the few numbers of young teenagers in this sample, consent was directed towards the parents of these children and themselves. At the beginning of the interview, oral consent was

accorded after the researcher's self-introduction and purpose of the interview. Questions that needed clarification and elaboration were addressed.

Most of the interviews were carried out in the homes of the respondents. Uninterrupted sessions for most took less than 35 minutes for completion. However, if the respondent had more clarifications and accounts to render in response to some questions raised, it could last for up to 45 minutes. Sometimes, the interviews took place in the presence of a few family members, and at other times no one was around. The presence of some relatives did not influence data gotten because of the familiarity with the people before the interview. I shared meals and sociocultural information before the start of the interviews. This process was quite useful because the consultants were relaxed and happy to answer the questions without feeling pressured or intimidated. Their answers were quite clear and very minimal doubts could be traced on one or two faces of the respondents. Responses on reported rates of multilingualism uncovered honest answers based on the interlinked questions. At times, I would consciously probe them on a code they never reported to speak. They would immediately deny referring to such a language and even advance reasons why they cannot have competence in the mentioned codes. After data was collected, the consultants were informed that the interview was over, followed by words of thanks from the researcher and a small token.

5.3.5 Data analyses

For the data analysis to be as objective as possible, I used both qualitative and quantitative methods. In order to check the relevance of the targeted variables and test the significance of the results, a multivariate regression test was appropriate. I coded the numerical data, entered it into stata. I tested to see which factors (age, gender, level of education, number of names and friends, the influence on the provenances of one's parents and grand/great grandparents, marriage patterns, linguistic similarity and geographical proximity) foster individual multilingualism in LF. Data for descriptive statistics were entered into Microsoft Excel 2010. They were also described, and variables were analyzed using numerical codes to generate aggregate numbers across the variables. Tables and figures were generated to capture specific distinctions as well. All the quantitative data were interpreted qualitatively to throw more light on the findings.

5.4 Description of participants

As previously described, data was collected from 174 LF multilingual respondents— $n = 97$ in 2012— and $n = 77$ in 2017/2018, mainly in their village residence. At the time of the fieldwork visit, almost all the respondents were residing in LF, but less than 8% of the total sample respondents also happened to stay outside the LF area, precisely in the Wum division. Therefore, I tried as much as possible to gather data from almost all the 13 LF villages across their respective quarters. Moreover, the data was biased towards the Missong village (44% of the entire sample) as this choice was informed by my research questions in the subsequent chapters (see chapter 5 and 6).

During the 2017/2018 field research visit, I interviewed 77 respondents with the revised ethnographic questionnaire. As such, a slightly larger number, i.e., $n = 97$, were not interviewed in 2012 using this modified questionnaire. Hence, the number of missing values for precisely three targeted variables could not be discarded as there was some useful information regarding multilingual behaviours. Therefore, the mean substitution strategy was tried out. However, due to the relatively large number of missing data (97 in total for three variables), the significance of my data was greatly affected when regressed. Thus, two types of data sets are presented—one where the 174 observations are analyzed with a mean substitution method for the missing variables—and the other where 77 observations are presented without any adjustments (see section 5.6).

Of the 174 participants 77 were Missong, 25 came from Abar, 20 were Munken, 17 resided in Ngun, 8 from Mashu and Ajumbu, 6 from Koshin and Buu, 4 from Mufu, 2 from Biya and Mundabli. The age range of the respondents at the time was between 15 and 97, with the majority of respondents ($n = 106$) aged between 51 and 97 years (mean = 67.1, $sd = 10.2$). The distribution of participants according to gender was almost even—89 (51%) female and 85 (49%) male.

5.5 Findings: descriptive statistics

As noted, my main interest in this study will be to identify the patterns of individual multilingualism: whether the macro-sociological variables and the ethnographic-related variables influence patterns of multilingualism. In this light, I provided comprehensive responses through figures and tables. However, we should remember that the more recent data focuses predominantly

on the Missong village, allowing for overrepresentation. In addition, I indicate when data is presented only from the Missong sub-sample due to new data entries absent from our 2012 data.

The variables of analysis for the descriptive statistics are divided into two levels. I first present and correlate the dependent variables with the independent variables across macro-sociological characteristics—self-reported passive and active competence in lects and languages by age, gender and education. Then, I match up the dependent variables with the explainable variables across ethnographically informed variables—the number of names, social networks, number of friends, one’s parents and grand/great grandparents, marriage, geographical proximity, and the linguistic similarity.

5.5.1 Variables of analysis: macro-sociological factors

5.5.1.1 Multilingual rates in LF

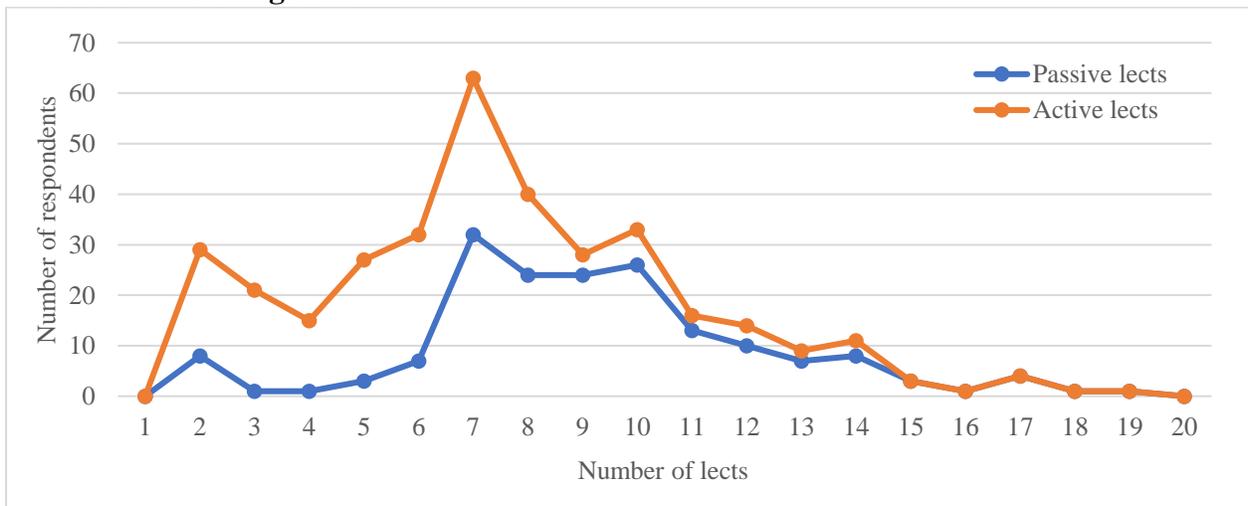


Figure 3. The self-reported multilingual competence of speakers in LF (n = 174) is based on the distinctive local conception of LF linguistic distinctiveness. Responses are given separately for passive and active knowledge of lects.

Figure 3 indicates that self-reported multilingualism in terms of lects discards the idea of monolinguals in LF. On top of this, a handful of people report being bilingual (4.5% at passive only levels and 12% at active levels). While the respondents know an average of 9.2 lects, $sd = 3.2$, they report an average of 5.9 spoken lects $sd = 2.7$.

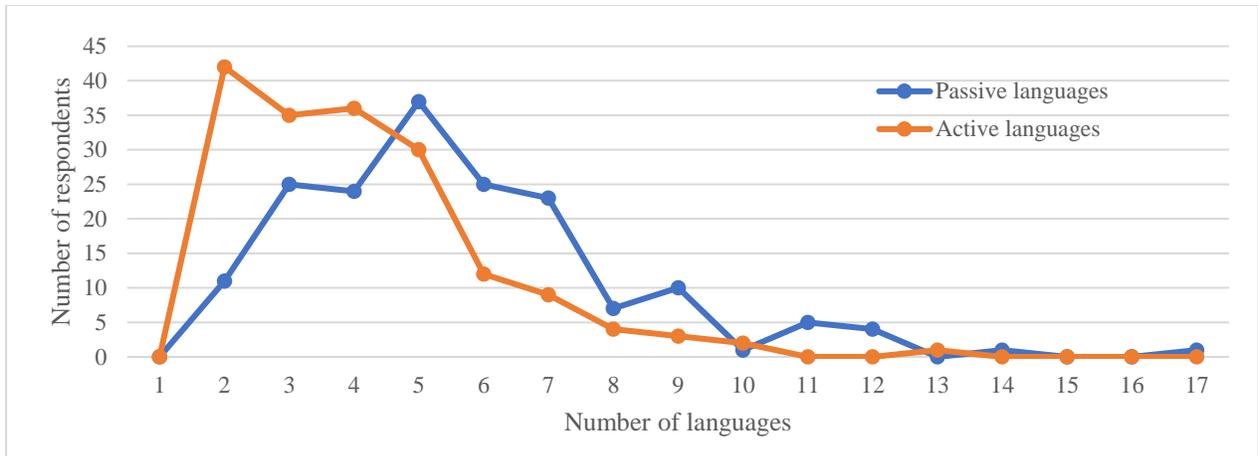


Figure 4. The self-reported multilingual competence of speakers in LF (n = 174), derived from the linguistic categorization of languages. Responses are given separately for passive and active competence of languages.

Just like in Figure 3, Figure 4 reveals that there is an absence of monolingualism in LF. Moreover, an average majority know 5.6 languages, $sd = 2.5$ and speak above 4 languages, $sd = 1.9$. Interestingly, 35% of the respondents speak above 5 languages, even when the number of languages present in LF is slightly above 5.

5.5.1.2 Multilingual repertoires by gender

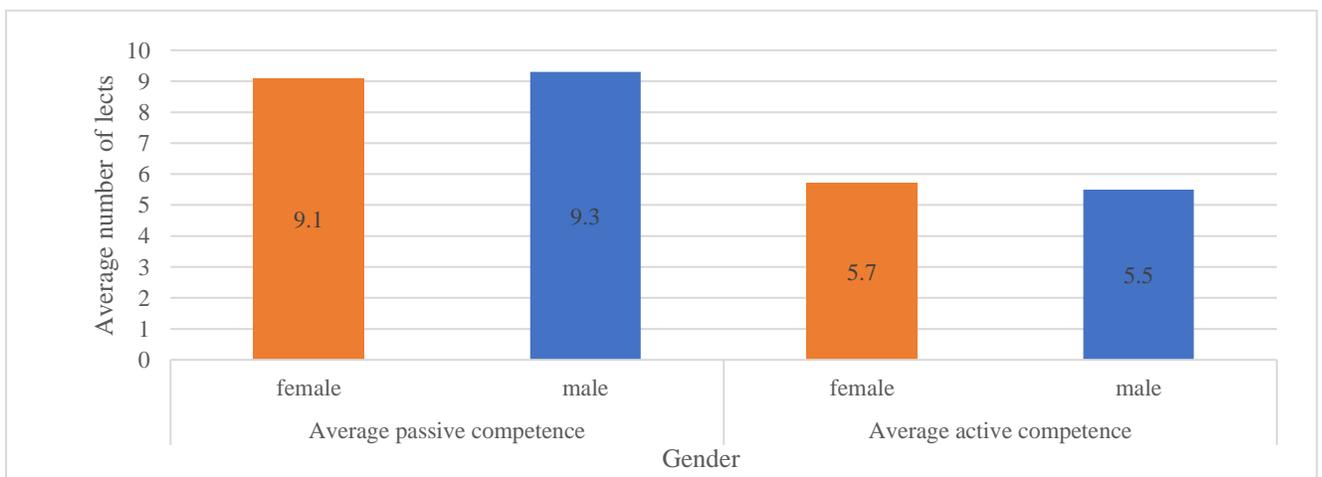


Figure 5. Average self-reported rates of multilingual competencies (n = 174), based on the distinctive local conception LF linguistic distinctiveness, by gender. Responses are given separately for passive and active knowledge of lects.

When one matches the average number of lects used by the respondents of different genders in Figure 5, we realize a difference of .2, separating each figure to a limited degree. Female respondents tend to know and speak a little more lects than men (9.1 and 5.7 for women as opposed to 9.3 and 5.5 at passive and active levels, respectively).

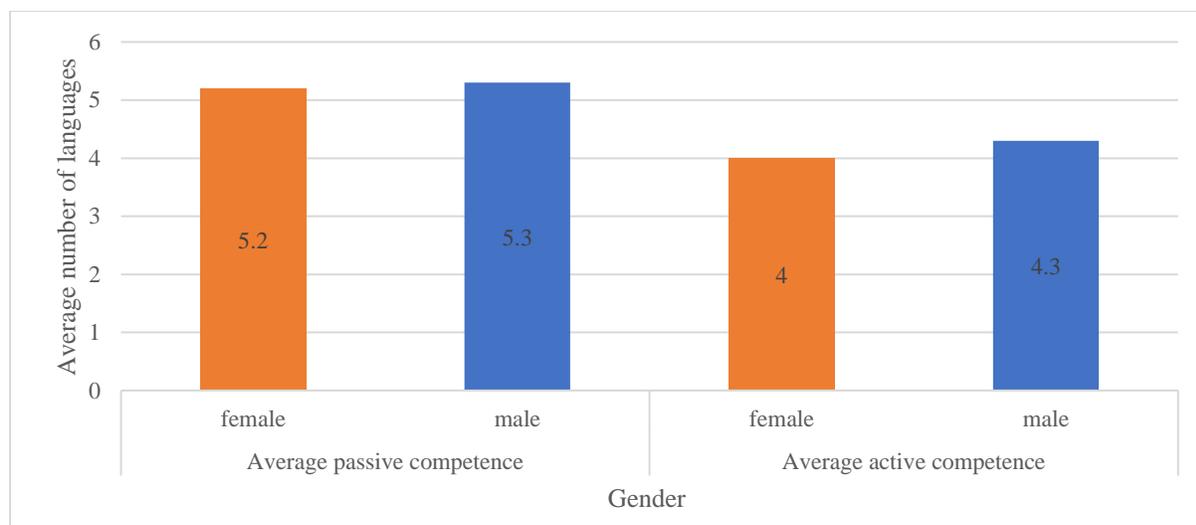


Figure 6. The self-reported multilingual competence of speakers in LF (n = 174), based on the linguistic categorization of languages by gender. Responses are given separately for passive and active competence of languages.

Following Figure 6 above, one notices that even though there exists a minor differentiation in genders when correlated with their ability to understand and speak a language (F = 5.2 and 4, while M = 5.3 and 4.3), in Figure 5, female respondents report slightly higher rates of multilingualism in terms of lects than men, in Figure 6, the reverse is true. This is because male respondents tend to know and speak a bit more languages than female ones.

5.5.1.3 Multilingual repertoires by age

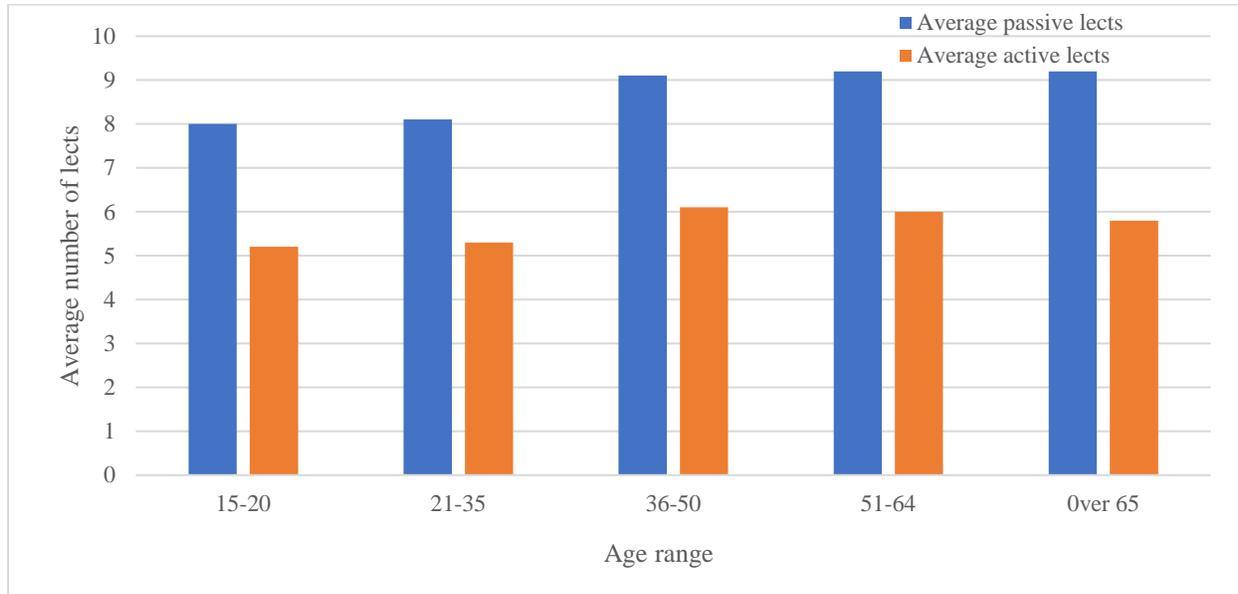


Figure 7. The Average passive and active self-reported rates of multilingual competencies (n = 174), based on the age group's distinctive local conception LF linguistic distinctiveness.

When one compares the average number of lects across the various age groups in Figure 7, there is a correlation pattern. There seems to be a rise in the number of known and spoken lects by the older age groups. Therefore, one can assume that the older one is, the more lects s/he has in his or her repertoire. While the older samples report passive and active competence in more than 9 passive lects and 5.9 active lects, the younger generation members know lesser than 9 passive and 5.2 active lects.

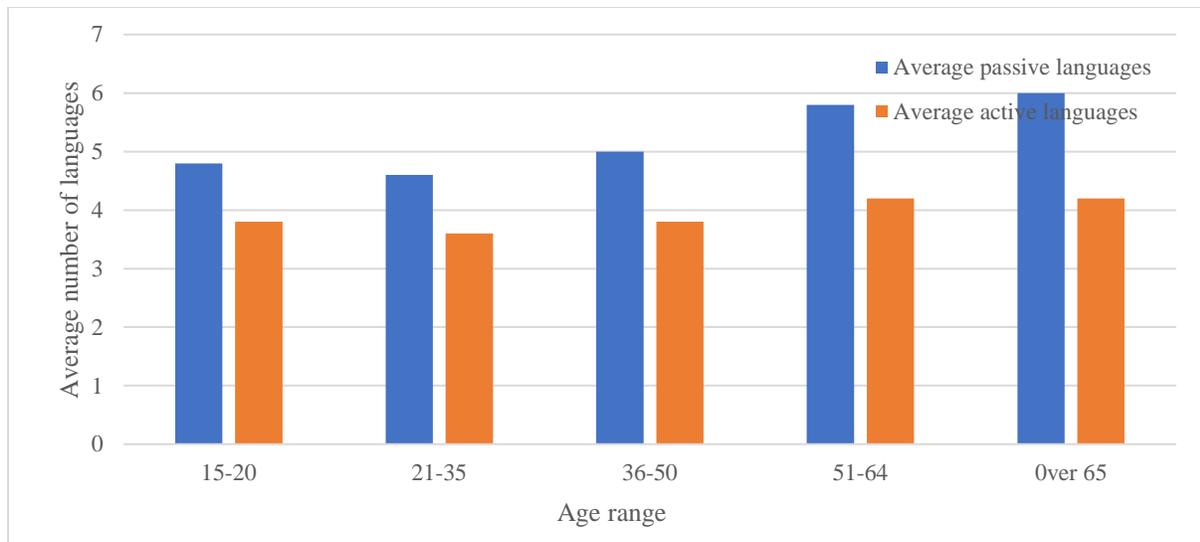


Figure 8. The Average passive and active self-reported rates of multilingual competencies (n = 174), based on the linguistic categorization of languages, by age group.

Similar to Figure 7, the older respondents speak more languages than the younger age groups. For example, while those above 51 years of age understand and speak an average of almost 6 passive and above 4 active languages, the respondents below 50 years of age know an average of 5.5 languages and speak an average of 3.5 languages.

5.5.1.4 Multilingual repertoires by level of education

Formal education is one of the ways in which people are exposed to different codes. Therefore, Cameroon’s bilingual education policy on education, where English and French are taught in schools, could influence the rates of multilingualism in LF. However, I focus only on English because this is the code used as a medium of instruction in LF. Moreover, the superficial number of respondents (n = 5) who report passive-only competence in French are not captured in Figure 9 (see below).

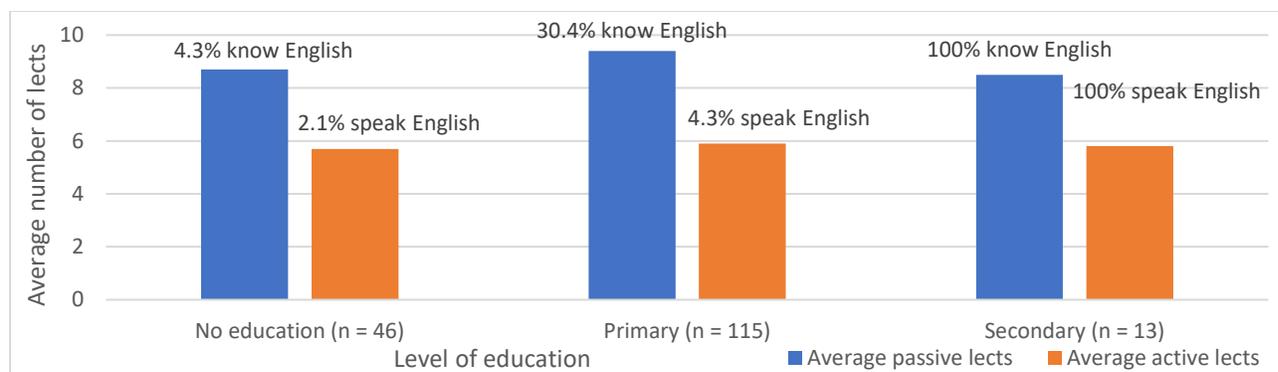


Figure 9. The Average passive and active self-reported rates of multilingual competencies (n = 174), based on the local conception LF linguistic distinctiveness, by level of education.

Figure 9 illustrates the overall trend of rates of multilingualism in terms of lects by the level of education. Respondents who have attended some primary school education tend to indicate much higher average rates of above 9 passive lects and nearly 6 active lects than those who have no school experience at all, and a little less for those who have attended secondary school (less than 9 passive lects and far less than 6 active lects).

However, other factors could account for an increase in the repertoires of members with no schooling experience as the little, or no presence of the English language (4.3% passive lects and 2.1) could be found. In addition, the data indicates that all the 13 respondents who have attended secondary education understand and speak the English language (100% passive and active lects). In this context, schooling could possibly affect the repertoires of the respondents. However, the least number of codes known and spoken by the 13 respondents could suggest a decline of multilingualism amongst youths as all the members belonging in this category range from 14 to 21 years of age. The significant drop from 30.4% of respondents who understand English to 4.3% who speak may be explained by the early stop of formal learning.

5.5.2 Ethnographically informed variables

5.5.2.1 How personal names impact multilingualism

Data gathered about names accounts for the ethnographic orientation this study pursues. In the following three Figures, I capture the correlation between the number of names respondents have

and their multilingual repertoires, excluding Christian names, nicknames and aliases. These appellations have been left out because their associations to the village affinities of the consultants have no direct relevance for the development of multilingual repertoires. Christian names are regarded as foreign. Nicknames and aliases are most often associated given to members at a later age, and they are not the original names of the respondents. Therefore, these names do not show an immediate relevance to the development of individual multilingual repertoires. The practice of Christianity in the area accounts for three-fourths of Christian names given to the consultants.

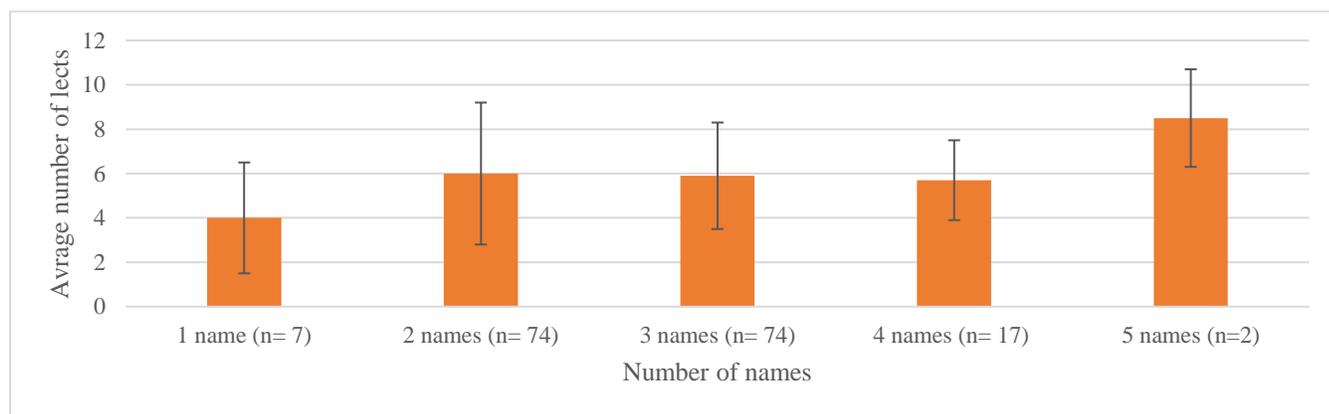


Figure 10. The number of codes (average and standard deviation) actively known by respondents with differing number of names (n = 174).

In Figure 10, I present the average number of spoken lects present in the repertoires of 174 LF respondents, in correlation with their varying number of names given by their different social networks. We notice from the graph that more than 50% of the respondents have three or more names. This tendency only goes to accentuate the fact that “multiple affiliations are the norm in this part of the world” (see also Di Carlo, 2015; Esene Agwara, 2020). Looking at the data, we may conclude that there is no clear relationship between the number of names people have and the number of lects present in their language stock. However, the two ends of the chart show that the number of names has a consequence on repertoires’ development. In fact, an average of 4.0 lects (sd = 2.5) is spoken by the respondents with a single name, whereas the people speak an average of 8.5 lects (sd = 2.2) with five names.

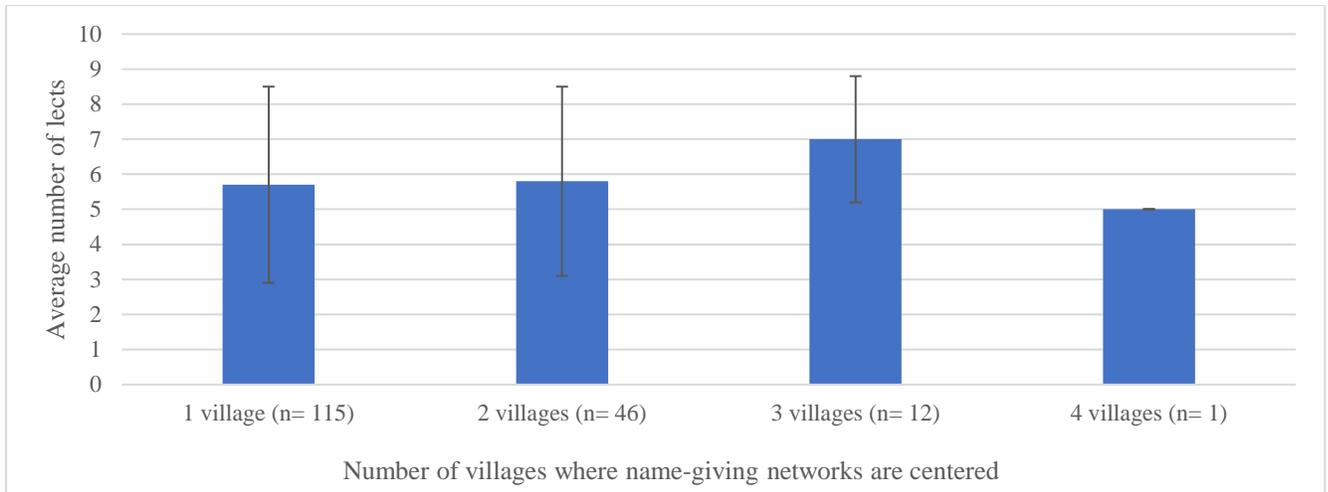


Figure 11. The number of lects (average and standard deviation) actively known by respondents whose name-giving social networks span differing numbers of villages (n = 174).

Figure 11 presents the different villages in which the 174 LF respondents get their names from the different social networks. Regardless of the number of respondents' names, this chart focuses on the number of villages in which their name-giving social networks are based. Therefore, 1 person is named by networks from four villages, 12 respondents get their names from networks in three villages, 46 members by networks based in two villages, and 115 of them have names that are traced only in a single village. Even though there is no apparent connection between the number of villages where name-giving networks are centred and the respondent's repertoires, we visualize a slight increase in the number of repertoires. To illustrate this, members whose names stem from three villages have more lects in their repertoires (7.0, $sd = 1.8$) as compared to those linked with two villages (5.8 lects, $sd = 2.7$) or a single village (5.7 lects, $sd = 2.8$). These figures seem to suggest the link and importance between this sociocultural variable and individual multilingual repertoires.

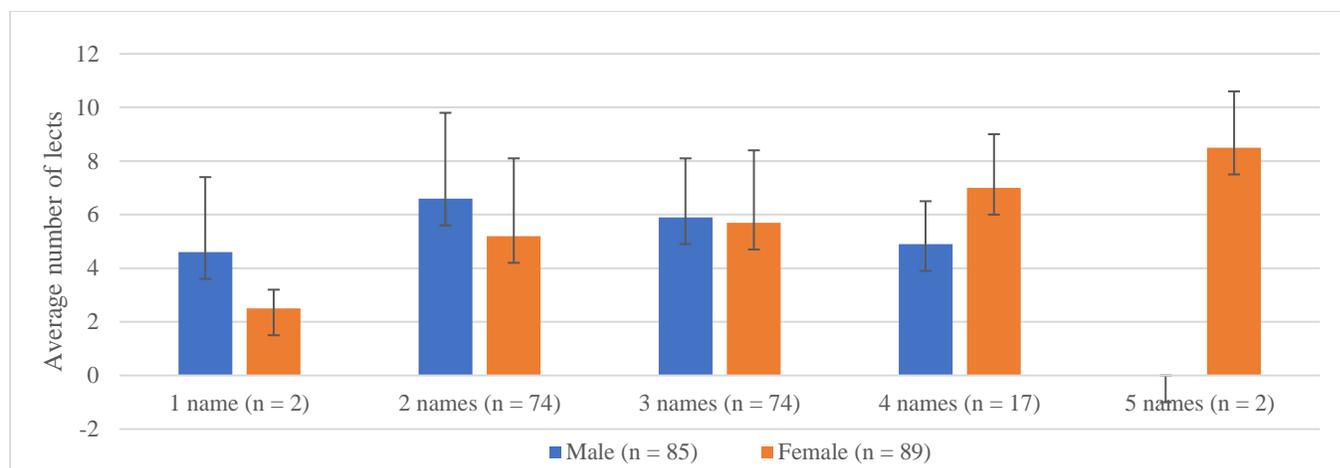


Figure 12. The number of lects (average and standard deviation) actively known by respondents with differing number of names, by gender (n = 174).

Figure 12 focuses on the correlation between the number of names male (n = 85) and female (n = 89) respondents have and their linguistic repertoires. Women slightly have more names than men, especially when considering the data on the right extreme of the graph. For example, 12 women are associated with four names, and 2 with five names; they register an average of 6 lects (sd = 2.0) and 8.3 lects (sd = 2.1), respectively. By contrast, an average of 4.5 lects (sd = 1.6) is spoken by 5 men with four names, and no single man bears above four names. It appears that female respondents whose name-giving social networks are accounted for by marriage may trigger an additional name. Though there is no clear-cut correlation between the numbers of names the different genders have and the active lects present in their repertoires at the intermediate levels, the data seems to confirm the possibility of multiple name-giving networks and individual repertoires.

5.5.2.2 The effect of social networks on multilingualism

The ethnographic variable targeting social networks has been found to be relevant in explaining individual multilingualism in LF. In fact, there can be no absence of linguistic and cultural socialization when treating social networks. Every individual automatically has ties to more than one social network. In this study, the social networks consisted of kinship ties (parents, grand and great grandparents, cousins, uncles, aunts), friendships, marriage relations, and classmates. In this

sense, I do not aim to capture an endless web linking people together (Milroy 1980). Instead, I focus precisely on the links encountered by the individuals more or less frequently. In the general pattern of social network description, I tried as much as possible to group the respondents by the size of their social networks (see Figure 13) and go a little further by the density of the individuals' webs of relations. This means that a group of "strong" relations was identified (see, also Milroy & Llasas, 2013). The respondents are connected with their circle of friends (see Figure 14), especially friends outside the place of residence of the respondents (see Figure 15), and kinship ties, such as the provenance of parents and grand/great-grandparents (see Figure 16). In effect, friendship for instance has been identified as a solid social tie that heavily affects sociolinguistic behaviours (Wiklund, 2002).

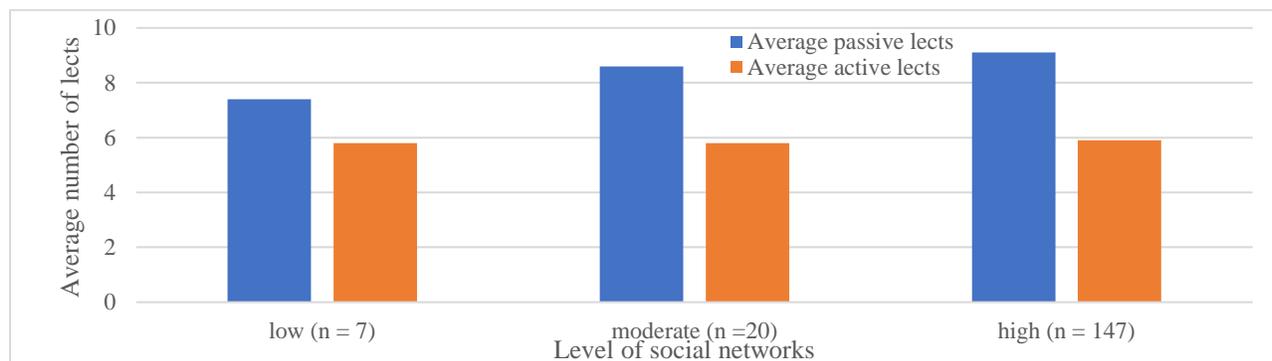


Figure 13. Average self-reported rates of multilingual competence in terms of lects (passive and active) by social networks (n = 174).

Figure 13 illustrates the varying number of social networks that 174 respondents of LF are linked to, together with their average number of passive and active lects. The respondents are categorized according to the size of the reported networks they have. Members that fall within the low category have networks that range from two to fifteen. Furthermore, those who have between eleven to 20 social ties fall within the moderate category, and twenty-one and beyond are classified as members with a high density of social networks. More than three-quarters of the respondents (85%) have social ties with twenty and above social networks. Multiple connections that members possess suggest that multiple affiliations are part of their way of life.

It appears to be that the more social affinities one has, the more passive and active language competencies he or she has. Those members with a relatively low social network can generally understand an average of 7.4 lects and speak 5.8 lects. Moreover, those within the highest number of social networks report passive knowledge in above 9 lects and speak an average of 5.9 lects. Nonetheless, when we examine the active competencies of the intermediate group with members with low social affinities, there is no clear relationship. Both groups share an average of 5.8 active lects each. Despite this contradictory observation, the initial descriptive analysis indicates a positive correlation between multiple ties and multilingualism in LF. Again, at active levels the average rates level off amongst the three groups. It seems that even members with low social networks can communicate actively in almost the same number of codes as members of moderate and high social networks. This could be because the members with low social affinities are likely to have only strong relations with their networks. I now move away from a general appraisal of the effect of social networks on individual multilingualism to specific kinds of affinities.

5.5.2.3 The effect of circle of close friends on multilingualism

One variable that remains relevant within the social networks is the friendship factor. The responses as to when, with whom, and for what purpose one uses a certain language drew inference among other factors to the circle of friends members had. Indeed, contact with friends across near and far distances is habitual within the LF context. Milroy and Carmen (2002) and Milroy (2013) have all commented that friendship ties, as opposed to acquaintances, are generally seen to be “strong” and “dense”— such that interactions involve topics such as aid, advice, support and criticism. While Figure 14 captures the number of friends that respondents have in their social networks, friendship ties based outside the residence of the respondent’s networks is what Figure 15 focuses on.

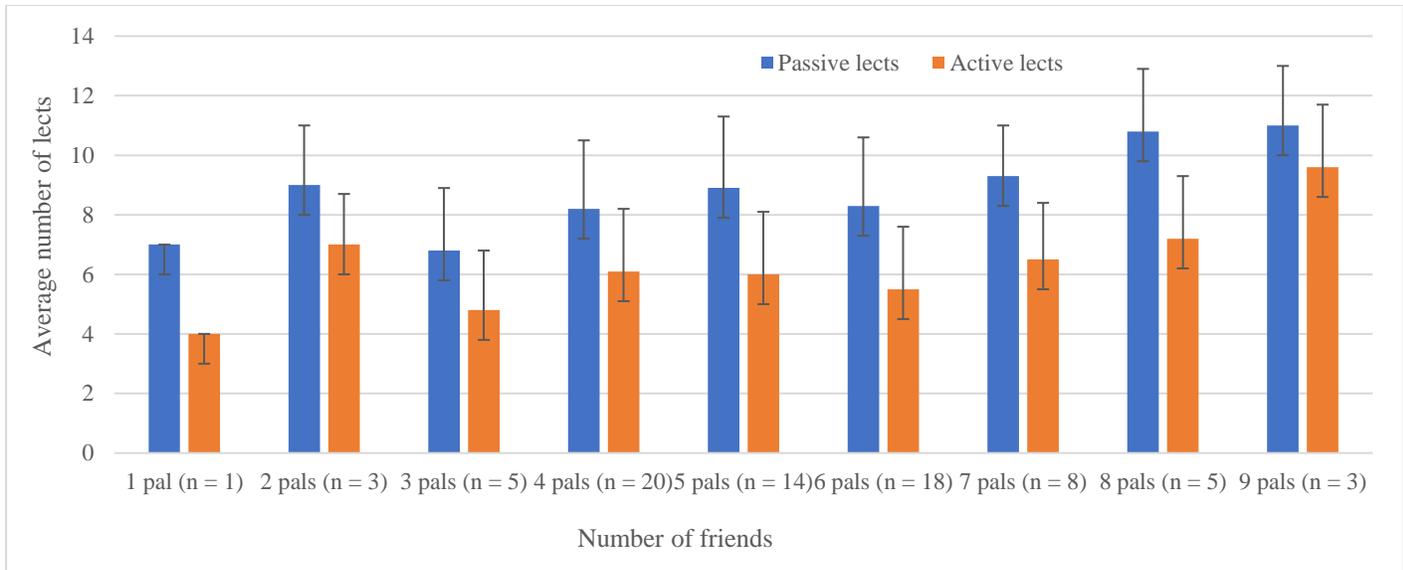


Figure 14. The number of passive and active lects (average and standard deviation) by the respondents with the varying number of friends (n = 77).

The results for the differing number of friends or pals that 77 mainly Missong respondents of LF have in correlation with their average passive and active competencies (Figure 14) demonstrates that a majority (75%) have over 4.5 friends. A steady increase is observed beginning with the respondents with six friends and above, suggesting higher rates of reported competencies. We see that the 18 people with 6 pals report an average of 8.3 passive lects (sd = 2.3) and 6 active lects (sd = 2.1), 8 persons with 7 pals register an average 9.3 known lects (sd = 1.7) and 6.5 spoken lects (sd = 1.9). 8 friends report an average of 10.8 passive lects (sd = 2.1) and 7.2 active lects (sd = 2.1); those members with the highest number of friends record an average of 11 passive lects (sd = 2.0) and 9.6 active lects (sd = 2.1). In contrast, those with a single friend tend to have low passive and active competence levels—report an average of 7 passive lects (sd = 0) and 4 active lects (sd = 0). However, the range between those with 2 and 5 friends show some degree of mismatch, as the relationship between the number of friends and their reported competencies is not obvious. Nonetheless, in this preliminary analysis, a greater part of the samples show a positive relationship.

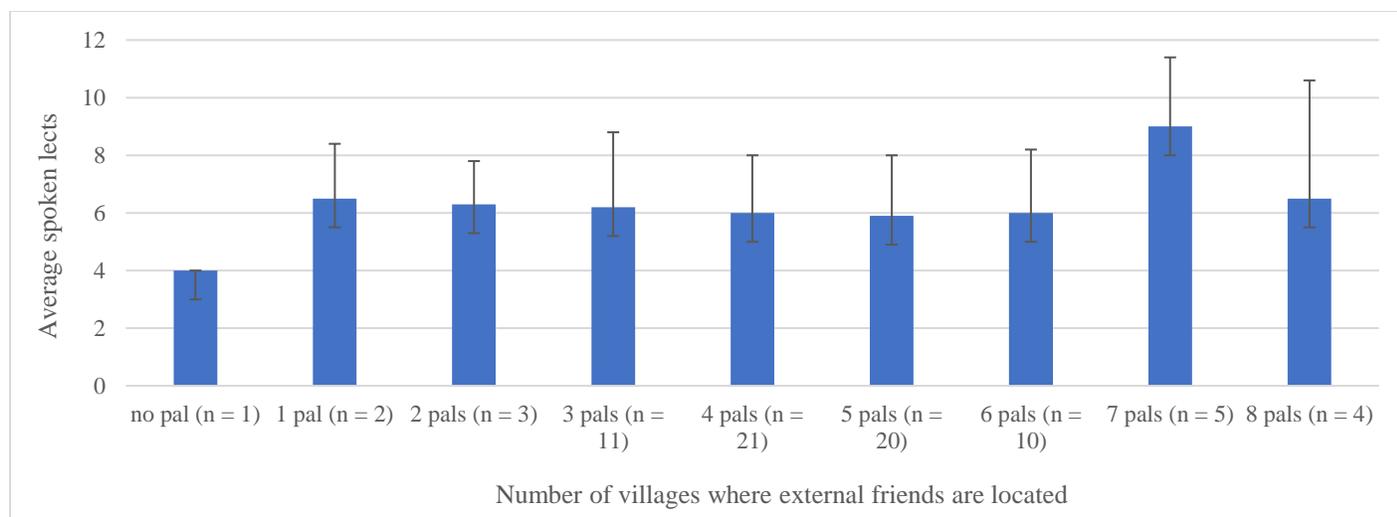


Figure 15. The number of active lects (average and standard deviation) known by respondents whose friends are centred outside of their village residence (n = 77).

There was no clear-cut relationship when I tried to match the number of external friends, based in different villages, with the reported active competence (Figure 15). However, it is possible that the fewer friends one has outside one’s village, the lower is the number of active codes spoken. For instance, the single member with no friends outside the village speaks an average of 4 lects. This could then be contrasted with the last but one group of external friends, where 5 members associated with 7 friends based in 7 separate villages report active competence in 9 lects (sd 2.4).

5.5.2.4 The effect of one’s parents and grand/great grandparents on multilingualism

One thing that was of interest for the ethnographic questionnaire was to capture the provenances of the respondents—i.e., their mothers and fathers, maternal and paternal parents of their parents. In order to evaluate how passive and active multilingualism patterns with these parents, I present only those parents, grandparents, and great grandparents that come from different provenances (see Figure 16).

So, for instance, we know that a three parental unit consists of ten members subdivided by three units. In unit one, the parents are made up of two members, a father and a mother. The second unit is the grandparents, which consists of four members, i.e., the paternal grandmother and grandfather and the maternal grandmother and grandfather. Finally, the third unit represents the great

grandparents that also count four members, i.e., the paternal great grandmother and great grandfather and the maternal great grandmother and great grandfather. Therefore, this means that if one’s mother, father, maternal grandmother, and paternal great grandmother come from different provenances, they will be counted as “four parents” or social networks centred in different villages.

This ethnographic component is quite important to show because apart from the social network of friends, respondents have been taught to speak the different codes by their parents, grand and great grandparents. Moreover, it is common to hear them say they frequently interact with these parents in different gatherings. I was a bit sceptical of the existence of the third-generation parents. However, I soon realized that 14+ years was the average age of mothers in the area, making it possible for one’s parents and grand/great grandparents to still be alive for most of the consultants. Most times, some of the parents lived in the same household as the respondents. In other cases where one’s parents and grand/great grandparents were late, they still offered recounts.

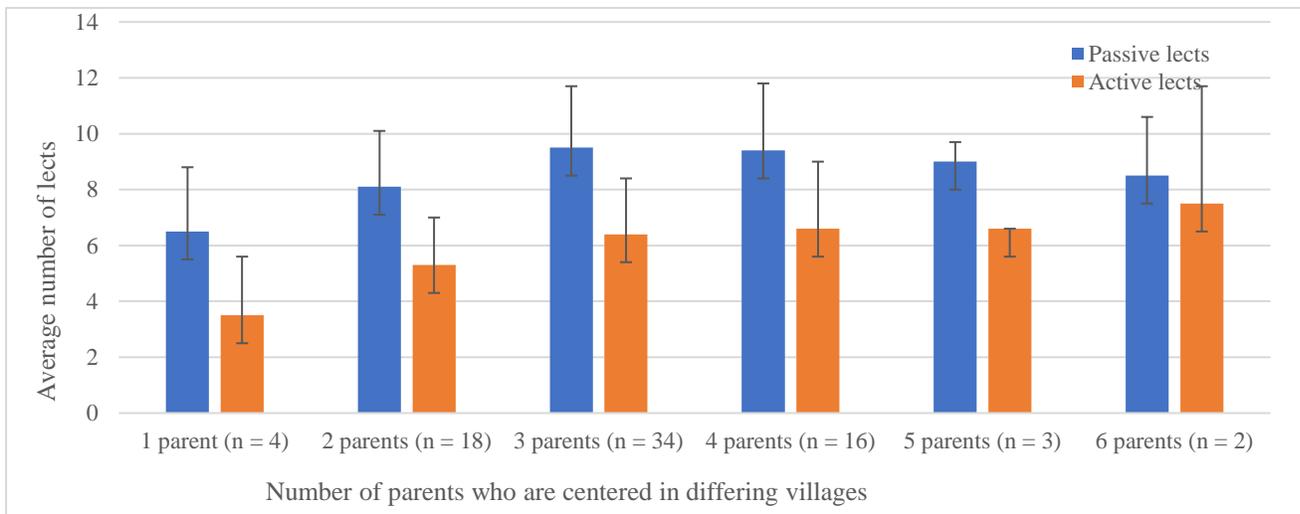


Figure 16. The number of average passive and active lects by respondents’ parents and grand/great grandparents who come from different villages (n = 77).

Figure 16 represents 77 respondents of mainly the Missong village whose parents, grandparents and great grandparents come from different villages, along with their average number of known and spoken lects listed in their repertoires. Thus, 65% of the respondents have three to four members that make up the parental tree represented in different village networks. Looking at the chart, we quickly notice that the patterns of average passive lects are concentrated more in the intermediate groups: the 34 persons have parents from three differing villages, and the 16 members

with parents from 4 distinct villages know an average of 9.45 lects. However, those members at the extremes know a little less. An interesting pattern emerges when I correlate one's parents and grand/great grandparents backgrounds with their average active competence. Those whose parents and grand/great grandparents are represented by more villages speak more than those whose parents and grand/great grandparents originate from fewer villages. For example, people whose parental backgrounds are affiliated to six villages speak an average of 7.5 lects, whereas one's parents and grand/great grandparents connected with 2 villages have an average of 5.6 spoken lects and less than 4 active lects with people connected with a single village. Hence, there is a positive correlation at active levels and somewhat unclear at passive levels.

5.5.2.5 The effect of marriage on multilingualism

Patterns of marriage was also a variable I paid close attention to in the ethnographic questionnaire. I examined the different marriage types that exist in the area at different levels and realized that there were (75%) of monogamous marriages practised by both genders as well as polygamous marriages (25%) actively pursued by men. Within these marriage types, there exist other forms whereby people marry inside, out of their villages or both, or exclusively outside their provenances. Below are two illustrations: the patterns of marriage on individual passive and active multilingualism as shown in Figure 17 and a Table (see Table 2) correlating the passive and active competencies of gender by marriage patterns.

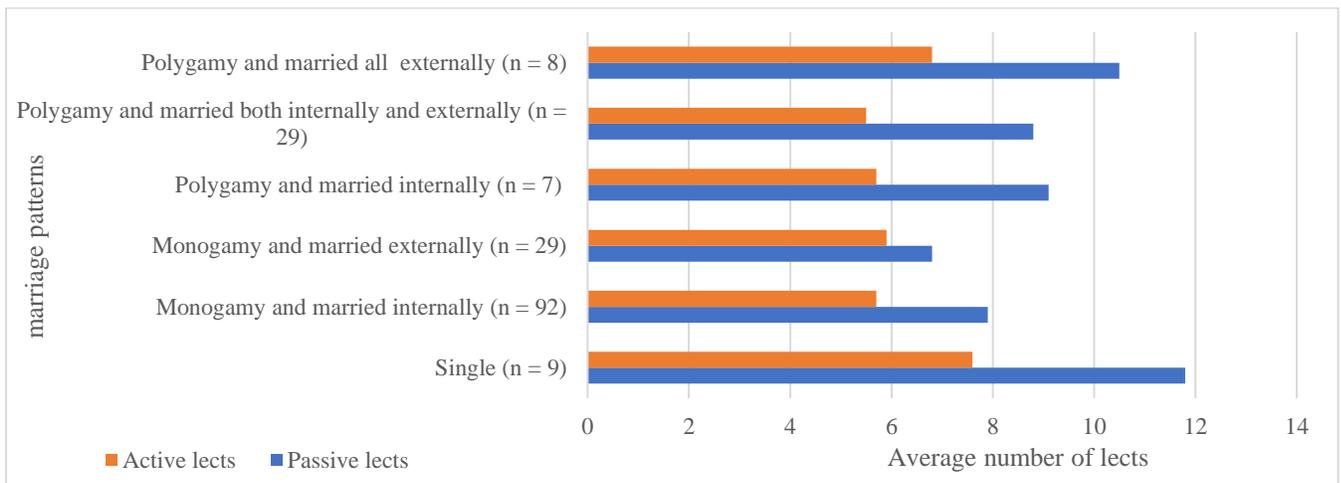


Figure 17. Patterns of marriage by the average passive and active lects (n = 174).

In Figure 17, we see that it is more likely for respondents who are polygamous to report more average passive competencies (above 9 lects), and even more, if they marry all their women externally (above 10 lects), than internal monogamous marriages where an average of 7.8 lects are known. In addition, men who marry more than one woman externally tend to speak more lects (6.9) than those who marry both internally and externally (5.8 lects). Thus, the data suggests that there might be a positive correlation between higher rates of passive and active multilingualism when one or more marriages occur outside their spouses' villages.

	Males %	Females %
Passive competence in spouse's language	92	100
Active competence in spouse's language	50	90
No competence in spouse's language	8	0

Table 2. The percentage of men and women who have married outside their village and who claim passive competence, active competence, or no competence in the lect of their spouse (n = 165).

Table 2 presents the percentages of passive and active spouse's languages of 165 married people in LF. When I analyzed how gender patterned with marriage and passive and active competencies, we noticed here that almost all members claim passive competence in their spouses' lects: 100% of women claimed passive competence and a little less for males, i.e., 92%. As for active competencies, women report a higher active knowledge of their husbands' lects (90%), while only 50% of male respondents report active competence in their wives' lects. Moreover, 8% of men have no competence in their wives' codes, while no woman appears to lack competence in their husband's codes.

5.5.2.6 The effect of geographical proximity on multilingualism

Because of mobility, it is possible to consider the effect of geographical proximity on multilingualism. I used the adopted map of LF and its surrounding villages (see Figure 1) to

categorize the villages considered to be in close proximity to the respondents' residences. This means that the respondents from Koshin are close to Mashi, and Missong residents are geographically closest to Mashi, Mufu, Munken and Abar. Hence, four geographically close villages surround Missong members. Members interviewed outside of the LF area were excluded as I dealt only with those living in the area.

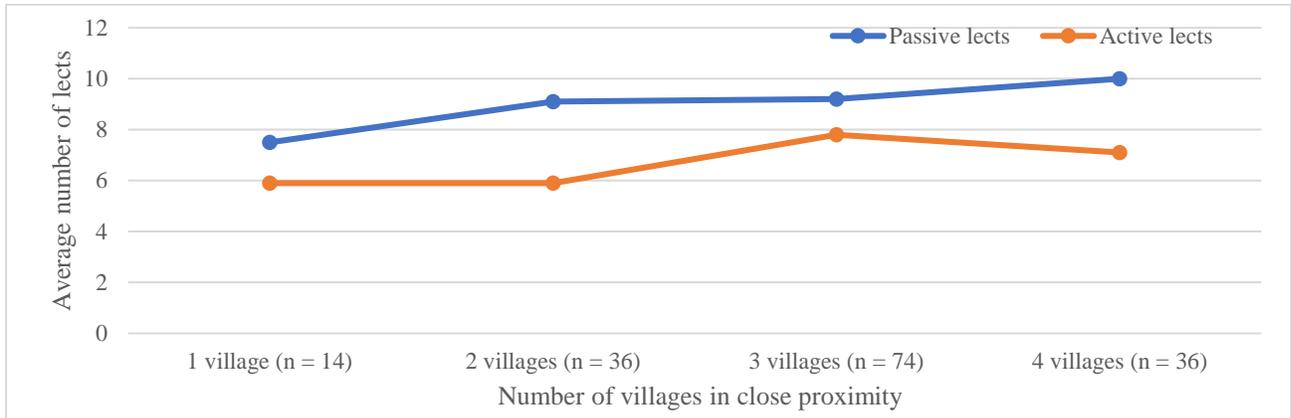


Figure 18. The number of average passive and active lects by respondents who live in close village locations (n = 160).

Figure 18 captures the number of villages closer to the respondent's residence, with their average passive and active multilingual repertoires. The data shows that majority a of the respondents (69%) live near some three to four villages. When I correlated the number of villages in close proximity to the respondents' residence, along with their linguistic competencies, I noticed a clear pattern emerging with average passive competencies. This was not immediately apparent with active competencies. In other words, the closer geographical locations are to the residents of particular villages; the higher are rates of passive competence. For example, while the 14 members connected with one village report an average of 7.5 lects, 36 respondents associated to two villages report 9.1 lects, and 74 people linked to three villages report 9.2 lects and 36 people associated to 4 villages report 10 lects. By contrast, while there is a gradual climb in the numbers of reported active lects for members associated with one (5.9 lects), two villages (5.9 lects) and three villages (7.8), there comes a drop to an average of 7.1 lects for members associated to 4 villages.

5.5.2.7 The effect of linguistic similarity on multilingualism

It is no doubt from the linguistic picture depicted (see section 3.2.2) that there are similar lects in LF. Hence, I sought to match the number of similar lects with the average passive and active competence in the repertoires of the LF members.

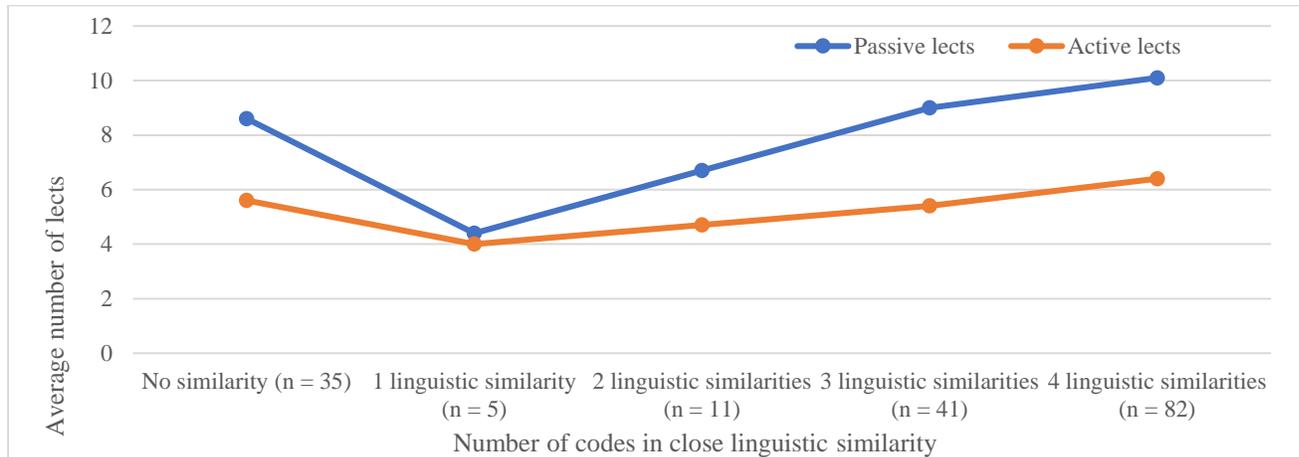


Figure 19. The number of average and passive lects by linguistic similarity (n = 174).

Figure 19 presents the number of similar lects 174 LF respondents have, along with their passive and active competence. Apart from the 35 respondents who report no linguistic similarity linked to their codes of origin, there is a gradual growth in the known and spoken average number of lects. The 5 persons connected to one linguistic similarity report an average of 4.2 passive and 4 active lects. Those 11 members whose codes are similar to two linguistic varieties know above 6.3 lects and speak above 4.3 lects. Additionally, 41 respondents tied to three similar codes know and speak an average of 9.1 and 5.8 lects, respectively. Finally, a great majority of 82 persons whose codes are similar to four linguistic varieties know an average of 10.1 passive lects and 6.2 active lects. Indeed, it seems to be that those with the greatest number of similar codes even understand and speak more than those with no single linguistic similarity (8.3 passive lects and 5.8 active lects).

5.5.3 Repertoires and the motivations for passive and active competence in lects and languages

The society of LF is marked by super linguistic diversity. Below is a list of lects found in the repertoires of the LF people (see Table 3). Forty-four lects are counted within and outside the LF area. Among these lects, you find that there are exoglossic lects, a lingua franca, lects of trade and religion and other lects.

Understanding the motivations behind a respondent's passive and active competence is quite interesting, and, unlikely to be found outside cities and towns, as we shall see. A set of codes is presented, and the motivations for knowing and speaking these codes are identified.

1	Abar	12	Bum	23	Kung	34	Mundabli
2	Aghem	13	CPE	24	Kumfutu	35	Munken
3	Ajumbu	14	Dumbo (Kemezong)	25	Mankon	36	Ngun
4	Ajume	15	English	26	Mashi	37	Nkwen
5	Bafut	16	Fang	27	Mekaf	38	Njukun
6	Bambili	17	French	28	Missong	39	Nser
7	Bambui	18	Fungom	29	Mmen	40	Nso'
8	Bamum	19	Hausa	30	Modele (a variety of Befang)	41	Nyos
9	Biya	20	Isu	31	Mufu	42	Oku
10	Bororo (Ffulde)	21	Kom	32	Mukuru	43	Weh
11	Buu	22	Koshin	33	Munggaka	44	Zhoa

Table 3. Lects present in the repertoires of LF members (n = 174).

5.5.3.1 Repertoires outside LF: exoglossic codes and the lingua franca

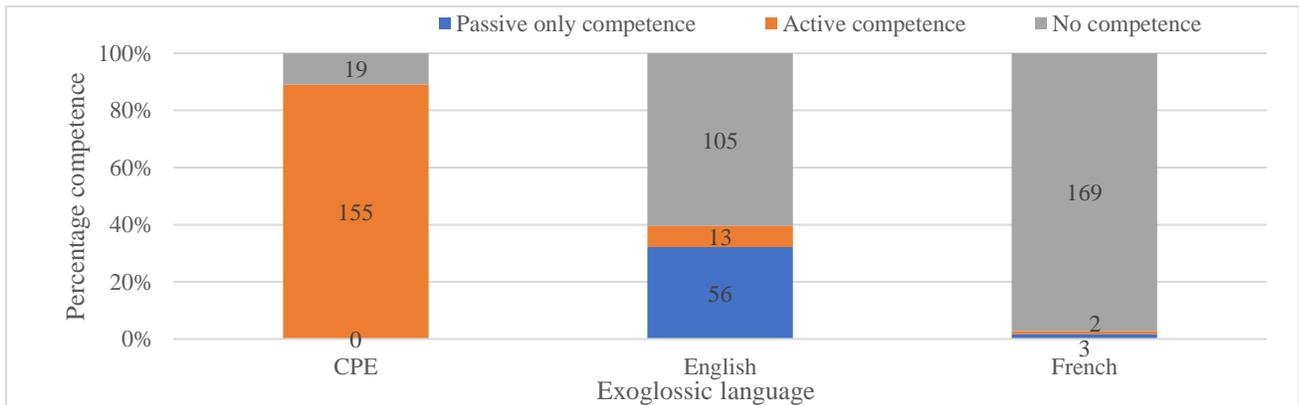


Figure 20. The percentage of competence, active competence, passive-only or no competence in the exoglossic lects (n = 174).

Figure 20 shows the self-reported rates of competence in exoglossic languages and CPE that vary in great degrees. CPE is widely known and spoken by almost 90% of the sample, with only less than 11% reporting no competence. This was mostly detected amongst older respondents aged 51 and above. To add, 59% of the sample have no competence in English. However, while 32% of people interviewed reported passive-only competence in English, 7%, who are mainly youths, claimed both passive and active competence in English. In the case of French, the representation of knowledge in this language is minimal, with only 5 respondents (2.8%) who claim some passive only or active competence.

The motivations for speaking the listed exoglossic languages and CPE show that respondents want to communicate with outsiders for social, economic exchanges and personal mobility, prestige, and the need for job opportunities.

5.5.3.2 Repertoires outside LF: local codes with a historical influence

Munggaka (spoken in the Mezam Division), Kom (spoken in the Boyo Division) and Mmen (spoken in the Menchum Division) languages are targeted because of their significant history around the Grassfields area in Cameroon. While the Kom and the Mmen are applauded for their agricultural contribution in the Grassfields (Warnier 1979), Munggaka's influence is associated

with religion and education (Fokwang, 2003). These agricultural areas provided palm oil, coffee, corn, meat, iron, and beans abundantly. In addition, they were engaged in pastoral farming as well as skilled in woodcarving. Munggaka is the language spoken by the Bali Nyonga and the only village in the Grassfields that had strong ties with the German colonial masters. In fact, you can still find the German colonial legacy, such as buildings in the area.

Moreover, the first boarding school created by the Basel missionaries in Bali Nyonga was known as the Basel Mission College in 1949. David H. O’Neil headed it and five Swiss Germans after him, and its doors were opened to boys only until 1972. German was used by the Basel missionaries to preach the gospel of Christ (Warnier, 1979), and this practice continued later on until the 1960s by the Presbyterian Church (Di Carlo, Esene Agwara & Ojong, 2020).

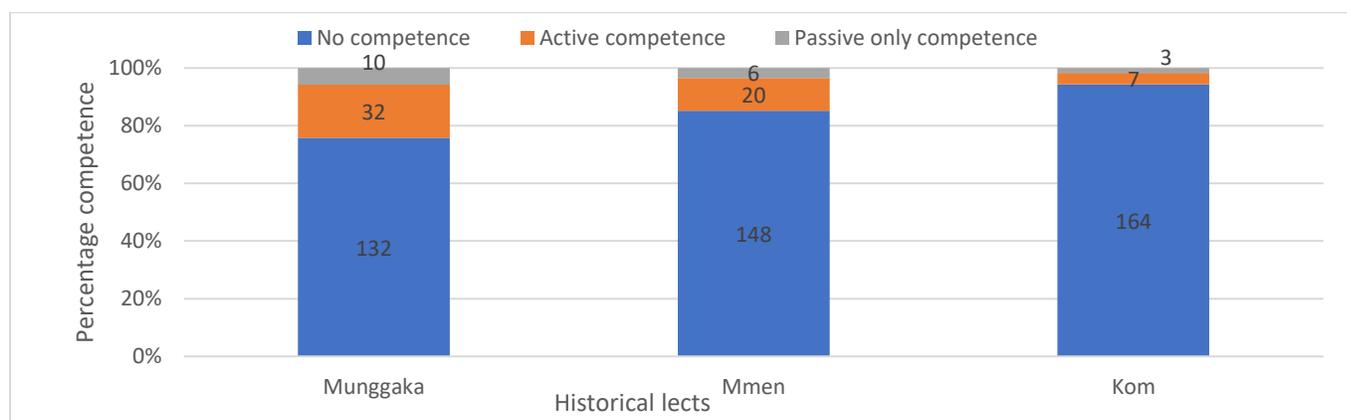


Figure 21. The percentage of competence, active competence, passive-only or no competence in the historical lects (n = 174).

Figure 21 illustrates how historical lects pattern with passive-only, active and no competence of 174 respondents of LF multilingual repertoires. While a majority of the respondents lack competence in Munggaka, Mmen and Kom, there are still a handful of people who report some competence in these codes, with the most representation in Munggaka. Moreover, 18.3% of the respondents know and speak Munggaka, 11.4% in Mmen and 4% in Kom. Esene Agwara (2013) adds that males and the older generation (above 52 years of age) tend to report more active competence in these codes than females and the younger samples. These figures, however small, are relatively higher when compared to other local non-LF codes. Therefore, it suggests that the

historical role of economic, religious and educational activities has an impact on the multilingual repertoires of the LF people.

The motivations for passive and active competence in the historical codes are mainly driven by the need to facilitate trade and communicate in the social, economic and religious domains. A few others report that speaking Munggaka gives certain respect and moral standing, as it was a language used by the Basel Missionaries to communicate.

5.5.3.3 Repertoires outside LF: other local codes

I present a list of 24 residual codes present in the repertoires of multilingual speaker, together with their motivations.

Lects	Total N of users	Lects	Total N of users	Lects	Total N of users	Lects	Total N of users
Aghem	9	Bororo	1	Kumfutu	1	Nser	1
Ajume	1	Bum	2	Mankon	2	Nso'	1
Bafut	2	Dumbo	1	Modele	1	Nyos	1
Bambili	1	Fungom	6	Mukuru	1	Oku	1
Bambui	1	Hausa	2	Nkwen	2	Weh	9
Bamum	1	Isu	6	Njukun	1	Zhoa	1

Table 4. The number of residual codes known or spoken by the motivations (n = 174).

The codes that people learn which are found outside of the area are highly associated with the need to communicate passively and actively. Moreover, learning codes found outside LF are motivated by the need to intercept any evil said about one. The latter motivation to develop multilingual repertoires that are not part of the LF area is mainly because of the need to feel safe and secure when far away from their well-known area.

5.5.3.4 Why people learn the lects of LF

The ethnographic questionnaire provides unmarked reasons why people learn LF languages (see Esene Agwara, 2013, for details). However, the advanced reasons can be subsumed under these social categories:

- a) Individual relations: it spans friendship, classmates, acquaintances, which all can be described as links people have with others.
- b) Individual mobility: people move for social, economic, and health-related reasons.
- c) Perceived similarity and proximity both target people's beliefs about what language feels similar to theirs and what village is closest to theirs. These, in reality, may not be true. One implication may be linked to the social relations that people have with others near and far as well.
- d) Linguistic similarity and geographical proximity: capture the "true" picture of how close a variety is to another as established scientifically, or how close a village is to another geographically.
- e) Blood relations: targets all parents, grand and great grandparents, siblings, and other relatives that share blood lineage.
- f) In-laws: are meant to target relations created due to marriage.
- g) Marriage: is another factor that causes the need to learn another code.
- h) Social security: is also another targeted variable categorized in this research. This consists of the need to conceal information and intercept evil.
- i) Prestige: accounts for why people may choose to learn a certain language.

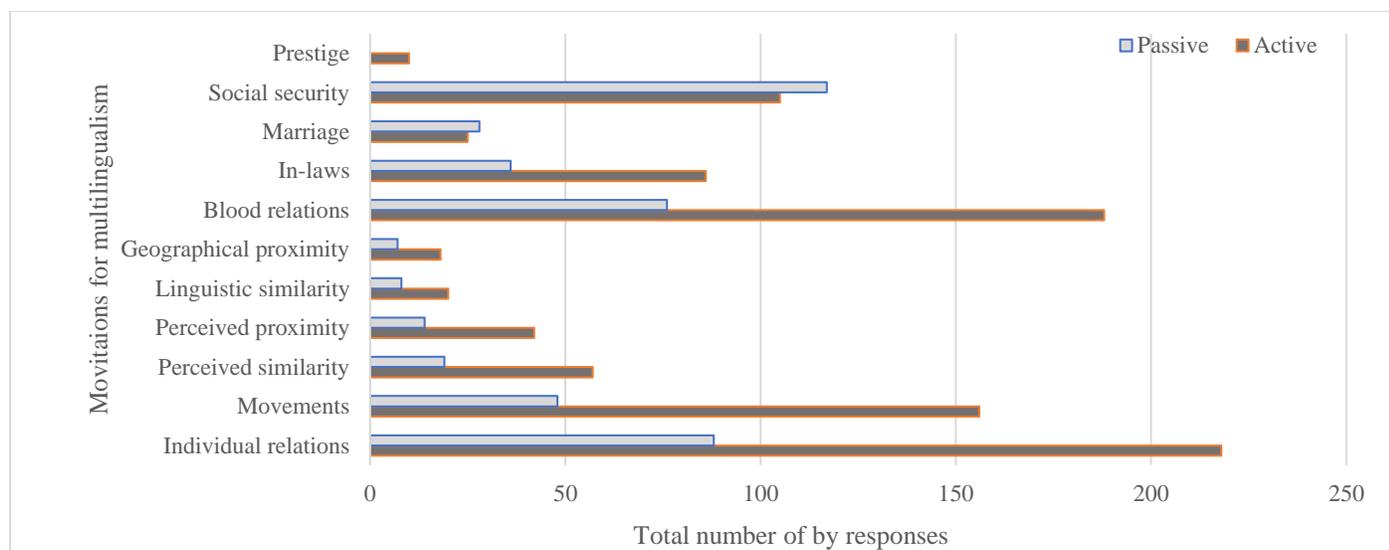


Figure 22. The targeted triggers for multilingualism (active competence and passive competence), by the number of responses (n = 174).

Figure 22 indicates that the LF people are likely to learn languages at passive levels for the sake of comprehension to detect evil or conceal information. However, at active levels, the need to be affiliated to members either by blood or social relations is the most important reason people learn LF languages. This may suggest that multiple affinities matter to people in this area, and by so doing, individual relations of all sorts are created and maintained by being multilingual.

5.6 Findings: statistical test

A major goal of the study presented in this chapter is to explore the differing variables captured already in the descriptive statistical results aiming to show which of the variables account significantly for the development of the passive and active individual multilingual repertoires of the LF members. The statistical method used to achieve this aim is the multivariate linear regression test^x. The multivariate linear regression test is a statistical model that shows the relationships of multiple independent variables with dependent variables. This method is less cumbersome than other possible statistical methods because it allows a projection for multiple correlated independent variables and a dependent variable. Another advantage of employing the multivariate linear regression is that unlike the t-test—a method that determines whether two groups are statistically different from each other, it gives room for a comparison of only two group

scores. In contrast, a multivariate regression method is helpful and flexible as it allows multiple predicting variables. The statistical software program I used to make the multivariate regression calculations is STATA. In sum, the multivariate regression model provides a more sensitive measure of the effects of the independent variables against the dependent variables.

I explored the effects of the explanatory or independent variables (e.g., age, gender, educational backgrounds, number of names, number of external friends) on four strongly related dependent variables (i.e., number of passive lects, number of active lects, number of passive languages and number of active languages). I decided to drop the variable targeting the overall social networks because of the interactions with the number of friends and parents, grandparents, and great grandparents.

For this study, I present two sets of respondents where necessary: (1) 174 observations that cover the general sample and include a mean substitution strategy for the missing variables. (2) 77 observations that target only my 2017/2018 data, as only the recent sample had sufficient unmodified data of specific variables to permit analysis. In addition, a majority of the targeted members all reside in Missonig. Moreover, I had a much better acquaintance with the interview guide than we had in 2012. Therefore, I present 8 tables that summarize the regression analysis, with 4 each representing the two observational sets.

N° of known lects	Coefficient	Std. Err.	t	P> t 	[95% Interval]	Conf.
Gender	.0786263	.3986578	-0.70	0.844	-.86579	.7085373
Age	.5046895	.1837971	2.75	0.005	.1417759	.8676032
Education	.5823883	.3688861	1.58	0.116	-.1459901	1.310767
N° of names	.0635475	.2668621	-0.24	0.812	-.463381	.5466434
N° of friends	.2376962	.1564658	1.52	0.131	-.071251	.696647
Parents, grand/great grandparents	.1885637	.2668869	0.71	0.481	.3384137	.715541
Marriage	.0518695	.1429037	-0.36	0.717	-.2302988	.2797209
Geographical prox.	2.324453	.4405049	3.51	0.001	.6749611	2.414545
Linguistic similarity	.1544753	.4405049	-2.15	0.033	-6.693026	-.2923563

Table 5. Multivariate regression results for the number of known lects (n = 174).

The correlation coefficient test results, as shown in Table 5 indicate that gender correlates positively with passive competence, with the males accounting for more lects (.0786263). However, the level of significance is negligible ($p < 0.844$). With age, there exists a strong positive correlation (.5046859), showing that there is a significance ($p < 0.005$) between the older samples and the number of lects. In addition, levels of education positively correlate with the number of known lects (.5823883), but with no significance ($p < 0.116$). Looking at the number of names, there is a positive correlation (.0635475) with no significance ($p < 0.812$). As for the number of friends, there is a positive link (.2376962) with the number of known lects, suggesting that a higher number of friends triggers a higher number of lects. However, there is no significance ($p < 0.131$). There is equally a positive correlation (.1885637) with one's parents and grand/great grandparents provenances and the number of lects ($p < 0.481$), however, with a weak significance. The variables marriage, geographical proximity and linguistic similarity all show a positive correlation (.01518695, .2324453, .1544753), and no significance for marriage ($p < 0.717$) and linguistic similarity ($p < 0.033$). This implies that these variables might not activate high rates of multilingualism in terms of lects. Nonetheless, the closer the lects to the targeted residence of the respondents, the higher the number of lects ($p < 0.001$).

N° of spoken lects	Coefficient	Std. Err.	t	P> t 	[95% Interval]	Conf.
Gender	0.856643	.3911424	0.47	0.636	-.58666	.9579886
Age	.4456635	.1803322	1.36	0.004	-.1106886	.6014557
Education	.4723217	.4006782	1.18	0.240	-.3188313	1.263475
N° of names	.0582313	.2618314	0.22	0.824	-.4587637	.5752264
N° of friends	.0156268	.1535162	0.10	0.919	-.2874962	.3187498
Parents, grand/great grandparents	.6517387	.2618556	2.49	0.005	.1346857	1.168782
Marriage	.1076889	.1402097	0.77	0.444	-.1691601	.3845379
Geographical prox.	2.305994	.4298738	1.87	0.000	1.457193	3.154794
Linguistic similarity	.8098888	.4322006	-1.93	0.055	-6.214641	0.653656

Table 6. Multivariate regression results for the number of spoken lects (n = 174).

When one examined the dependent variable, i.e., number of spoken lects with the independent variables as indicated in Table 6, the results demonstrate positive correlations for a great majority of variables. Here, the correlation results for gender are positive and not significant (0.856643, $p < 0.636$), so too is education (.4723217, $p < 0.240$). However, there is a positive and significant correlation for age with the number of spoken lects (.4456635, $p < 0.004$). The correlation between the number of names and the number of active lects indicates a positive correlation and insignificant results (-.0582313, $p < 0.824$). Concerning the number of friends, we see a positive correlation (.0156268) and no significance ($p < 0.919$). Nevertheless, we see a positive correlation (.6517387 and significant results ($p < 0.005$) on one's parents and grand/great grandparents provenances. This result shows that those whose parents, grandparents and great-grandparents come from different language backgrounds have higher rates of multilingualism in terms of lects. As to what concerns the marriage, there is a positive correlation (.1076889) but no significance ($p < 0.444$). Again, the variable explaining geographical proximity and linguistic similarity indicates a positive correlation (2.305994, .08098888), with a significance in geographical proximity ($p < 0.000$) and no significance in linguistic similarity ($p < 0.055$).

N° of known languages	Coefficient	Std. Err.	t	P> t 	[95% Interval]	Conf.
Gender	.089086	.3686538	0.02	0.389	-.719011	.7368282
Age	.3439749	.1689144	2.04	0.003	.0104476	.6775021
Education	.1632361	.3404633	0.95	0.590	-.3478247	.9966886
N° of names	-.1209073	.2418456	-1.41	0.581	-.8181307	.1369342
N° of friends	.0218993	.1452044	1.00	0.865	-.1413758	.4320463
Parents, grand/great grandparents	.4238839	.2468725	0.91	0.006	-.2635743	.7113422
Marriage	.10053	.1315071	-0.17	0.392	-.2818447	.237486
Geographical prox.	2.606201	2.247592	-1.60	0.004	-8.044149	.8317474

Table 7. Multivariate regression results for the number of known languages (n = 174).

When one matches the number of known languages with the independent variables, as seen in Table 7, we notice more positive correlations. The correlation test reveals that gender correlates positively with the number of passive languages (.089086), but with an unimportant significance ($p < 0.389$). In addition, age registers a positive and significant correlation (.3439749, $p < 0.003$). Here, the indication is that older respondents register higher rates of known languages, thus, suggesting that age is a factor that marginally triggers passive individual multilingualism. Education, on the other hand, plays a positive role (.1632361), with no significance ($p < 0.590$). The number of names accounts for a negative correlation (-.1209073), along with no significance ($p < 0.581$). Further, the number of friends and one's parents and grand/great grandparents provenances variables registered positive correlations (.0218993, .4238839), but no significant results ($p < 0.865$, $p < 0.006$). Finally, geographical proximity appears to be negatively correlated (2.606201) and significant ($p < 0.004$).

N° of spoken languages	Coefficient	Std. Err.	t	P> t 	[95% Interval]	Conf.
Gender	.0783055	.2900948	0.28	0.078	-.2770088	.8685957
Age	.4660762	.1229192	1.54	0.007	-.0948498	.4300575
Education	.1076437	.2679117	0.87	0.385	-.2956126	.7623892
N° of names	.019039	.190309	-0.54	0.918	-.4786034	.2729402
N° of friends	-.0474734	.1088384	-0.44	0.663	-.2623785	.1674318
Parents, grand/great grandparents	.2812208	.1856478	0.57	0.567	-.1023617	.6648032
Marriage	.0905088	0.994045	0.91	0.364	-.1057689	.2867864
Geographical prox.	1.607096	.3047677	5.27	0.001	1.005322	2.20887

Table 8. Multivariate regression results for the number of spoken languages (n = 174).

Table 8 shows the number of spoken languages and the independent variables. We observe that they are positively correlated, with significance registered for geographical proximity. There are positive correlations and no significance with gender (.0783055, $p < 0.078$), age (.4660762, $p < 0.007$), education (.1076437, $p < 0.385$), number of names (.019039, $p < 0.918$), number of friends (-.0474734, $p < 0.663$), one's parents and grand/great grandparents' provenances (.2812208, p

<0.567) and marriage (.0905088, $p < 0.364$). However, geographical proximity correlations are positively correlated (1.607096) with a significance ($p < 0.001$).

N° of known lects	Coefficient	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Interval]	Conf.
Gender	-.5705217	.4697369	-1.21	0.229	1.50812	.367077
Age	.3642955	.202114	1.80	0.076	-.0391258	.7677168
Education	.7246351	.4073206	1.78	0.080	-.0883803	1.537651
N° of names	.0617802	.306842	0.20	0.841	-.550679	.6742394
N° of friends	.3710734	.128543	2.89	0.005	.1146776	.6274692
Parents, grand/great grandparents	.4646323	.2152834	1.69	0.005	-.0650752	.7943398
Marriage	.4558292	.2417195	1.89	0.064	-1.385201	.9383034
Geographical prox.	.3617465	.8752206	0.41	0.081	-1.385201	2.108694
Linguistic similarity	2.645249	.5482968	-0.64	0.000	1.550844	3.739654

Table 9. Multivariate regression results for the number of known lects (n = 77).

When 77 observations were regressed with the number of known lects and variables in Table 9, many more ethnographic variables were apparently significant than when it was with 174 observations. The findings showed that gender was negatively correlated and not significant (-.5705217, $p < 0.229$). However, the age factor was positively correlated (.3642955) and not significant (0.076). This result indicates that older samples appear to register higher passive rates in lects than younger samples. Education and the number of names were positively correlated (.72463751, .0617802), but not significant ($p < 0.080$, $p < 0.841$). On the other side, the number of friends and one's parents and grand/great grandparents' provenances were positively correlated (.3710734, .464323) and were significant ($p < 0.005$). Marriage and geographical proximity were positively matched (.4558292, .3617465), but not significant ($p < 0.064$, $p < 0.081$). The linguistic similarity showed extremely positive correlation (2.645249) and significance ($p < 0.000$).

N° of spoken lects	Coefficient	Std. Err.	t	P> t 	[95% Interval]	Conf.
Gender	-.3482263	.5111581	-0.68	0.489	-1.368502	.6720496
Age	.375349	.2199364	0.65	0.516	-.2954709	.5825188
Education	.2312482	.4432381	0.52	0.604	-.6903345	.6425968
N° of names	-.0238688	.3338992	-0.07	0.943	-.6903345	.6425968
N° of friends	.418413	.1397813	0.56	0.005	-.2005917	.3574177
Parents, grand/great grandparents	.6108635	.234267	2.61	0.001	.1432645	1.078462
Marriage	.0996983	.2630343	0.38	0.706	.4253203	.6247169
Geographical prox.	-.4792018	.9523973	0.50	0.617	-2.380195	1.421791
Linguistic similarity	1.991545	.59666454	3.34	0.001	.8006359	3.182455

Table 10. Multivariate regression results for the number of spoken lects (n = 77).

In Table 10, 77 observations were studied following the dependent variables, i.e., the number of known lects and the explainable variables, and again, there were strong links, but less significant results: age (.375349, $p < 0.516$), education (.2312482, $p < 0.604$) and marriage (.0996983, $p < 0.706$). However, the number of friends, one's parents and grand/great grandparents' provenances and linguistic similarity were strongly matched (.418413, .6108635, 1.991545) and significant ($p < 0.005$, $p < 0.001$, $p < 0.001$). However, gender and geographical proximity were negatively correlated (-.34822263, -4792018) and not significant ($p < 0.489$, $p < 0.617$).

N° of known languages	Coefficient	Std. Err.	t	P> t 	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Gender	-.7728788	.3319858	-2.33	0.023	-1.435525	-.1102324
Age	.3522718	.1428438	1.07	0.290	-.1328455	.4373892
Education	.585597	.2878732	2.03	0.046	.0109997	1.160194
N° of names	0.213503	.2168601	0.10	0.922	-.4115042	.4542048
N° of friends	.4936604	.0907848	2.46	0.005	.0424531	.4048677
Parents, grand/great grandparents	.2595103	.1521512	1.71	0.093	-.0441848	.5632054
marriage	.2761487	.1708349	1.62	0.111	-.0648391	.6171365

Geographical prox. 2.125206 .3875079 5.48 0.468 -1.68569 .7836154

Table 11. Multivariate regression results for the number of known languages (n =77).

The number of known languages were regressed with the independent variables in Table 11, and we noticed that there were many variables strongly associated with the dependent variable, but not significant. Age (.2112492, $p < 0.290$), education (.585597, $p < 0.046$), marriage (.2761487, $p < 0.111$), number of names (0.213503, $p < 0.922$) one's parents and grand/great grandparents provenances (.2595103, $p < 0.093$) and geographical proximity (2.125206, $p < 0.468$). On the other side, gender negatively matched and with no significance (-.7728788, $p < 0.023$). Despite this, the number of friends correlated positively (.4936604), and was significant ($p < 0.005$).

N° of spoken languages	Coefficient	Std. Err.	t	P> t 	[95% Interval]	Conf.
Gender	-.5838922	.32052	-1.82	0.073	-1.223653	.0558684
Age	.495884	.1278541	0.36	0.012	-.1677363	.2428016
Education	.0346767	.2771492	0.13	0.894	-.5177349	.5900883
N° of names	.0148591	.2073479	0.07	0.944	-.4030768	.4321586
N° of friends	.325884	.2718983	0.01	0.018	-.540274	.5454508
Parents & grand/great grandparents	.2977691	.1372496	0.06	0.005	-.0988228	.4492326
Marriage	-.0100671	.5971976	-0.76	0.453	-.16432	.7408227
Geographical prox.	-.4511888	.5971976	-0.76	0.453	-1.6432	.7408227

Table 12. Multivariate regression results for the number of spoken languages (n = 77).

It is noted that by regressing the independent variables with the dependent variables generally, a more positive relationship is highlighted than a negative one. Looking at Table 12, while the variables age (.495884, $p < 0.012$), education (.0346767, $p < 0.894$), number of friends (.325884, $p < 0.018$) and the number of names (.0148591, $p < 0.944$) register positive correlations, with the latter significant, gender (-.583922, $p < 0.073$), marriage (-.0100671, $p < 0.453$) and geographical proximity (-.4511888, $p < 0.453$) are negatively correlated. When one's parents and grand/great

grandparents come from divergent provenances, there happens to be a significant result ($p < 0.005$) and positive correlation (.2977691).

5.6.1 Summary of statistical test

Variables	Passive lects	Active lects	Passive languages	Active languages
Gender	-	-	-	-
Age	Significant	significant	Significant	-
Education	-	-	-	-
N° of names	-	-	-	-
N° of friends	-	-	-	-
Parents, grand/great grandparents	-	significant	-	-
Marriage	-	-	-	-
Geo. Prox.	Significant	significant	Significant	Significant
Ling. similarity	-	-	-	-

Table 13. A summary of all the significant correlations (passive and active competence), by the different independent variables (n = 174)

Variables	Passive lects	Active lects	Passive languages	Active languages
Gender	-	-	-	-
Age	-	-	-	-
Education	-	-	-	-
N° of names	-	-	-	-
N° of friends	Significant	Significant	-	-
Parents, grand/great grandparents	Significant	Significant	Significant	-
Marriage	-	-	-	-
Geo. Prox.	-	-	-	-
Ling. similarity	Significant	Significant	-	-

Table 14. A summary of all the significant correlations (passive and active competence), by the different independent variables (n = 77)

5.7 Discussions

The fundamental objective addressed in this chapter on individual multilingualism is to examine the role of an ethnographically informed questionnaire in uncovering the language ideologies and the rates of multilingualism and explore how these local language ideologies pattern with the dynamics of individual multilinguals in the rural setting of LF. For this, I subdivide the discussions thematically.

5.7.1 Everyone speaks more than one code in LF

When responses were analyzed about the number of languages and lects the people of LF report competence in, the pattern showed an absence of monolingualism, which is rather not such a surprising reality (see Connell, 2009; Di Carlo & Good, 2020; Esene Agwara, 2020; Warnier 1979). However, the high rates of multilingualism in rural areas have been questioned by a limited number of studies previously conducted. Kashoki (1982), for instance, states that “individual multilingualism is an attribute of urbanization because it is in town rather than in rural areas that one usually encounters linguistic heterogeneity” (p. 154). This conclusion is driven by the fact that migrants from diverse backgrounds settle in cities for better opportunities, hence picking up different languages (O’Barr, 1979). However, Dakubu (2000) contradicts this assumption with a study carried out in Ghana that compares the individual repertoires of two groups: on the one hand, those living in Bawku, a cosmopolitan town and villages living side by side, and on the other hand, the speakers who migrated to Accra but are original to Bakwu. She found out that the urban environment does not automatically condition individual multilingualism, as there are indeed migrants who arrive with no experience of urban multilingualism.

To this end, there are relatively higher rates of reported individual multilingualism in rural areas (see also Lüpke, 2016) than past studies make-believe. Let us take, for example, the study conducted by Kaji (2013) in the heterogeneous city of Hoima, in the western side of Uganda. Of 100 sociolinguistic interviews conducted, he reports an average of 3.46 active languages. Kashoki (1982) reports that while an average of 2 languages are spoken in rural Zambia, in urban Zambia, the individual repertoires average 3 active languages. In the rural Tanzanian village of Usangi, O’Barr presents an average of fewer than three languages spoken by the 159 respondents. The

rates of individual multilingualism in terms of lects and languages do not parallel the figures as mentioned earlier from the present research. Of 174 respondents interviewed, an average of 9.2 passive lects and 5.9 active lects were registered. As for languages, respondents reported an average of 5.6 known languages and above 4 spoken languages. Even better is the fact that 35% of the sample are actively competent in 5 languages.

We thus see that individual multilingualism is not restricted to urbanization, as ethnographic elements foster multilingualism (see 4.72) that go beyond the pluralistic nature of the society one inhabits. The linguistic ecology and local ideologies in a particular area promote the need to know and speak at the very least two lects.

5.7.2 Significant triggers on individual multilingualism

One of the objectives in this chapter was to examine the effects of the differing variables on individual multilingualism. The findings in section 5.5.2 identify and describe variables that seem to influence the development of multilingual repertoires in LF. Among the targeted independent variables, I found age, the number of friends, the backgrounds of one's parents, maternal and paternal grandparents, and great grandparents, geographical proximity and linguistic similarity to be significant as detailed in section 5.6 and subsumed in Tables 13 and 14.

5.7.2.1 Geographical proximity

As shown in Table 13, geographical proximity is the only statistically significant influence on passive and active individual multilingual repertoires in LF. This finding indicates that different language speakers living side by side in different villages within a geographical area may determine individual multilingualism. In LF, there is seems to be intense physical mobility, especially to nearby villages for socialization and other work-related activities. While the latter includes birth and funerals, memorials, social and financial meetings, and traditional rituals, the former is related to joint farm activities, hunting, palm oil extractions and cooking for significant events. This finding appears to support research carried out elsewhere. Several studies have also discussed the idea of local language contact of peoples as a phenomenon for developing individual repertoires in rural areas. For example, Kashoki (1982) mentions that in the northeasternmost area of the northern province, there are six villages that “live in close proximity in a compact

geographical area”, and due to constant socioeconomic relations, they pick up the languages of each other (p. 142). Lüpke (2016) also emphasizes that language contact plays a crucial role in the understanding of multilingualism as the outcome of individual repertoires are developed because of “languages of a particular area” (p. 36). Therefore, it is common in the LF area to find people understanding and speaking most of the languages in close proximity to their residences. It is important to note that though some studies highlight the aspect of geographical proximity as a trigger to multilingualism, they do so shallowly.

5.7.2.2 Linguistic similarity

Another significant statistical finding to becoming multilingual in LF is the one of linguistic similarity. In Table 14, the independent variable of linguistic similarity accounts for the development of passive and active repertoires in terms of lects. This is not surprising because Missong makes up one of the linguistic varieties of the Mungbam language cluster (see Figure 1), where 77 participants reside in Missong, with a greater majority original to the Missong village. The linguistic status of Missong as a language variety to the other four (i.e., Munken, Ngun, Biya and Abar) intelligible varieties adds to an increased number of passive and active lects listed in the repertoires of LF members.

5.7.2.3 Age

The variable age manifested itself as one of the significant causes of individual multilingualism at both passive levels for lects and languages and active levels for lects in LF. Classifying the consultants according to age ranges helped uncover linguistic differences and ideologies associated with these groups. In this chapter, the older participants largely account for the total sample size out of choice (see section 5.3.2). While the repertoires of younger samples are found to be less due to the diffusion of CPE as a lingua franca in the area, especially after the 1950s (see also Di Carlo, Esene Agwara & Ojong, 2020), the older samples, by contrast, developed multiple codes without the great influence of CPE. They reported picking up CPE when they moved to the coastal area of Cameroon to work in the plantations. In addition, speaking multiple codes for the older samples was materialized in terms of economic flexibility and social security. Inter-trade for iron ore, palm oil, and other agricultural materials was carried out between LF members and outside areas like

Kom and Mmen. Warnier (1979) attests to the trading role of Kom and Mmen in the entire Grassfields area. Chilver and Kaberry (1974) also showed that inter-tribal wars in the Grassfields area and Fulani raids were common, which led to great insecurities causing people to take refuge in safer areas generally located in hilly areas (see also Di Carlo, 2011, p. 91), hence picking up languages. One of the language ideologies observed among the younger respondents is essentially influenced by the diffusion of CPE and modern schooling, typically postcolonial influence. However, this is connected to the sociohistorical circumstance of economic and social survival with the older samples.

5.7.2.4 Ethnographic factors: friends and differing provenances of parents and grand/great grandparents

The purely ethnographic factors such as the number of friends and one's parents and grand/great grandparents origins appear to significantly trigger passive and active repertoires in lects and passive language repertoires of the respondents in LF. Table 14 indicates evidence of a significant relationship between social networks, such as having friends and parents, grandparents and great grandparents who come from differing village backgrounds and individual multilingualism. By social networks, I mean the different kinds of relationships that people have with each other. It could be cognatic—i.e., relations by kinship or not blood related—friendship ties. As we have seen, the ethnographic designed questionnaire (see section 5.2.3) tapped into different kinds of relations that people have with members of different social networks that were rooted in different villages. This aligned with the opinion that the existing nature of overlapping multiple social networks have been established in African societies over the years (Di Carlo, Good & Ojong 2019; Kopytoff, 1987; Lüpke, 2016).

The number of friends one has based in different villages activates the development of multilingual repertoires in LF. The second data set (see Table 14) confirms that there are members who have friends represented in multiple villages. Thus, LF members attest that friendship is an essential part of their social lives. Moreover, one way of keeping these friendship ties is by developing passive repertoires and active ones. This means that people associated with differing villages through friendship do tend to report more passive/active lects and passive languages in their repertoires.

Multilinguals develop their linguistic repertoires in terms of lects significantly when their parents, maternal and paternal grandparents and great grandparents are connected to different villages. This seems to suggest the positive relationship between patterns of external marriages. Lüpke (2016), O’Barr (1982) and Di Carlo (2018) all attest to the fact that cross-village marriages are common for increased multilingual repertoires. The respondents made it clear that being children connected to different parental backgrounds comes with a sense of identity, reflected in their linguistic socialization. They are expected to understand and speak the lects of their paternal and maternal lines whenever they come into contact. They also add that love, respect and loyalty are conveyed by using these varied codes.

5.7.3 Multilingualism and language ideologies in LF

Insights from the data gathered in the LF area through an ethnographically informed questionnaire revealed locally-driven ideologies, excluding exoglossic languages and the lingua franca, CPE. Firstly, as indicated in (section 2.2.3), the conceptualization of a language is quite different from the linguist point of view. While a language typically has its grammar and lexicon, and the language varieties share most grammatical features, the picture in LF is different. They consider that every village is supposedly having its own “talk” or lect. From an ethnographic viewpoint, a representation of multilingual patterns must consider the view of the members. This important distinction, especially from the localist viewpoint, highlights different sets of purely ethnographic variables (see the previous section). Secondly, the language ideologies revealed in the questionnaire mostly expose ideas through the responses they advance to develop passive and active repertoires of languages and lects. We tapped into the language ideologies from questions patterning to linguistic affiliations of all types, e.g., paternal and maternal associations, spouse and in-law relations, friendships, and biographical information like names. These multiple indexes revealed in the questionnaire through responses linked to numerous social networks are socially significant in the LF area because they symbolize village affiliations to enhance linguistic repertoires.

Therefore, high rates of multilingualism in terms of lects and languages revolve along the lines of local language ideologies. In other words, the interview data is only telling of the way of life revealed through their local language ideologies and its relationship to the indexical social

meanings that are embedded (Silverstein, 2003). Therefore, when one reports English in his or her repertoire, he or she is probably indexing a category of people—learned and intelligent. By contrast, when one reports many local lects, s/he is indexing the multiple relations (e.g., paternal grandmother, wife, mother-in-law, friends) that he or she has with the social networks he or she is in contact with. Indeed, the different lects found in the repertoires of multilingual speakers activate different language ideologies relevant to understanding how they are used in different situations (see chapter 7).

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter, then, has interacted with self-reported evidence answering why and how people become multilingual in LF. I have discussed the choice and importance of using an instrument like the detailed ethnographically informed questionnaire to examine the dynamics of 174 overall, and sometimes 77 individuals reported repertoires in an area outside city and towns. This was achieved through semi-structured interviews. I started by examining the questionnaires of some sparse literature on African rural multilingualism that is heavily guided by the diglossia approach that has been used to explain individual multilingual patterns.

We then depicted another kind of approach to multilingualism that aimed to dig into the local language ideologies and conceptualizations using a different tool, i.e., the ethnographic questionnaire in such a pervasive linguistically diverse area where social interaction is frequent. For example, there are a few primary schools, one secondary school, one dispensary, one central market, one car park. Hence, this interesting sociolinguistic picture calls for recognizing the diversification of our societies by exploring the specific context through instruments that speak to, and can better expose sociolinguistic realities.

Questions patterning to macro-sociological features and ethnographic elements exposing the linguistic affiliations and one's individual mobility provide a better understanding of patterns of multilingualism. The main findings reflect the inessential presence of the diglossia theory in the local language ideologies of the people. Additionally, social relations are heavily embedded in the relational identities indexed through multiple affiliations rooted in village structures that explain individual multilingualism. We have seen that age, geographical proximity, linguistic similarity,

the number of friends and parents, maternal and paternal grandparents, and great grandparents significantly account for the speakers' high number of lects in the passive and active multilingual repertoires. Heightened is the fact that ethnographic detail reveals indexes centred on social networks rooted in differing village affiliations that account for individual multilingualism in LF.

This chapter, therefore, contributes methodologically as it engages new ways of designing multilingual questionnaires to capture different sociolinguistic realities. By underscoring the importance of data collection tools, awareness is created and allows room for replication in similar contexts to add to multilingual scholarship.

Articulating the language ideologies of LF through different data sets is the principal focus of this work. As a result, relying on explicitly reported patterns of individual multilingualism solely is insufficient. Hence, new research on understanding the implicit language attitudes of multilinguals and the role of relational ideology is addressed in the next chapter. Besides, engaging in sociolinguistic profiling through ethnographically informed data is the first necessary step to validate consultants for language attitude studies and to further understand their attitudes.

6. CHAPTER SIX: THE INDIRECT APPROACH TO LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

6.1 Introduction

Chapter five stated that in non-urban settings, like in this case, LF, multilingualism is dominantly influenced by the need to create and maintain strong social relations. This significant result was deep-rooted in ethnographic procedures that appealed to contextual linguistic and sociocultural practices (Hymes, 1996; Nader, 2011). Local knowledge permitted the recognition of certain categories that are not ordinarily emphasized in traditional sociolinguistic/multilingual questionnaires. In addition, speakers' motivations for high linguistic repertoires were uncovered. While the relevance of the scarcely documented local language ideologies of LF people is studied by understanding the dynamics of reported individual multilingualism in the preceding chapter, it only describes a partial ideological picture. The language ideologies that are revealed were mainly achieved using self-reports through the interviews conducted. This chapter seeks to fill in this gap by providing further details about the role of language ideologies represented in the psychology of multilingual people by using the matched-guise test. This instrument taps into the unconscious awareness of the members of LF.

As such, this chapter establishes the relevance of doing ethnographic work, oral histories, together with the matched-guise test to explore language attitudes in rural LF and its relevant ideological meanings. This chapter aims to uncover the language attitudes of Missong people towards their language and the language of others (i.e., Munken, Ngun and Mashi). It further identifies the social variables that account for and shape language attitudes in LF. Finally, I further explore whether stereotypes shape the language attitudes of Missong people.

For an overview of this chapter, I begin by illustrating the state of the research about language attitudes. I then follow with insights into the concepts and theories used in previous research while establishing their limits. Next, I provide three analytical dimensions to account for language attitudes. I proceed with a description of the villages and their existing relations. More, I discuss the rationale for selecting the Missong as my in-group target and Munken, Ngun and Mashi as my out-group focus in LF. Next, I look into discussions surrounding the approaches used in gathering language attitude data. I illustrate how the matched-guise test has been adapted to this context. I

then present the findings of the analyses and follow up on the discussions. Lastly, I conclude the chapter by demonstrating the positive attitudes members have towards each other. Furthermore, looking into how an essentialist structured (i.e., that appeals to categorical-related qualities) matched-guise, and a non-essentialist (that appeals to relational qualities) matched-guise test can capture non-stereotypic judgments of language users in LF.

6.2 Language attitude studies

Language attitudes, however, a broad term, are treated in this study as attitudes towards the different varieties of language and the traits attributed to the speakers of these varieties. This study focuses to a great extent on the affective nature of language attitudes. The study of language attitudes in sociolinguistics studies examines how individuals evaluate language and language varieties. Garrett (2010), for example, has devoted his attention to the language attitudes of the native varieties of English in other “inner circle Englishes” (Kachru, 1985), i.e., English-speaking countries of Australia, UK, USA, New Zealand—countries where English is said to be native and spoken by a substantial (often monolingual) (and the) majority of the population. Garrett (2010) further extended his review on language attitudes in contexts where English is not the dominant language, such as in Denmark and Canada. Following Kachru’s (1985) World Englishes model, the “outer circle Englishes” also make up other contexts where studies on language attitudes have been studied. Such contexts such as Ghana, Pakistan, Kenya consist of the post-colonial countries where English is used as a second language. What is frequent in these studies is the presence of attitudinal hierarchies (Garrett, 2010, p. 74; Ryan, Hewstone & Giles, 1984, p. 138) inferred from categorical features, i.e., race, nationality, ethnicity. that are associated with the speakers of the language varieties (see section 2.4.3.2).

Furthermore, what is known about this sociolinguistic phenomenon is based on the overwhelming studies in urban environments—where the communicative practices are essentially characterized by degrees of formality per specific social domains flooded with the notion of prestige (see Garrett, 2010; Lüpke, 2016). However, in settings like the LF context that are characterized by small-scale multilingualism (Di Carlo, 2015; Di Carlo, Good & Ojong, 2019; Lüpke, 2016), notions of prestige hierarchies are absent among local codes. Hence, how do “stereotypes,” i.e., the social

categorization where people are split into social groups (Garett, 2010, p. 32; Shanette, Rheinschmidt-Same, & Richeson, 2016) and judgements made towards the language varieties fit in the LF context considering the egalitarian status of local codes? While I acknowledge the scientific contributions in making sense of group categorizations and group distinctiveness, I realize that the rural context portrays a different picture concerning the role of stereotypes in language attitude studies.

To problematize further, many theories have been developed to cater for social-psychological, cognitive processes that are heavily constructed under stereotype impressions for intergroup language attitude studies. More so, research by linguists has identified stereotypes as a significant characteristic that accounts for multilingual behaviours in language attitude research and have received applause for the contribution of stereotypes to predicting behaviour (Fishman, 1956, p. 1; Hewstone & Giles, 1997, p. 274). Under such a tendency, theories such as the social identity theory (Turner, 1999) articulate cognitive processes such as categorization and group distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1970), processes that enforce the nature of stereotypes (Levon, 2014). In fact, group distinctions are carved out for stereotype associations to be meaningful. Positive image enhancement for one group begins with easy identification and description of the groups' perceived traits that are said to be neatly categorized. Fixed categorizations that shape language attitudes are mainly geographic physical boundaries (see, Dragojevic & Giles, 2014), social class (see Clerk & Bosch, 1995) and ethnic boundaries (see Hassan et al., 2011).

However, the LF experience is somewhat complex. Because of the egalitarian language ecology found in the area (see also Lüpke, 2016, for the Casamance area in Senegal), the members' multiple affiliations make group categorizations so difficult to frame, so that no one can really associate with one particular group. For instance, a woman's multilingual repertoire may be created because her husband, father, mother, paternal and maternal grandmothers are associated with different linguistic groups. In effect, linguistic choices, for example, are not conditioned by the domains but are rather highly determined by the individuals they interact with (Di Carlo, Esene Agwara, & Ojong Diba, 2020; Di Carlo, Good & Ojong Diba, 2019).

In this study, another dimension to language attitude studies is sought that appeals to the local linguistic ecologies free from compartmentalized social functions and the local ideologies

uncovered. This study particularly illustrates how the language attitudes of LF multilinguals can be revealed to be void of stereotypes by using the MGT—an instrument that was conceived and tested with participants “significantly different” from the ones in this study. The questions, the number of languages under study, the conditions, and the questioning procedure differ from previous studies carried out in this study. Despite the role of stereotypes in explaining linguistic behaviours, its core formation is heavily rooted in categorical models of identification that have been questioned in small-scale-multilingualism contexts (Di Carlo, Good, Ojong, 2019; Lüpke, 2018). Di Carlo, Good and Ojong (2019) suggest that categorical models be complemented by (if not ancillary to) relational models. Studies have shown, for example, that particular sets of languages call up particular identities. While the use of English is connected with images of authority and prestige—categorical identities, local languages are associated with village affiliations—relational identities (Di Carlo, Esene Agwara and Ojong, 2020). The MGT attempts to represent the relational identity compared to the categorical dimensions while demonstrating an absence of stereotypes. In the next section, I explore the methodological and analytical procedure in accounting for social judgements.

6.3 Concepts in language attitudes

6.3.1 Attitudes

A sizeable part of this research treats language attitudes, which are people’s attitudes towards languages and language varieties. Studying the concept of attitude and further linking it to language is essential in setting the pace for its application in this work. Attitudes are an old research traditional practice in social psychology. As far back as over a century ago, Spencer (1862) first used the term “attitude” with other relevant concepts that emerge in present-day social science research, such as judgements, beliefs. He stated in his work, entitled *First Principles* that:

“Arriving at correct judgements on disputed questions, much depends on attitudes of mind we preserve while listening to or taking part in the controversy and for the right preservation of the right attitude it is needful that we should learn how true, and yet how untrue are average human beliefs” (Spencer, 1862, p. 1).

Since then, social scientists have employed the term differently, leading to (Potter & Weatherall, 1987) the statement that the term attitude still has an unclear definition. Some of the diverse ways of defining attitudes centre on their functions and elaboration of different features. Thurstone (1931) defines attitudes as “the affect for or against a psychological object.” His focus targeted one of the three components of attitudes: the affective that deals with either the dispositions to judge favourably or unfavourably an attitude object. Bohnet & Dickel (2011), on their part, restrict attitudes to a cognitive structure as they define it as “an evaluation of an object of thought” (p. 392). Bain (1928) focuses his attention on attitude studies from a conative viewpoint. According to him, attitudes are overt, observable behaviours in a social context. The above authors focus solely on a single attitude component limiting the weightiness given to attitude features.

To correct this limitation, Allport (1935, cited in Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970, p. 138) sees attitudes as having more than one function. In his opinion, attitudes are a “neural and mental state of readiness”. Both the cognitive and conative features are called up in this definition. Past research has dealt with both features, especially with the debate surrounding the relationship between attitudes and behaviour (see Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005). But, again, the features used in characterizing attitudes are lessened. Agheyisi and Fishman (1970) elaborate on attitudes by incorporating all the three components in their definition with respect to the cognitive or knowledge, affective or evaluative and conative or action dimensions.

Conversely, Allport (1954, cited in Garrett 2010) puts it as “a learned disposition to think, feel and behave toward a person (or object) in a particular way” (p. 19). Unfortunately, the attitude constructs, particularly from a cognitive and affective stand, is challenging to observe directly. Many researchers have dwelled on instruments that are not apparent to respondents to ensure accurate attitudinal responses. In this research, I focus on the affective component of language attitudes predominantly.

6.3.1.1 Terms that closely connect to attitudes

Garett (2010) and Ahn (2017) mention that some concepts discussed in the attitude discourse have been used synonymously. Below is a description of the terms for clarity while shedding light on their differences and similarities.

6.3.1.1.1 Beliefs

Beliefs are a subset of the attitude construct. They are a structural, attitudinal component informed by the mental state. For example, Baker (1992) posits that the affective component influences cognitive judgements evoked. Moreover, Garett (2010) adds that such a cognitive component can trigger or be triggered by affective reactions. Elsewhere, Ajzen & Fishbein (1980) have noted, “beliefs are the basic determinants of any behaviour” (p. 223). As such, a change in behaviour may as well bring changes in beliefs. These statements indicate an existing relationship between the cognitive, affective and conative elements of attitudes.

6.3.1.1.2 Opinions

Opinions are often used interchangeably in attitude research (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980, p. 14; Ahn, 2017, p. 36). The cognitive influence of attitudes in concepts like beliefs and opinions seems to be its constant usage. However, while opinions are verbalized attitudes, attitudes may be non-verbal or verbal (Baker, 1992). Moreover, Garett (2010) advances that attitudes are generally covert and as such, what a person voices, as opinion, does not necessarily conform to his/her attitudes.

6.3.1.1.3 Habits

Habits and attitudes are also used in everyday language as similar concepts. Garett (2010) admits that they do share some features, although by their very nature, different ones. Some attitudes, as

well as habits, are learned and enduring. However, habits are behavioural routines that come over as unexplainable by those who carry out the habits.

6.3.1.1.4 Values

Values are “superordinate ideals that we aspire to” (Garett, 2010). Kumar (2018) adds that they are abstract principles people live by, such as freedom, harmony, equality, happiness, wisdom and competitiveness. While some values like freedom and equality are considered terminal (global and general), others, such as honesty, are instrumental (Garett, 2018). Moreover, such terminal values generate different kinds of attitudes. For instance, the value of wisdom may drive positive attitudes towards a particular age group or career orientation.

6.3.2 Language attitudes

Language attitudes are proposed as one way of inferring language ideologies (Garett, 2010, p. 34). Suppose attitudes refer to “a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects” (Sarnoff, 1970, p. 279). In that case, this class of objects may well be language users when languages are involved. Language attitudes or attitudes to language have been a growing field of interest in sociolinguistics. Language attitudes are studied from various linguistic features—i.e., language attitudes towards dialects, speech style, minority languages, language groups, language preference (Baker, 1992, p. 29-30). In his opening chapter, language attitudes are so perpetual that Garett points out that “language attitudes permeate our daily lives” (Garett, 2010, p. 1). We are immediately judged from the first words we utter. Moreover, we judge people who use language or varieties of language from the way they speak, pronounce, read, write and use language in general.

A simple and straightforward definition by Crystal (2003) describes language attitudes as “feelings people have about their language or the language(s) of others” (p. 256). Clearly, the discourse here is on the affective structure of attitudes. People’s feelings towards a language can either be positive or negative, which are likely to be shaped by their sociocultural experiences. Moreover, speakers

can be judged depending on their linguistic repertoires and their association to ethnic groups, their geographical locations and social status. Garrett's assumption that language attitudes are learned through observations and instrumentalism indicate the stability and durability attitudes may experience.

Nevertheless, some attitudes can also be unstable and superficial if they respond to attitudinal questions concerning new topics (Garrett, 2010). Language attitude studies are often studied with a focus on social groups, ethnic groups, nationalities and race. Myers-Scotton (2006) describes language attitudes as more of an unconscious assessment rooted in individuals' subconscious thoughts and emotions. Language attitudes are said to be evaluated based on stereotypical assumptions, which can be advantageous for one group and disadvantageous for the other (Ahn, 2017:36). Language attitudes, in short, are general evaluations about language, and because language cannot be evaluated in abstraction, users who speak the language are indirectly judged.

6.3.3 Stereotypes and their role in language attitude research

As humans, we tend to make overgeneralizations about groups of people or individuals, which is sometimes informed by our experiences or other people's recounted exposures. Such a practice has been captured in social science literature as far back as almost a century ago, with Walter Lippmann's piece of art titled *Public Opinion*. Lippmann (1922) presents a contrast between what our minds tell us and the realities outside our minds. In other words, he emphasized from a cognitive approach that "stereotypes may not be a complete picture of the world, but they are a picture of a possible world to which we are adapted" (Lippmann, 1922, p. 38). Discourse on stereotypes has remained a growing field of interest, with an early presence in social psychology (Cauthren, Robinson & Krauss, 1971) and later on in linguistics (Labov, 1971; Vilinbakhova, 2013).

Labov's (1971) evokes the notion of stereotypes as he proposed a tripartite terminology: indicator, marker, and stereotype to explain linguistic features as used by different social groups. The degree of salience of social factors that account for linguistic variation is at the centre of these three definitions. Indicators describe how linguistic features pattern with social class or geographical

location, but there is no variation across different speaking styles. Markers describe important linguistic features that correlate different social groups with their speech styles. Therefore, with markers, some variations exist across different speech styles. Finally, stereotypes account for linguistic changes that match sharp, distinct social groups.

Moreover, language users are aware of the linguistic differences among distinct social groups. For example, members are able to distinguish other members that belong to a distinct social class based on a particular feature that the member uses. For example, the local languages of LF are associated with a lack of prestige as opposed to the English language that is tied with notions of prestige.

The usefulness of social categorization as a by-product of stereotyping has been applauded for its reduced complexity of incoming information, its facilitation of rapid identification of stimuli, and its predicting and guiding behaviour (Cauthren, Robinson, & Krauss; 1971, p. 103, Hassan, Shah, Sarwar & Alam, 2011, p. 4486; Hewstone & Giles, 1997, p. 271).

Stereotypes mean different things to different people. Hence, this is worthy of mention. Before the late 1950's, the notion of stereotypes was mostly influenced by "everyday", "common sense" grasp of what the term stood for (Fishman, 1956, p. 27). While some groups of scholars associate stereotyping negatively, others consider it a positive aspect when viewed by its role in solving complex societal issues.

In 1922, Walter Lippmann, in his influential scientific *Public Opinion* book, introduced the label "stereotype" and provided the following definition as pictures in our heads, which simplify reality (Lippmann, 1922, p. 1). Lippmann's definition contributed significantly to the systematization and theory development today. For one thing, he has widely been cited, and his conceptual approach is utilized by most students (Fishman, 1956). His concept presupposes that there is an underlying over-generalized belief or held up view about a particular category of people brought together by a certain shared feature or features. Such categories have widely been captured by social class, nationality (Cauthen, Robinson & Krauss, 1971, p. 103), linguistic ethnicity (Hassan, Shah, Sarwar & Alam, 2011, p. 4485) and gender. Such a conceptualization of stereotypes, proposed by Lippmann continues to be maintained in relatively recent studies. Knowledge on stereotyping provides usefulness in telling or predicting language attitudes and behaviours, which is expressively portrayed in Garrett's (2010) insightful study on the meta-analyses on attitudes to

language. He advances that “social categorization tends to exaggerate similarities among members within a social group and differences between groups and thus provides a basis for stereotyping” (p. 32).

Moreover, stereotyping, which is recognizably very much a part of our human nature, unfortunately, plays a misleading and misinformed role about the targeted individual or group (Hayakawa, 1950, p. 209). The above authors warn against the consequences of stereotyping groups of people or individuals. It brings nothing short of an exaggerated belief associated with a category, thereby reducing the term of all its meaning (Asch, 1952). This macro-sociological way of identification has also been criticized in the first wave model of Eckert’s (2012) variation studies in sociolinguistics (see section 2.4.1.2).

In sociolinguistics, the traits associated with the social categories people are split into are referred to as stereotypes (Garett, 2010, p. 32). It represents one attempt to find answers to questions concerning the “why” of certain individual and group attitudes towards other individuals and groups (Fishman, 1956, p. 28). Hewstone and Giles (1997), Fishman (1956), and Levon (2014:539) have all emphasized that categorizing individuals into social groups based on the assumed similarity found amongst them is unavoidable, which is meant to structure our complex world into social groups (p. 274, p.31).

However, Hassan, Shah, Sarwar & Alam (2011) are of the opinion that stereotypes can provide cultural-level predictions about strangers’ behaviours if they are accurate (p. 4486). For, inaccurate stereotypes lead to misunderstandings. We can decode the concept of “accurate” in two opposite ways: one is tempted to believe that the fine use of adjectives is meant to shadow the reality of the original nature of the term that is generally considered as over-generalized ideas of a class of object. On the bright side, stereotypes can be effective if social categorizations appeal to culturally salient features.

Empirical research has uncovered a clear pattern of stereotyping that is highly centred on linguistic hierarchies. Speakers of “high” or powerful speech styles with relative standardness (LV1) and economic power are rated highly on competence or status traits. By contrast, the speakers of less powerful speech styles are downgraded on status or competence traits (Ryan et al., 1984, p. 138). However, low speech groups are rated high on social attractiveness or solidarity features (see Giles,

1970; Huygens & Vaughan, 1983; Ihemere, 2006; Lambert et al., 1960). We should equally note that despite that attitude, hierarchies have emerged in stereotypic categorizations in so many contexts there are a few exceptions to this generality. De Klerk and Bosch's (1995) study revealed that social power associated with speech forms might not necessarily take up positive stereotypical evaluations on status dimensions but rather are downgraded on status qualities. Using the MGT they investigated the language attitudes towards English, Afrikaans and Xhosa of the Eastern Cape in South Africa. They showed that the negative judgments towards Afrikaans owe to the unequal distribution of power over the past 200 years in South Africa, where educational and employment opportunities tended to favour the Afrikaans over the Xhosa. Such discriminations then formed the basis of attitude judgements. Nevertheless, English speakers (i.e., speakers of high powerful speech) continue to be upgraded on status qualities.

Therefore, we may assume that the relative standardness and the status of socioeconomic features of speakers, which are in itself broad categories, play a great role in how individuals evaluate language varieties. In addition, despite the role of stereotypes in explaining linguistic behaviours, its core formation is heavily rooted in categorical models of identification (see, for instance, Dragojevic & Gilles, 2014). However, this model of identification does not begin to cover the scope of local language ideologies like in the case of LF. Therefore, the interest in understanding language attitudes is inclined more to a functional definition of social categorizations that are mainly culturally oriented in nature. In this way, the language attitudes that emerge are from a place of cultural relevance.

Chenemo and Neba (2020) examine the language attitudes of the Lower Bafut people in Northwest Cameroon. It is worth noting that Lower Bafut is lower ranking than the Bafut Fondom politically and socially. While the people of Lower Bafut speak the Bafut language, the latter group's membership seldom speaks the former language because it is perceived as demeaning. The Bafut, as well as the Lower Bafut, consider the former group to be superior. Politically, in the Bafut Fondom, the *fon* is classed administratively as the overall ruler of the area, otherwise known as a first-class ruler. Second-class or third-class rulers rule each of the Lower Bafut villages depending on demographic strength and other factors. The ethnographic picture portrayed here is one that describes Bafut as the dominant language with prestige and power and Obang and Mbakong as the less prestigious languages. This hierarchical relationship inspired the exploration of language

attitudes using the MGT. Language ideologies were examined using essentialist qualities—speakers are associated with language-specific characteristics, and indexical qualities—link speakers to a social group. They found out that Bafut, the overall administrator’s language, is associated with essentialist qualities like leadership and the other two more indexical qualities like general likability. This study differs from mine in that hierarchical and prestige ideologies in local languages are far fetched in LF, rendering the MGT approached differently. For one thing, the targeted test items though informed by the local ideologies were far too general and much more informed by traits strongly associated with a relatively high exoglossic language.

6.3.4 The structure of language attitudes

The cognitive component of attitudes concerns beliefs, ideas and thoughts towards a class of objects. It makes up the general knowledge of the person, which has a biological influence on the one hand (Allport & Schanck, 1936) and, on the other, a sociocultural influence (Ahn, 2017; Allport & Schanck, 1936). In general, attitudes are considered to be learned from the sociocultural environment in which we live. An example Garrett (2010) advances in understanding language attitudes in relation to the cognitive structure is the belief that those who speak a standard variety generally have high-status jobs.

The affective component concerns feelings and emotions towards an object or person. The evaluation of an object could be either favourable or unfavourable, positive or negative. Nevertheless, the degree of intensity also counts in evaluating how strongly or mildly one feels towards a class of objects. For example, an African speaking a variety of English that is assumed to be non-standard would be considered as “likeable” or “unlikable” to a British hearer. This may then cause him to evaluate the non-native speaker of English favourably or unfavourably.

The conative component concerns the “predisposition to act in certain ways, perhaps in a way that is consistent with our cognitive and affective judgement” (Garrett, 2010, p. 23). An example of positive behaviour will be a parent who pays the fees of his or her child to acquire an education. Many studies have been carried out surrounding the debate of attitudes as predictors of behaviour. Some researchers believe that the relationship between the two is weak (La Pierre, 1934).

However, others believe that with the right approach of investigation, i.e., taking into consideration the person performing the behaviour, the behaviour of the situation in which it is performed, and the characteristics of attitudes itself, attitudes may well be a predicting factor of behaviour (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005). In general, Ahn (2017) points out that the relationship linking three structures of attitudes together does not automatically endorse their strong interconnectedness. In other words, their close relationship is not readily perceptible due to our very complex social world. However, in this study, finding the direct relationship between feeling and action is not my immediate goal.

6.3.5 Theoretical foundations of language attitudes and group membership

Whole languages, language varieties, accents, speech rates, and the minute language component, which is the phonological component, are studied in language attitude research. They are evaluative reactions of linguistic items by social actors, who may be individual-based or group-based. There are a good number of theories that have been used to explain language attitudes. For example, the social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) involves individuals sharing a group membership based on salient features. The language attribution theory (Heider, 1958) describes casual explanations about speakers' linguistic behaviours and those of others.

The ethnocentrism theory (Tajfel, 1982) states that one's group language and culture is better than that of the other. The self-categorization theory, a subset of social identity theory (Turner, 1999), suggests that depending on the situational salience, an individual's behaviour can either be driven by his or her personal or social identity or both. The social distinctiveness theory (Tajfel & Turner 1986) assumes that groups identify salient features to distinguish in-group members from out-group members. The social stereotype theory (Tajfel, 1981a) dwells on the functions stereotypes serve, for example, in the maintaining and justification of group beliefs and creating and enhancing group differentiations. The intergroup linguistic bias theory, which directly portrays stereotypes (Maass, Salvi, Acuri & Semin, 1989), advances that positive in-group and negative out-group attributions are expressed in abstract terms (vague and hard to prove wrong) while negative in-group and positive out-group traits are revealed through concrete statements (specific and easy to brush off as exceptions to the rule).

Numerous studies have paid attention to the language and intergroup attitudes following the theories mentioned above, thus, making significant contributions worthy of attention in this work. I further group the reviewed works under three main theoretical categories. While categories one and two enlist sub-theories supported by the principal theories, category three combines disparate theories. Therefore, I first review works using social identity theory (SIT) while highlighting sub-theories like self-categorization (SCT) and group distinctiveness. Further, I look into studies that discuss the stereotype theory and another associative theory, such as the linguistic intergroup bias (LIB). Finally, I discuss the ethnocentric theory and the casual attribution theory.

6.3.5.1 The social identity theory

The SIT proposed by Tajfel and Turner in the late 1970s was introduced to support language attitude studies from an intergroup dimension to understand the psychological factors that influence social attributions amongst groups. Their theory recognized social beings as experiencers of contact with individuals and society. In other words, social beings do not live in isolation, so individuals affix themselves to members who share commonalities with them. What makes members of one group different from another group is the psychological need to feel different from the other positively while projecting the other group negatively. Positive image enhancement of in-group members vis-à-vis negative out-group members is what the SIT theory seeks to propagate. Tajfel and Turner (1986) outline three cognitive processes in judging the in-group and the out-group.

First, the categorization process entails creating determinants that align with the group for easy identification and description. For example, people may define themselves or others based on social norms characterized by the group. Second, social identification is borne from created or perceived categories. Members choose to identify themselves socially based on named categories. In this way, there is an emotional influence with one belonging to the said group. Third, in the social comparison process, people begin to make comparisons once they have first described themselves as part of a group and then socially identified themselves to that group. What follows subsequently is a need to compare the in-group with the out-group.

Tajfel and Turner explain that in conflicting situations between two groups, the disfavoured members of the group may tend to move towards the favoured group by associating with the characteristics of the dominant group. Anchimbe (2014) illustrates that users of a variety of English in Cameroon tend to believe that they speak the standard form of English because of the negative attitudes that go into speaking the variety spoken by non-native users. The shift from their in-group variety downgraded by them is noticeable as they pick up the standard characteristic associated with the language. In addition, unfavourable members may redefine in/out-group comparisons, for instance, evaluating negative traits as positive (Bourhis & Sachdev, 2001, p. 70; Ryan et al., 1984, p. 147). The social identity theory is used as a blueprint in interpreting studies that seek to explore intergroup relations.

Dragojevic and Giles (2014) used the social identity and self-categorization theory to show that language attitudes can be mobile when intergroup boundaries or frames of reference change. Using the indirect approach, the Californian listeners evaluated language attitudes of broad and moderate American Southern-accented English (ASE) against Californian accented English (CE) when the frame of reference was interregional, and ASE against Punjabi-accented English speaker (PE) when the frame of reference was international. The findings reveal that CE judged ASE unfavourably on solidarity and status dimensions when the reference frame was interregional. However, when the reference frame was international, CE upgraded ASE and downgraded PE on social attractiveness. Strikingly, the status dimensions remained downgraded for ASE and PE intergroup boundaries changed because in-group members wish to maintain group distinctiveness.

In this case, the in-group tend to favour their out-group counterparts depending on the reference frame (interregional or international), representing a salience category. As a result, listeners report a stronger connection with their in-group members and upgrade them along solidarity dimensions. However, when subgroups seek to retain some degree of salience, to show distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), the reference frame change has no impact on language attitude mobility along status lines. These fixed attitudes are bound to occur when the linguistic varieties under investigation share unequal status (Dovidio, Gaertner, Saguy, 2009; Dragojevic & Giles, 2014, p. 107).

In another lead, Porter, Rheinschmidt-Same and Richeson (2016) discuss how spoken language regarding an in-group and out-group target can reveal the speaker's social identity. In other words, they sought to examine if group membership can be identified based on the speaker's language when describing an in-group or out-group member. The linguistic intergroup bias principle, where favourable in-group attitudes are described in terms of abstract language and unfavourable in-group attitudes depicted through concrete language, informs the communicator's choice of language. However, the reverse is true for out-group favourable and unfavourable traits. Such an index is used in Porter, Rheinschmidt-Same and Richeson's (2016) study to infer group membership of the speaker.

Bourhis and Sachdev (2001) provide a psychological picture of the multilingual communicative processes in intergroup relations while accentuating Tajfel and Turner's (1986) social identity measure. To contribute to the discourse surrounding language attitudes from an intergroup dimension, I dwell on the interplay between intergroup relations and the question of social identity as captured in Bourhis and Sachdev's initial objective.

Their general thought that language lies at the very core of defining social identities, consequently influencing group distinctiveness, ethnic, linguistic social identity and self-categorization, suggests a challenge in intergroup studies amongst multilingual speakers. They note that "multilinguals often identify not only with one of their languages but equally with all the languages they speak" (Bourhis & Sachdev, 2001, p. 67). To reduce the complexity of the multilingual and multiple identity dynamics, Hamers and Blanc (2000, as cited in Bourhis and Sachdev, 2001) suggest that such bilingual or multilingual qualities are valid for balanced bilinguals. Moreover, the self-categorization theory was put forth to solve the general problem of multiple identities among bilinguals. The framework is meant to capture the category that is most salient to a group. They reiterate that speakers who identify with in-group members generally have positive attitudes towards their in-group members. In addition, in cases where out-group members feel underrated, they might either find strategies to belong to the dominant group or create other strategies that will brand them more positively.

6.3.5.2 Stereotype theory

Another well-known concept that complements the social identity and ethnocentric theories is Tajfel's (1981b) concept of social stereotypes. He describes the framework in terms of the functions stereotypes serve. For individuals, while the categorization process makes the social world orderly, the physical evaluations promote and preserve individual value systems. Group interrelations are justified by the creation and maintenance of group beliefs and preserving, creating and enhancing positively valued differentiations between in-groups and relevant out-groups. In this case, group distinctions are carved out for stereotype associations to be meaningful. Fishman (1956), Hewstone and Giles (1997) and Levon (2014) have articulated the social role of stereotypes in attitude research. Stereotypes are constructed to promote distinctiveness amongst inter groups.

Articulating intergroup studies, this time from a different landscape in West Africa, Mgbo-Elue (1989) looks into the language attitudes towards learning an out-group language as a second Nigerian language. Moreover, he explores the association of ethnic stereotypes of the Igbo and Yoruba in Nigeria and its effects on learning a second language. The study utilized both the direct and indirect ways of investigating language attitudes of businesspersons, office workers and students towards Igbo and Yoruba. The results showed that while the Igbo have a more positive attitude in learning the out-group's language, a more negative attitude is registered among the Yoruba. The Igbo generally find learning any second Nigerian language valuable for social communication. According to Mgbo-Elue (1989), the negative attitudes arise from the linguistic, structural differences, especially for the Yoruba to learn the Igbo language. The study suggested that the Yoruba lack the right attitude and motivation to learn the Igbo language because Igbo is associated with businesspeople and Yoruba to the educated elite class.

Furthermore, the study revealed that the out-group members (Igbo) upgraded the Yoruba on solidarity traits; both groups downgraded themselves on status traits. Mgbo-Elue (1989) advances that such negative impressions about native Nigerian languages actually influence Igbos and Yoruba largely for learning an out-group language. In other words, his samples might be bilinguals but choose not to speak a second language, or worst, pretend they do not have competency in a counterpart's language because of the inferiority complex associated with both Nigerian

languages. Again, the language attitudes of Yoruba and Igbo towards each other are formed from stereotypic associations, in the sense that they see their local languages as inferior to the English language.

In another dimension of intergroup attitude studies, Prati et al. (2015) show that contrary to studies on pejorative associations associated with out-groups, members in an out-group can actually have a lessened negative form of judgement when stereotypic measures are minimal. Using both counter stereotypic forms against stereotypic forms and multiple categorizations as opposed to single categorizations of the stereotypically negatively judged Romanian and immigrant groups in Italy illustrated lesser negative attitudes.

Their results portrayed that Romanian immigrants were downgraded on abstract traits when judgements were based on a single categorization and stereotypic traits. However, when stereotypic roles were reversed such that the Italian was now the car window cleaner and the Romanian an office manager, no discriminatory language emerged within in-group and out-group targets. Conversely, when the immigrants were described to the targeted participants under multiple categories such as youngsters, living in town, female immigrants and questions about interpersonal contact with immigrants were raised, a reduced linguistic out-group derogation was apparent. Thus, their study suggests that anchoring on social stereotypes is not sufficient to justify linguistic behaviours as the process of individuation via interpersonal contacts can provide accurate information on others. Moreover, such information will weaken the bias, hence social discrimination in various aspects of life. Therefore, one notes that stereotypic association for speaker evaluation judgements is recognized as categorization measures (Hewstone & Giles, 1997) on the one hand, and a degenerating approach on the other (Prati et al., 2015).

6.3.5.3 The ethnocentric theory and the casual attribution theory

The theory of ethnocentrism originated a century ago when Sumner first introduced the term in relation to group and out-group relations (Sumner 1906 as cited in Tajfel, 1982), and has been used ever since to explain language intergroup relations. The theory involves making judgements about another group's language and culture based on what they think of their own values and cultural

behaviours. In essence, the belief that one's own language and culture is better than the other lies at the very heart of ethnocentrism. For example, many intergroup research studies have conveniently demonstrated that members of an in-group who use a standard variety when compared with a non-standard variety tend to feel their variety is superior to the counterpart group (Ryan et al., 1984). Moreover, in-group members would generally feel that their language is better than their out-group counterparts (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

The casual attribution theory (Heider, 1958) simply describes what individuals explain as their behaviours and that of others. Internal and external attributions to the behaviour are constructed by individuals towards in-group and out-group members performing socially desirable or undesirable acts. Group members make internal attributions for the positive behaviour of other in-group members and external attributions for their negative behaviour. By contrast, in-group members make internal attributions towards negative behaviour and external attributions towards positive behaviour of out-group members. The attribution theory is said to achieve culturally consistent behaviours received more from internal attributions.

Lynskey et al. (1991) undertook a study on intergroup stereotypes while examining the theory of ethnocentrism and attribution. They sought to specifically look into the influence of social stereotypes on ethnic perceptions of Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand. More, they investigated how individuals' perceptions of themselves and different groups (stereotypes) relate to individuals' casual explanations of their own behaviours and that of others (attribution). One hundred and seventy-five form five students from Maori (subordinate group) and Pakeha (dominant) ethnic regions, separated into twelve classes, carried out such examinations. They were made to rate the ethnic stimuli on sixteen traits established from past studies of one of the two ethnic groups only on a 7-point scale questionnaire. Additionally, 8 out of the 16 trait items were used in the casual attribution questionnaire.

The findings revealed that there was a strong tendency for in-group members to maintain ethnocentric biases of stereotypes to favour themselves more positively and to derogate their out-group members, as the ethnocentrism theory describes. However, the Maoris and Pakeha rely more positively on attributional style when explaining the dominant group members (Pakeha's) behaviour on the casual attribution model. The link between ethnocentrism and casual attribution

proved contrast in-group beliefs. Despite the belief that one feels his or her culture and language is better than the other, the weaker group favours the dominant group more during the casual attribution test.

Following the social identity theory, self-categorization theory, group distinctiveness theory, the theory on stereotypes, the linguistic intergroup bias theory, the ethnocentric and casual attribution theory all make use of clear contrasting linguistic groups that mostly articulate non-egalitarian linguistic systems, e.g., standard and non-standard varieties, dominant and minority groups. Moreover, salient features that have been used to distinguish or categorize groups are also described in some cases by geography, race, nationality, class and ethnicity. These features allow for such theories to be meaningful in imbalanced social and cultural contexts. One, however, begins to question if any of these theories best captures language attitudes in LF considering the local language ecology of the LF people, where there is no low or high variety. On the contrary, all the local languages share equal status.

6.4 Approaches to language attitudes

Agheyisi and Fishman (1970) presented an inventory of diverse methods used in studies on language attitudes. They included interviews, case studies, autobiographies, commitment measures, speakers and evaluations. However, three main approaches have been identified by many authors (see Garrett, 2010; Mc Kenzie, 2010; Ryan, Giles & Sebastian, 1982) to study “the feelings people have about their own language or the language(s) of others” (Crystal, 2003, p. 256).

6.4.1 The societal treatment approach

The societal treatment approach, also known as the content analysis approach, infers the overt behaviour of participants under natural conditions through observations and ethnographic studies. For instance, Schmied (1999) inferred the language attitudes of Africans towards English through letters written to the editor in African newspapers. Haarman (1989) collected content from adverts

in foreign languages to assess the language attitudes of Japanese towards foreign languages as a prestige index. This approach has minimally been utilized in the general language attitude studies because it falls short of predicting other behaviour in the social environment (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970, p. 138; McKenzie, 2010, p. 41). Despite its shortcomings, content analysis is considered more helpful in complementing the mainstream approaches.

6.4.2 The direct method

The direct method falls under the mentalist perspective (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970) and has been used by many researchers studying language attitudes. This approach considers two key elements: the stimulus and the response triggered by the stimulus (Fasold, 1984, p. 147). In this case, the stimulus points to the questionnaire that can be opinion surveys and attitude questionnaires, and the responses gathered are by way of self-reports. The questions posed using the direct way target the beliefs and feelings towards the language users. This measure was said to be the most used technique in gathering attitude data (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970, p. 144) before the popularity of the MGT. Some early work on language attitude studies solely employed questioning through interviews (achieved in a face-to-face meeting) or through written questionnaires (expressed on paper), usually in closed question format or scale-weighted measures (see, for instance, Gal's, 1979 language attitude study of Oberwart Austrians towards German and Hungarian).

However, studying language attitudes through the direct method is not without its own share of pitfalls. Structurally, the way of formulating questions may influence the responses one gets. Some of the problems include: (1) asking hypothetical questions may stimulate responses towards behaving in particular situations. In La Pierre's (1934) study, attitude responses proved to be contradictory to actual behaviour. Hypothetical questions addressed in US restaurants to hotel managers concerning Chinese people about welcoming them reflected racial bias attitudes. In contrast, only 1 out of 250 refused to serve the Chinese sample in their actual behaviour. (2) Asking multiple questions may confuse the respondents as one question begs for two responses. An example of such a question type can be as follows: would you prefer to learn Missong or Munken? In another instance, a negative question can cause difficulties. Learning multiple languages cannot only be achieved in school. The respondent would not know what to state if it were a yes or no

response in such an instance. (3) Leading or slanted question types may also be regarded as problematic as questions employ loaded items in the sense that respondents tend to be pressured to respond in a certain way. Terms identified to be loaded include “black”, “natural”, “modern” (Oppenheim, 1992 as cited in Mc Kenzie, 2010). Additionally, the participants do play key roles during the data collection process. Some of the problems encountered include the “social desirability bias”—the responses are shaped by the way the participants think is socially appropriate and desirable—and the “acquiescence bias”—constructed based on responding in ways they think are satisfactory to the interviewer (Garett, 2010). Moreover, these participants hardly go beyond the question item and are not ready to give strong negative responses (McKenzie, 2010). In addition, participants may be unaware of their language attitudes and the values that go along with them or maybe aware but unwilling to disclose them for the sake of prestige. Another approach from a mentalist point of view was developed to bypass these weaknesses, known as the matched-guise technique (Stefanowitsch, 2005).

For this study, I asked direct questions based on the respondent’s language preferences. In an attempt to avoid the disadvantages mentioned above, when utilizing questionnaires, and interviewees in collecting language attitudes directly, direct questions that required for example, yes/no answers, were achieved. In addition, rankings in order of language preferences and other responses relating to opinions and reasons for the preferred language choices were probed. The direct questionnaire was useful in this study because it provided some clarity about the languages to be selected as stimuli for the MGT.

6.4.3 The indirect approach

The indirect approach sometimes referred to as the speaker evaluation paradigm, deals with eliciting language attitudes indirectly. This indirect method takes into account both the matched-guise technique (MGT) and the verbal guise test (VGT). The former tool was developed by Lambert et al. (1960) called the MGT and was later revised and used in Ladegaard’s (1998) study. Both the MGT and VGT are pretty similar, with a difference registered at the level of the number of speakers or stimuli. Comparatively, the VGT has generally been less used in attitude studies. However, studies on attitudes towards varieties of accents rely heavily on this approach (see,

Ladegaard, 1998; Mc Kenzie, 2010, for details). I do not use this method in this study because the target is more or less with language varieties.

The MGT technique involves the bi/multilingual speaker(s), a short and context-free text, fillers and bi/multilingual listeners. The MGT methodology requires that speakers are audiotaped reading a neutral passage in two or more guises that could represent whole languages, language varieties and accents. The listeners are made to listen to the tapes, with the voice quality being the only cue and all other prosodic and extraneous features remain neutral. The listeners rate the speakers as well as the fillers or distracters on a set of traits along the status and social attractiveness dimensions after listening to the recordings, based on a five or seven-point rating scale. The MGT has been praised for tapping into unconscious and private language attitudes better than the direct approach can achieve. Its enormous success motivated numerous studies to test this tool in different contexts worldwide (Cargile, Giles, Ryan & Bradac, 1994; De-Klerk & Bosch, 1995; Dragojelic & Giles, 2014; Ihemere, 2006; Mc Kenzie, 2010; Mgbo-Elue, 1987).

Despite the enormous success of the MGT, it, however, has received a number of criticisms. Garrett (2010) looks into these inherent problems and solutions to these problems are addressed. First, the salience problem: The fact that the listeners or judges listen to the recordings made by the guises several times may automatically render the target language and speech to be more significant. In this sense, evaluations may be influenced by the degree of salience due to over repetition of the same text in the targeted variety or language. To overcome this problem, one possible way was to have the tapes played a limited number of times as possible, and in other instances, I had both trait categories tested at separate intervals (see section 6.10). Both solutions were applied in this study. Because of the number of guises (8) involved in the study, and lessons from my pilot study necessitated a more realistic approach to ensure valid results. The tapes were randomly played in pairs (i.e., guise and distracter of the targeted code) during the two test sessions, with the first on the categorical features (i.e., status qualities) and the second targeting the non-categorical qualities (i.e., relational qualities). Otherwise achieved, there was room for fatigue and unreliable data produced. The second, the perception problem. The listeners may tend to judge the grammaticality of the passage, especially in cases of non-standard speech rather than the stimuli it is intended for. Judgements may be focused on how grammatically correct the speech is, or the judges or listeners may not differentiate the non-standard from the standard speech or fail to identify the language

variety rendered by the speaker. Mc Kenzie (2010) suggests that one way to solve such a hindrance is to include a question that targets the dialect-recognition aspect (i.e., telling where they believe the speaker comes from). Again, this solution was taken into consideration to overcome the perception problem. The third weakness has to do with the accent authenticity problem. The application of the MGT requires a degree of control of content, prosodic and other paralinguistic features.

Agheysi and Fishman (1970) have noted that the linguistic stimuli as the only determinant of language attitudes can also be disadvantageous: the varieties that normally go alongside intonation characteristics may be wiped out. In this case, the authenticity of the varieties recorded is not fully represented. Fourthly, the mimicking authenticity problem: lays emphasis on a single speaker who was meant to produce several guises of targeted varieties, which may be less accurate. However, the listeners may perceive such an imitated accent as authentic. Both the authenticity and mimicking problem was moderated by taking the speaker through a repetition of the text by a native speaker and with the help of the audacity software to ensure accuracy. Finally, conditions such as the environment, duration of the stimulus and time allocated for respondents to respond to questions can also influence language attitude responses. Thus, “the researcher must provide a balance between the time requirements of the listeners and the potentially confounding effects of listener fatigue and indeed give due consideration to both factors” (McKenzie, 2010, p. 50).

Given the strengths and the weaknesses exposed above, no method is sufficient for solid analysis and interpretation. This work substantiates the methodological approach and findings on language attitudes thanks to the adapted MGT, alongside ancillary data like the ethnographic questionnaire, sociocultural and oral histories. With both the direct and the indirect approach, strengths and weaknesses are present. Relying on one method or even both methods can generate obscure results depending on the goals. As such, incorporating multiple techniques to inform results derived from the indirect approach needs other measures to make certain the findings are apt and interpretations inferred from context to grasp a better picture of language attitudes. Hence, the desire to gather further information concerning the listeners or judges was interested in this study.

6.5 Summary of the research steps

Language attitude studies require multilinguals both at the level of speakers and listeners or judges. This study made no exception to the fundamentals of testing or evaluating speakers. For this, a number of steps were taken. I provide a summary of what kind of data I gathered for the purpose of clarity and details of the approaches that are treated in the later part of the work.

1. The semi-structured interview with ethnographic inquiries (see section 5.2.2) was used to elicit any information that will help account for the multilingual repertoires of the 77 respondents targeted. This tool facilitated the selection of appropriate speakers and listeners for the MGT test as well as potential language varieties for the study. The responses got from the interview also contributed to shaping the MGT test items.
2. The direct attitude questionnaire was used to elicit responses about people's preferences, feelings and beliefs about the selected codes that I have found to be present in the repertoires of the respondents. The codes frequently reported constituted the Mungbam language cluster comprising Missong, Munken, Ngun, Abar and Biya, then the Mashi language, and CPE. Based on the responses obtained from the direct method, I was able to make further selections as to which codes to consider (see section 6.8). It should be worth noting that only local codes were targeted for the present study.
3. The MGT was used to elicit indirect responses from 31 out of 45 respondents. The reduced numbers was mainly because of unavailability caused by sickness, death, and farm work.
4. Questionnaires and observations were further used to gather contextual-based information, cultural information and oral histories. Supplementary interviews focused on autobiographies, extended social networks of the listeners and other cultural activities. Apart from asking extensive questions surrounding the individuals who serve as judges in the MGT exercise, the researcher spent considerable time with some of the participants. The aim was to grasp a better understanding of how they interact with their social environment. During these visits, random questions were asked, and long discussions were handled surrounding the social networks of the listeners. This helped understand the judgements the listeners advanced towards the targeted varieties. McKenzie (2010) supports that using several methods to investigate language attitudes is better than a single approach, generating skewed results (p. 52).

6.6 Rationale for selecting three out of five of the Mungbam varieties and a separate language outside the Mungbam for the attitudinal study

Independent of the kind of approach used (i.e., direct vs indirect), language attitude studies have typically been targeted on a reduced number of codes (be they languages, dialects, speech styles). For instance, Lambert et al. (1960) focused on two codes, i.e., English and French; elsewhere, De Klerk and Bosch (1995) targeted three codes: Xhosa, Afrikaans, and English. On top of objective realities (e.g., contexts where only two languages are used, like French and English in Canada), it is the very method used that, especially for what concerns the indirect approach, requires that listeners are exposed to a limited number of different languages (see the concerns of Mc Kenzie, 2010 above). He notes in his study of language attitudes of Japanese learners towards English language varieties that in as much as it can be tempting to include all the varieties of English in his study, reducing the number of speech recordings to six varieties. In this way, listener-fatigue, could be avoided, which when present can hamper on the data. In a research context such as LF, where no less than eight different languages are spoken and where the local language ideology ascribes each village to have its own “talk” (see section 2.2.3) and reminded of Mc Kenzie’s warning, I had to make a selection in order to avoid listener’s fatigue and therefore guarantee a high degree of reliability of the data in the field. During the pilot study, the initial decision was to target the Mungbam and Mashi in the study. This meant that listeners were to listen to 6 linguistic guises and fillers before responding orally to 20 test items for each guise, making an average of 130 minutes per consultant. This proved quite an agony for the 10 consultants and the researcher. Listener fatigue came along with distractions, absent-mindedness and sometimes anxiety.

In this section, I summarise the motivations of my decision to select Missong as my in-group and Munken, Ngun, and Mashi as my out-groups. The rationale for choosing Missong among the other Mungbam varieties is backed by historical accounts (relatively recent settlers in the Mungbam area), which are pregnant with linguistic (speak a less intelligible variety), and cultural significance (they deviate from the rest of the LF canon societies, by sharing 12 out of 20 cultural features (see Di Carlo, 2011 about these features)). Furthermore, there is a consistent acknowledgement from the interviews that Missong people are quite smart at learning other people’s languages and sometimes regarded as stealers of the present language used (see Di Carlo & Good 2014, p. 248).

The choice for including Munken and Ngun, but not Biya and Abar, as Mungbam out-group members were informed by the findings in the language attitude questionnaire on the one hand, and to ensure the general validity and reliability of the methodology on the other hand. Delimiting the scope is just but a necessity in research as a whole. For the MGT to be properly administered, I needed to reduce the number of languages involved. Therefore, I noticed that the findings on Biya and Ngun provided nearly consistent responses, just as Abar and Munken. To take an example, general language attitudes towards Ngun and Biya are more negative than towards Abar and Munken.

Moreover, Ngun and Biya are relatively smaller than Missong and geographically farther from Missong. In addition to the major analytical dimensions mentioned in the next section, some situational contexts informed my selection. Social conflicts on land disputes between Missong and Munken, for instance, aided in the targeted choices.

The motivation for selecting Mashi as a separate language from the rest of the targeted codes was to verify the role of linguistic similarity in shaping language attitudes. Furthermore, the inclusion of Mashi was to find out if language attitudes towards varieties of the same language would prove contrary to a separate language. It, therefore, served as a test language in this study.

6.7 Three analytical dimensions for accounting for language attitudes

Three analytical frames are used in this study to explain language attitudes. They include (1) degree of physical proximity between the in-group and out-group villages, (2) the degree of linguistic similarity between the languages/lects and (3) historical and sociological factors. I used these dimensions as an analytical measure and a way of articulating the choice of village selections that comprise the in and out-group members. My preoccupation is to decode how geographical and linguistic closeness or distance, historical relations inform language attitudes of in and out-group targets. To this end, I summarize the commonness and differences between the in-group (Missong) area and the out-groups (Munken, Ngun, Mashi) by providing ethnographic, linguistic, and geographical information and oral histories. Such background information prior to the analyses is necessary and relevant for a clearer understanding. Prati et al. (2015) have demonstrated that

additional data about the knowledge on personal and intergroup contact of the judges can actually throw more light on non-stereotypic categorizations.

6.8 The targeted codes

6.8.1 Missong (in-group)

Geographically, Missong (see Figure 1) or locally called “Bidzun” or the “Udzumbi” people, make up one of the villages with the most populous inhabitants (see Table 1). They are settled on steep hills, with the eastern and northern sides much steeper than the western and southern sides. They share boundaries with Mufu to the north, Abar to the south, Munken to the west and Mashi to the east. From the standpoint of physical comparison, one of the target areas, Ngun, is the furthest village away from Missong. The walking distance from Missong to Ngun is nearly 2 hours when walking at an average pace, whereas the other distances are relatively shorter (maximum of 45 minutes). Oral history and traditions project Missong as one of the recent settlements. Di Carlo (2011) reconstructs their migration history, stating that before different families arrived in Missong, they first lived in Ajume in Donga-Mantung Division, then settled in Ntsha, Mashi Overside in Furu-Awa subdivision. During my fieldtrip, the Prince of Missong provided a similar account, emphasizing the close ties with the Mashi people. According to the prince, being recent settlers of LF, Mashi people aided them to fight older settlers like Abar and Munken. The recent passing of the Chief of Missong (Apkwe Tryself) revealed even closer relations as only members of Mashi and Mekaf were allowed to take part in the burial ritual. This useful information affects the reliability of the matched-guise test in interpreting the extent to which attitudes are shaped by linguistic similarity.

Linguistically, Missong has been identified as the only Mungbam speaking village with grammatical differences that set itself apart from the rest of the Mungbam speaking villages (Good et al., 2011, p. 115; Lovergren, 2013, p. 43). To illustrate, lexical statistical results for about 200-word items reveals less than 70% intelligibility when Missong is compared with the other Mungbam varieties (Good et al., 2011). In addition, the second person non-preverbal pronoun tallies with the form *bi* for Missong, as opposed to *we*, *wo*, *welo* for the other villages. Finally,

while Missong is flexible with length contrast for all vowel qualities, this is not the case with the other varieties. These examples are by no means an exhaustive list of differential features as there is still ongoing research on Missong (see Pulcherie's thesis, for instance, which you can find on the KPAAM-CAM website).

Culturally, Missong displays its difference in the structure of village organization and secret associations. The fact that different families arrived at different times (Di Carlo, 2012) is critical in understanding Missong's peculiarity. The quarters carry a balance of ritual powers that is unusual in other Mungbam villages (Di Carlo & Good, 2014). As my field assistants and I visited the villages, I noticed that each quarter has a significant number of ritual spots reported to be original to certain families in these quarters. I identified three main quarters and their respective families (in terms of early settlements) that carry symbolic cultural representations. The Udzumbi family is reported to be the first family that settled in the first quarter known as Bidzumbi, followed by Upkangafeh, Mbangkpang and the Betcha people. Oral accounts, however, reveal that due to witchcraft practised by the Betcha people, they were killed, and the others ran out to unknown destinations. The second settlers in the Missong village were the Bikwom people, with the most number of families. The order of settlement in Bikwom quarter is as follows: Biangano, Bianglane, Biangnyam, Biangalung, Biangbiam and Oyu. The last quarter to settle in Missong was Biangdzem, which is made up of three families. These include the Biangnya, Niyam and Bifum people. The law house in the Bikwom quarter is said to belong to the Biangano family. There, one find a small altar meant for hunting big games and blessings of weapons. Each family mentioned above equally has a ritual spot for sacrifices, blessings of marriage, reproduction and a fine harvest. Di Carlo (2011) has pointed out that such representations suggest a legitimate form of ownership or power. However, in the other Mungbam villages, ritual spots are quite limited to a specific activity, and it is not associated with single families but the entire quarter. Newly created quarters such as Abiami and Umofi (most recent) have been created to cater for housing and farming opportunities as the limited and unoccupied lands in Missong seems a difficult terrain for building and farming. Younger men who are ready to build a family and have nowhere to settle in Bidzumbi, Bikwom and Biandzem have moved to these recent residential areas. No social, ritual or cultural meetings are held in these new sites. Additionally, exogamous units do not coincide with quarters. Therefore, one would find that marrying in the same quarter is not taboo as these quarters consist of mixed families.

Moreover, the highest secret lodge, called *eko*, is spread throughout the original quarters of Missong (Biangnyam, Bikwom, Bidzumbi, Mbiangdzem), which is marked only in a single quarter (usually the chief's quarter) in other villages. The number of chiefs that have ruled in Missong accounts for another cultural distinction. While the number of remembered chiefs are quite limited in Missong, i.e., four chiefs, a long list is identified in the other Mungbam villages. This cultural indicator is remarked by Good and Di Carlo (2014) as evidence of recent settlement by Missong people (for further readings, see Di Carlo, 2011).

The uniqueness of Missong is shown by its linguistic, cultural, geographical, anthropological distinctions in connection to oral histories. However, there is a general acceptance of their relatively recent settlements in LF villages, and out-group members consider LF people as stealers of their language. Could such a recognition play a role in the language attitudes displayed by in-group members?

Good and Di Carlo (2014) mention that “kin groups claim distinctive provenances to the point where there seems to be virtually no lineage which could be held as ‘indigenous’ to the village site”. Their lineages can be traced both inside (e.g., “Fang side”, Mashi overside) and outside LF (e.g., the Donga Mantung area). The clear internal divide illustrated in the Missong village makes one wonder what their language attitudes are.

6.8.2 Munken (out-group)

Locally known as Ntsan, but commonly called Munken, it is located in the northern part of the LF area. Its settlements occupy both hilly and level grounds. Just like Missong, Munken equally contributes highly to the population density of the LF area. They make up one of the populous villages, with an estimate of about 600 inhabitants (Good et al., 2011). Their closest neighbours include Missong (to the east) and Biya (to the southwest). Historical accounts reveal the presence of Munken as new settlements after Abar and Ngun had already settled in the area (Di Carlo & Good, 2014). They reported having migrated from Tabenken and settled in Munken. However, oral accounts from Missong and Munken elderly consultants mention that because of incest, some of the members of particular families were exiled from Munken, and the Missong chief provided a place of refuge for them. Today, the Bifum and Oyu families trace their origins from Munken.

One clear example is the Bifum (Biandzem quarter) and Oyu (Bikwom quarter) family, whose names coincide with those found in the Bugam quarter in Munken village.

Di Carlo (2011) uses twenty cultural features for comparative purposes. The findings show a slight disparity between Munken when compared with Abar and Ngun and a major disparity when Missong is compared with the other Mungbam varieties. While Ngun and Abar have similar traits, i.e., all 20 features, Munken shares 17 similar traits with Ngun and Abar, and only 12 traits are common in Missong. One of the features used for comparison is that the council has more than one house or open-air assembly place, but not the highest lodge. In the latter case, the only possible environment for seating to take place is the sacred forest. While this feature is present in Ngun, Abar and Biya, it is absent in Missong and Munken. Di Carlo (2011) exemplifies that the higher associations such as *ntslə* and *ikwae* have more than one house. In addition, ritual spots that are relatively fewer in Munken to those of Missong tend to be identified and shared by quarters mostly made up of exogamous units. Four main quarters are noted in Munken: Bebeh, Umbu, Betschafeh and Bugam. For example, the house of war is found in Betschafeh, where the entire village performed rituals before going into war.

6.8.3 Ngun (out-group)

Unlike Missong and Munken, Ngun makes up one of the villages with the least number of persons (approx. 150 to 200 inhabitants). They are locally known as the village of the Nsung people. The people of Ngun are settled in four quarters on a relatively smooth hill that is quite dispersed from each other. However, quarters do coincide with exogamous units. The quarters include Umbu, Asaweh, Awih and Ndzin. Ngun is situated in the northwestern area of LF and shares physical boundaries with Biya (to the northwest) and Abar (to the east), and Mekaf (to the west). The contact between Biya and Ngun is highly frequent because they share the same primary school. There is also a high rate of social relations built by marriage and friendship relations. However, their geographical distance has greatly restricted the movements of the old, especially from the distant Mungbam villages. Historical accounts reveal that among the Mungbam people, Ngun people were the first comers to LF land together with the Abar people (Di Carlo, 2011). LF people generally attest to Ngun people as physically strong and warriors. Oral histories portray them as

winners of organized fights and during inter-tribal conflicts. Their history, however, remarks them to be original to where they are found today. They are said to have consistent cultural features with Abar ((see Di Carlo, 2011) for cultural comparison).

Linguistically, lexicostatistical results of 200 items show Ngun to be highly intelligible with Biya, followed by Abar. However, just like the other Mungbam varieties, Missong is the most divergent.

6.8.4 Mashi (out-group)

Mashi, locally and administratively referred to as such, is the only village amongst this study's targeted villages with its linguistic and cultural roots outside LF. They are situated in the northeast of LF, with their closest neighbours, Koshin (to the south) and Mundabli (to the north). Their closest geographical contact is with the Missong people to the northwest. We estimated the walking distances at an average pace from Missong to Mashi at 90 minutes. Conversely, to Missong, one is faced with a very steep and lengthy hill of some 20 minutes' walk before getting into the village. The people of Mashi amount to some 300 to 400 inhabitants (Good et al., 2011).

Mashi is a variety of the Naki language. Studies have shown that Mashi shares some linguistic commonalities with already studied Bantoid languages (Good et al., 2011, para. 3.7) and cultural similarities (Di Carlo, 2011, para. 6.1.2). Some extensive grammatical work has been provided in Mekaf, a variety of Naki (Hombert, 1980; Good, 2010). Villages that speak Naki include Mekaf, Small Mekaf, Nser and Mashi Overside. Aside from the linguistic evidence that sets the Mashi speakers aside as speaking a Beboid language found outside the LF region, the oral history (accounts from LF members and Mashi themselves) indicates their arrival into LF as relatively recent. Di Carlo (2011) provides a historical reconstruction of the Naki-speaking villages as descendants from Bebe-Jatto in the Bui Division. Before settling in their respective sites due to pressures from Isu, the sociocultural inquiry provides that the only village in LF to provide a safe haven for the in-group Mashi members was the Missong village. This information is corroborated by the Mashi themselves and demonstrated affectionately as the only village in LF that is allowed to view the mortal remains of a Missong chief.

Culturally, Mashi shows a quite different pattern from, say, Ngun, Biya, Munken, Abar, and to an extent Missong. Di Carlo's (2011) 20 cultural features use of comparative measures identifies the central location of the sacred forest, which in most cases is close to the chief's quarter in LF and is not absent in Mashi. In addition, the number of women's secret associations surpasses the number that is marked as widespread in the LF area.

The existing background that has been described, projecting some generalities and differences existing amongst the targeted villages, provides partly the basis for understanding the target areas and choosing the targeted villages for the matched-guise study. However, features such as historical accounts backed up by linguistic and cultural evidence as discussed in the target villages are not the only pointers for shaping the village choices for this study. The choice to select one village over another was also out of convenience. Some villages are far away from the base and sometimes walk for 4 to 5 hours to meet with consultants. Such conditions can only hamper the kind of data one collects.

6.9 The MGT application

The literature review, as discussed previously, has indicated a methodological value in studying the language attitudes of speakers towards several languages and speech varieties. In compartmentalized language ecologies, there is evidence that low language varieties are accorded unfavourable traits more than the high language varieties (see section 2.4.3.1). However, this section aims to illustrate what an MGT can do in an egalitarian multilingual society like LF. The principal objective is to expose what an MGT developed in a non-essentialist context can reveal; namely, that language attitudes are not conditioned by stereotypes (which, to some extent, can be said to be non-existing). To this end, attention to how I went about developing the questions and then the data collection procedure is worth exploring.

The main research question was the following: what the dynamics of language attitudes of the Missong people in LF are.

The sub-research questions were, therefore, the following:

1. What are the social variables that account for language attitudes in LF, and how do they shape language attitudes of Missong people (one of the Mungbam varieties) towards themselves and others (Munken, Ngun (Mungbam varieties) and Mashi (separate language))?
2. Do stereotypes shape the language attitudes of Missong people, and what role does the local language ideology play?

6.9.1 Targeted speech varieties

Section 6.8 provided an overview of the selected villages used for the study and the rationale for selecting these villages. I investigate the language attitudes Missong people hold towards the targeted varieties on the degree of linguistic similarity and difference axis and their attitudes towards proximal villages as opposed to distant villages. I equally looked into the language attitudes of Missong people shaped by the historical and sociological factors. The following varieties were selected: Missong, Munken, Ngun, and the Mashi language. These varieties could vividly achieve the desired objective of evaluating the language attitudes of in-group and out-group members. Leaving other LF villages aside was only to ensure the reliability of data collected from the consultants and the validity of the entire research.

6.9.2 The speakers

For the test, 5 female speakers produced 8 stimulus voices i.e., 4 guises produced by the main multilingual speaker and 4 stimulus produced by multilingual distracters. I present metadata about the speakers.

Role name	Name	Age	Network affiliations
Main speaker	Beh Ma	70	Missong and Mashi (membership with paternal affiliation and marriage), Abar, and Munken (membership with maternal affiliation), Biya, Fang, Buu (associated to by marriage of her children and sisters). Koshin (membership with friends)

Missong distracter	Regina Odji	60	Missong (associated through marriage), Ngun and Abar, (membership by blood), Mashi (associated through second marriage)
Munken distracter	Chu Evelyne	32	Abar and Munken (membership by blood)
Ngun distracter	Prisca Remo	45	Ngun (membership with paternal affiliation and by marriage), Biya (membership with maternal affiliation), Mashi (mediated through father's marriage to second wife)
Mashi distracter	Mary Majang	40	Mashi (membership with maternal affiliation), Abar (associated by marriage)

Table 15. Speakers for the MGT and their basic social features (n = 5)

The main guise produced recordings of the 8 speech samples, 4 of which and 4 other voices were meant to be fillers or distracters. The main speaker from Missong, aged 70 at the time, produced the guises in all the targeted codes, and the distracters were produced by 4 females, aged between 32 and 60 years, with a mean of 44.2 years. All the speakers share a good number of affiliations connected to their linguistic repertoires. All the speech samples were recorded in Abar, my base for reasons of discreteness, and organized on individual sessions. One major use of the MGT is to test a targeted linguistic feature (accent, dialect, and language), keeping other linguistic and paralinguistic features neutral. Thus, knowledge of the voice in the recording can lead to evaluations of the speakers themselves and not the target linguistic feature. In addition, knowledge about the respondents' social networks was only necessary to identify respondents in Missong who might identify the voices. Fortunately, during the test, I was not faced with listeners who could identify the voices of the speakers. One of the reasons could be associated with the fact that no respondent comes from the Biangalung compound as the main speaker. Even so, the distracters resided in Abar, away from Missong. Finally, the speakers were selected purposively, i.e., based on their multilingual competencies of the targeted codes. Two native speakers per code evaluated the speech samples; once confirmed as native expressions, the test samples were ready for testing.

6.9.3 Recording the speech samples

The speaker was instructed to do the following: reword a short passage, with 6 sentences, once in each targeted variety. The speaker was made to memorize the text so that when the final recording was made, it felt as though she was rendering natural speech samples. Memorization was sought as a possible solution to reading illiteracy. Laboratory conditions that have been used in other settings (Lambert et al., 1960) were applied, such as the use of the software Audacity used in erasing portions of data that was not called for. They included a few pauses and coughing. She was asked to maintain a moderate pace throughout and emotionally flat as well as the paralinguistic features in all the stimuli. The same task was directed to the distracters, with the only difference in the number of voices produced.

Mc Kenzie (2010, p. 77) points out that “previous studies have tended to present recordings of males for evaluation,” justifying the need to balance genders in attitude studies. Moreover, choosing a single-gender in language attitude studies is cautioned, as including both genders can only render it more complex. (Garett et al., 2003, p. 99). Nevertheless, my choice of female guises was intentionally not biased because both males and females were identified as potential speakers during the pilot study. It is essential to find multilingual speakers for any language attitude study that targets language varieties or languages. The decision to keep only the female guises in this study was a consciously thought because the potential male sample had been seen moving all around LF with the researcher. In fact, he acted as a field guide all throughout the field research. Therefore, I avoided the high probability that he could be identified as the speaker behind the voice, thus defeating the purpose of the MGT. This study, therefore, adds to the other few studies that make use of females to attempt a gender balance.

6.9.4 The listeners or judges

The population for the study was mainly LF living in LF, with the sample from Missong. Thus, 31 individuals served as listeners or judges. These consultants were sought as potential consultants from the interview data for the MGT (see Table 16). Although the size sample in comparison with other MGT studies seems relatively small, i.e., 0.2%, the study uses multiple data sets to find

similar patterns and understand and interpret the results of the MGT. In addition, the number involved in the study seems sufficient to articulate related language ideologies in the LF area. By contrast, larger data sets have been proven useful when there are many dependent and independent variables, such as the number of control groups and task differences in the study (Forgas, 1990; Mc Kenzie, 2010). Finally, I present the ethnographic data of the listeners. This table is very useful because it is a tool that allows us to see the social affinities that members have in connection with their linguistic associations. This way, we can map out reasons for certain attitude judgements.

Network affiliations

Gender	Age	Quarter	Compound		Friends	Pass. Lects	Active lects	Pass. Lang.	Active lang.
M	45	Bikwom	Biangano	Missong (parents, husband), Mashi (cousin mediated by marriage), Mufu (son-in-law), Abar (mother-in-law), Fang, Mufu, Buu (friends)	In all targeted villages	9	6	5	4
F	60	Bikwom	Biangano	Missong (parents, husband, friends), Buu (mother) Mufu (2 nd husband), Abar (mother-in-law), Fang, (friends) Koshin, Biya, Munken, Kung (in-laws)	Only in Missong	10	6	5	5
M	53	Bikwom	Utcha	Missong (dad, divorced wife), Abar (mother), Munken (paternal grandmother, girlfriend), Mufu (aunt), Fang (in-law), Mundabli (friend)	In all targeted villages	10	5	5	3
F	49	Abiami	Biangano	Missong (parents, in-laws), Koshin (husband), Biya (maternal grandmother), Mekaf Buu, Munken (in-laws) Mufu (in-laws, friends), Mashi (step-father), Abar (friends)	Missong, Munken	11	7	7	5
M	37	Bidzumb	Udzumbi	Missong (father, step-mom,), Buu (mother), Koshin (paternal grandmother), Fang (maternal grandmother), Mashi (wife) Ajumbu, Abar (in-law)	In all targeted villages	10	10	5	5
F	54	Biandzem	Niyam	Missong (father), Mashi (mother), Nigeria (grandmother), Munken (in-law), Koshin, Abar (friends)	Missong, Munken	7	4	3	3

F	55	Bidzumbi	Upkangaf eh	Missong (parents, husband), Mashi (maternal grandmother), Munken, Fang (in-law), Koshin, Buu, Mufu, Mundabli (friends)	In all targeted villages	8	5	4	3
M	69	Bikwom	Biangano	Missong (parents), Mashi (step-mother), Mundabli (in-law), Koshin, Buu, Fang, Abar (friends)	Munken Missong	14	8	9	6
M	33	Biandzem	Bifum	Missong (parents, wife, GF), Abar (maternal grandmother, GF, in-law), Ngun (maternal great grandmother), Biya, Munken, Bafmen (in-laws) Koshin, Fang, Abar, Mufu (friends)	Ngun, Mashi, Munken	7	3	3	3
M	33	Biandzem	Bifum	Missong (father), Munken (mother), Abar (maternal grandmother), Ngun (maternal great grandmother), Mashi (GF), Mundabli, Kung, Abar (friends)	Missong Munken	8	5	5	3
F	41	Bikwom	Utcha	Missong (parents), Kom (paternal grandmother), Abar (co-wife), Mashi, Biya, Ngun, Buu (in-laws), Mufu, Mundabli Buu (friends)	Missong Mashi Munken	7	6	4	3
F	55	Bikwom	Utcha	Missong (parents, husband, in-laws), Koshin (paternal grandmother), Buu (step mother), Abar (friends)	Ngun, Munken, Missong	7	5	4	3
M	67	Bikwom	Bangkung	Missong (father, divorced wife), Mundabli (mother), Mashi (wife), Abar, Biya, Buu (in-laws), Koshin (friends)	Missong	9	7	5	3
M	48	Bidzumbi	Udzumbi	Missong (parents, wife), Munken (wife), Ngun, Mufu, Mankon, Missong, Mundabli (in-laws), Koshin, Abar (friends)	Munken, Missong	12	10	7	5
M	39	Biandzem	Biangnya	Missong (father, GF), Mekaf (mother), Abar (friends) (wife), Mundabli (friends)	Missong	10	9	6	6
F	67	Bidzumbi	Udzumbi	Abar (parents), Missong (husband, co-wife, in-laws), Munken, Mundabli (in-laws), Biya (step mother), Buu, Abar (friends)	Missong	9	7	5	3
F	48	Biandzem	Bifum	Missong (father), Abar (mother), Kung (paternal grandmother), Fungom (paternal great grandmother), Ngun (maternal grandmother), Fang, Abar (friends)	Missong, Munken	7	5	3	3

M	85	Bikwom	Oyu	Missong (parents), Mashi (wife), Munken (GF, in-law), Fang, Koshin, Mundabli, Abar (friends)	Missong, Munken, Ngun	9	7	5	3
F	77	Bikwom	Biangano	Missong (parents), Biya (in-law), Mufu, Mundabli, Fang, Abar (friends)	Missong, Munken	10	7	5	5
F	45	Biandzem	Bifum	Abar (father), Missong (husband) Ngun (mother), Fungom (maternal grandmother), Kung (paternal grandmother, in-law), Abar (friends)	Missong, Ngun, Mashi	7	5	3	3
M	92	Bidzumbi	Upkangaf eh	Missong (parents, divorced wife, in-laws), Munken (wife), Missong	Missong, Mashi, Ngun	12	4	6	4
M	33	Bikwom	Biangano	Nigeria (dad), Missong (mom, wife), Bafmen (wife), Buu, Mashi, Biya, Abar (in-laws), Abar, Mundabli (friends)	Missong, Munken	10	8	6	5
M	39	Bikwom	Biangano	Missong (parents, wife, GF, in-laws), Munken, Abar, Biya (in-laws), Koshin, Fang, Abar, Mufu (friends)	Biya, Missong	10	8	6	5
F	60	Bidzumbi	Upkangaf eh	Missong (parents, first and second husband), Mashi, Munken, Mundabli, Koshin (in-laws), Abar (friends)	Missong, Mashi	8	7	4	4
F	42	Bidzumbi	Udzumbi	Missong (father BF, in-laws), Mundabli (husband) Abar (mother, in-laws), Kung (maternal grandmother) Koshin (paternal grandmother), Munken (in-laws)	Mashi, Munken, Missong, Biya	13	10	8	5
M	33	Bidzumbi	Upkangaf eh	Missong (parents), Mundabli (wife) Munken (GF, in-laws), Befang, Bum, Wum (in-laws),	All targeted codes	12	6	8	4
M	41	Bikwom	Oyu	Missong (parents, in-laws), Munken (wife, GF), Mufu (divorced wife), Mashi (step mother), Abar, Biya (friends)	Munken, Missong	14	12	9	7
M	60	Biandzem	Niyam	Missong (father, wife), Buu (mother), Abar, Munken, Mekaf (in-laws), Koshin, Kung (friends)	All targeted codes	12	5	7	3

F	42	Abiami	Biangano	Missong (father, husband, unrecognized in-law), Abar (mother unrecognized in-law), Munken (maternal grandmother), Mekaf, Ajumbu (in-laws) Kung (friends)	Abar, Missong, Munken	11	7	6	4
M	69	Bikwom	Bianglane	Missong (parents, wife, in-laws), Buu (wife), Bagante (in-laws), Koshin, Ajumbu (friends)	Munken, Abar, Missong	12	8	7	5
F	23	Abiami	stanger	Isu (father), Munken (mother, in-laws), Ngun (maternal grandmother, Biya (friends), Kung (divorced), Abar (BF, in-laws), Buu, (in-laws)	Abar, Ngun	10	7	5	5

Table 15. The ethnographic data of the listeners (n = 31)

6.9.5 A demographic/ethnographic distribution of the MGT participants

	Bidzumbi	Bikwom	Biandzem	Abiami
Total respondents	12 (40%)	14 (44%)	7 (20%)	2 (6%)
Gender	M= 4, F= 4	M= 9, F= 5	M= 4, F= 3	F= 2
N° of compounds	3	7	3	0

List of compounds/number of participants

	Upkangafeh (4)	Biangano (7)	Bifum (4)	
	Udzumbi (4)	Bianglane (1)	Niyam (2)	
	Bangkang (0)	Biangalung (0)	Biangya (1)	
		Biangnyam (0)		
		Oyu (2)		
		Biangkung (1)		
		Betcha (3)		
N° of compounds represented	2 (66.6%)	5 (71.4%)	3 (100%)	0

Table 17. Demographic profile of MGT participants, by gender, quarters, compounds, and linguistic repertoires of Missong village

Participants for the MGT included 36 LF respondents, of which 31 comprised of listeners from Missong village. The 5 other members, which I do not capture in Table 17 are a female speaker, plus 4 other female distracters representing the targeted varieties.

However, when we look at the sample, there is some proportion of internal differentiation. Gender wise, 17 males are sampled as opposed to 14 females. For the age distribution, the youngest sample is 23 and the oldest 92, with a mean of 51.9 (sd= 17.0). With respect to the quarter placements, we notice that 4 out of 5 quarters are represented, with Umofi being the exception. However, Both Umofi and Abiami are recent creations, with the former created 5 years ago. We notice that even with the Abiami quarter represented, it registers just two participants; one is original to Bikwom quarter from the Biangano family. I heavily focused on the original quarters of Missong village as indicated in the chart, with the exclusion of Abiami. For one reason, the social and cultural hubs of those living in these newly formed quarters are found in one of the original quarters. Internal variation of the sample per family unit that is not captured in the table is indicated. In the Biandzem quarter, I recorded 7 listeners, 2 from Niyam, 4 from Bifum and 1 from Biangnya. In the Bikwom quarter, I gathered data from 14 samples from 5 compounds or families. I distribute them as follows: 7 listeners from Biangano, 3 from Utcha, 2 from Oyu, 1 from Biangkung and 1 from Bianglane. In Bidzumbi, I registered 8 samples, with 4 from Udzumbi 4 from Upkangafeh families.

My choice to attend the samples' internal variation, especially for variables that are hardly ever studied in sociolinguistics studies such as quarters and compounds, is to demonstrate how historical factors can shape language attitudes. For example, two families in Biandzem and Bikwom quarters respectively trace their origins in Munken village. These are Bifum and Betcha families. In this case, the interest in showing the extent to which historical relations influence language attitudes of Missong people towards themselves and others (particularly Munken) motivates the varied sample distributions. Before getting into this specificity, I first present the choice of the text.

6.9.6 Choice of text

The text, which was to be carefully designed and reworded by the speaker, was context-relevant. Understanding that the people of LF may have a limited knowledge and visualization of the ever-advancing technology would mean that such material should be void of vocabulary that would instead feel out of place and emotive. By so doing, the text comprising of 6 sentences that ran for not more than 90 seconds was context-sensitive. It dwelled upon the day-to-day life of the LF people, which was kept as neutral as possible. This text was recorded in the targeted varieties and had listeners listen to it. The original version of the text is the following: *If we do not go to the farms, what do we feed ourselves and our children with? In the early hours of the morning, we wake up by the crows of the cocks. We quickly brush our mouths with chewing sticks and put on farm clothes. We till the soil shallow or deep depending on the crops we intend to plant and bury the seeds underneath. After several months, we harvest them, eat some and trade the rest on market days. The income is used to pay school fees and savings in a group association.*

The versions of CPE is included below (1) because of the literacy levels of the participants, and (2) this was the only code in which we could easily communicate. *If we no go for farm, we and we pikin dem go chop na weti? For sharp moning time, na fowl yi noise di wekop we. We di use chewing stick for wash wa mop dem quick quick then go farm. We di dig the grown low or deep because of the kind seed wey we get for plantam for ground. When plenty moon don pass, we di harvestam, chop some and then take some go sellam for market. The money wey we sell, we di usam for pay school fees plus play njangi.*

6.9.7 The identification of traits

Past studies on language attitudes of community members indirectly in bilingual or multilingual environments have used test items that carry prestige associated-qualities or stigmatized qualities as stereotypical or categorical cues in people's evaluations of language varieties. While some studies have differentiated personal qualities on status-related/competence dimensions and social attractiveness/solidarity dimensions to categorize high and low languages (Mc Kenzie, 2010; Stewart, Ryan & Giles, 1985), others explicitly merge both dimensions (Ihemere, 2006; Klerk &

Bosch, 1995). The underlying goal for selecting what Hewstone and Giles (2014) call “stereotype traits” is to predict perceived behaviours accorded to high and low-status languages. However, in the local ecology of LF, two kinds of ideologies are found in relation to identity conceptions. The “endogenous”, i.e., deeper, ideological layer, seems to foster non-categorical conceptions of identity, especially when considering local languages. By contrast, the exoglossic codes that are foreign to the locals seem to promote categorical conceptions of identity. In this case, these languages are free from linguistic competition. Hence, a decision to frame a dimension that displays language attitudes that is rather free from stereotypic judgements leads us in a deep novelty of identifying relational qualities specific to the targeted community and not generalized “social attractiveness” that has mostly been associated with low language varieties. Social attractiveness is understood as impressions that capture speaker “likability” in terms of warmth, entertainment, humour, which are features generally admired or liked. Relational qualities are understood in this study as the ability to possess a quality that shows familiarity, interdependence, and interaction with someone. For example, one may possess a sense of humour or be entertaining, which does not necessarily imply a “relational index”. Nonetheless, I included status-oriented qualities to see what obtains as language evaluations in a non-essentialist context. The choice of the selected items was informed by the local language ideologies associated with local codes thanks to the ethnographic-informed questionnaire, which in itself provides social meanings to the use of codes. By contrast, the inclusion of physical traits was motivated by the need to use items used elsewhere for stereotypical constructions to compare with the context of the study. I wanted to see what sort of language attitudes are revealed when essentialist-oriented traits are looked at in this research context.

To this end, selected adjectives reflected both relational and status qualities comprised of 13 items, 6 of which were associated with status qualities. The physical items targeted adjectives such as height, good looks, intelligence, pride, wealth, and diligence, and the relational qualities catered for traits such as friendship, helpfulness, protectiveness, trustworthiness, selfishness, wickedness, and being hypocritical. While the relational traits aimed at testing the indexical ideology more directly, found in a largely localized context, the physical traits were checked for the absence or presence of existing stereotypes. As a whole, I made sure that both the physical and the relational traits targeted were free from ambiguity. To illustrate, an individual may sound helpful without sounding trustworthy or may sound selfish without sounding wicked.

Item type	Relational qualities	Status qualities	Status of trait
1	Friendly	Tall	Positive
2	Helpful	Good looks	Positive
3	Protective	Intelligent	Positive
4	Trustworthy	Pride	Negative (only for status qual.)
5	Selfish	Wealth	Negative (only for relational qual.)
6	Wicked	Hardworking	Negative (only for relational qual.)
7	Being hypocritical		Negative

Table 16. Test items used for the MGT experiment

Recall that the use of CPE as a contact language between the participants and the researcher was necessary because of the lack of mutual understanding in the local codes. The questions such as being friendly, trustworthy, selfish, wicked, being hypocritical for the relational qualities, and tall, good looking, intelligent, being proud, wealthy and hardworking for the categorical qualities were translated into CPE with ease. I present a table below providing the CPE version for the corresponding items. However, the local understandings of “helpful” were understood locally in the sense of farm activities and other work-related activities. In addition, the meaning of “help” is extended to histories as recounted from older respondents who stated that villages such as Ngun, Abar and Misson were known to offer help to incoming members in the LF area. This idea of help is projected through their communal lifestyle, i.e., children and friends of X adult take rounds helping each other in farm work etc. As for the quality of being “protective”, the locals mainly understood it as being another one’s keeper. This means that if X and Y share blood or social relationship, X should be able to shield and defend Y from the outsider.

Relational traits	CPE version	Categorical traits	CPE version
Friendly	“for make friend”	Tall	“Tall”
Helpful	“hellep you”	Good looking	“Fine”
Protective	“cover”	Intelligent	“Sense”

Trustworthy	“Trust”	Pride	“Show show”
Selfish	“konto” “strong hand”	Wealth	“money”
Wicked	“wicked”	Hardworking	“hardworking”
Being hypocritical	“kongossa”		

Table 17. Test items translated to CPE

6.9.8 Rating scales

The semantic differential scales inform the rating scales. The listeners were asked questions related to the above traits and given a range of options, in this case, to tell whether they agreed or disagreed. The options were, namely: strongly agree (SA), slightly agree (SLA), neutral (N), slightly disagree (SLD) and strongly disagree (SD). Garrett (2010, p. 56) supports that providing rating scales helps reveal quick judgments and reduce the possibility of making judgements that may give room for social desirability and acquiescence bias. Additionally, single adjectives and not bipolar scales were chosen to reduce the level of mental processing. The rating scales cater for the diversity in response, such that a single trait evaluated be telling of its opposite form.

The order of questions asked was consistent, and the rating scales were as well.

When you listen to this voice, do you think the person is friendly?

SA SLA N SLD SD

6.9.9 Test procedure

Prior to the actual test, audience was requested from the sampled consultants, and based on their availability, dates and place of meeting was scheduled. The listeners were briefed about the test as being concerned with how people evaluate others based on a list of traits on limited information. The listeners were each presented with test materials either in their homes or near their homes. This was done in quiet locations, free from interventions from family members and friends. After seeking consent orally and recording with the digital recorder, each tape was played twice: they

were first to identify the code they listened to and then rate the guise on 6 status traits and in the second session on 7 relational traits on a five-point scale. For instance, on the trait of being tall, the scale would cover the range from “strongly agree” the voice stimuli is tall through the “neutral” point or to the other extreme “strongly disagree”. Worthy of note is that due to the literacy levels of the participants, rating the guises on an answer booklet was far from ideal. This study contrasts with the numerous studies on language attitudes, where test respondents have attained college (Lambert et al., 1960) or university education (Ladegaard, 1998; McKenzie, 2010). Due to the few participants (N =31), the data does not undergo a rigorous quantitative approach like other researches with larger sample groups utilize (Dragojevic & Giles, 2014, p. 98, Ihemere, 2006, p. 198). Moreover, the small proportion of participants do not aim at a statistical significance but at the first step of analysis in an otherwise underresearched context through some basic statistics that provide sensible information for the interpretation. I ended up expressing my gratitude for the activity.

In the next section, I provide in detail the remaining data gathering types. However, the MGT exercise (phase three) is carried out only after participants have tested using the semi-structured interview (phase one) and then probed on a direct language attitude questionnaire (phase two) gathered using the direct approach. Phase four targets individual and collective-based data on the histories and cultures of the people.

6.10 Other data types

6.10.1 Phase one: the sociolinguistic interview

As I discussed here briefly, the ethnographic questionnaire (see section 5.2.2) is a first step in selecting potential participants and test items for the MGT.

6.10.2 Phase two: the language attitude questionnaire

Because the first sociolinguistic questionnaire type elicited data on the social backgrounds of the consultants, repetition in the attitude questionnaire was not necessary. The attitude questionnaire

was meant to gather data of language preferences, feelings. Missong people have towards the 5 Mungbam codes and Mashi. This questionnaire eased the selection of the codes for the MGT study. The 8 questions were the following:

1. Could you list your preferred languages from top to bottom?
2. Could you list your preferred villages from top to bottom?
3. Why do you consider language X to be in Y position?
4. How would you describe speakers of this variety?
5. Would you allow your child to marry from X village?
6. Would you identify yourself as a speaker of another variety?
7. What language do you think God likes best?
8. What is the most useful variety to know in the Mungbam area? In other words, which amongst these is the most useful variety: Missong, Munken, Ngun, Biya, Abar? The actual reference to Mungbam and for the other questions has no meaning for the LF people. I did not use this actual wording but repeatedly mentioned all the languages/villages of Mungbam when posing the questions.

The first question about language preference infers on the local language ideologies or linguistic ideologies in LF. The second question on the list verifies which village occupies what position, and the follow-up question on trait descriptions confirms why the chosen village occupies a particular position. Finally, the questions from number 5 just continue to demonstrate language preferences and the social reasons behind such choices. Indeed, thanks to the above items investigating language attitudes directly, we understood why one lect/village is preferred over the other. Thus, selecting the targeted varieties above (see section 6.8).

6.10.3 Phase three: the MGT and the dialect recognition question

Before carrying out the MGT, understanding whether the judgements tilt towards the targeted code is crucial for language attitude studies. Thus, this phase aimed to conduct the dialect recognition test and then engage in the MGT exercise. I wanted to check whether the listeners were able to identify the targeted varieties before the attitude evaluation. In the majority of the studies I have

come across so far, this item is far-fetched. It is therefore important for us to know “whether listener-judges are, in fact, always evaluating the speech varieties that the speech recordings are intended to represent...hence, misidentification of speech varieties is likely to make the data collected in such studies more difficult to interpret” (Mc Kenzie, 2010: 88). Therefore, the dialect recognition question was included, and cues that render the targeted varieties identifiable. It has been advanced that such an item has an advantage. It helps indicate how accurately and consistently consultants are able to identify the targeted varieties. In Mc Kenzie’s study, less than 19% misidentified the targeted varieties, and in this case, (6%) was registered for a single code. Hence, only the misidentified targeted variety was excluded from the counts. This promotes straightforward interpretations. The questions posed in this section, usually at the beginning of the MGT, included:

1. When you listen to this voice, what code do you think the speaker is using?
2. What made you think so?

6.10.4 Phase four: individual/collective based interview data

Aside from collecting language attitudes through questionnaires and matched-guise tests, additional contextual information from the already sampled MGT consultants through deep observations and interviews helped explain different language attitudes that may arise from the evaluation reactions. I go deeper into understanding social networks and activities surrounding the individual that suggest the interpretation of the MGT results. Such information ranged from personal histories, in other words, autobiographies, extended social networks, (e.g., where siblings spouses come from), how often does the X consultant visit, X friends he reports to have, places where people meet.

In the same light, collective based information was gathered thanks to deep observations and interviews from already sampled consultants and a new consultant who did not undergo the MGT. In addition, however, some sociolinguistic background information filled with ethnographic inquiries was collected to help understand who is giving the information in the case of a new consultant. Here, questions concerning traditional histories, oral tales, cultural practices, and social

relations (e.g., quarrels between Misong and Munken people, Misong and Mashi people) were targeted to help account for language attitudes.

6.11 Some challenges

Some difficulties regarding the appropriate approaches to take cognizance of when designing and gathering language attitude data was a concern in this research for two main reasons. Firstly, the context, in general, is purely rural. This means that we are dealing with low literacy levels; subsequently, evaluational reactions of spoken language cannot be organized using a written questionnaire as used in the Canadian context (Lambert & et al., 1969). Secondly, the super linguistic diversity and individual multilingualism found in LF require selecting a number of codes for the study. Nevertheless, past studies have proven successful despite an inescapable time-consuming test activity per the number of test varieties. For example, Laadegard (1998) and McKenzie (2010) have all studied multiple attitudes towards international native speaker Englishes, whether in terms of accents or English varieties and have taken up no less than three linguistic stimuli features in their attitude studies.

Some of the exciting points noted during the pilot study were based on the duration a successful and productive matched-guise test could go, which is not more than 20 minutes. Initially, I recorded 6 linguistic stimuli and 6 others as fillers over 20 test items. This meant that every listener had to respond orally to 20 test items for the 6 guises and 6 distracters, making a total of 24 times s/he listens to the tape for the dialect recognition item. In addition, another 24 listening sessions for the question/response phase. Thus, when put into perspective, I needed at least 130 minutes per listener. Indeed, this trial proved quite agonizing for the researcher as well as the listeners.

Consequently, there was a need to reduce the number of test items and the number of codes for the study. Moreover, the status-oriented qualities were informed by existing literature (De Klerk & Bosch, 1995; Garrett, 2010; Ihemere, 2006; Ryan et al., 1960). A great majority of tested items indicate an average of 12 test items (Brown et al., 1985, p. 211; Giles & Howard, 2014, p.100; Lynskey et al., 1991, p. 118). Equally, I deleted items that were ambiguous or misunderstood among the initial 20 items selected. For instance, qualities like warmth, being likeable, vulgar and

brave. I cut down the number from 20 to 13 test items (see Table 17). Finally, I removed Abar and Biya Mungbam varieties from the test sample because I needed to cut down the number of guises from 6 to 4 (see section 6.6). I then evaluated which village to take from the list following some predominant characteristics that I felt might uncover similar responses, as the attitude questionnaire via the direct method later confirmed. It seems that proximity plays a role in accounting for the number of social relations; hence Ngun and Biya (30 minutes walking distance from each other) are the farthest away from Missong (2 hours into Missong). Again, they have the smallest population; I took out Biya and maintained Ngun. Historically, Ngun and Abar make up one of the first settlers in LF (Di Carlo & Good, 2014). Such keen interest in understanding the role of historical accounts on language attitudes drives this decision to keep Ngun and eliminate Abar. Munken is maintained because they share the closest cultural traditions with Missong more than any other LF group. In addition, situational influences such as land disputes and physical proximity led to the choice of Munken over Abar. Finally, although Mashi's distinction as a separate language seems valid for the consideration in the language attitude study, we can agree that another language could have been selected. However, considering that I found it difficult to find respondents with similar repertoires, some using the consultants whose codes do not match with, say another code would have been problematic. In this context, most of my consultant's report competence in Mashi rather than, say, Mufu or Koshin (neighbouring languages to Mashi). From the pilot study carried out, a few modifications were made to have realistic and reliable results.

6.12 Data analyses

The MGT data is analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively. This is to check what language attitudes exist in the targeted communities and investigate whether stereotypes influence language attitudes in LF. On the qualitative side, data was organized on Excel sheets based on the research objectives. Some include characteristics of the sample, a general number of positive or negative responses of Missong listeners by all targeted lects, comparing questions across responses to see which favourable and unfavourable qualities are attributed chiefly to the language varieties. In this way,

visual clarity promotes a better way of working through the analyses. In addition, data discussions are patterned according to themes and relationships.

The quantitative part required that I use descriptive statistics by giving numerical codes to the data and making basic counts. I followed up by inputting research objectives into the appropriate visual charts and tables and assigned data according to each objective. I do not aim at generalizing the data, especially outside LF, because different tendencies may occur in different societies. Also, my sample size is relatively small (n=31); hence, inferential statistical methods that go into calculating and verifying the significance of any differences of the sought could provide little or no significance in terms of generalization. Studies that consider more than descriptive data have usually gathered large samples of data (Dragojevic & Giles, 2014, p. 98; Ihemere, 2006, p. 198). However, the interesting findings gathered first by complementary methods (i.e., ethnographic-informed questionnaire, interviews and sociolinguistic language documentation, observations) and then the MGT allows us to uncover details about language attitudes in LF. Indeed, qualitative analysis is crucially vital in attitude studies as it provides specifics about attitudes for which statistics can only provide general information (Liebscher & Dailey-O’Cain, 2009, p. 196).

6.13 Findings

6.13.1 Ease in response for test items

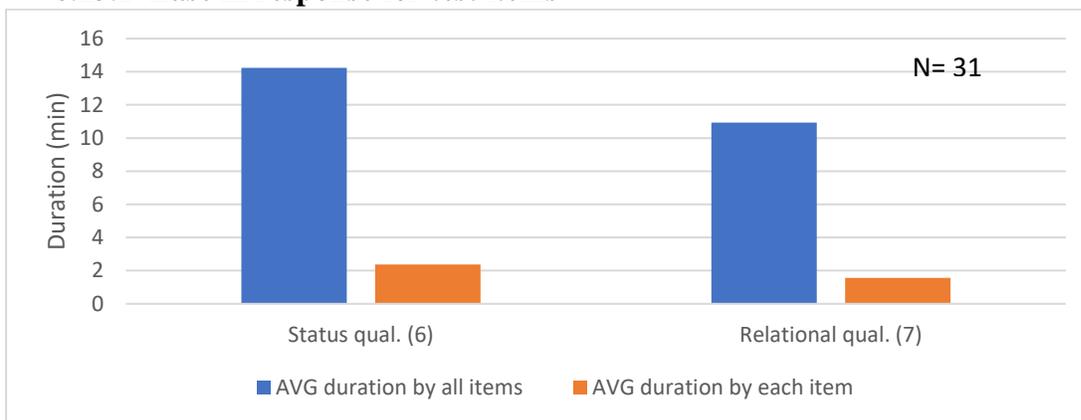


Figure 23. Ease in response by physical and relational qualities.

Even though the listeners had the freedom to judge every voice on every trait or not, most of the listeners responded to all the questions but for two who found the entire exercise out of place. They were, however, not included in the sample. Figure 23 mirrors the relative ease with which the relational and the physical traits were judged. It shows the average duration in minutes per the status and relational trait dimensions. The group mean of the duration of 6 physical qualities was 14.2 (sd = 3.6) and of 7 relational qualities was 10.9 (sd = 1.9).

Moreover, an average duration per test item indicates that listeners take up to 2.3 minutes per item on physical qualities and 1.5 minutes on relational qualities. Thus, despite the fact that listeners responded to the physical qualities over a relatively more extended time, they clearly took some considerable time in rating speakers in terms of height, i.e., ‘tallness’, ‘good looks’ and ‘wealth’. Looking at this chart, one can infer that relational traits are more easily responded to than physical traits, as inferred from the length in responding. This could be because these terms are not frequently used as a social criterion to evaluate people in the LF community, such that when a question relating to status traits was posed, the immediate reaction was silence, then laughter and sometimes comments and questions posed.

6.13.2 Language recognition rates

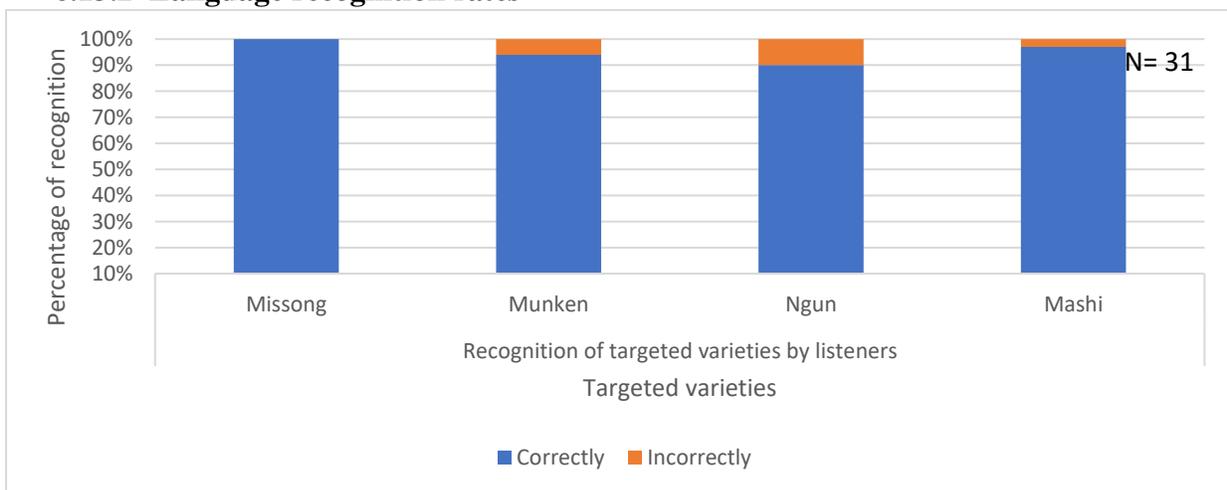


Figure 24. Recognition of targeted varieties by listeners.

Figure 24 captures recognition rates of the targeted linguistic varieties by the 31 Missong listeners in 4 speech samples produced by the main speaker. I choose to exclude the other 4 speech samples produced by the distracters as the results are homogenous to the present result. The percentages indicated the correct and incorrect answers listeners advanced as to whether they successfully identified a speech sample correctly or not. We see from the chart that overall, the recognition rate of listeners was very high. The highest recognition with no single error was noted with the Missong variety. It is not surprising as the listeners all come from Missong village. Ngun happens to be the variety with the most errors, as three listeners each wrongly identified this variety, replacing Ngun with Abar twice and Biya once. After Missong, Mashi registered the least misidentifications, as only a single individual happened to misrepresent this variety once for Mekaf, a variety of Naki. This is not surprising because Mashi and Mekaf are both varieties of Naki. In general, Mashi represents a separate language, hence, one possible reason for easy identification by the multilingual listeners. Because most listeners recognized all the targeted varieties, we can ascertain that the evaluations align with the speech recordings.

6.13.3 Semantic rating scales count

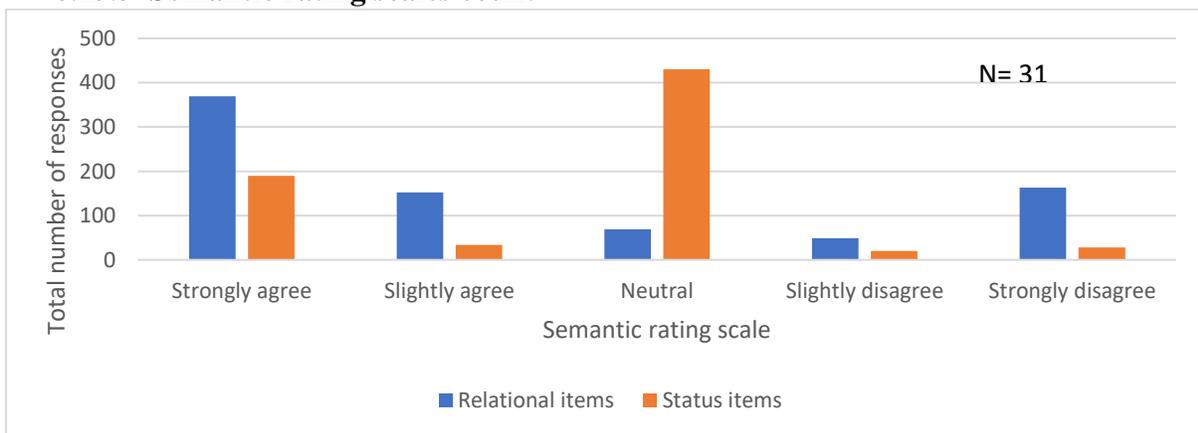


Figure 25. The total number of responses by rating scales for all items.

In Figure 25, when the total number of responses was analyzed in terms of all relational and status traits per rating scale, the listeners on status related questions revealed a clear trend. In most cases, the neutral semantic field was the most sought option (61%). This was followed by the strongly

agreed field (27%). With a minimal distinction of not more than 1% differentiating the SLA, SLD and SD fields, these options were the least sought (5% for the SLA field, 4% for the SD field and 2% SLA option). According to the responses of listeners on relational qualities, the most significant rating scale was the SA semantic field (49%), followed closely by the SD (23%) and the SLA semantic field (21%). The neutral rating (11%) and the SLD (7%) scales were the responses chosen the least by the respondents. We notice that while the choices advanced by the respondents on the relational qualities are more spread out, this is less noticed in the status qualities. This can, however, be explained by the presence of near balanced positive and negative items introduced in the relational category. For the status-related items, the positive items dominate. However, the options sought in the former category is indicated more on the neutral responses. The relational features indexed more SA options for positive traits and SD for negative traits. In other words, if the items all targeted positive relational traits, we would likely notice a sharp increase in the SA semantic fields, which contrasts the sharp rise in the neutral ratings for physical qualities. When one compares the ratings per relational and status traits, there is a pattern of correlation: more (SA) judgements by listeners on relational qualities and neutral judgements by listeners on physical qualities. Therefore, there is a higher salience that relational qualities rather than categorical qualities have for LF people.

6.13.4 Responses across relational and status test items

We seek to verify how response rates correlate with individual questions. This enables one to see, for instance, which questions are more salient to the Missong listeners and the social significance this has on society in connection to the language.

6.13.4.1 Responses across status qualities

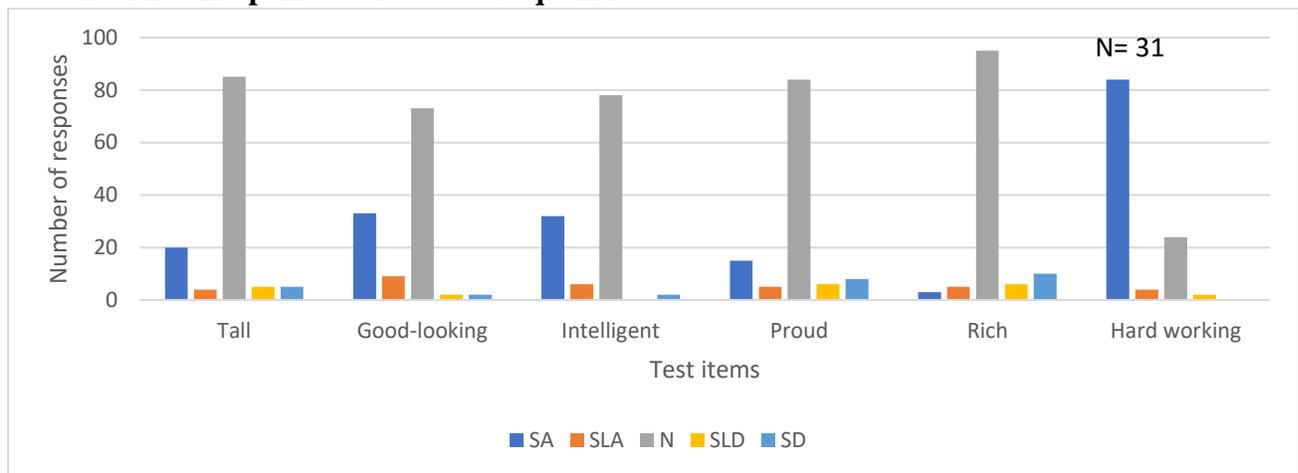


Figure 26. The total number of responses in status items by all targeted codes.

Figure 26 captures six questions related to status qualities used in gathering data on the MGT from Missong consultants. When one compares the average ratings with the response rates by all items, there is a pattern of correlation, except for the quality of being hardworking. A high response rate, as indicated in the neutral rating scale, is matched with status qualities. The most neutrally rated test item is the quality of being rich (80%), followed by height (72%), pride (71%), intelligence (66%) and lastly, good-looking (61%). However, the quality of being hardworking is highly deviant from the neutral position (21%) to high positive scores (74%). Put differently; the hardworking quality powerfully resonates positively with the Missong people. The wide difference between the hardworking trait and other status traits is explained by the fact that this term seems to be more linked to their social life than the rest of the items. Their understanding of hardworking seems to be directed towards physical energy (long hours of farm activities) and not necessarily on output. Therefore, one can assume that more positive judgments can be easily realized when the status items are more reflective of the lifestyle of LF people and more neutral responses are provided on physical qualities that are not directly associated with their way of life.

6.13.4.2 Responses across relational qualities

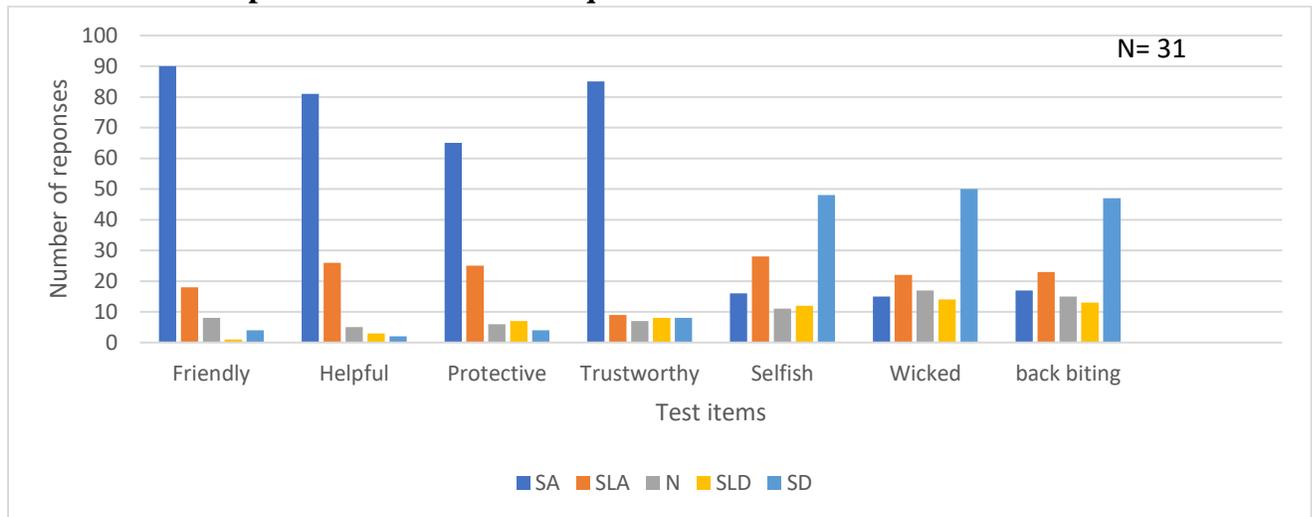


Figure 27. The total number of responses in all relational items by all targeted codes.

Figure 27 illustrates the responses advanced by Missong respondents concerning seven targeted relational qualities. We notice that positive items (friendly, helpful, protective, trustworthy) are judged more favourably (above 77%), and negative items (selfish, wicked and being hypocritical), judged less favourably (below 23%). Again, on the positive traits, we see that the quality of being friendly (28%) and trustworthy (27%) are attributed the most positive ratings followed by being helpful (25%). However, the least rated in this positive category is being protective (20%). There seems to be a level-off response rate on the negative side. The total number of responses gathered from people who disagree with the negative associations of traits towards the speaker is below 50. The speakers are thought to be more being hypocritical (36%), selfish (33%), and wicked (31%). We notice that on the relational qualities in general, the quality of being wicked carries the most (25%) neutral response.

Nevertheless, there is a clear distinction of status-related qualities as opposed to relational qualities with regards to the responses of the listeners. Members associate more positive images than negative qualities for the relational category. By contrast, categorical qualities are generally evaluated from a neutral perspective regardless of the positive or negative qualities.

6.13.5 The effect of test languages/villages across all test items by ratings

We seek to capture the overall number of responses associated with individual lects to see which lect is judged most favourably and vice-versa.

6.13.5.1 The effect of responses on relational qualities by positive traits, by languages/villages

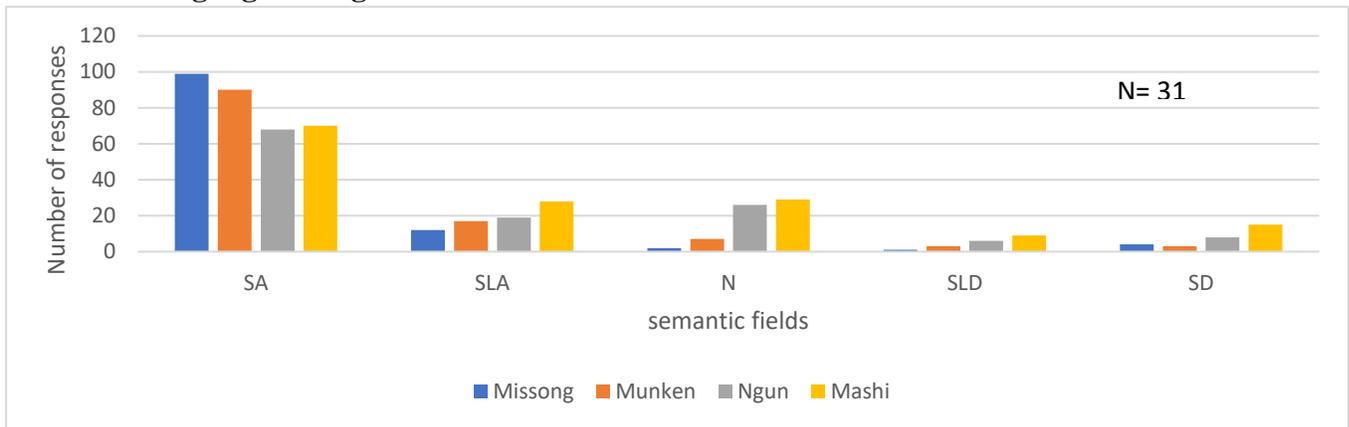


Figure 28. The total number of responses on relational qualities by positive traits, by targeted codes.

Figure 28 gives information about the total number of responses attributed to each language or village on positive traits at the relational level. According to the bar chart, there is a general upward trend regarding strong positive judgements. However, it declines sharply as the answers move away from an extremely positive attitude (SA) to a lesser extreme (SLA, N, SLD) and then to a stronger negative attitude (SD). The most extreme positive responses are attributed to Missong (in-group) members themselves, with a total of 99 responses (making 30%). This is followed by 90 strongly agree responses associated with Munken members (making 28%), then 70 highly positive responses towards Mashi members (making 21.5%) and finally the Ngun people, with 68 responses (making 20.5%) on positive relational traits. Moreover, considering the positive moderate responses for the targeted villages, we realize that Ngun people are still the least judged on positive relational traits. However, when we consider the number of responses that account for negative judgement as indicated on the extreme negative (SD) option, we see that Mashi people receive the most negative judgements with 15 extremely negative responses (making 50%)

contrary to the positive items. Summarily, the data suggests that geographical proximity and linguistic similarity combined account for more positive judgements of Missong people towards Munken, and to an extent, negative judgements towards Ngun and Mashi.

6.13.5.2 The effect of responses on relational qualities by negative traits, by languages/villages

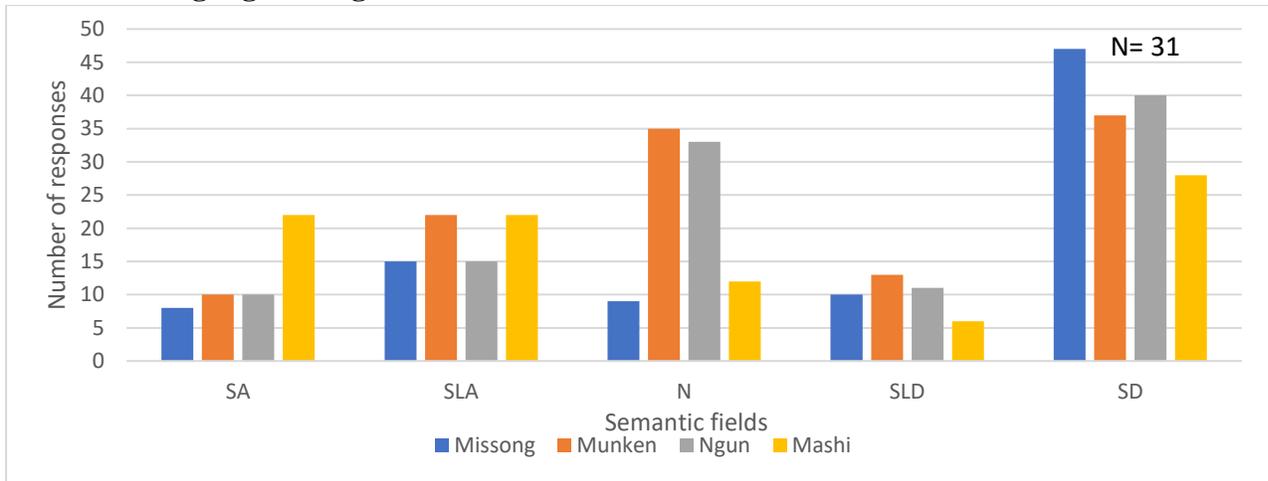


Figure 29. The total number of responses on relational qualities of negative traits by targeted codes.

Figure 29 shows the total number of responses provided by Missong listeners towards themselves and others on the negative relational traits. At first glance, we realize that there is a general increase in the extreme neutral option when questions concerning negative qualities are raised. In addition, Ngun and Munken villages project an almost neutral position with respect to negative relational qualities as compared to Missong and Mashi. However, we also see that Mashi people seem to be the most negatively judged on negative traits, especially at both extremes of the scale. If we consider the total positive responses to negative qualities, Mashi dominates with 44, totalling 35% towards the negative qualities. For Munken, it comes second with 32 responses, making 26%. Ngun is the second least judged on negative relational traits, with 25 responses making 20%. Finally, perceiving Missong being used calls up images that are more positive and less negative images with a sum of 23 responses, amounting to 19%.

6.13.5.3 The effect of responses on status qualities by languages/villages

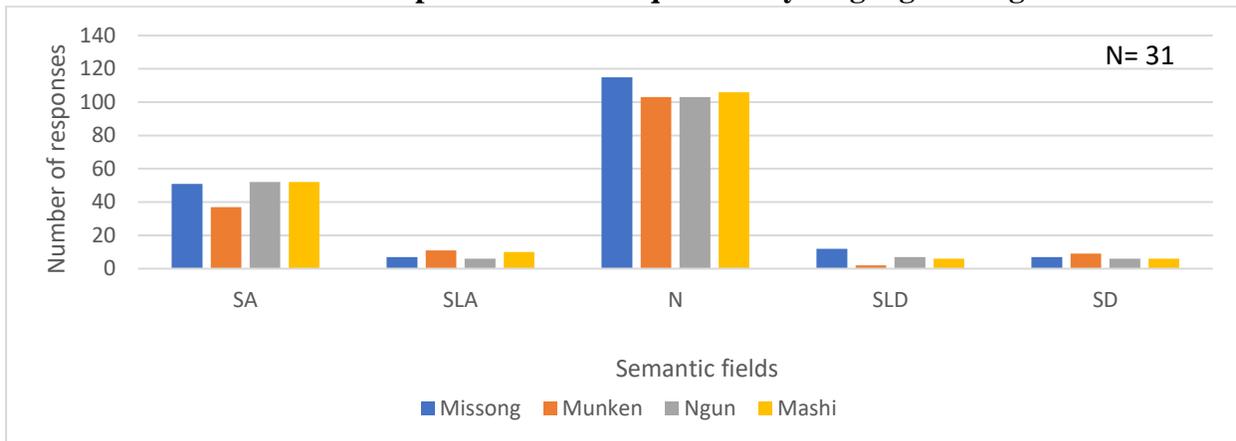


Figure 30. The total number of responses on status qualities by all targeted codes.

Figure 30 depicts the number of responses advanced on questions regarding status traits for all the targeted codes. The scores are heavily represented in the neutral semantic field, largely ahead of the SA field. This means that status-associated questions, regardless of the targeted language or village, are likely to call up a neutral response or the SA semantic field to a much lesser extent. For example, Missong listeners rate their in-group members along neutral lines (i.e., 115 responses, making 27%) and out-group members almost at the same rate (ranging from 103 to 106 responses, making an average of no more than 25% and less than 24% on the neutral option). By another lead, the SA option attracts higher scores for Mashi, Munken and Missong (52, 52 and 51 responses respectively, making a percentage of 28, and 27 respectively) and lesser score for Munken (with 37 responses, making a percentage of 17) on status-related items.

6.13.6 The effect of each question across test languages/villages

6.13.6.1 Categorical qualities

We compare each question on the MGT across test languages or villages to see which qualities are attributed the most to which speakers of the targeted languages or villages. I begin with the categorical qualities images, namely: being tall, good looking, intelligent, proud, rich and hardworking.

6.13.6.1.1 The status quality of being tall

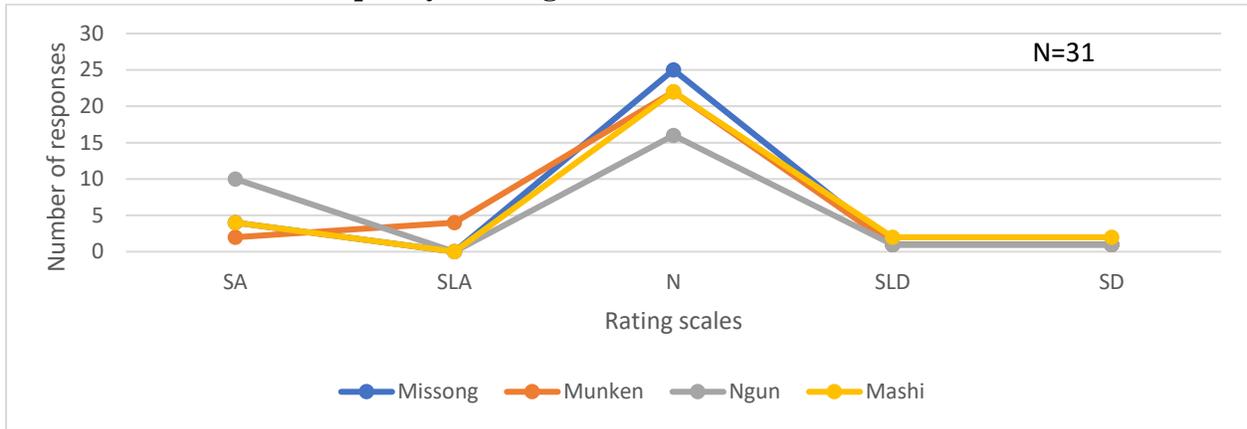


Figure 31. The total number of responses on the quality of being tall by targeted codes.

Figure 31 presents a comparison of the status quality of being tall across the targeted codes. The chart indicates that 72% of the responses fall along the neutral scale, with Missong registering the highest neutral rating and Ngun the lowest. Seen differently, the image of being tall is called up when Ngun is perceived with 50% of the responses registered on the extremely positive option.

Total number of respondents	Where respondents have relationship	Height quality in Semantic field selected
10	Bendine and Asaweh	Tall SA
2	-	SA
16	-	N
2	Awih and Mbu	Short N
1	-	SLD
1	-	SD

Table 18. Responses associated to Ngun on the image of being tall by social relations

In Table 20, individual-based information and collaborative-based information suggest that short people in Ngun are living Awih and Mbu quarters. In addition, tall people are said to be living in Asaweh and Bendine quarters. Further analysis of the responses provided by Missong listeners in

favour of the tallish nature of Ngun members shows that 80% (i.e., 8 out of 10) of the respondents who suggest that there are tall people in Ngun have close connections with family members or friends who are physically tall in Bendine and Asaweh quarters. By contrast, the remaining 18 respondents suggest that Ngun people are predominantly judged on the height quality from a neutral position and less from a negative point of view. Moreover, 16 out of the 18 (89%) respondents who have no relatives in Ngun judge the height of Ngun guise neutrally or unfavourably.

6.13.6.1.2 The status quality of being good looking

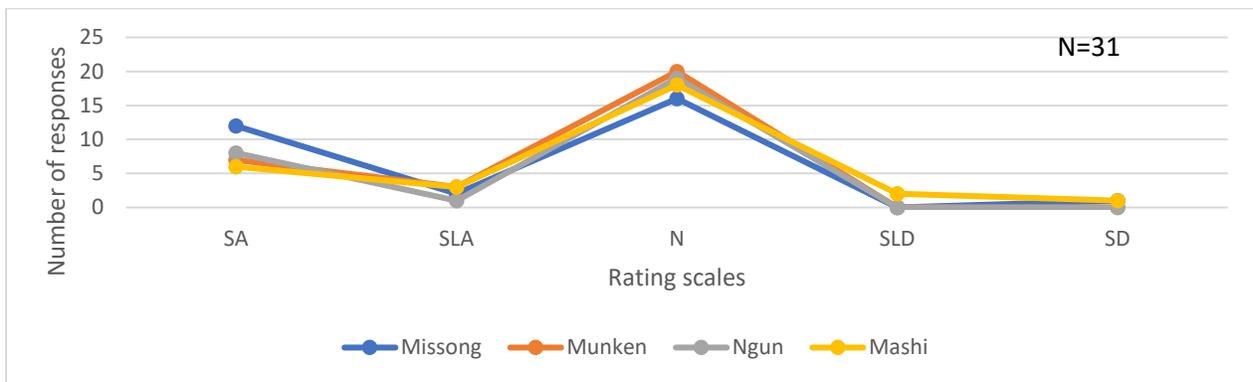


Figure 32. The total number of responses on the quality of being good looking by all targeted codes.

Figure 32 illustrates how Missong respondents react to the status question concerning good looks. The physical quality of being good looking seems to follow the same pattern as the quality of being tall. Only this time, in-group members turn to evaluate themselves most favourably than out-group members on good looks than being tall. The image of being good looking is called up whenever Missong is perceived, as indicated in 37% of responses noted in the SA field, and Ngun follows with 24% of responses. Further discussions surrounding the question of beauty suggests that beauty goes beyond the physical. Extreme positive judgements are further influenced by inner beauty (personality and character). This said Mashii seem to be the least favoured in this regard, with 18% followed by Munken (21%) of responses in the strongly agree category. In general, the majority of responses are directed towards the neutral semantic field.

6.13.6.1.3 The status quality of being intelligent

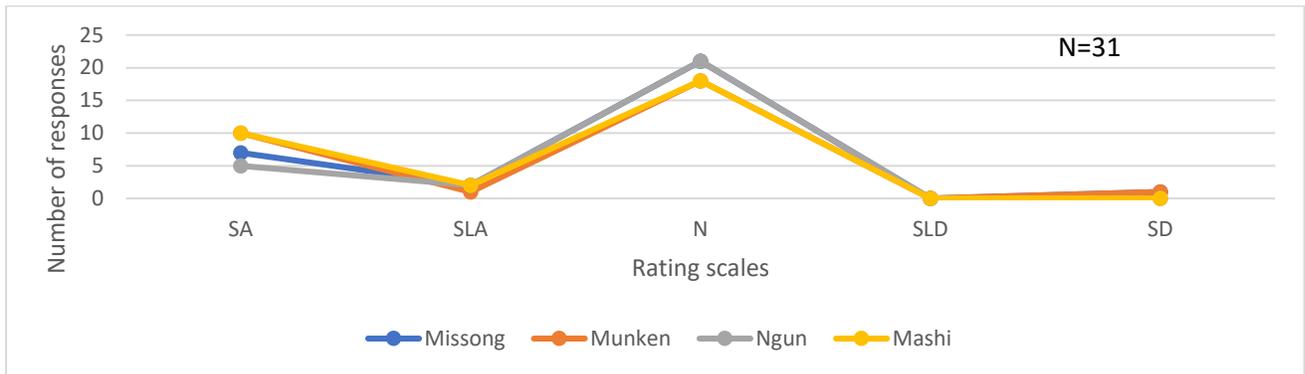


Figure 33. The total number of responses on the quality of being intelligent by all targeted codes.

Figure 33 depicts the total number of responses registered on the quality of being intelligent by all targeted codes. It thus reveals a consistent neutral judgement for all codes, especially for Ngun. From another perspective, the least judged code, i.e., Mashi and Munken thus far, suddenly receives the most favourable responses on the SA option (31% respectively) on this trait and Ngun (16%), and Missong (20%) are downgraded on this quality. This finding corroborates attitude judgment gathered using the questionnaire. Ngun village seems not to be the preferred destination for marriage by the respondents because they are found to be geographically weak, distant, and less schooled. Attributing the quality of being intelligent to Mashi rather adheres to socioeconomic beliefs: staying away from the Abar central market, which is closer to the Yemgeh to trade, is considered intelligent. Buyers and sellers that come to trade in Yemgeh are not limited to upper Fungom and LF members, but also upwards into more developed villages like Wum, Isu and lower Bafut. Nevertheless, in-group members downgrade themselves on this quality.

6.13.6.1.4 The status quality of being proud

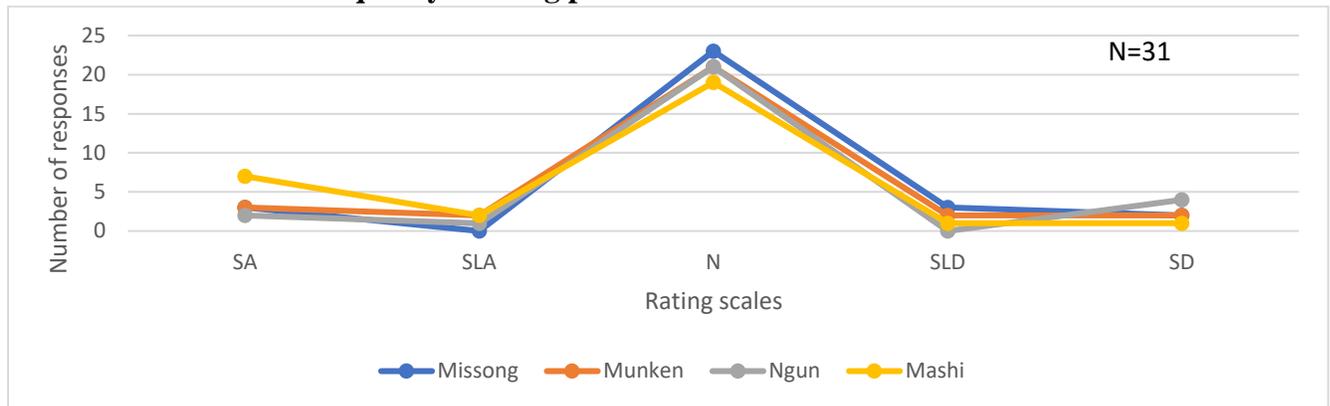


Figure 34. The total number of responses on the quality of being proud by targeted codes.

When overall ratings were analyzed in responses associated with targeted codes to the quality of being proud, some interesting trends emerged in Figure 34. While we continue to notice somewhat harmonious results on the already analyzed status-related traits, i.e., neutral responses are associated with all languages/villages on the quality of being proud, Mashhi stands out to be the most upgraded code on negative traits. 40% of the total responses on the trait of being proud is called up when Mashhi is perceived. In contrast, not more than 20% each on the image of being proud is associated with the remaining languages/ villages. Conversely, Ngun remains to be the most downgraded on this quality (13%). In other words, Ngun is considered to be humble. Although the quality of being proud is undoubtedly ambiguous, additional data suggest that the question was understood from a negative standpoint (pride in who one is and not in what one does). Social isolation, linguistic isolation, and refusal to make peace due to land conflicts is expressed by respondents outside the MGT, hence, a hint for the negative judgements of Mashhi.

6.13.6.1.5 The status quality of being rich

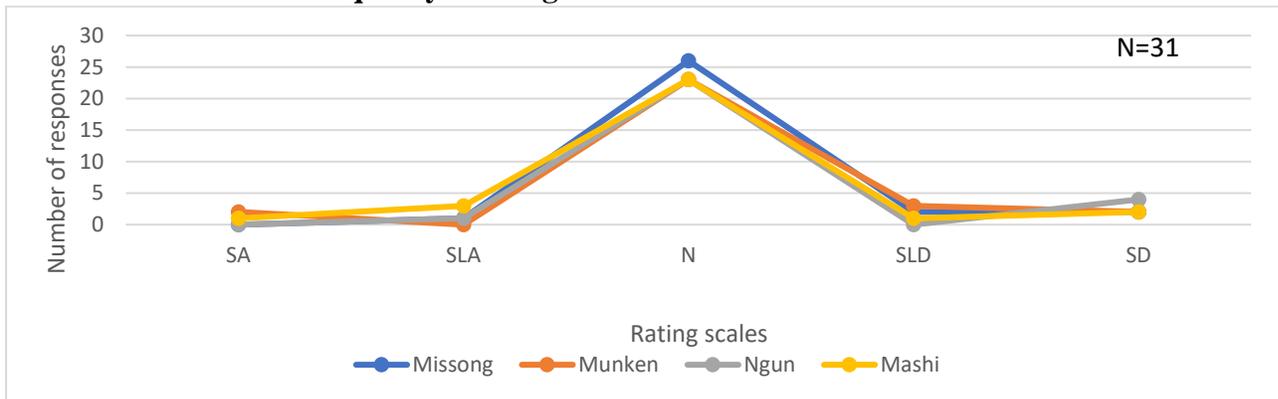


Figure 35. The total number of responses on the quality of being rich by targeted codes.

This chart explains the judgements made by Missong listeners towards the status quality of being rich. Out of all the status or categorical qualities presented above, being rich seems to be the quality that is evaluated negatively to some considerable extent. Moreover, Ngun and Missong seem disfavored in this regard the most. No response on the SA option is advanced when the image of being rich is called up whenever Missong and Ngun are perceived. By contrast 1 and 2 responses is given for Mash and Munken respectively on the image of being rich. Also, we observe that the responses advanced in the SA field so far has lessened (only 3 responses, making 2%), and the neutral semantic field has experienced a steady increase (95 responses, making 98%). This means that attitudes towards the quality of being rich are predominantly neutral. However, Ngun and Missong are highly downgraded on the image of being rich. This maybe is accounted for by the lack of modern constructions in those areas and less schooling (see section 6.14.6.1.3 on the image of being intelligent). Munken especially is noted for zinc houses and relatively more people migrating to the cities for better opportunities. Generally, the LF people lack occupational diversity, goods of ostentation and other basic facilities like health care, potable water and electricity. Their perception of township life contrasted to their way of life possibly influences their attitudes towards the quality of being rich.

6.13.6.1.6 The status quality of being hardworking

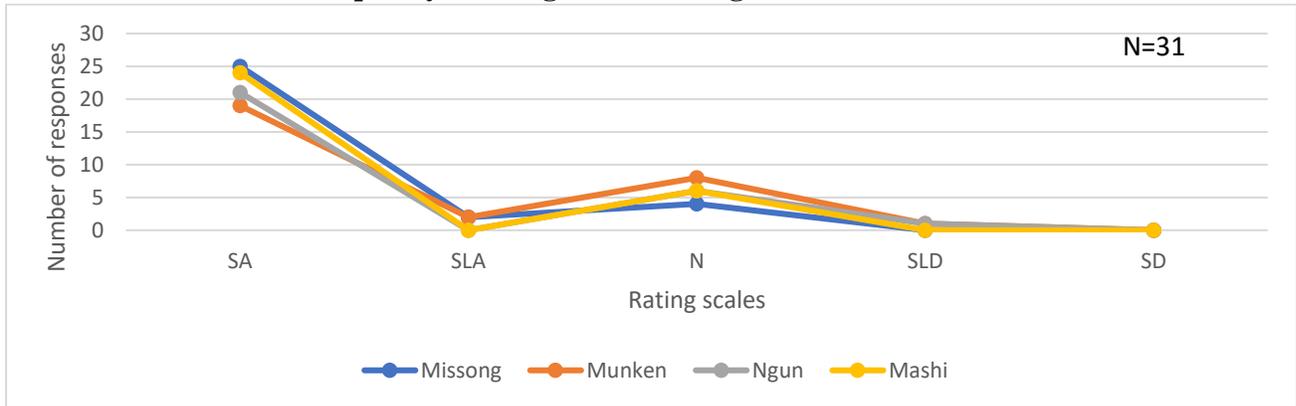


Figure 36. The total number of responses on the quality of being hardworking by targeted codes.

Figure 36 illustrates the total number of responses collected from Missong people on the quality of being hardworking towards the above-mentioned targeted varieties. Unlike all the other 5 status-related qualities presented above, the trend suggested as per the responses in the hardworking quality seem quite distinct. While the neutral rating option is most sought in all other traits, we witness a sharp drop with only 6% of the N overall responses selected, and a sharp increase (94%) in the SA semantic field is noticeable. The image of being hardworking is associated with Missong the most (28%), followed by Mashi (27%) and Ngun (24%). Munken is downgraded the most on this image (21%). The line chart also suggests that no single code is strongly downgraded on the quality of being hardworking. Clearly, the respondents are most strongly positive when it comes to the trait of being hardworking.

6.13.6.2 Relational qualities

We now explore the language attitudes towards the relational qualities, such as the image of being friendly, helpful, protective, trustworthy, selfish, wicked and being hypocritical. Finally, I compare each question on the MGT across targeted codes to see which qualities are attributed the most to which speakers of the targeted codes.

6.13.6.2.1 The relational quality of being friendly

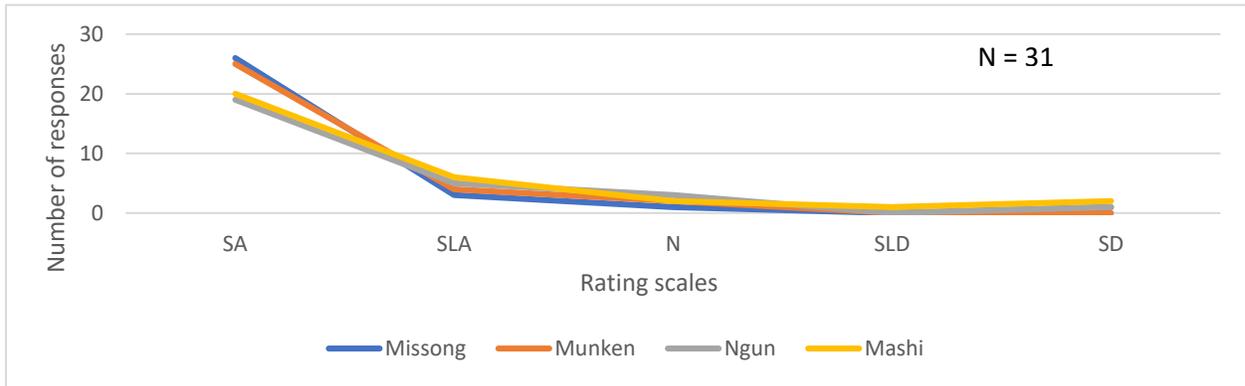


Figure 37. The total number of responses on the quality of being friendly by targeted codes.

Figure 37 shows the number of responses advanced by Missong listeners when posed the question about the relational quality of being friendly. We can see that the image of being friendly is called up whenever Missong is perceived the most in the SA field (29%), seconded by Munken (28%) and then Mash (22%). However, the image of being friendly is associated the least when Ngun is perceived (21%) on the SA option. There could be several reasons for this tendency. Mash is geographically close to Missong. Hence, making more friends may be more practical than for Ngun, farther away (see section 5.4 to 5.6). Another reason for the upgrade of Mash upgrading over Ngun on the quality of being friendly may be explained due to the MGT test principle. Results become invalid when respondents fail the test recognition item. Therefore, listeners failed to identify the Ngun targeted guise the most.

As such, responses advanced for all the items across relational qualities were not considered. Supposed that they were eligible to take the test for evaluational reactions towards the Ngun variety, there could be a possibility that Ngun is rated more than Mash. Nevertheless, the options that could eventually be selected by the 3 respondents who failed to identify the targeted variety correctly cannot be ascertained. However, when we look at the extreme negative option, we realize that Mash is the most disfavored (2 responses, making 50%), followed by Ngun and Missong (25% each) in the SD semantic field. No negative response is associated with Munken in the SD friend on the image of being friendly. Though Missong people have very positive attitudes towards themselves in terms of being friendly, a respondent strongly disagrees with this quality associated with Missong people. On the other hand, there are generally positive attitudes towards the targeted

villages on the quality of being friendly. In a further analysis, I sampled the individual case of the listener who evaluated her in-group target negatively and realized that although she resides in the Abiami quarter of Missong village, she is not original to the village. Furthermore, Missong does not make up one of the linguistic associations mediated by friendship in terms of friendship. Therefore, it appears that the image of being friendly is highly downgraded when this particular case perceives Missong may be associated with the unavailable friendship networks when Missong is involved.

Indeed, the ethnographic data of listeners presented in Table 16 indicates that the respondents have a good number of friends in the targeted areas. However, some areas register a lower representation of friends when compared to others. For example, Munken marks the most friends respondents have (43%) next by Missong (41%), then Mashi (21%) and finally Ngun (12%). The results above suggest that Missong respondents make the most friends in Munken and 2% less in their own area. This only corroborates the findings on Munken, wherein no respondent downgrades this targeted village on the trait of being friendly.

6.13.6.2.2 The relational quality of being helpful

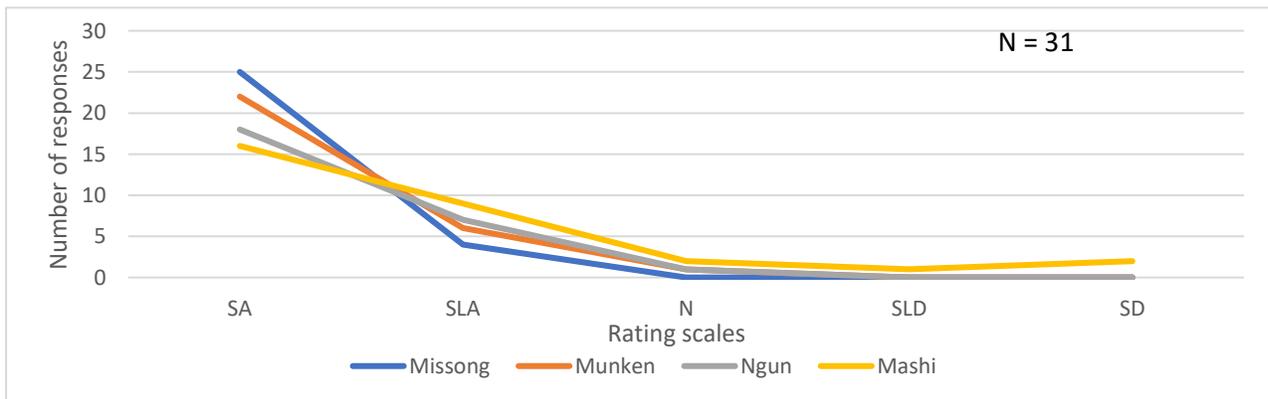


Figure 38. The total number of responses on the quality of being helpful by targeted codes.

Figure 38 illustrates the number of answers listeners of Missong attribute towards the relational behaviour of being helpful towards themselves and others. We see from the graph that the image of being helpful is called up when respondents perceive Missong (31%) more as noted in the SA field than when Mashi (20%) is perceived on the SA option. Ngun (26%) followed by Munken

(23%) take the second and third positions in terms of Missong respondent’s evaluation towards the quality of being helpful as registered in the SA option. We equally notice that for each code, the results advanced by the respondents show a sharp decrease from SA to SLA semantic field. This suggests that their attitudes towards the targeted varieties are asserted with certainty. We see, for example, that overall responses on the SA option are at 71%, and SLA at 23%, N at 3%, SLD at 2% and SD at 1%. Mashi seems to be the only language/village that receives extreme negative unfavourable traits in the latter results. This finding then contrasts the previous diagram, whereby Ngun people are less friendly but more helpful than Mashi people. Missong people generally agree that they are more helpful than friendly. Munken people who are found to 100% friendly are not completely helpful.

It is believed that the oral accounts and present work-life may condition the evaluational reactions of Missong members. Missong’s oral history shows that they provided shelter for the Mashi people and some exiled members of Munken. In addition, the communal lifestyle of the LF people extends right to work activities. During some of my trips to Ngun, Mashi and Missong, I encountered a group of youths, and adults, mostly males who were retiring back to their homes or leaving to distant farms to work. They usually ranged from 10 to 20 who targeted the farmlands of one another to facilitate work. It could be the case that the locals are offering help, understanding providing shelter and working in teams, which is why Missong followed by Ngun is upgraded on the quality of being helpful. By contrast, the absence of such past significant “help” is absent in the Mashi and Munken histories and their constant conflict with Missong, which may shape the assessment of the image of being helpful.

6.13.6.2.3 The relational quality of being protective

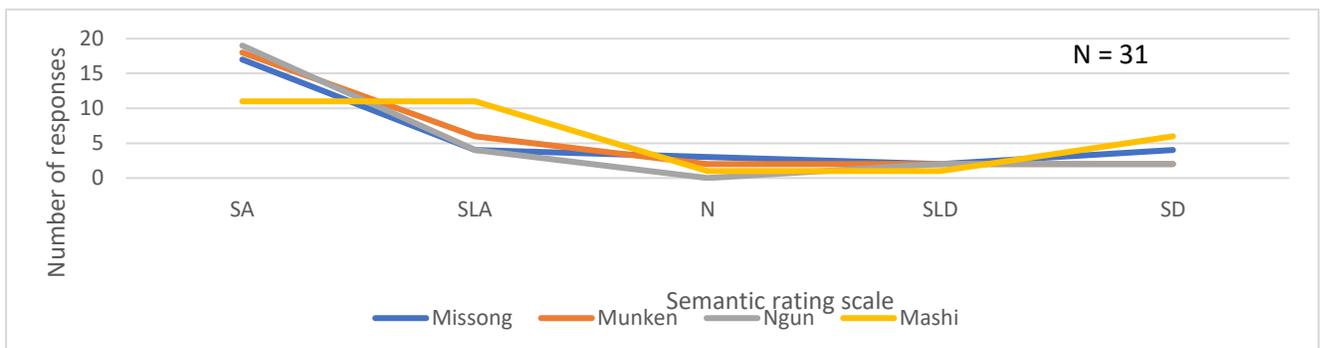


Figure 39. The total number of responses on the quality of being protective by targeted codes.

When the respondents were asked to rate the quality of being protective as per targeted codes in Figure 39, the results were nearly consistent for Missong, Munken, Mashii when compared to the quality of being helpful and friendly. However, Ngun portrayed not so similar patterns. Ngun turns to be most favoured (29%) on the quality of being protective and Mashii the most unfavourable (17%) as registered in the SA option. Missong tended to upgrade themselves (26%) slightly lower than Ngun (29%) on this quality.

Further data gathered from individual and collective based information attest that perhaps the reason for associating being protective to Ngun most comes from historical accounts. Missong people and other LF people all agree to the successful ring fights organized in the past using sticks. Therefore, one would assume that winning such fights indirectly causes Ngun people to be seen as offering some protection from outsiders. Missong, however, consider themselves to be more friendly and helpful than being protective. The general tendency is that Missong people generally feel more unsure about being protective than being helpful and friendly. Their history portraying Missong as recent settlers in the LF region and entering the Missong area in distinctive family groups might have triggered the lesser responses on the image of being protective.

6.13.6.2.4 The relational quality of being trustworthy

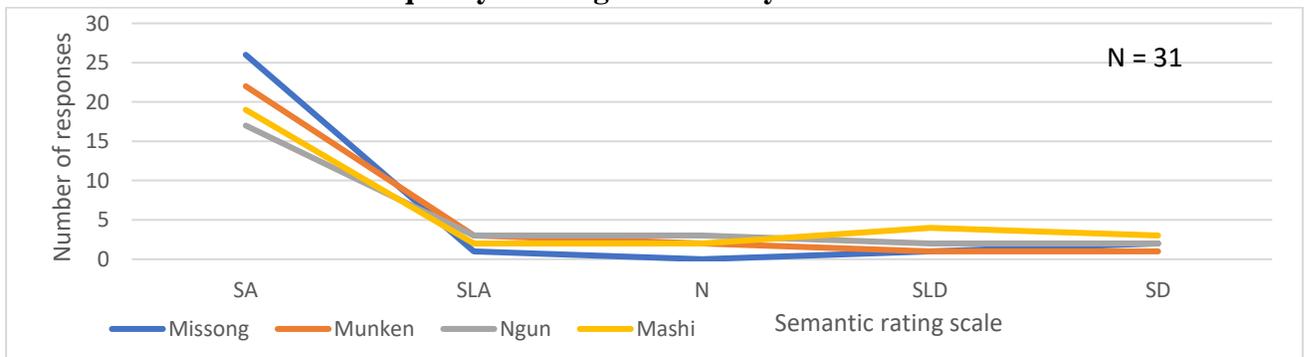


Figure 40. The total number of responses on the quality of being trustworthy by codes.

In Figure 40, I present the number of responses to the language attitude question about the relational quality of trustworthiness across the targeted codes. From the SA option, the data suggest

that the least favoured code on the quality of being trustworthy is Ngun (20%), and the most favoured code is Missong (31%). This means that in-group members evaluate themselves on this trait extremely positively. Then, response ratings on the extreme positive option scale show that Munken (26%) closely follows and then Mashi (23%). However, if we consider the SD option, we see that Mashi turns out to be downgraded on the trait of being trustworthy (38%). One possible reason that explains the image of being trustworthy associated with Missong and Munken more is the perceived number of friends the respondents have in these villages. Friendship must certainly be connected to trust. As such, the more friends one has, the more positive images linked with friendship and trust. By contrast, Ngun and Mashi have fewer friends that account for their downgrade on the image of being trustworthy. Thus, the degree of geographical proximity and linguistic similarity may be considered unitary factors when we reflect upon the language attitudes towards Munken.

6.13.6.2.5 The relational quality of being selfish

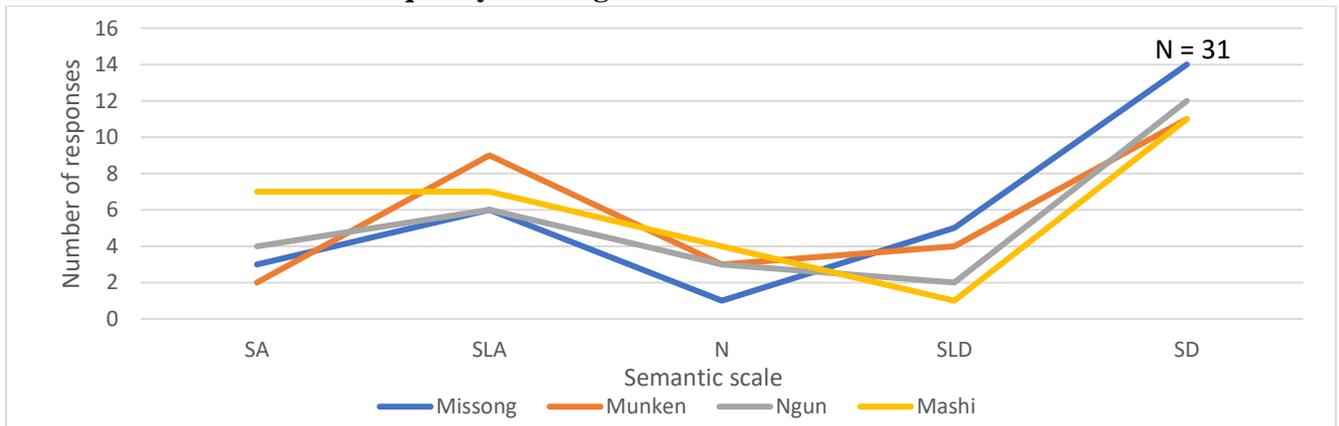


Figure 41. The total number of responses on the quality of being selfish by targeted codes

Figure 41 represents the answers consultants of Missong attribute to the targeted codes of the relational image of being selfish. Unlike the other relational qualities treated so far, the negative quality of being selfish takes a different trend. We notice from the chart that the total responses of semantic ratings are somewhat spread across, especially for the SA and SLA response fields. However, when we consider the SD semantic field, we see that the image of being selfish is less called up when Missong (29%) is perceived, followed by Ngun (25%). Mashi and Munken (23%

each) are upgraded on the image of being selfish the most. Situational influences such as disputes land boundaries and farmlands may shape the evaluations on the trait of being selfish.

6.13.6.2.6 The relational quality of being wicked

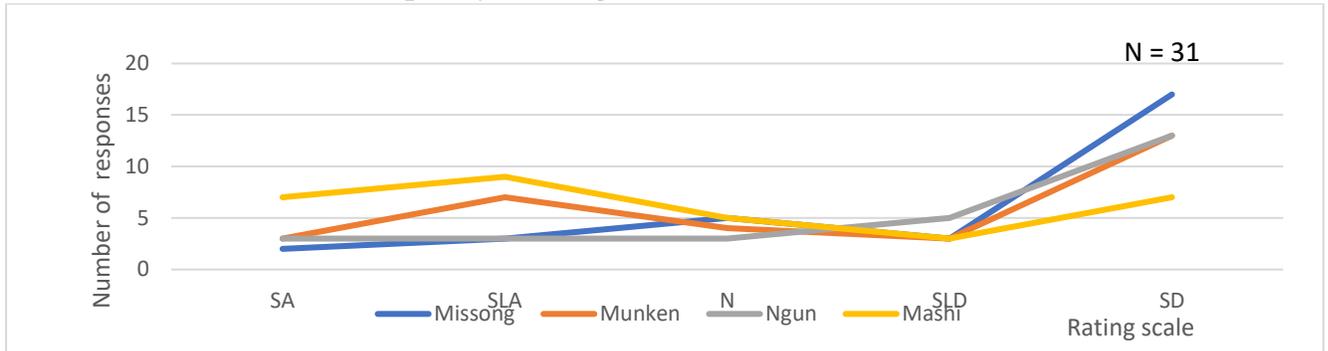


Figure 42. Total number of responses on the quality of being wicked by targeted codes.

Figure 42 gives information about the overall rating of responses towards the languages/villages on the trait of being wicked. Even though the most neutral and negative judgement comes from this trait, Mashhi people are significantly judged to be most wicked (47%), more than Munken (20%), Ngun (20%) and Missong (13%). Suppose the neutral option signifies that the respondents are unaware of how to judge this trait compared to the previous relational trait. In that case, we notice that they are certain of the responses they advance for the trait of being selfish than being unkind. The reasons for associating the image of being wicked to Mashhi appear to be explained by past and current events. Mashhi has been known in the past to behead fellow LF members who trespassed on their terrain. In addition, the present land conflict may also influence the responses, listeners, advance on this relational trait.

6.13.6.2.7 The relational quality of being hypocritical

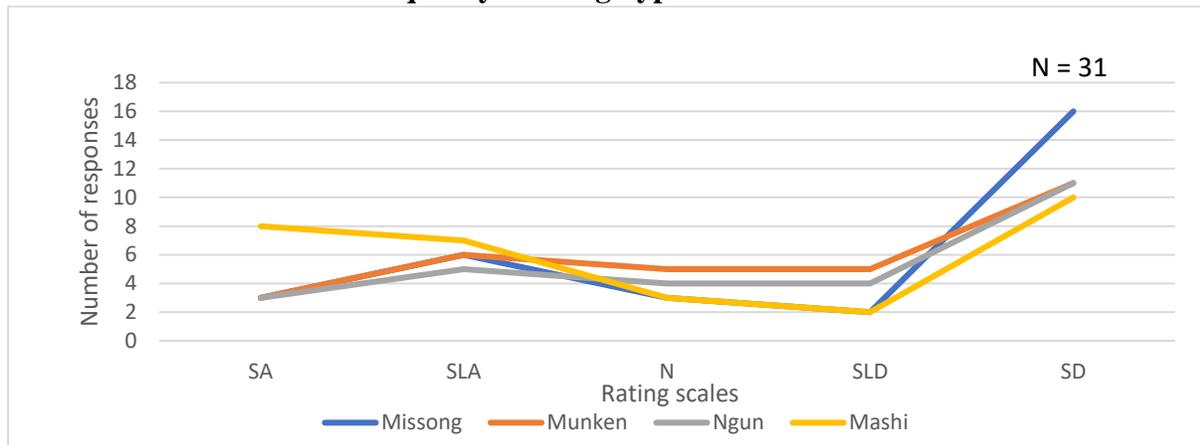


Figure 43. Total number of responses on the quality of being hypocritical by codes.

Figure 43 provides data on the total number of responses associated with the languages/villages on the relational quality of being hypocritical. Similarly, to the trait of being wicked, we notice much more spread-out responses. On the SA scale, we find a unanimous number of responses (18% each) for Missong, Munken and Ngun, except Mashi (46%). Thus, Mashi people are associated with the most negative ratings so far, and the quality of being hypocritical makes no exception. There seems to be a higher image of being hypocritical when compared to the image of being wicked and selfish across all targeted codes. This might not be surprising. Thanks to the ethnographic, sociological and historical data gathered, we know that social relations are a great part of the local ideologies of the people. Therefore, they can only backbite people they are familiar with, interdependent and interact with. Hence, the relational quality of being hypocritical as portrayed in the SLD and SD fields indicate that Missong (29%), Munken (26%), Ngun (25%) and most especially Mashi (20%) are associated with the image of being hypocritical.

Mashi is the only village in LF that is not fully represented in the Abar market. The other 12 villages cover significant portions of space in the market area. Additionally, locals from outside villages such as Isu, Weh, Fungom, Bafmen, and Aku go to trade in Abar. Despite their unavailability on large portions of the market, a few Mashi prefer to stand at the market entrance and sell their groundnuts. Even more interesting is that their presence in the market is highly noticeable but limited to local liquor sheds and mini food joints. They find it more profitable to

sell their products in Yemgeh Market, a market outside LF, which is somewhat further away than the Abar market.

6.14 Summary of findings

6.14.1 The general language attitudes of Missong members

- a) The ease in response: Missong listeners registered relative ease in response for relational items (10.9 minutes for 7 items) more than categorical items (14.2 minutes for 6 items).
- b) The rating scales: there is a higher salience in relational qualities when compared with the categorical qualities. While listeners opt for the neutral option (61%) in responding to the categorical features, they select the indifferent option (9%) for the relational traits.
- c) The language attitudes: Listeners generally hold positive language attitudes (77%) rather than negative language attitudes (23%) on relational traits. As for categorical qualities, they are more evenhanded in their responses (61%) than they are positive (27%) or negative (12%).
- d) Evaluation of traits: in ascending order, the evaluational reactions for positive relational qualities of Missong members are the following: being protective (20%), being helpful (25%), being trustworthy (27%) and being friendly (28%). On the negative relational traits, speakers are thought to be more hypocritical (36%), slightly more selfish (33%), and less wicked (31%). Following the categorical traits, in descending order, listeners associate the image being hardworking (46%), good-looking (19%), being intelligent (17%), being tall (10%), being prideful (8%), and being rich (2%).

6.14.2 The specific language attitudes of Missong members by all targeted codes

- a) Overall, Missong in-group members judge themselves more favourably than they judge their out-group counterparts.

- b) On the positive relational qualities, positive images are called up the most whenever Missong is perceived (30%), narrowly followed by Munken (28%). Mashhi comes in third place (21.5%), and Ngun (20.5%) are the least favoured.
- c) On negative relational qualities, Mashhi out-group members are the most rated (35%), followed widely by Munken (26%), then, Ngun (20%), and finally by Missong (19%). Therefore, while Mashhi people are distinctively upgraded on the negative relational traits, they merely dominate Ngun on positive traits.
- d) On status-related traits, the responses for the SA field indicate that Ngun and Missong (27% each) are the most linked with categorical qualities, followed by Mashhi (24%) and then Munken (22%).

6.14.3 The specific language attitudes of Missong members by targeted traits

Because categorical traits receive mostly neutral responses, I note particular codes that seem to call up relatively striking categorical traits.

- a) The image of being tall resonates most with the listeners whenever they perceive Ngun.
- b) Ngun is highly downgraded on the quality of being rich and intelligent.
- c) On the quality of being proud, Mashhi stands out as the most favoured.
- d) Missong is upgraded the most on the quality of being good-looking.
- e) The quality of being hardworking is the only trait on the status category that received rather extreme positive judgements for all targeted villages, with Missong associated with the image of hard work the most.
- f) For the relational qualities, I note the following responses. Missong, and by a narrow margin, Munken was consistently upgraded on quality of being friendly, trustworthy and helpful.
- g) The image of being protective was called up the most whenever Ngun was produced.
- h) Mashhi is the most downgraded on all positive relational qualities, but for Ngun, who receives the most negative judgment on being trustworthy.

- i) Conversely, Mashi is rated highly on all negative relational traits (selfish, wicked and being hypocritical), closely followed by Munken. By contrast, Missong and Ngun receive the least negative judgements.

6.15 Discussions

The following research questions for this chapter directed the analysis. When multilingual individuals of Missong evaluate the Missong, Munken, Ngun and Mashi codes present in LF, is it because the hearers possess certain stereotypes that denote moral qualities about the speakers of the targeted codes, or is it because their language ideologies involve people indexing themselves based on the codes of others? In other words, do stereotypes shape the language attitudes of Missong people? Furthermore, if they do not, as the ethnographic knowledge accumulated through questionnaires would suggest, what factors are at play in shaping local language attitudes?

6.15.1 Ease in response, semantic scales and language attitudes

The findings in this work differ from previous works that have treated language attitudes. The main contrast here indicates that language attitudes are not formed from stereotypes or social categorizations about linguistic sets (Garett, 2010; Mgbo-Elue, 1989), but deep-rooted local language ideologies, oral histories and sociological features. To explore this assertion further, I begin by analyzing the pattern of responses with respect to the duration in responding to test items and the semantic rating scales. For example, in De Klerk and Bosch's (2005) study on language attitudes towards English, Afrikaans and Xhosa, three main languages of Eastern Cape in SA, they found out that different codes are rated differently along with the social attractiveness and status lines. For instance, they stated that it was easier for more strong positive judgements to be called upon items such as education, honesty, confidence, intelligence and reliability whenever the English language was produced. This finding suggests that the image of superiority associated with English people runs through the listeners' minds when English is spoken.

In this study, thanks to the ethnographic questionnaire and a modified MGT, I introduced two sets of traits: one filled the categorical or specific moral traits and the other, relational traits that involve connecting speakers based on their social relations associated with the language. By so doing, I noted that the listeners found categorical questions much more difficult to respond unlike the relational qualities (see Figure 23). Furthermore, extending into the semantic fields, a great majority of their responses were clustered around the indifferent option (see Figure 25). One understands that the salience of relational items demonstrated through the ease in responses and the neutral answers sought on the semantic rating scales option for categorical traits seem to be largely accounted for by their lived experiences inferred via the ethnographic questionnaire. Categorical items such as being intelligent, good looking, wealthy are not frequently used as a social criterion to evaluate people in the LF community like being friendly, helpful, and selfish—all relational items would.

6.15.2 Language attitudes in Missong and the local ideologies

It is interesting to note that Missong listeners generally hold more positive attitudes than negative attitudes towards one another (see section 6.15.2) despite the unique internal distinctions exposed in connection to oral histories and geographical formations vis-à-vis their counterparts (see section 6.8). Di Carlo (2011) holds that Missong marks a distinctive internal distribution of ‘*Eko*’, the highest secret association distributed among the main quarters in Missong, contrary to the rest of the Mungbam area that generally has one house of ‘*Eko*’ represented in a single quarter. Moreover, an unusual number of ritual spots, assembly places and stone monuments marks a widespread distribution of ritual spots in different families and quarters. According to Di Carlo (2011), the mass representations of exogamous units, as well as multiple ritual spots that are present in the different Missong quarters, seems to be captured by the “the progressive settlement in this site by kin groups coming from disparate places roughly at the same time” (p. 86). The long term of cohabiting in the same Missong space makes them feel a strong sense of belonging to the language they now feel original to and reside in. Ethnographic data and the direct language attitude questionnaire portray this belief.

Moreover, we see the most favourable responses associated with Missong on the image of being friendly, helpful and trustworthy. The ethnographic questionnaire and the follow-up on individual-based data suggest that the Missong people create many friends inside the village spread across the different quarters. Such friendships intrinsically call up other characteristics such as being trustworthy and helpful. In addition, features such as geographical proximity (see next section) also encourage such on-related social affinities.

Nonetheless, the Missong also generally hold positive attitudes towards their counterpart's even though in a slightly lower sense (see section 6.15.2). Here, I discuss the images associated with the other targeted groups following three dimensions: the degree of geographical distance, the degree of linguistic closeness, and the sociological and historical factors.

6.15.2.1 The degree of geographical and linguistic closeness/distance in attitude formation

The data suggest that language attitudes can be explained in at least three ways. First, they emerge within the geographical context where the inhabitants of the LF area speak several codes. Second, they are formed under the influence of sociological and historical knowledge, which includes larger local ideologies present in the cultural experiences of the people. The findings demonstrate that Missong and Munken receive extremely positive evaluations compared to Ngun and Mashi (see section 6.15.2). Two possible explanations lie within these judgements. First is the degree of closeness or distance from the Missong respondents' geographical location. Second, their linguistic proximity and distance to the targeted codes in this study (see Figure 1 and Table 1). The fieldwork experience clearly distinguishes Ngun as the farthest village (i.e., approximately 2 hours on foot) instead of Munken and Mashi (i.e., around 40 minutes on foot) from Missong. One supposes that with this geographical advantage (as closest neighbours) and their welcoming nature, members can create and maintain social networks with the villages they are geographically close to. This is also manifested in movements to social gatherings and a relatively higher number of intermarriages and friends especially noted with the Munken people. After Missong, Munken shares far more social network presence than Ngun and Mashi. The responses elicited from further ethnographic interviews with Missong members on their social networks show that only 2% have

no friends in Missong, followed by 12% in Munken, 38% in Mashi, and 48% in Ngun. The reasons that participants call up the images of being friendly, helpful and trustworthy more with Missong and Munken than Ngun and Mashi appear to be triggered by the degree of geographical closeness. However, if we say that geographical closeness plays a big part in shaping the language attitudes of Missong members, why does Mashi receive more negative judgements than Ngun?

Mashi is comparatively closer to Missong than Ngun; they are distinct languages (see Table 1). Recall that Mashi is the only code that significantly differs from the rest of the targeted codes. If one follows this linguistic index, one may suggest the reason for more negative attitudes towards Mashi—an unrelated code among the Mungbam codes. However, when I gathered ethnographic data on the linguistic competencies of the Missong respondents, I realized that practical competencies might not particularly be telling of the language attitudes that emerge towards Mashi, especially that the development of multilingual repertoires speaks to the representation of oneself among a web of relations (see chapter 5). Inferring from the linguistic profiles of the 31 Missong respondents, we notice that though they all report multilingual competencies in all the targeted codes, their active competencies differ. They report 100% active competence in Missong and 90% in Munken. What was surprising was that the score had higher rates in Mashi than Ngun, a closely related code to Missong. 54% reported active competence in Mashi and 33% in Ngun. This result suggests that the degree of geographical closeness plays a greater role in accounting for language attitudes than linguistic similarity. Therefore, one may assume that the closer the geographical distance and linguistic similarity, the more extreme positive attitudes Missong listeners hold towards the targeted codes. However, the negative images associated with the Mashi code is still unaccounted for.

6.15.2.2 The sociological/ historical insights in language attitude formation

From another look, sociological and historical accounts frame the way language attitudes are constructed in Missong. The images of being selfish, wicked and being hypocritical are called up when Mashi is produced. Thanks to further individual and collaborative data obtained, historical accounts report that the Mashi was indulged in multiple murders. Consultants stated that one could not walk past the Mashi area in the dark for fear that one's head would be ripped off one's neck or

simply be stabbed to death. This revelation coincided with the accounts of other consultants outside Missong area. It would seem that terrorizing the entire area as relatively new settlers in LF (see Di Carlo, 2011) was a strategy to gain autonomy over their area, hence, sending away any trespassers. Further to consolidate their area, we noticed during the fieldtrip that at the entrance of Mashi lies one conspicuous sculpture made of wood tied with a few green plants and red pieces of fabric. When I inquired about the significance of that statue, I was informed by the kingmaker of Mashi and other older consultants that it is meant to protect the entire village against men with evil intentions.

Aside from the killings, they barely interact socially. Mashi is downgraded on the positive qualities of being helpful and protective the most, as well as being friendly. Mashi is the only village in LF that is not fully represented in the Abar market. The other 12 villages cover significant portions of space in the market area. In spite of their unavailability on large portions of the market, a few of them are spotted at the main entrance of the market selling groundnuts. They find it more profitable to sell their products in the Yemgeh market, which is rather further away from the central Abar market and found in upper Fungom. The Mashi also report a lack of multilingual competencies in several languages, including even the Missong code compared to other LF members, blaming it on bad luck. They believe that the ability to speak multiple codes is a God-given gift that they unfortunately lack. Others attribute it to their unwillingness to learn other LF codes because CPE facilitates their communication barriers.

Notwithstanding, wicked and hypocritical images are associated with Munken after Mashi due to situational factors. Land disputes between Munken and Missong people concerning farmland is a possible cause for evaluational reactions. Sparked up tempers over pieces of land between Munken and Missong residents actually caused physical fights. This was witnessed on two occasions during my visit to Missong. This might have played mentally on the respondents as the test was conducted almost at the same time the heated disputes took place. By contrast, the more positive attitudes towards Munken than Ngun and Mashi is linked to their far more numerous social networks with Missong members. Aside from their high linguistic competencies in Munken, historical accounts reveal that certain groups in Missong originally migrated from Munken to Missong. The Bifum and Oyu families in Missong trace their origin to Munken. In fact, 19% of these members share deep ancestry with Munken.

We continue to account for the specific attitudes towards targeted codes by sociological and historical accounts. The Missong listeners upgrade Ngun on the relational quality of being protective and the categorical quality of being tall. Being tall is not conceptualized from a stereotypical perspective, but to the actual physical tallness of Ngun people, especially in Bendine and Asaweh quarters (see Table 20). Historically, I gathered that Ngun people were known to be great at winning ‘stick’ fights. Most of their success was associated with their physical appearance as an advantage during ring fights. Historical accounts also label them as “first comers” in the LF area (Di Carlo, 2011). Hence, making a connection between physical height wins during physical fights and the early presence into the LF area may well connect to the positive attitudes associated with Ngun. The production of Ngun triggers in the minds of the listeners some protection in the sense of physical security. In line with the quality of being rich, intelligent and proud, Ngun is downgraded. It seems to be reasonable to assume that one of the reasons why such evaluations play against Ngun lies in the nature of their terrain, architectural works and demography. They make up one of the smallest groups in the LF area (see Table 1) and occupy land between ranges of hills. In fact, reaching the area was a scary experience for me as I descended a steep and narrow hill with plenty of potholes for approximately 20-minutes from small Abar with the aid of sticks. Housing in the LF area, in general, is commonly made of local construction material. The walls are made from mud bricks, and the roofs from grass weaved and dried. The LF people generally consider these structures as a mark of poverty, such that when few individuals construct in cement blocks and roofs in aluminium, they are indexed, rich. There is no single house constructed with cement or zincked in metal. By contrast, I noticed a few houses with zinc in the Missong, Munken and Mashi areas.

Indeed, the factors above seem to suggest that language attitudes are not necessarily organized around stereotypes like other studies have shown. For example, Lambert et al. (1960) observed that there was a high regard for English when French and English judges held more positive attitudes towards English. This is noted in how English has been depicted—a language of the successful, educated elite, a modern and prestigious code (Garett, 2010), all stemming from ideologies that connect speakers of English or relative acrolects to specific personal moral characteristics. Hence, traits captured in terms of confidence, education, leadership, intelligence, wealth, and competence are categorized to mark speakers of high varieties (De Klerk & Bosch 1995; Dragojevic & Giles, 2014). This sense of appended indexes that contribute to the

development of “categorical” identities through which one may identify oneself (or another person) by membership in a class of persons sharing some categorical attribute (such as race, ethnicity, language, sexual orientation) continues to be emphasized in Western contexts. I argue that using additional tools like the ethnographic questionnaire and an adapted MGT to fit the LF small-scale multilingual context—enables, rather, attitudinal evaluations along geographically close or distant, or linguistically similar or different or sociological and historical accounts dimensions. Moreover, the language ideologies inferred via the ethnographic approach promote non-stereotypic judgments but attitudes shaped by the day-to-day lives of the Missong people.

6.16 Conclusion

In this chapter, I wanted to account for the language attitudes of Missong members while demonstrating that language attitudes are not formed from stereotypes. First, I considered the existing theories like ethnocentrism, social distinctiveness that described language attitudes in sociolinguistic environments, but this could not be adequately implemented in this study because of the equal linguistic status these local codes share. Furthermore, these theories could not take into account the social meanings that condition the local language attitudes of the Missong members in LF. My concerns centred on the importance of framing the MGT- a tool that was developed in a purely non-rural and essentialist context in a way that fits the realities of the area under study. In addition, the conceptualization of what constitutes a language in terms of the chiefdom, people, and land requires the kinds of variables to be prioritized.

With regard to the adaptation of the research tool, special attention was paid to the test items, the number of languages under study, the conditions and the procedure of questioning. In another vein, the variables such as provenance vs residence, languages vs lects, compounds and quarters tapped from a fine-grained ethnographic questionnaire as a relevant ancillary tool allowed for us to introduce three dimensions to interpreting language attitudes. These included the degree of geographical/linguistic closeness and distance and sociological and historical dimensions.

To demonstrate the absence of stereotypes, I tried to identify the traits that may be considered significant in social terms and contrast them with those largely used in the literature. This meant

the introduction of categorical traits on the one hand—and relational traits on the other, rather than social attractive traits, which is maybe understood as impressions that capture speaker “likability” in terms of warmth, entertainment, humour, which are features generally admired or liked. The relational qualities accentuate the ability to possess a quality that shows familiarity, interdependence and interaction towards someone. In this way, the language attitudes coincided with relational identities inferred from the LF codes. As such, any responses were given to questions on categorical qualities that were, for the most part, neutral, perhaps had a more ethnographic connotation. Therefore, when respondents called up images of friendship and trustworthiness, for instance, they might very well be friends with members of the targeted codes, who possibly lived in close geographical proximity with one another. In another case, when the image of hard work is associated with codes in LF, it was not in a way linked to the categorical identities that reflected the representations of an “essence”, associated with a group of people assumed or stereotyped as having prestige as with the case of English speakers, but based on the way of life—revealed through physical labour on the farm.

In effect, the inclusion of methods, i.e., oral histories, ethnography, direct attitude questionnaire other than the MGT, has further supported the idea that is associating, say, the image of being tall and protective to Ngun has a direct relation with physically tall people, warriors who were known to win ring fights, and early comers in the LF area. Therefore, one can assume that they could be viewed as people who could provide some kind of protection from outsiders. Moreover, associating the image of being selfish and wicked to Mashu and Munken connects to specific situational circumstances such as land conflicts. Moreover, the generally positive attitudes that Missong members hold towards the targeted codes may be connected to the multiple social networks associated with the linguistic codes their members are a part of. Indeed, the language ideologies inferred from the targeted codes do not align with ideologies of hierarchy and prestige but with positional identities within a web of social affinities.

Thanks to these multiple approaches to uncovering language attitudes in Missong, I have been able to account for social-psychological evaluations of attitudes towards speakers free from stereotypes. This chapter, therefore, suggests a methodological contribution to the study of language attitudes. While I attempted to explore the understudied language ideologies to examine the dynamics of individual multilingualism in the previous chapter (see chapter 5) and language attitudes in the

present chapter, I investigate the extent of the language ideologies on multilingual practices during market interactions in the next chapter.

7. CHAPTER SEVEN: SPEECH DATA: THE MARKET CONTEXT

7.1 Introduction

We learnt in the sixth chapter of this work that language attitudes are affective constructs emerging in linguistic behaviours that are not necessarily informed by stereotypes like other studies suggested (Garett, 2010, p.32; Obiols, 2002; Stell & Dragojevic, 2017), but it can largely be accounted for through ethnographic insights that highlight the way of life and multilingual behaviours of the people. To further highlight the importance of language ideologies, I move from data obtained through self-reports to natural data gathered through sociolinguistic language documentation. Research on language use today hardly focuses on the market domain (especially in transactions), and even when studied, sociological markers that are emphasized in determining code choice leans towards status, age and gender configurations (Kennetz & Carroll, 2018; Labov, 1963; Platt, 1985; Sebonde, 2012; Yakub et al., 2012). Given the bias in approaching language use from such a restricted number of variables, uncovering language ideologies from such a dimension hardly ever becomes visible. Sommer and Vierke (2011) remind researchers of the importance of paying attention to cultural contexts in Africa as well as specific speech events for better understanding and interpretation of sociopragmatic behaviours. In conjunction with the observed language use, sociolinguistic documentation, and ethnographic data gathered in the Abar market, in LF, this chapter answers the following question: What are the patterns of language use in the market, and what do these patterns tell us concerning the language ideologies of the LF people? In other words, do they confirm what I have reconstructed so far? Or do they add new insights and open new avenues?

In the following sections, I first provide an overview of the discourse surrounding language use and establish the reason for carrying out the study. Next, follow insights into the concepts and theories used in previous research while establishing their limits. In addition, I contextualize the present study by describing the market. Further, I discuss the method and methodology and report the findings qualitatively and quantitatively, with the latter anchoring heavily on biographical, linguistic and ethnographic data. Finally, I provide a discussion and conclusion on the chapter.

7.2 Language use

Language use is defined as the language preferences individuals tend to make when expressing a particular kind of content or/and to interact with particular groups of people (Fishman, 1972, p. 67). It has been much talked about as a relevant conceptual tool for discussing a wide array of language-related phenomena like language learning (Ennaji, 2005), language attitudes (Stell & Dragojevic, 2017; Garrett, 2010; McKenzie, 2010) and linguistic landscapes (Epele, 2011). Fishman (1985) observed that language choice is never haphazardly selected as a code of interaction in multilingual communities with multilingual individuals, for there is an underlying reason. Existing literature shows that role relationship (Dyers, 2008), the topic of discussion (Kennetz & Carroll, 2018), commodity during trade (Connell, 2009), age (Altinkamiş & Ağirdağ, 2014; Bema, 2010), social status and ethnicity (Platt, 1985) are all motivations for particular codes being used (see section 7.3.6 for details). Moreover, most studies devoted to language use have been described following diglossic or triglossic patterns (Sibayan, 1971; Yakub et al., 2012). While “high” languages are expected to be used in formal settings such as schools, administration and media, “low” languages are found to be spoken in informal settings like the home and public spaces like the streets and markets. More importantly, Auer (1999) points out that it is not always the case that what people do in actual communicative practices can be interpreted only in terms of society-wide ideologies (p. 311). There are also instances in which language choice depends on specific discourse situation features (especially the actual sequences of the interaction) rather than on the place that a certain language occupies in the person’s ideology. As I shall show in this chapter, discourse-related meaning equally occupies a place in this work.

However, less attention has been devoted to understanding how language ideologies influence language use and language choice in the African market except for a few studies (see Connell, 2009). This may not be surprising, given that the market setting is assumed as a place where multilingual practices are expected to be relatively uniform as to their economic motivations (Adeniyi & Bello, 2014; Calvet, 1994, Chia, 1992; 1994; Laitin & Eastman, 1989). Calvet (1994) identifies the marketplace as a space where communication challenges may emerge due to the contact of people with varied linguistic backgrounds. However, the various strategies multilingual individuals use to cope in such a diverse space include monolingual practices, code-mixing and switching. In addition, such practices are generally limited to using a few major languages and

pidgins (Adeniyi & Bello, 2014, on Yoruba; Bema, 2010, on Francanglais; Calvet, 1994; Latin & Eastman, 1989, on Swahili and Bambara).

This chapter shows that language use data obtained through a novel sociolinguistic language documentation approach (see section 7.7.1) (Childs et al., 2014) will provide further insights into how the ideologies emerge in people's actual use.

7.3 Concepts in language use

7.3.1 Defining language use

Wherever and whenever people come into contact, social interactions are bound to occur. As such, I simply define language use as spoken language choices speakers make in interaction. The study of language use has attracted considerable attention as a social concept, with researchers seeking to explore the underlying domains and motivations for language use (Fishman, 1972). Since language use and related concepts like code-switching and mixing are vast topics in themselves, I will not delve into the complexities of these concepts and how scholars have used them. I, however, cite a few works recalling only the main facts about these concepts.

Yakub et al. (2012) understand language use in terms of maintenance, whereby “members of a speech community try to keep a language the way it has always been used...” (p. 99). Stell & Dragojevic (2017) study language use in terms of the frequency in which (a) certain language(s) is/are used. For instance, they calculate the percentages per number of words young school children use in a classroom in each of the six targeted ethnolinguistic groups during intra- and intergroup interactions. This clearly suggests that studying patterns of use depend on empirical data on how regular a language appears in an interaction. In this study, language use can be understood as the language choices language users make in a given verbal encounter.

7.3.2 Code-switching (CS)

Code-switching (CS) emerges as one of the elements in research on bilingualism and language contact that captures a speaker's language use patterns. Recognizing the usefulness of CS as one that serves stylistic and pragmatic functions (Auer, 1998), multiple descriptions have characterized this term that can be summarised at two levels. Firstly, CS may be understood with reference to a specific function. Secondly, CS can be seen as a cover term for related phenomena.

Early researches considered the use of the term as switching between languages (Haugen, 1950a). CS is further elaborated in Auer's (1998) definition as the "alternating use of two or more 'codes' within one conversational episode" (Auer, 1998, p. 1). Gumperz (1982) proposes that CS is the *mélange* within the same speech exchange of passages belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems (p. 59). Most commonly, the juxtaposition takes the form of two subsequent sentences. In this regard, CS is called "inter-sentential CS".

Several other definitions on CS rather subsume other associated meanings beginning with Myers-Scotton's definition of CS. She suggests that CS should be considered along the lines of a continuum involving code-mixing. Hence, CS refers to "the use of two or more languages in the same conversation, usually within the same conversational turn, or even the same sentence of that turn" (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, p. 47). The latter part of the statement draws an allusion to the intrasentential position of the switch. Poplack (1980) emphasizes CS as the alternation between two languages, where one language is the matrix or dominant language and elements of the embedded language are inserted into the main language. Haughen (1950) supports this apparent asymmetrical relationship between two or more languages when he describes CS as a switch that is noticed when an inserted word is entirely different from that of the language being used at that moment by the interactants in a conversation (p. 40).

From an ethnographic point of view, Stroud (1998) recommends that CS should not be generalized in terms of stereotype associations of particular languages such that when switches occur, the social meanings associated with the switches are based on a stereotyped set of social categories (p. 322). The social and cultural context is essentially fundamental to the understanding of CS. Stroud studies CS between Tok Pisin and Taiap in a speech event known as Kros in Papua New Guinea. The social meaning associated with CS in the Kros by members of Gapun village infers greatly to

the sociocultural ideologies of the language. The language Tok Pisin that is generally linked to maleness, is used by a female with Taiap in the Kros. With both languages used in the conversational context and the Gapuner's setting as a whole comes multiple layers of social meanings as there are no single, simple meanings in the discourse of Grapuners. Switching into the Kros carries multiple layers of indexical meaning, ranging from its ambiguity to its vagueness of meanings and the construction of gender relationships.

7.3.3 Code mixing (CM)

Wardhaugh (2006) has viewed the act of CS and code-mixing (CM) as concepts that are in complementary distribution. However, Khullar (2018) maintains that there is a difference in both terminologies. CM is intra-sentential mixing, where a combination of words, phrases or even clauses from two codes within a single sentence exist. CM is mostly carried out to fulfil certain linguistic requirements, such as limiting communication barriers. The interactants linguistic expertise determines the CM choice. Li (1996) identifies some reasons why people CM in a domain like business and technology. Technical terms are widely present in English, and even so, his Chinese-speaking consultants learned these technical words first in a foreign language. He also suggested that CM between English and Chinese was realized as a strategy of neutrality, so much so that one language does not totally appear to dominate (Li, 1996, p. 106).

7.3.4 Language choice (LC)

The term language choice is handled in the literature on language use as a related concept. In fact, an exploration of individual motivations for language choice in different domains has been dealt with by investigating the patterns of language use (Coulmas, 2005). In simple terms, language choice signifies preferences that language users make of when to use what language. Indeed, choosing between several linguistic codes can objectively be achieved when users have more than one code in their repertoires. Language choice and use do not exist in a vacuum, but LC is often linked to domains in a sociolinguistic context. Fasold (1984:183) considers domains as social

contexts described in terms of who the speaker is when an interaction takes place, where it takes place, what the interaction is about and to whom the interaction is directed.

7.3.5 Diverse studies on language use

7.3.5.1 How language use patterns with domains of use

In this section, I review some language use research carried out in differing settings and domains of use. Yakub et al. (2012) examined how Kinubi, a minority language spoken in Kenya, is able to maintain relative ethnolinguistic vitality despite its enormous challenge registered when major languages coexist. Their focus centres on language use in the three home settings with thirty members. They further expose that the strong political recognition of English as a foreign language in informal sectors, together with Kiswahili, a national language and other larger ethnic languages, hinders Kinubi's ethnolinguistic vitality. With interviews and observations as well as an ethnographic analytical approach, it is revealed that Kinubi is a vital language of the home. Essentially, Kinubi holds up as the anchor language in the home domain. Yakub et al. (2012) hold that the language spoken at home is an indicator of ethnolinguistic vitality.

Stell and Dragojevic (2017) move away from the home to the school domain to explore language use using the communication accommodation theory. Their interest centred on analyzing how and why some six ethnolinguistic groups in Windhoek, Namibia adjust their language use. A friend of a friend method amounted to a selection of twenty-four students, who were paired in groups of four, and video-recorded for 60 minutes, engaging in intragroup interactions and intergroup discussions in a classroom. In the latter case, participants were randomly chosen amongst already selected members for the intragroup interactions. The six targeted ethnolinguistic groups, informed by historical and recent sociocultural developments, were categorized into Giles et al.'s (1977) dimensions of ethnolinguistic vitality as follows: Owambos (high vitality), Coloureds and Whites (medium vitality) and Hereros, Damaras, Namas (low vitality).

Regarding multilingual community evaluations, the low vitality group members generally register above three languages used in their areas, unlike high and medium vitality groups that resort to two languages. Stell and Dragojevic (2017) found that each group heavily used their ethnic

languages during intragroup discussions, with minimal CS, with the whites significantly indicating this tendency. High social status and purist traditions encourage such monolingual patterns. For intergroup interactions, they observed that groups with equal vitality converged to a neutral language when interlocutors shared no linguistic competence in each other's heritage language. When groups with unequal vitality interacted, the pattern was convergence and maintenance, i.e., lower vitality groups moved upwards to adjust their communicative behaviours similar to groups with higher vitality. Hence, the latter maintained their speech. The dominant pattern of language use was noticed with the Afrikaans and English languages, explained by the dominance of Afrikaans during the Apartheid system in all domains of use and officialization of English as a neutral language after independence.

Dyers (2008) reports ten hours of informal observations plus individual and focus group interviews conducted with twelve pupils of grade ten, with six Afrikaans, five Xhosa, one elsewhere in South Africa, on their language use and choice in the home domain. They were interested in the degree of linguistic vitality in a growing minority of cross-linguistic families plagued by severe racial tension. The findings discarded the hypothesis that the pupils of relatively settled Wesbank Cape town practised no more than two languages. Dyers found out that both Afrikaans and Xhosa pupils use three languages in interactions with different family members and on different topics. However, the respondent's respective mother tongues (Xhosa and Afrikaans) are present in the home domain. For example, a respondent communicates with her parents and brother in Afrikaans, English with her sister, boyfriend and maternal relatives, Xhosa with her paternal grandmother. Another respondent scolds her younger sister in Afrikaans and gossips in Xhosa with her brother. Dyers concluded that the language vitality of all three languages in SA is enhanced by emotional identification, the space people find themselves in and a need for creating new social connections.

The authors above have principally paid attention to language use in the school domain with special attention to language vitality. However, this is not consistent with the authors discussed below. They rather touch on various domains while indicating the frequency of certain languages being used in certain domains.

Altinkamiş and Ağirdağ (2014) sought to examine Turkish immigrants' language use and attitudes towards their heritage language in the Dutch-speaking Flemish side between different generations.

To achieve this, they used Yagmur and Vijvera's (2012, cited in Altinkamiş & Ağirdağ, 2014) 5-point bipolar rating questionnaire on language use, choice and preference scales and a 5-point Turkish attitude response scale to capture language attitudes of Turkish immigrants in Belgium. The relationship between age, country of birth (generational markers), length of residence, gender and social status were tested in relation to respondents' use of Turkish to others. In addition, they studied the language attitudes towards Turkish. The results showed that the generational difference and status stood out. The first (older) generation who were born in Turkey with little formal education and unskilled jobs tended to use Turkish more in Flanders. The second (younger) generation born in Belgium, with better educational levels and skilled jobs, used less Turkish. What was, however, remarkable was that the second generation showed more positive attitudes towards Turkish than the first generation did. This study revealed that the frequent use of language does not necessarily conform to positive language attitudes. Yagmur and Vijvera (2012) explain that while the negative attitudes may be because of discrimination from mainstream society, positive attitudes from the younger generation may be influenced by the need to maintain a distinct group identity.

Inspired by Fasold's (1993) language maintenance and shift hypothesis, Kennetz and Carroll (2018) describes the use of languages by Emiratis in various domains by investigating the status of Arabic, the heritage language spoken in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). Data on language use was drawn from an electronic survey of 248 anonymous respondents, targeting particular linguistic settings and situations. Such domains included the workplace, media and technology, religion, interactions with family members and outsiders. The findings indicate that English is an indispensable medium of communication in the workplace when seeking a job and speaking to colleagues. In religion, media, and technological domains, Emiratis' preference for Arabic is more noticeable when compared to the workplace. For instance, when praying, viewing television, listening to music and radio, texting friends and reading on websites. Interactions in the family domain show an intergenerational difference, with younger ones speaking both Arabic and English and older ones speaking mostly Arabic only. This tendency compared with interactions with foreigners revealed a preference for English. Kennetz and Carroll (2018) report that despite the negative attitudes towards the widespread use of the English language in the Arabic lexicon, respondents seem to be introducing English words into Arabic.

Kennetz and Carroll (2018) account for the relatively stable presence of English and Arabic in the UAE due to population migration, schooling and prestige. However, strict Emirati laws on immigration constantly witness entry and exit of expatriates without them fully attaining basic communication in Arabic. Moreover, she noted a bias towards English in the bilingual curriculum as a language of instruction in science, maths, and arts favours English in academia. Nevertheless, the non-use of Emirati Arabic with foreigners marks a strong identity within the relatively small Emirati community. Hence, English is not replacing the local Arabic wholesale, but it has certainly carved out a role in the UAE (Kennetz & Carroll, 2018, p. 182).

Some studies have dwelt on studying patterns of language use by comparing large groups of language varieties of speakers per their geographical area. Epele (2011) compares the Bantawa language vitality spoken in Dhankuta, Hatuwali, Amchoke and Dipali, Nepal, against four features: homogeneity, access to education, and access to the area and relative prestige. Informal interviews obtained from twenty local speakers of three language varieties, except one variety with ten members, indicate that the location of a dialect area plays out distinctively as a sample feature over sociological features such as age, gender and education. Epele's (2011) study shows that overall, language use patterns tend to be uniform between males and females, education status, and age to a minimal extent. However, concerning the dialect area, Dhankuta, Hatuwali, Amchoke residents are mainly Bantawa; thus, they enjoy homogeneity and relative prestige. Because of these factors, the rates of intergenerational transfer is higher when compared to Dipali. This, however, is different for the Dipali area. There is a high presence of mother-tongue speakers of Nepali residing in the area, access to education and the area is evident, and relative prestige is noticeably low. Dipali children communicate with each other more in Nepali, and parents use less Bantawa with their children. Epele (2011) concludes that the Dipali dialect faces a threat as preference towards Nepali is registered.

Sibayan (1971) dwells on a sociolinguistic survey of language use and attitudes towards languages in the Philippines. His purpose was to demonstrate how a large-scale survey could unveil the presence of languages and their roles in Filipino society. 6622 interviewees were sampled from 245 communities, amongst which 2379 were parents in their homes, 2342 teachers, 1577 adolescents, 194 printers and publishers, 130 radio stations. Each of these bodies was entitled to different types of questions. Criteria for selection ranged from the demographic representation to

proximity to important landmarks in the town to parents who have schooling children to a representation in the various school systems. Some of the significant findings state that nine are most important and spoken predominantly out of the 87 languages registered in the Philippines. The language acquisition process begins with a local language, placing English as a second language learnt. Although English is learnt after a local language has been acquired, it plays an important role in the formal sector of Filipino society. Pilipino gains ground as a lingua franca with the English language, gradually invading the family space. However, family members do contact their families away from home in English. According to the data gathered in this study, Filipinos attribute their use of Pilipino and local languages to patriotism and showing proof of knowing one's heritage. By contrast, the English language is heavily learned for economic survival. This, therefore, confirms that learning an exoglossic language is not a prerequisite for economic success. Some occupations do not require academic training, like farming and hunting activities in LF. Although large-scale surveys encourage representativeness and statistical significance, they lack a somewhat clear picture of the reality of language use in specific domains.

While some studies have identified the choice and use of language from mainly the attitudes towards the language chosen (Yakub et al., 2012), Elhambakhsh and Allami (2018) have observed that language choice and use among the Zoroastrian community in Iran engages multiple sociocultural factors such as age and education. Nevertheless, they indicate that despite the age and educational factors, the frequent practices of language use and choice by the bilinguals are triggered by domains. The less prestigious variety, Dari, is used mostly in the domestic domain amongst friends and relatives. The high variety, Farsi is dominantly present in informal domains such as the school and administration. The Zoroastrian setting portrays a diglossic situation where for example, there is the desire to communicate in the educational milieu through Farsi on the one hand and to maintain the knowledge and values of Dari on the other.

The literature provided above shares some similarities in the way language use is studied. First, most of the attention is devoted to the comparison of use regarding targeted domains. Hardly is there any mention of language use from a market domain, especially as it is an environment where language contact is frequent. Second, the variables for language use lies along with the status, prestige, education and economic stability for high varieties versus the identity and patriotic lines for low varieties. The immediate thought following this pattern of study that comes to mind is what

about the situations in which local language used are heavily implicated in the daily lives of a people.

Finally, the studies of language use in both the formal and informal domains employ the use of questionnaires and observations, but little concerning ethnographic accounts. The patterns of language use in the school and home domains are heavily influenced by the nature of the activities taking place. Studies on language use have tended to study ethnolinguistic vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes towards certain languages in the informal domains particularly the home and formal domains specifically the school domain. The next subsection reviews studies carried out in a densely public domain as the market. Let us examine the somewhat scanty literature on language use in the market.

7.3.5.2 How language use patterns in the market

As mentioned above, the abundant works on language use in domains like the school (Sibayan, 1971; Stell & Dragojevic, 2017), home (Yakub et al., 2012), church, and the media (Kennetz & Carroll, 2018) have over-shadowed studies on domains like the market. Nevertheless, a few studies have studied language use in the market, though in the urban markets (see, Adeniyi & Bello, 2014; Calvet, 1994; Laitin & Eastman, 1989) but for the exception of Connell (2009). Such studies provide a base on what we know and understand about language use in the market. I now discuss these studies in some detail.

Laitin and Eastman (1989) discuss language use specifically in the market. They show how language choices are made in a market context to realize economic objectives and the problems encountered because of conflicting interests between sellers and buyers. Informed by the salient work of Parkin in the 1960s on language use patterns in Nairobi, Kenya, Laitin and Eastman (1989) reiterate that CS is an integral activity in urban multicultural markets. Four languages are realized in the CS process that is English, Swahili, Luo, and Kikuyu. These languages play the following roles: English and Swahili represent languages used in public domains, with Swahili used predominantly in the marketplace with low-status people, and English used in high-status situations to achieve respect (p. 56). In addition, Swahili is meant to be the neutral language

allowing for fair business. Luo and Kikuyu are both used for economic incentives. The Kikuyu seller uses Luo, the language of the buyer he hardly knows to make a sale. These languages demonstrate how complex language patterns emerge in urban markets. Laitin and Eastman (1989) claim that studying language use patterns in various domains can help formulate language use rules. It is with this statement that their work suggests a rule-based language pattern from sociolinguistic research. For example, if the interactants share a mutual language representing their first language, Laitin and Eastman say they generally use it in their interaction. This, therefore, means that a shared mutual first language can condition language choice during the interaction. Such an occurrence can be problematic in areas where the users are competent in a number of locally salient lects and, thus, often share more than one “mutual language”. Under such circumstances, language choice can hardly be predicted only based on the model proposed by Laitin and Eastman (1989).

Adeneyi and Bello (2014) examine the language situation in the Agbalata International market in Badagry, Nigeria. This market receives diverse groups of people from Nigeria and borderland countries such as Benin and Niger, making it suitable for sociolinguistic contact studies. They investigate the frequency of language use, the conditions underlying language choice and the future of Ogun, the local language of the area. The method employed in this study relies hugely on participant and non-participant observations and interviews primarily restricted to language preferences and challenges when a preferred language is not used. The study revealed that Yoruba is the most used language in the Agbalata market, even by those who share Ogun as a mutual language. Yoruba is a national language used in Nigeria together with Igbo and Hausa. Adeneyi and Bello (2014) advance that although Igbo are said to be the most business inclined, their presence in the Agbalata market is almost absent. The Ogun people have a negative attitude towards their language, favouring the Yoruba language in the marketplace. Yoruba does not serve as a neutral language but is used for economic gains. There is, therefore, a shift of Ogun, the main language of the Badagry, to Yoruba in the Agbalata marketplace.

There have equally been studies carried out on Francophone markets in urban Africa. Calvet's (1994) interest arose due to the challenges pluralistic societies face with communication and further looked into a potential language that could serve as a language of linguistic unification. He, however, acknowledges that such an influence of a local language raised to a status of an official

language is not automatic as different factors may hinder a change in status. His study in three Malian markets, namely, Bamako (capital), Mopti and Gao (other major cities), shows that the Malian territory is not linguistically unified. The method employed in his study is mainly through the application of brief questionnaires highlighting linguistic repertoires and language choice in the market. In the case of the Bamako market, he records 776 interactions and 70 interviews. One important finding shows that Bambara, the local lingua franca, is used more than French in trade-related discussions in the Bamako market. However, in other markets like the Gao market, Songhay is mostly used in trade-related discussions and Bambara in non-trade-related discussions. This study concludes that the status of Bambara cannot be immediately revealed as a language of unification as further studies must be carried out for such an assumption to gain grounds.

Bema-Nemedeu (2010) addresses the general linguistic practices of language users in four chief markets in Douala, Cameroon. Specifically, she sought to determine the status of national languages vis-à-vis the French and English official languages. She examines speakers' interactional patterns through data obtained from observations and brief questionnaires on diglossic patterns of use from different users. This means that different data sets do not correspond to the same participants. The variables considered for the study included the products, age of the sellers, interactions between traders and traders and buyers. Among the numerous results from the patterns of language use was that the varieties of French were found to be used more often than any other language. Bema-Nemedeu (2010) equally observed a drastic shift of CPE in the market, which was highly dominant a decade ago. In her opinion, the observed participants are mostly high school and university students who communicate most often in Camfranglais, a language of youth. Her study identified three main groups of languages, namely, Camfranglais among the youths, varieties of French in spontaneous conversations and the use of other national languages for ethnic associations. In her opinion, no single reason can explain the presence of multiple languages used in the Douala markets. Factors such as commodities and social affinities among interactants influence language choice in the market.

Platt (1985) discusses the influence of social class and ethnicity on code choice in major shopping areas in Singapore. In his opinion, the levels of social class are determined both at an individual and societal level: the societal class construction is organized mainly by the social domains in which the languages serve—prestige forms in public domains. At the same time, the socio-

economic and educational background triggers individual social status. Data based on self-reports and structured observations of 613 speech events involving 1331 participants across four status based shopping areas during transaction indicated that the more prestigious form was used for verbal communication. For the highest-class shop, English was the most preferred form during intra/interethnic transactions. By contrast, the lowest-class shops settled for local codes for both inter/ intragroup communication. In middle-class shops, local languages, especially local varieties, emerge as the main languages of communication in intragroup communication and English as the preferred language for intergroup communication. He also found out that there was a slight difference in patterns of use among friends and family discussions when compared with the transaction. While English was the primary language used for transactions across all shopping areas with minimal presence in less prestigious areas, the local dialects and Mandarin were more prominent in friendly and family interactions, with the exception of the most prestigious shopping area. In other words, English was most preferred in prestigious areas and local dialects and Mandarin in the least prestigious areas.

The studies on patterns of language use in the different markets (Adeneyi & Bello, 2014; Calvet, 1994; Laitin & Eastman, 1989) have been evaluated under different contextual backgrounds and approaches, most often via broad scales, brief questionnaires and interviews that provide somewhat different results. The choice of language use in the market space can be summarised in three dimensions: first, language choices are conditioned for economic incentives. Second, the choices are shaped by linguistic communication barriers, hence, the choice of an official or national language (Swahili, Yoruba, English, French and Bambara for the African cases above). Third, the choice of English is mostly to command status and prestige.

From the rural dimension of market studies, Connell (2009) first attempts to investigate language choice in the semi-rural and highly diverse Somié market in the Adamawa area in Northern Cameroon. He uses observations and recorded interviews to document an individual's encounter across forty-five interactions in the market. He notices that the area is marked with super-diversity with twenty-seven local languages, a regional language (Fulfulde), two border languages like Yamba and Mbour. The most dominant language used was Fulfulde, followed by Ba, the local language of Somié. The Somié is further found to be multilingual, registering a command in three languages. Moreover, Connell (2009) discovered that no other language is known to be prestigious;

thus, language use does not seem to be salient as a social class marker, except the French language. According to him, commodity and ethnicity activate language choice (p. 134). Whenever two interactants came from Mambila, Ba language was used. In addition, people who shopped for kola and clothing used more of Ffulde. Connell (2009) tries to uncover all the languages or lects used in the area even while accounting for their dynamic use, for instance, when he states that “Mbar speakers involved someone (SM) using Ba in one, while the other participant switched between Mbar and Ffulde”. While the rural setting and the entire context of the interaction is exposed, the study falls short of gathering deep ethnographic evidence that can capture the local language ideologies that can, in turn, explain the language choices and switches. The study also indicates that unlike the study of Laitin and Eastman (1989), where the buyer, in Some, determined the choice of language, the trader detects the language choice.

In general, language use studies irrespective of the domains studied using broad surveys, brief questionnaires/ interviews, observations, ethnographic approaches and even natural speech recordings hardly ever gather data from the same participants. This means that there is little or no prior ethnographic or biographic knowledge of the consultants. Hence, other relevant variables that might shape certain language choices in multilingual spaces are missed out. Ethnographic field research alongside sociolinguistic documentation (see section 6.5.1) have proven to indicate and explain language use patterns through, for example, ethnographic profiles of already recorded market interactants like in the present study. In Connell’s (2009) work on the language choice of individuals in Somié, a highly multilingual area, his traditional written questionnaire projects a strong sense of diglossic orientation and a lack of ethnographic information, especially after documenting market interactions. Speaker metadata is quite limited regarding the social relationships the users may have with the other interactants. In addition, a large part of Connell’s questionnaire focuses more on the internal network of the respondents, and nothing is known about the respondents’ other social networks.

7.3.6 Theories in language use studies

The study of language use patterns has developed over the years and already boasts a wide range of theories to the diverse areas of interest. To talk about all these diverse areas of interest would

be an unending task. However, it is important to single out some of the relevant theories and provide a critique as to the nature of such theories in a context like ours. I nonetheless make clear here that I do not focus on discourse analytical approaches, for it requires far too much descriptive work.

7.3.6.1 The ethnolinguistic vitality theory

Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor, in the late 1970s, coined the ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) theory to describe, among others, language-related phenomena such as language use. EV is “that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations” (Giles et al., 1977, p. 308). EV theory aims to measure how vital a linguistic group may be when coexisting with other languages. Group vitality is appreciated when ethnic groups are distinct. In most cases, studies along this line looked into how salient ethnic groups are in a targeted society (Dyers, 2008; Elhambakhsh & Allami, 2017; Garrett, 2010). In most instances, targeted linguistic groups do not share equal status. This means that evaluations can be more revealing when one group is dominant and the other a minority for comparative purposes. After all, the EV theory has been said to be more useful when examining language use in relation to intergroup relations (Giles et al., 1977, p. 310). Most often, “weaker” groups may be liable to face negative critics towards themselves, such as self-hate (Ryan, 1984, p. 146) and self-denial (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). EV theory provides a taxonomy of the structural variables affecting the EV vitality that projects a group’s strength and stamina in a given social context (Giles et al., 1977). The factors that explain EV include status, demographic presence and institutional support.

The first direction suggested is the status dimension. It appeals to economic influence, social, socio-historical and language status. The economic status means an ethnic group (whether majority or minority) gains control in the economy. The social status looks into the degree of self-worth an ethnic group possesses. The socio-historical status considers ethnic groups that are able to uphold and maintain strong collective wholes. The language status outlines that the use of an ethnic group’s language is vital within and without where the language is spoken. The second indicator of an ethnic group’s vitality suggested by Giles et al. (1977) includes demographic presence. Group distribution (national territory, concentration and proportion) and group numbers (absolute,

birth rate, mixed marriages, immigration and emigration) are explored in line with this factor. An increased number of the minority group's population, mixed marriages more aligned in favour of minority groups, a large incoming of linguistic minority groups, the concentration of minority group members in a particular territory and a high proportion of minority speakers as opposed to majority speakers are all factors that may account for linguistic vitality for minority groups. The last index for a group vitality rests on institutional support. Here formal and informal domains play an influential role in assigning vitality to a linguistic group or not. Members from a linguistic group belonging to top decision-making positions in business, media, religion, culture, government and whose languages are well-represented (see, Altinkamiş & Ağırdağ, 2014, p. 73), may receive more ethnolinguistic vitality as compared to those groups whose members and languages are underrepresented in various domains of use.

7.3.6.2 The domain theory

The domain theory is considered as a by-product of the EV theory in the sense that EV takes into account contexts or domains in which language use emerges. What language an individual chooses to speak in a situational context is largely influenced by diglossia (Fishman, 1967). In this case, certain languages are appropriate in certain domains—high-status languages are used in formal situations and low-status languages in informal settings. In addition, the increased dominance and EV of English in most domains of use should not be immediately interpreted as the loss or endangerment of other languages (Mazrui, 1979), for informal domains of use impact greatly on language maintenance and growth. Dyers (2008) supports the view that South African languages play important roles in people's sociocultural identities and language vitality despite the informal context of use and institutional policies most often favouring the English language (p. 113). Yakub et al. (2012) add, "the home domain is the 'anchor' domain and is usually the last to be replaced" (p. 103). Besides, one of eight indicators exploring the domain analysis is the home domain (see also, Dyers, 2008). Yagmur and Vijvera (2012) show that Turkish is a minority language in Flanders; Belgium enjoys vitality in the home and at an institutional level. Institutional support from the bilateral agreements between the Belgian and Turkish governments has boosted the vitality of the minority language, Turkish, in Flanders. Turkish is taught as a second language in some schools as well as a mother tongue as part of recreational programs.

We recognize the domain as a space for the manifestation of different patterns of language use by multilinguals in the market setting. However, such an approach is only an avenue to exploit further the manifestation of the local language ideologies that condition multilingual practices in the market during trade and non-trade related interactions.

7.3.6.3 The communication accommodation theory

The communication accommodation theory (CAT) (Giles, 1973) later on modified (Giles & Ogay, 2007) is a socio-psychological theory emphasizing that making conscious and unconscious adjustments towards converging, maintaining, and diverging are all ways that speakers may choose during social interaction. Matching one's speech behaviour to be similar (convergence) to another is realized in verbal and non-verbal ways. However, divergence is moving away from one's speech to appear different. If one decides to stay on a certain language, which in most cases is considered as one's heritage language, and making adjustments is not forthcoming during an interaction, one is using a CAT of maintenance. CAT is subsumed as the theory that "explains how, when and why people adjust, or "accommodate," their communication during social interactions" (Stell & Dragojevic, 2017, p. 168).

The general tenet of CAT articulates communication not as a baseline principle of exchanging information but also, it is a process that involves an understanding of the situational context and participants' beliefs about such a context, identity roles, salient social categories, social and situational norms and attitudes inferred by the choices communicators made during speech shifts (Giles & Ogay, 2007). CAT equally treats characteristics of shift or accommodation strategies as an upward or downward trend in terms of how society perceives members or speakers of a language variety. While upward convergence is noted when a low language variety communicator takes a similar linguistic form as used by a speaker of a high-status language, a downward divergence is understood in terms of a high variety speaker taking the speech form of a low variety speaker.

The motivation to converge and diverge rests in need to first fulfil cognitive functions, i.e., facilitate comprehension. Then, on the need to express affective functions, speakers may converge

or diverge based on certain salient social categories associated with speakers of a speech variety. Finally, to define distinctive traits, speakers who diverge do so because they want to be able to portray salient features characteristic to the group or individual. Nonetheless, the motivations for convergence and divergence can be positive as well as negative.

Both CAT and the EV theories evoke social hierarchy. As illustrated in Altinkamiş and Ağirdağ (2014), Kennetz and Carroll (2018), Stell and Dragojevic (2017) and Yakub et al. (2012), the language groups are pretty much stratified via ethnolinguistic vitality and prestige-based associations. Low status and demography draw less institutional support. For instance, in the Kinubi example, English is an acrolect, Swahili a mesolect, and Kinubi a basiclect. Indeed, societies where such hierarchical relationships are present, allow for theories such as EV and CAT to apply. It is, however, hard to capture more or less complete language use patterns in LF following CAT and EV theories because the linguistic hierarchy among local languages is inexistent in those communities. Nonetheless, the basic understanding of convergence and divergence may hold from a general viewpoint, without undergoing the processes enumerated in CAT, but on the situational circumstances emerging during interactions.

7.4 The Abar market

We refer to a market as a physical location where buyers and sellers gather to trade goods and services. The Abar market in LF makes no exception as a space where multilingual practices are inevitable. Calvet (1994) notes the ability to detect two or more languages may be apparent even when monolinguals meet (p.11). There are two markets in the Fungom area in Abar and Yemgeh. Abar is, however, placed at the centre of a linguistically diverse area: people frequenting the market come from villages associated with different language varieties of Mungbam as well as with the other languages of the area (Koshin, Fang, Buu, Ajumbu, Mungbam, Mufu-Mundabli). So, it is central geographically in the region and lies at the crossroads of all the local languages. Hence it is interesting for us.

As to what concerns the market calendar in the Abar market, people meet twice a week, with many more buyers and sellers getting together to transact on the ‘bigger’ market day. The small market

day takes place on the 4th day, counting from the day the 1st one was held in an eight-day week. On such days, only a few people gather to trade while the rest are going about their farming activities. This does not seem to be the case on the main market day. The majority of people gather, except for the very old and the sick, to transact and socialize. The main market is less populated at the beginning of the year because of the farm clearing season. By contrast, it is packed full during the harvest season.

Abar is a village in the LF area that constitutes the third-largest population site after Fang and Koshin, contributing to 6% of the LF population, where approximately 14000 people reside (see Table 1). The trading venue is located at a moderate slope and lies close to an intersection that connects the Munken and Missong roads to the east of the market. To the west, you find the only health centre for the LF people and the government primary and secondary schools nearby. In addition, at the intersection, several motorbikes and two commercial vehicles drop off and pick up passengers on most days, chiefly LF inhabitants. The market area environs are rich for multilingual practices because many assorted structures like a school, dispensary and motor park bring people together. Moreover, youths gather in and at the junction leading to the market to socialize. The internal organization of the market is structured for the most part according to villages, which, linguistically, means that it is structured according to lects. Also, there is a presence of a few distant spotted areas that people not original from LF occupy^{xi}. This is different from what one commonly observes in urban markets. Oftentimes, particular goods are located in particular market sections (see, Adeniyi & Bello, 2007; for the Badagry market, and Bema, 2010, p. 173 for the Douala market).

In the Abar market, there is a *mélange* of the different trading structures. I found out that the majority of market spots have no sheds and a few others are with thatch sheds. Drinking and eating rooms are also found. In line with the spots with no sheds, no less than 150 individuals occupy an average of 3 sq. meters each, where their goods are displayed on either bare ground or placed on some material. Then, approximately 55 thatch sheds are present in the Abar market with no more than ten persons with mini shelf spaces. I equally noted three mini food joints and eight small local drinking spots. All three food locations and 5 drinking spots are made from sun-dried bricks, with a few supported plywood work as chairs in these parlours. More, individuals can be seen walking

around the market selling ready-made food such as porcupines, rat moles, antelopes, and other items.

The locals using traditional methods, mainly from the crops or animals, breed the goods one readily finds. Their means of livelihood depends on the farms. For the most part, they usually can afford basic necessities like locally made body lotions, hand soaps and rubber-made foot designs brought in by five sellers, who come mainly from outside LF. One can easily spot three mini-stores surrounding the main entrance of the market. The most frequent products sold are cigarettes and locally made drinks. Men especially gather inside these stores to smoke and drink while interacting. There is no fully equipped convenience shed in the market. Therefore, they get to consume what they produce. Commodities sold are predominantly gendered. It is common to find corn, palm oil, groundnuts, small river fishes, white beans, palm wine and ready prepared food items sold by female sellers and hens, antelopes, snakes, cocks, rubber, kola nuts sold by men. I did not find items like books, electronics (but for low-quality mobile phones), home improvement items, and toys, just to name a few. In short, the Abar market is a scene not short of constant social activity where languages are bound to be used. People meet to transact, eat, drink and gossip. It is used as a spot to spread the news about HIV screening and other important news concerning the LF villages.

7.5 Interactions in the market

By interaction, I mean the involvement of two or more persons who exchange verbally on whatever topic. I identify two forms of interactions, one that deals with trade transactions and the other on non-trade topics.

7.5.1 Trade-related interactions

Trade interactions draw on exchanges between traders and customers. Such an interaction is termed as a transaction and classed as a complementary type (Bema, 2010). A complementary interaction maximizes differences between the interactants. The interactants are actively talking

while taking turns as the trade interactions unfold. Such interaction requires no personal introductions. Kerbrat-Orrecchioni (2004, p. 15) summarizes the steps of negotiation as follows: (1) it must involve at least two persons, (2) there must be an object of negotiation, (3) there can be relative disagreement or divergence during the interaction, (4) an attempt of some kind of agreement is met without which it results into a conflict, (5) the negotiation can end successfully or unsuccessfully. During transactions or trade-related interactions in the Abar market, the common ritual procedure is noted, there is an inquiry about the item from the customer, then, a bargain, followed by both parties making attempts to convince each other about a certain amount, and lastly, the acceptance/ payment or rejection phase. Bema (2010) notes that the duration of transactions is generally shorter than other interactions such as conversations, debates and arguments (p. 34).

7.5.2 Non-trade-related interactions

Interactions that are not associated with transactions in the market setting involve exchanges between family members, friends, acquaintances and in-laws. Most of the interactions recorded in the Abar market can be termed as conversations. During such interactions, there exists a relative familiarity, and the quality of the conversation is based on the interpersonal relationship the interactants may have. Even though transactional interactions may limit the talk duration, familiarity is not completely removed away from trade-related interactions. Admittedly, the Abar market is more used by most LF people, unlike the Yemgeh market that is used by people from Kung, Ajumbu, Ngun, Mekaf, Zhoa, Fungom. Therefore, buyers and sellers have some background knowledge about each other and will be an essential component in the analyses that we will provide of the speech transcripts, where I focus on code choices and CS in the transactions.

7.6 The structure of the transaction

From the data, three key remarks are made as per the mode of communication with respect to market transactions between the trader and customers. The first one is noted during the request for a product and the response by the seller phase, the second on the bargain price, and the third, the

payment of the product phase. In this regard, verbal action is sometimes accompanied by a non-verbal action when the buyer requests a commodity. Price telling is always achieved verbally. However, a non-verbal response is realized during the payment.

7.6.1 Request

Generally, the customers open an interaction by requesting the price of a good as they walk towards the main participant (MP) stall. The extract below exemplifies this. CPE (in bold), with the translations into English (italics) as in the gloss. Extract 10. C 13, who is a customer, approaches MP and the transaction for beans starts.

Extract 10. A transaction between C13 and MP

	Timing	Moves	P.	Text	Code
1	5:35	Open	C13:	(bending over and touching the item) ◊Na how much for beans? <i>'How much do you sell beans for?'</i>	CPE
2	5:37	Answer	MP:	one twenty-five <i>'One hundred and twenty-five'</i>	CPE
3	5:40	Open	C13:	((stands upright and looks at MP)) For cup <i>'Per cup?'</i>	CPE
4	5:43	Answer	MP:	one twenty-five for one cup <i>'One hundred and twenty-five per cup'</i>	CPE
5	5:45	Close	C13:	((C13 Turns around and leaves))	

From the interaction in extract (10), we observe that C13 opens the transaction by verbally requesting the cost of beans, accompanied by a latent action of touching the desired item (line 1). In line 2, the reply from MP to C13 is channelled verbally. The chain of communication is C13-verbal (cost of the item), MP-verbal (amount told). The structure of communication is in contrast with what Traverso observes in the market transactions in France, where “l'enchaînement après la requête ne s'accompagne généralement pas de verbalization” (Traverso, 2008, p. 69). The dynamic

of the market structure may condition such a communication pattern where there is already an established cost with no room for bargain. Rather, the customer's sole mission is to inform the seller of the desired item and, without bargain, pay in the amount provided by the seller. This is, however, not present in the rural market setting in LF.

7.6.2 Bargain

Throughout my corpus, there is no successful transaction that bypasses a bargain. When there is an absence in the bargain, the customer generally walks away after the seller announces the price. The absence of queues, fixed prices and the availability of the desired local produce present in several stalls conditions the duration in which sellers and customers transact in LF. For one thing, bargaining for long periods and in other sheds is a strategy to understand a better offer. In extract 11, the transaction takes place between MP and customer 7 (C7). Abar (in single underline, CPE (in bold), with the translations into English (italics) as in the gloss. Extract 11. C 17 approaches MP and the transaction for avocados start.

Extract 11. A transaction between C7 and MP

	Timing	Moves	P.	Text	Code
1	3:01		C7:	((C7 enters, he moves directly to MP)) <u>bè pìjè bɛ fɔ à fané wé</u> <i>'How much do your avocados cost?'</i>	Abar
2	3:03	Answer	MP:	<u>Hein</u> 'What?'	Abar
3	3:04	Open	C7:	<u>bè pìjè bɛ fɔ à kwəumè</u> <i>'How much do your avocados cost?'</i>	Abar
4	3:05	Answer	MP:	<u>à fifti</u> <i>'it is fifty'</i>	Abar/CPE
5	3:06	Open	C7:	<u>Em</u> 'What?'	Abar
6	3:07	Answer	MP:	<u>fifty</u> <i>'fifty'</i>	Abar
7	3:08	open	C7:	(C7 looking at me) ↑ai fifty weti? ◇wuna get money. plenty money i noh get me money	CPE

				<i>'Why fifty? You people have money, a lot of money. I do not have money'.</i>	
8				<i>((15 sec omission))</i>	
9	3:23	Opens	MP:	<i>((points to the avocados))</i>	
				<i>[à waha...](faded voice)</i>	Abar
				<i>'Buy your... pears'</i>	
10	3:31	Close	C:7	<i>((C7 exits without buying the pears))</i>	

C7 inquires about the price of avocados in extract 11 above. After MP announces the price (line 4), C7's use of the discourse marker 'em' (line 5) evokes a response by MP, who repeats what he said. It may appear that the marker indexing a repetition indicates the start of the bargain if we consider that the need for C7 seeking a repeat is intentional. However, he might not agree with MP's price. He confirms his dissatisfaction in line 7 when he mentions his lack of money.

7.6.3 Payment

Payments of goods bargained are always handed in physical cash. Elsewhere, the price announced by the seller follows in the payment of the product. Traverso (2008) notes that it is not far-fetched to find clients who have their money handy before being told the price. This again is constrained by the market setting. What is interesting to note here is that all payments registered in my corpus are achieved only through gestures.

7.7 Methodology

There have been relatively few studies on language use focused on market settings. Most of them have studied urban markets (see, for instance, Bema, 2010; Calvet, 1994; Adeniyi & Bello, 2014; Kebrat-Orrrechioni & Traverso, 2008). Their findings on how people with diverse linguistic backgrounds meet to transact goods and services are reflective of the different methodologies used. As we have seen in Fishman (1967), the domain analysis is based on a compartmentalized view of the sociolinguistic space. This is a perspective that, while probably successful in urban settings, does not adequately capture language practices in rural settings. The past studies have shown that (a) particular language(s) are appropriate for particular domains. Hence, English is more prevalent

in school and office settings (Garett, 2010; Stell & Dragojevic, 2017). Local languages are highly present in the home domain (Caroll, 2018; Yakub et al., 2012), and national languages or pidgins are more common in market milieus (Adeniyi & Bello, 2014; Calvet, 1992, 1994; Bema, 2010). I relied on three approaches to gather data on language use in the market. The quantity of data collected came from the sociolinguistic documentation method, ethnographic entries and observations. In fact, relying on one data set may lead to unsubstantiated results. We are only able to make meaningful interpretations, starting with the kinds of data collected. In the section that follows, for each data set, I describe the quantity of data gathered, the procedure of gathering the data and the targeted participants, with basic metadata.

7.7.1 The sociolinguistic documentation method

Childs et al.'s (2014) approach refers to the sociolinguistic documentation (S.D) that pays attention to the linguistic codes within multilingual societies. Their attention on S.D lies in the argument that past documentation works have failed to consider multiple linguistic, sociolinguistic and socio-cultural practices intertwined in single communities. What has been obtained in the past was rather the documentation of a single “language”, motivated by the “ancestral code” (Woodbury, 2011, cited in Childs et al., 2014). Childs et al. (2014) have emphasized that in highly multilingual contexts, language use and language documentation should be centred on the multilingual settings rather than the “pure” native languages because of their highly fluid linguistic contexts.

Their approach suggests that data should be gathered, including the set of codes used in the multilingual settings, accompanied by the range of contexts that can highlight social features of the community. The S.D approach promotes the documentation of social and cultural features alongside the configuration of the event it documents. S.D must not be used in isolation, for other ancillary resources such as metalinguistic interviews, ethnographic sketches are required. By so doing, a proper representation of the wider sociolinguistic context of the community would be in view. Doing sociolinguistic documentation helps capture full records of language practices as well as preserve them. Additionally, S.D emphasize the sensitivity to context in playing a major role in language use and language choice. It further aids in viewing the range of the consultant's linguistic

repertoires. Childs et al.'s (2014) approach quite fit as an appropriate tool to investigate language use patterns in LF.

Thus, I rely on video recordings to document sociolinguistic practices in everyday interactions between members in the LF community, specifically in the market domain. Therefore, the linguistic codes used when, how, and with whom among market interactants interest this work.

7.7.1.1 Video recordings at the market

The choice of video recordings in documenting linguistic practices in the market provides more detailed descriptions and in-depth knowledge representations. Language use is generally multifaceted. We usually accompany utterances with actions. In this data, I uncover that market interactants point to items they desire; they nod or shake their heads to signal approval or disapproval. Through video recordings, my field assistant and I were able to identify the participants in a jammed full market for which ethnographic interviews were to be carried out as a follow-up source in understanding language choices in the market. Therefore, I was more interested in picking out the languages used during transactions with the female seller and achieved in identifying far-reaching meanings about language choice through ancillary methods.

7.7.1.2 Quantity of the data

Against this backdrop, I gathered a total of 30 interactions with 35 participants for approximately two and a half hours. Some of the transactions involved more than two participants in some cases. The total duration includes the period wherein no interactions were documented. In other words, the sum covers the interactions and the pauses or gaps before another interaction to capture all the moments before and after the interactants leave. The market interactions were between MP—the seller and her interactants—customers, other sellers and members from different social networks. However, the majority of the interactions were of a transactional kind. 30 of the 34 interactions were mainly on the buying and selling activity.

7.7.1.3 Procedure for the video recordings

Before engaging in actual data collection, a familiarity with the market situation was necessary. Engaging in a lot of observations and note-taking was part of the activity. We visited almost all the market spots and engaged in informal chats about how well they sold their items (in the case of the sellers) and when they departed from the market. We also visited all the drinking spots and shared drinks with locals of the area while observing their linguistic behaviours. We were able to identify the peak period for marketing in this area, which is usually from 10 am to 3 pm. Members of LF living in Koshin, Mundabli, Ajumbu, Fang and Kung, for instance, arrive at the market at about 9:30 to 10 am and leave after 4 pm because of the long distances they have to cover on foot. I conducted the recordings from 11 am to 2 pm. After familiarizing myself with other LF members at the market, the next thing was to locate a highly multilingual seller who had been initially sampled using the sociolinguistic questionnaire. Understanding patterns of language use during interactions would likely be less revealing if the individual was, say, bilingual; hence the only constraint for language choice may be based on the speaker's available repertoire. The aim was to do more: investigate the patterns of code choice in the market among multilinguals who share similar language profiles and explore the role of language ideologies.

The choice of a female seller over a male seller was, in fact, based on availability. Initial observations showed that men spent less time at the selling points than women. Usually, the women would only join the men after they had sold out a sufficient quantity of their produce. Moreover, males mostly sold livestock and convenience items, and the women were prone to selling cash crops. Indeed, women spent long hours selling their cash crops and men spent time hunting animals because the latter were limited.

In most cases, restaurant owners usually bought such animals to prepare food for sale later in the day. MP and I spent a considerable amount of time to achieve a better acquaintance. In this way, having a better acquaintance reduced the feeling of the observer's paradox. To put this into perspective, we sat together for a total of 5 hours on three consecutive market days prior to the recording to observe how she exchanged with her interlocutors. We chatted about her family and life in LF. Sometimes I helped her wrap the item after an approved negotiation. It is important to state here that on all the occasions, she granted permission to be recorded.

The next task was to record the actual market interactions officially. After the entire filming, the participants were approached for their consent as my assistant easily located them^{xii}. Seeking permission in advance for such a recording was way beyond human abilities unless one resorted to staged performances, which I altogether avoided. Besides, I could not have anticipated who would interact with the seller. Nonetheless, I got consent from a few participants (2) who noticed the camera pointing at them during the interaction. Those who did not pay attention to the recordings were informed after that. I encountered little problems, if any, because of the presence in the previous market days.

The 34 market interactions with MP recorded was followed by a series of tape watching. I watched the video several times with my assistant Njing Simon to keep the faces in our memories. Once this was achieved, we headed to the market on the following market days and to the villages where these interactants live. I requested permission, and interviews were gathered.

7.7.1.4 The participants and their basic metadata

In this section, I provide a brief ethnographic description of MP and her interactants as well as their reported multilingual repertoires in terms of languages and lects for more ethnographic details). It is important to separate these two distinct sets of codes because personal identity types are reflected in the speaker's ideologies, e.g., exoglossic codes versus local codes. While the exoglossic codes represent different identities that showcase stereotype categories connected with prestige and authority, local codes are associated with village affiliations. Code choice in terms of lects, for instance, showcases a representation of named languages that locals consider and connect the village with specific talk, hence, relational identities rather than categorical identities (2.4.3.2). In other words, the reasons for selecting a particular village-named code called code X may not be the same as code Y despite that they belong to a language cluster. Particular identities become salient depending on the linguistic association that is realized in the specific context of an interaction, crucially including the interactants' repertoires and associated (and largely individual-based, as we shall see) social meanings. I was not able to gather ethnographic descriptions from all the interactants because of their mobility to other areas because of tight farm schedules, funerals or simply that they were unavailable. I use dashes to represent no data.

Speaker code	Provenance	Residence	Interaction type	Market status	Age	Sex	N° of passive languages	N° of active languages	N° of passive lects	N° of active lects
MP	Munken	Missong	Transaction	Main seller	47	F	3	2	7	6
C7	Munken	Munken	Transaction	Buyer	40	M	5	5	9	7
C1	Koshin	Koshin	Transaction	Buyer	22	F	2	2	2	2
S	Munken	Munken	Transaction	Seller	42	F	2	2	4	3
C15	Mundabli	Munken	Transaction	Buyer	44	F	3	3	3	3
C16	Koshin	Koshin	Transaction	Buyer	13	M	3	3	3	3
C17	Mundabli	Mundabli	Transaction	Buyer	30	F	2	2	2	2
C14	Abar	Abar	Transaction	Buyer	32	F	7	3	10	6
S2	Munken	Munken	Transaction	Seller	56	F	4	3	8	7
S3	Munken	Munken	Transaction	Seller	42	F	2	2	2	2
C20	-	Wum	Transaction	Buyer	34	F	2	2	2	2
C11	Munken	Missong	Transaction	Buyer	32	F	5	4	9	8
C18	Munken	Munken	Transaction	Buyer	50	M	5	5	9	9
S4	Munken	Munken	Transaction	Seller	44	F	2	2	6	2
C2	Buu	Buu	Transaction	Buyer	77	M	2	2	3	2
C3	Munken	Abar	Transaction	Buyer	52	F	3	2	7	6
S5	Munken	Munken	Transaction	Seller	37	F	5	3	9	5
C5	Munken	Munken	Transaction	buyer	37	F	5	4	6	5
C6	Abar	Ngun	Transaction	Buyer	53	F	3	2	7	6
C8	Missong	Missong	Transaction	Buyer	-	F	-	-	-	-
C9	Fang	Fang	Transaction	Buyer	-	F	-	-	-	-
C10	Koshin	Koshin	Transaction	Buyer	-	M	-	-	-	-
C13	Koshin	Koshin	Transaction	Buyer	-	F	-	-	-	-
C22	Koshin	Koshin	Transaction	Buyer	-	F	-	-	-	-
C23	Koshin	Koshin	Transaction	Buyer	-	F	-	-	-	-
C24	Fang	Fang	Transaction	Buyer	-	M	-	-	-	-
C25	Fang	Fang	Transaction	Buyer	-	M	-	-	-	-
C26	Koshin	Koshin	Transaction	Buyer	-	F	-	-	-	-
C27	Mashi	Mashi	Transaction	Buyer	-	F	-	-	-	-
C28	Ngun	Ngun	Transaction	Buyer	-	M	-	-	-	-
C29	Abar	Abar	Transaction	Buyer	-	F	-	-	-	-
F1	Munken	Missong	Conversation	Friend	33	F	3	3	7	6
F2	Abar	Abar	Conversation	Relation	40	F	-	-	-	-
F3	Missong	Missong	Conversation	Acquaintance	35	F	-	-	-	-
F4	Kung	Kung	Conversation	Friend	48	M	-	-	-	-

Table 19. Metadata profiles of the documented market interactants (n = 35).

Table 21 shows the basic demographic and sociolinguistic information from the recorded interactants. The goal of doing a micro-sociolinguistic study is to interpret language choices in interaction based on an unusually comprehensive set of speakers' metadata. I lay particular

emphasis on the amazing degree of detail that I reached in personal narratives and, hence, in mapping out possible implications (not just social meanings, i.e., shared ideologies, but individual-based perspectives) of the use of all the languages present in people's repertoires.

We present both participants who successfully responded to the further ethnographic inquiries and those who were unable to gather further data. Although I recorded 34 interactions, I managed to carry out 20 interviews, with 5 of them inferred from other consultants and my field guide. Looking at Table 21, we notice that a great majority of MP's interactants can very well use more than two codes to interact with her. In this case, we would expect to see some CM and CS during the exchanges. In relation to the number of interactants by their provenances, 34% (12) of people original to Munken visited MP mainly to transact. This is followed by 20% of (7) Koshin members, 11% of (4) individuals from Abar, and 8% (3) of Fang people. The remaining villages, i.e., Missong, Mundabli, Buu, Kung, Mashi and Ngun, score below 3% (2 or 1) members original to the mentioned villages interacted with MP. This might not be surprising for the fact that the area meant for the Munken sellers is positioned directly adjacent to the position meant for the Koshin and Fang people. It appears to be that buyers who are equally sellers in their own rights quickly shop desired items at the closest locations. By contrast, Missong, Buu, Ngun, Biya villages are situated relatively further away, backing the Munken members.

In terms of sex, of the 35 interactants documented interacting in the market, 74% (26) were female, and 26 % (9) were male. While this is not to be considered statistically significant, it broadly confirms the observation that more females are engaged in buying and selling in the Abar market. I also found out that of the 20 individuals whose ages were reported, a majority of them are adults scoring a mean of 40.85. More, while the adults are registered as frequent buyers, the old and children register less frequent market transactions. As for the latter, this seems to be explained by their financial situation: as observed from the video recordings, they target mostly avocados that count as the cheapest items on sale. They inquire about a good with a higher value only when instructed to do so by their elders.

7.7.2 The Ethnographic questionnaire

We do not wish to elaborate on this instrument here as I have already provided details about the ethnographic questionnaire and its importance in section 2.4. What I emphasize here is the timing in carrying out the interviews. While this questionnaire was required as a preliminary tool to select multilinguals for the MGT, in this chapter, I use the tool to complement S.D. I sought to deduce the reasons for code choice and the ideologies associated with them only after interactants were video-recorded using language in the market.

7.7.3 Observations

Observations were carried out to complement the video recordings as well as the sociolinguistic interviews rich with ethnographic and biographic inquiries. During the first weeks of my stay in the field, we constantly visited the market, interacting with LF members. We sometimes purchased items, shared some palm wine, and strolled around the market. After a degree of immersion in the field in general and the market area in particular, taking steps back during the actual recording was achieved. I sat close to the main seller—MP and observed interactants take turns transacting or conversing. I took down notes about the participants, some information about their affiliations, code choice and some gestures. In addition, I paid attention to the communicative settings, such as the physical environment. The market structure (sheds, stalls) surrounding buildings and the market organizations was noted. I equally took note of how transactions were carried out. For example, I was keen to find out that sellers did not attract potential customers by calling out or seeking their attention verbally. This might be explained by the claims that LF people generally make, i.e., they attest to knowing each other. With this in mind, it might be the case that customers select their potential buyers based on the relationship they might have with the seller, especially if the sellers have their desired items. Another aspect I jotted down was the linguistic diversity in the market. The consultants identified several codes spoken around the market. In short, the observations consisted of silent observations when transactions were ongoing and initiating interactions about different topics outside the transaction situation. Thanks to the field notes made, I was also able to keep track of data that otherwise could not be video recorded. As Schilling (2003) maintains that the participant-observer benefits through “access to situations, people, and

types of speech not afforded to complete outsiders; and it provides insight into norms and values that might aid us in collecting data and enrich our analyses” (p. 121).

7.8 Methodological challenges

This work is not entirely faultless, as I faced some challenges with how to represent the utterances following the transcriptions. However, such representations may be incomplete, especially when dealing with varieties of languages that lack or have partially written grammars. Lovegren (2013) expressed this difficulty on how to represent the phonetic features particularly. The choice of using the IPA familiar symbols to represent consonant symbols over some of the differing Cameroonian transcription codes (Lovegren, 2013, p.76) seems to be evidence of the preferences and biases that surround transcription politics (Bucholtz, 2000). Bucholtz (2000) remarks that transcriptions are never a perfect replica of the audio and video data. Indeed, I was faced with the challenge of representing tonal as well as phonetic symbols of the LF codes that are short of documented grammars.

Nevertheless, I adopted a simplified transcription method that is quite common across code-switching studies (see, e.g., Myers-Scotton, 1993a). However, it is worth noting that this study does not focus on descriptive grammar where aspects like the phonetics, phonology or morphology of the language are described, but on the patterns and social significance of code choice in market interactions. I do not place so much emphasis on the grammatical features but on language varieties and languages as a whole.

7.9 Transcription symbols

The transcriptions are a combination of the most important GAT2 conventions and other symbols that represent multimodality. These symbols and those for the description of the action are the same. I found them to be simple and straightforward; hence, I summarize how I use the various symbols in this work:

[]	Whenever two or more utterances occur at the same time, I use the brackets to indicate overlaps
(.)	Micro pause, inferior to 0.5 seconds
(..), (...), (2.3)	Long pauses are indicated by (..), (...) or are marked by specific timing in seconds
()	The description of an action accompanied by an utterance
*	Utterance production accompanied by an action by MP
◇	Speech by the buyers co-occurring with an action
(())	The description of an action not accompanied by an utterance and remarks about any other residual information

Table 20. Transcription symbols

7.10 ELAN, the data transcription tool

The EUDICO linguistic annotator, commonly known as ELAN, is a tool for linguistic annotation, analysis, and archiving audio and video data. It permits one to visualize, create and edit data. In simple terms, ELAN is that tool that allows one to represent what one hears on audio or videotapes on paper. In this study, nearly all the video interactions recorded between the seller and her interactants were annotated. Complete annotations were achieved for approximately 14 out of the 15.4 minutes video recordings. Detailed descriptions were achieved thanks to the help of my language consultant, who reworded the utterances into CPE—the language we both shared mutual competence. Aspects such as the topic, participant’s backgrounds, certain expressions and the time frame were noted. In this way, time consumption that has been noted as a major challenge during transcription (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, p. 68) was avoided.

Tiers were created and interlinearized according to the phonetic transcription, the theme of discussion, the identification of the code, a CPE translation and the free translation. To ensure the validity of the spoken interactions gathered on tape, it was necessary to first translate to CPE and then to the English language. I tried as much as possible to make sure that the meanings were not uttered and the equivalence was achieved. The ELAN tool is quite useful because it transforms the bulk of data into ordered segments for linguistic analyses.

7.11 Quantitative approach: Basic results

7.11.1 Multilingual reports of the market interactants

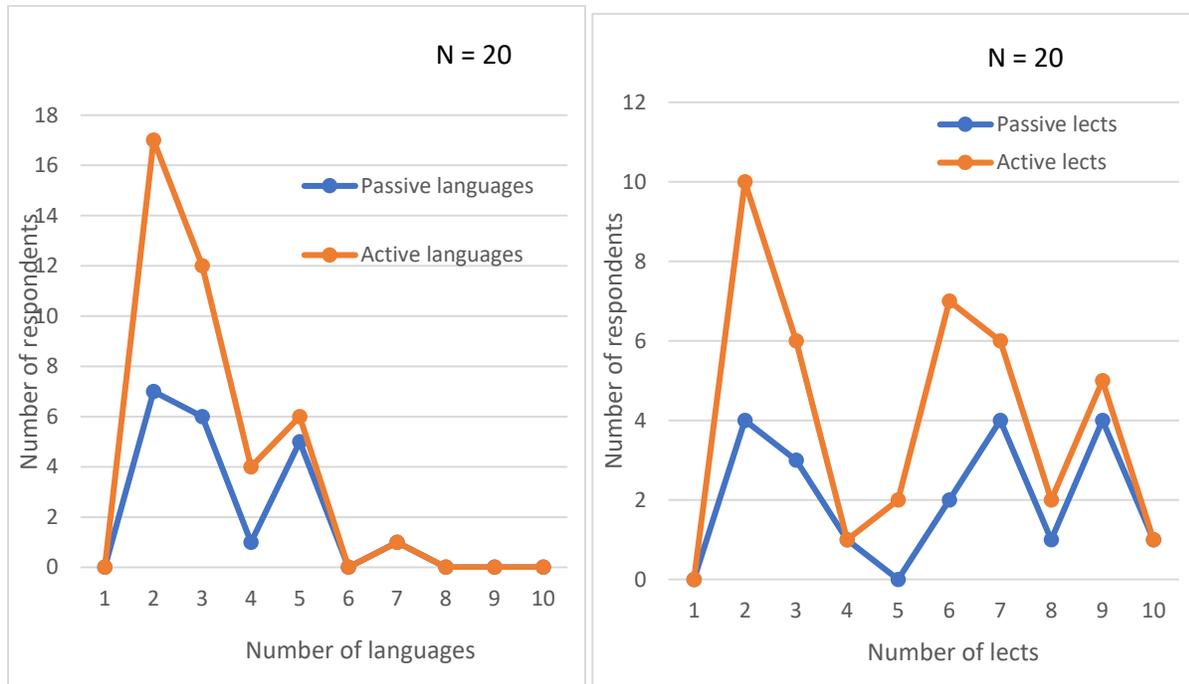


Figure 44. Passive and active competencies in languages by respondents.

Figure 45. Passive and active competencies in lects by respondents.

This study indicates that the market interactants report high rates of multilingualism in terms of languages and lects. While the 20 people report an average of 3.4 passive and 2.8 active languages in Figure 44, 5.75 passive and 4.6 active lects are registered in Figure 45. The data is indicative of the diversity of lects and people involved.

7.11.2 The duration of market interactions

The overall period used in recording 34 interactions amounted to approximately two hours and thirty minutes. I count both the period of time spent in transacting, conversing and the lengthy pauses before another interactant comes to exchange. The recording includes the periods where no interactions of any sort were documented. To further specify, I noted the following duration per

interaction type. For the 30 transactions recorded, including short pauses during the interactions, a total of 925 seconds (15.4 minutes) was registered, averaging 28.1 seconds (0.5 minutes) per transaction. The remaining 4 interactions that represent conversations took approximately 609 seconds (10.15 minutes), making an average of 1.45 minutes per conversation. The point I am trying to make here is that the length of time used in transacting is generally shorter than that of conversations. In transactions, the participants exchange with a certain knowledge of role relationship between the seller and customer with at least some common principle, namely, the conception of a certain price awareness, bargaining and acceptance or rejection phase (see Kerbra-Orrechioni 2004). By contrast, conversations take place between people who are not in the trading business but meet to talk about topics outside the market context.

7.11.3 Commodity and code choice in transactions

Commodity	CPE	Munken	Missong	Abar
Beans	8	1		
Groundnuts	6	2	1	1
Okro seeds	2		1	
Avocados	9		1	1
Pumpkin seeds	1	1		
Total	26	4	4	2

Table 21. Commodity and code choice in transactions.

Table 23 provides a list of commodities sold with respect to the patterns of use. We see here that the predominant code largely mirrored during transactions of the above-mentioned commodities is CPE. No desire for a single item seems to be particularly expressed in a specific code.

7.11.4 Language use patterns in transactions

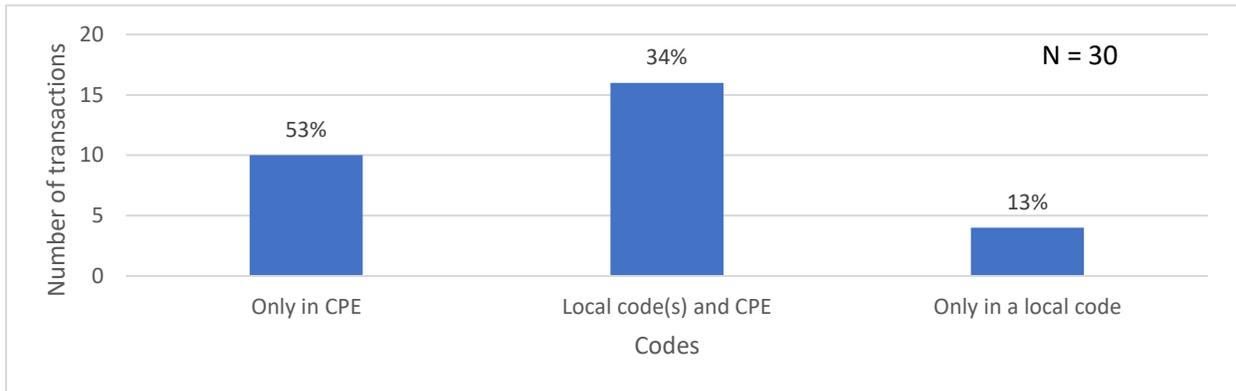


Figure 46. Transactional patterns by language use.

Figure 46 presents the language use patterns in transactions. We notice that the code choice for sellers and buyers are mostly conducted in a local code(s) and CPE (53%). The second code selected during trading is achieved in CPE (34%). Lastly, trade is mediated through the use of a local code (13%). This data tells us that there is some CS between two or more codes. The possible reasons for such choices and the social meanings associated with them are elaborately discussed in section 7.12.

7.11.5 Language use and the sequence of interactions during trading

	The opening			The closing		
	Greeting	Request	Response	Bargain	Accep/rejectn	Gratitude
N° achieved	0	30	30	18	18	0
N° of codes	0	4	3	2	3	0
List of codes	0	CPE (19) Munken (6) Abar (4) Missong (3)	CPE (16) Munken (6) Abar (6) Missong (2)	CPE (15) Munken (2) Missong (1)	CPE (13) Munken (4) Missong (1)	0

Table 22. The organization of the interactions during trade-related activities.

Table 24 presents the sequence of interactions during transactions in the Abar market in connection with the codes selected. The flow sequence mainly excludes an opening and a close in the sense of greetings at the introduction and gratitude at the end of the transaction. The pattern generated is mainly a request phase about the cost price, a response phase by the vendor telling the price, a bargain and an acceptance or rejection about the deal. Out of the 30 transactions, all 30 participants requested the desired commodity (starting from the most used code to the least) in CPE, Munken, Abar, and Missong made a request. MP responded in most of the instances adopting the code used by the buyers. The number began to slightly dwindle in the bargaining phase, as 12 customers did not find a need to enter into the bargaining phase. From the 18 interactants who engaged in the bargain, while 7 of them successfully purchased the commodity, 11 were unsatisfied with the pricing.

7.11.6 Language use in market transactions between sellers and buyers by frequency

Language	Frequency of transaction	Percentage
CPE	26	56%
Munken	10	22%
Abar	6	13%
Missong	4	9%
Total	46	100%

Table 23. The overall choice of language in transactions (n = 30).

Table 25 provides the occurrences of code choices of the participants with respect to trade. These measurements and the ones following account for the presence of different codes in one and the same interaction. The results clearly show that the participant's interactions contain above 50% use of CPE (56%), and the frequency of use is even lesser for local codes. Munken is the second most used code (22%), followed by Abar (13%). Missong (9%) is seldom used during market transactions. We also notice that there is no presence of the exoglossic codes documented in the video recordings. However, there is a single transaction over calling cards conducted in English and recorded in audio format. It is not my purpose to explore the details of both the method and this finding here. However, it may be noted that English appeared to be the language of choice when the commodity has something to do with 'modern technology'.

7.12 Sociolinguistic analysis of code choice

This section presents an analysis of some selected examples from the empirical data gathered from 30 transactions in the market. This analysis aims to identify the social motivations and the social meanings behind the complex linguistic choices that LF users make in interaction. For this, I display what I consider as the tools required in analyzing and interpreting socially-constituted meanings. I include two tables alongside each interaction: one showing the linguistic profiles of each interactant in the transaction, and the other, displaying their linguistic associations in connections to their social networks. These tables are unique in the panorama of sociolinguistic multilingualism studies because they provide individual-based information about the possible associations between lects and other implications, crucially including relation-based social meanings.

This is a possible concrete and usable response to the notion of indexical order: by laying out the various individual-based social meanings or implications associated with the different codes. I am providing a meaningful background that will lead one in making hypotheses and interpretations about people's documented uses. By providing this information (microsociolinguistic information), I am trying to extract the key data for one to really try to understand people's motivations and constraints in choosing languages in interaction.

However, I also point out that what is projected in those tables comes from a comprehensive understanding of local customs and individual life histories. However, there might be lacunas that I cannot fill in at present.

I would structure this part by providing a brief overview of example structure the reader will find in the following: (i) narrative paragraphs summarizing the interactants' lives, (ii) Table of their repertoires, (iii) Table of the social indexical meanings putting together what was stated in (i) and local language ideologies; (iv) text and (v) comments. In the chosen excerpts analyzed below, switches to specific lects will be shown through a change in font style (see Table 26).

Language	Font style
CPE	Bold
Abar	<u>Single underline</u>
Munken	<u>Double underline</u>

Missong	Normal font
Mundabli	<u>Dashed underline</u>
English (for glossing)	<i>Italics</i>

Table 24. Code choice representation by font styles.

The selected examples are organized into three categories of language use choices: (1) the use of CPE, (2) the use of CPE and a lect(s) and (3) the use of local lects. One to three examples of the respective category are analyzed per section. The examples will mainly be supported by biographical and ethnographic interviews and other observations. Such data among relatively high multilingual individuals is crucially relevant to explaining complex choices and interpreting social meanings.

7.12.1 The use of CPE

The subject of language choice and the speaker's communicative needs is a familiar one in sociolinguistic market studies. The desire to facilitate trade and achieve a successful end to a transaction (Connell, 2009) are the preoccupations of the traders and customers. In addition, maintaining loyal relationships among buyers and sellers shape language choices. Dependent on the linguistic competencies, the users refer to a set of basic referents using the words s/he knows for communication. The use of CPE constitutes one of the codes used to fulfil transactional purposes. So far, on the whole, studies on language choice and use in the markets demonstrate that in such environments where homogenous linguistic groups are lacking, the benefits of being multilingual come to the limelight. For example, Adeneyi and Bello (2014) studied the Badagry, Alaba international market where traders and buyers come from diverse ethnic groups and nationalities such as Nigeria, Benin and Niger.

Conversely, Bema (2010) depicts four linguistically pluralistic markets of Douala, the economic capital of Cameroon, where no less than 35 ethnic groups are represented. However, these multilingual tendencies are not only limited to urban markets but also to rural areas. For example, Connell (2009) has found out that in the Somie market of the Mambila region in the Northern

region of Cameroon, a total of 14 ethnic groups are counted. Linguistic diversity cannot be overemphasized in LF, counting 13 local ethnic groups and no less than 10 from outside LF.

The market being such a huge attraction for high linguistic diversity and multilingual individuals poses a communication difficulty. The general interest of research on language use in the markets has been examining how people from different linguistic backgrounds with varying degrees of multilingual proficiencies make language choices. The benefits of trade across ethnic boundaries and national boundaries are facilitated if there is a linguistic platform where negotiations and exchanges are achieved by the presence of a mutual language for the smooth running of the business. One of the ways interactions between vendors and customers are carried out is by using a widely shared code. Speakers learn an additional code after the acquisition of local code(s). A primary code is the ethnic code, and a second, which can be a national or/and an official language (Wei & Moyer, 2008). In the Cameroonian situation, Chiatoh and Akumbu (2014) have called for a need for an introduction of mother tongue education at the primary level of education as it tallies with the linguistic experiences (i.e., acquisition of first, a local language and English or French as an official language) and cultural lifestyles of the people. Research has demonstrated that the second code can either be a pidgin, like the case of the Cameroonian Pidgin English, which belongs to no ethnic group (Wuteh, 2018, p. 20), yet it lacks a national status, a national language like Swahili (Laitin & Eastman, 1989), or English as a lingua franca for international trade (Li, 2007). The commonalities these three aforementioned codes share is that (1) they are relatively widely spoken, (2) they have met the communicative needs of populations that are highly multilingual in local lects. Despite that, English is recognized as a “world lingua franca” even in the commercial scene (Li, 2007, p. 427). However, the influence of English is almost absent in the literature on African markets.

Based on the few studies on language choice and use in the urban African context, the pattern is clear, with the exception of Cooper and Carpenter’s (1969) study in Ethiopia: languages of wider communication are prevalent. Bambara, for instance, is seen as the default choice in Mali (Calvet, 1994), Yoruba as the regular code used in the Nigerian market of Badagry, and Swahili as the choice in Kenya (Laitin & Eastman 1989). However, Cooper and Carpenter found out that no language took precedence over another from the 23 markets studied in 8 Ethiopian towns. The conditioning factor for code choice was based on the primary language of the town where the

market was based. In addition, traders adopt the language of the customer for economic gains. With empirical data gathered from interactions in LF, I present a few data among several that confirms the choice of wider communication that is CPE in market transactions.

7.12.1.1 The CPE code used as an emergency code for transactions

Of 30 video-recorded transactions, 10 (34%) of them were conducted only in CPE, as the only lect shared by all of the interactants recorded. For instance, in the only study on code choice in a rural market, so far, conducted by Connell (2009) that I am aware of, Fulfulde acts as an emergency language used in the Somie market whenever the seller and buyer lacked a mutual local language. However, in the Abar market in LF, there are instances in which the neutral code CPE is used even when the vendor and customer share other mutual codes. I provide illustrative examples from empirical data gathered with possible meanings as to the choice of CPE.

The following example illustrates a transaction between MP—a female vendor—and C1 and C2—female customers—and S1—MP’s sister. To grasp, at least to a larger extent, a picture of the underlying reasons for the choice of CPE during transactions and the meanings that emerge, relevant ethnographic data that includes the participants’ linguistic profiles and biographical information must be identified.

7.12.1.1.1 Interactants metadata

MP

MP (47) was born in her patrilineal compound in the Betschafeh quarter of the village of Munken. Both parents were originally from this village, though from different quarters conforming to the local exogamous rule. She lost her mother at the age of 7 and then moved to Biya to live with her late mother’s sister, who was married to a man from Biya. She stayed in Biya for two years and then moved to Ngun, where she lived for 7 years with her maternal grandmother—who comes from Abar—and her step-grandfather. At 17, she married and moved to Misson to live with her

husband, original to the village. MP did not go to school and, as a result, received no formal education in English, the language of instruction. During her childhood and adolescence, MP worked principally in the farms helping her various relatives. She often spent time helping her maternal grandmother cultivate her farm in Abar and do other related activities. Growing up, MP dated a man from Abar before marrying in Missong. She equally made a few friends and acquaintances from the villages she momentarily lived in —i.e., Biya, Ngun, and Abar. Due to contact with non-speakers of the LF languages as well as speakers who do not share a mutual language, she also learned CPE. In addition, she uses CPE with friends who have lived in the coast and worked in the plantations. Consequently, of these multiple contacts, she learned to speak six multiple lects and passive only in one lect.

Regarding her reported linguistic repertoire, she has an active competence in Missong, Munken, CPE, Ngun, Abar, Biya and a passive-only competence in Mashi. She claims to interact in these codes because they carry some significance depending on her interactions. She mentions that the motivation for using Missong with Missong people is to be loved and accepted by the community she is married into. Munken is used to communicating with her blood relations because, in this way, she is in “unity with them”. According to her reports, Ngun is used out of respect towards her step-grandfather and Biya and Abar to maintain ties with her grandmother and friends. Finally, CPE is used with strangers and friends and, importantly, to communicate and transact with customers.

C1

C1 (22) was raised singlehandedly by her mother, who comes from the Ndian quarter in the village of Koshin. Her father’s identity is unknown. She is married to a man from Ntchoh quarter in Koshin village. As such, she has lived all her life in Koshin. C1 has a friend in Mashi whom she frequently meets and interacts in CPE.

Ethnographic data indicates that she has active competence in two codes: Koshin and CPE. Her motivation for learning CPE is to facilitate communication, especially when she interacts with non-Koshin speakers in the market. She maintains that using Koshin with Koshin people instills respect towards her by others. She feels a close connection to the Koshin code because her

mother's family brought her up. She hardly moves outside of Koshin except during market days where she can buy the necessary produce.

C2

Although I was unable to collect ethnographic data from C2, I can make some approximate statements about C2 based on the video recording and some basic background information given by my consultant. C2 is slightly older than C1. She comes from Mashi.

S

S is the second younger sister of MP. She is 42 years old. Just like MP, she was born in her patrilineal compound in the Betschafeh quarter of the village of Munken. Both parents were originally from this village, though from different quarters. While MP moved to Biya to live with her maternal aunt due to her mother's death, S remained in Munken, cared for by her paternal aunt. She is married to a Munken man and lives in the village original to her parents. It was not in the tradition of females to go to school in the household of S and MP. As a result, S spent time on the farms planting and harvesting. S maternal grandmother comes from Abar, and later on, moved to Ngun to live with her husband to cultivate her farm in Abar and to do other related activities. S learnt CPE in the Munken village while interacting with her mates in the market and other outsiders. The limited exposure due to rare movements is reflected in her ability to speak a limited number of codes.

As to what concerns her reported linguistic repertoire, she has an active competence in Munken, Abar and CPE. She reports passive-only competence in Ngun. She reported using Abar with her grandmother when she went visiting and CPE with her customers.

	Abar	Munken	Missong	Ngun	Biya	Koshin	CPE	Mashi
MP	A	A	A	A	A	-	A	P
C1	-	-	-	-	-	A	A	-
C2	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	A
S	A	A	-	P	-	-	A	-

Table 25. Table summarizing the multilingual repertoires of MP, C1, C2 and S (P-Passive competence, A-Active competence).

	Abar	Munken	Missong	Ngun	Biya	Koshin	CPE	Mashi
M	1Members	1Associate	1Members	1Relations	1Relations		Associat	1Associate
P	hip with grandmoth er	d to parents by village	hip by marriage	hip mediated through the grandmoth er by marriage to a Ngun man	hip mediated through the maternal aunt by marriage to a Biya man		ed to non-LF member s	d to a few acquaintan ces
	2Relations hip with a man	2Associate d to father by quarter	2Associate d to a few friends					
		3Problems with brothers for inheritance						
		4Associate d to mother by quarter						
C1						1Associate d to mother by village	Associat ed to strangers	
						2Associate d to mother by quarter		
						3Members hip by marriage		
C2							Associat ed to strangers	1Members hip with parent

S	1Members hip with grandmother	1Associate d to parents by village	1Relations hip mediated through the grandmother er by marriage to a Ngun man	Associat ed to non-LF member and with friends
		2Associate d to father by quarter		
		3Associate d to mother by quarter		
		4members hip with husband		

Table 26. Table summarizing linguistic associations by social networks and the linguistic profiles of MP, C1 and C2.

Let us examine the following example as presented in Extract (1). MP is selling produce in the Abar market occasionally helped by her sister (S). C1 approaches towards MP and transaction of beans starts. Sometime later, C1 is accompanied by C2, and transaction continues. They use CPE (in bold), Munken (double lines) with the translations into English (italics) as in the gloss.

Extract 1. A transaction involving MP, C1, C2 and S

	Timing	Moves	P.	Text	Code
1	4:11	Open	C1:	(C8 points while looking at the beans) ◇beans na how much? <i>'How much does beans sell for'?</i>	CPE
2	4:12	Answer	MP:	One fifty <i>'One hundred and fifty'</i>	CPE
3	4:13	Open	C1:	((C8 turns her look towards MP)) Nobi one twenty-five? <i>Is it not one hundred and twenty-five?</i>	CPE
4	4:14	Open	MP:	[Hein <i>'What?'</i>	CPE
5		Open	C1:	[Nobi one twenty-five? <i>Is it not one twenty-five?</i>	CPE
6	4:16	Answer	MP:	bring ya bag <i>'Bring your wrap bag'</i>	CPE
7	4:17	Open	C1:	ma kam <i>I will be right back.</i> ((C8 turns looks to the direction she exits from))	CPE
8				((156 sec omission))	
9	6:43	Open	C1:	((C1 is accompanied by her friend))	

			C2:	Beans na how much? 'How much does beans cost '?	CPE
10	6:45	Answer	S	One fifty 'One fifty'	CPE
11	6:46	Open	C2:	((C9 looking directly at MP sister)) Nobi one hundred.. last for dey na [how much 'Does it not cost one hundred? What is the last offer price for the beans?'	CPE
12		Answer	MP	(MP bends over the beans with a measuring bowl in hand) [*one twenty-five <i>One hundred and twenty-five</i>	CPE
13	6:51		C1:	((C1 collects a black plastic paper from C2))	
14	6:52		C2:	((C1 bends down as she opens wide the plastic wrap to assist MP))	
15	6:55	Open	MP	putam for [here 'Place it here'	CPE
16		Open	C2:	((with the first scoop into the bag of means by MP)) [eh that pan nova flop 'the measurement is not right'	CPE
17	17:00		C1:	((C1 checking that the plastic is in good shape))	
18	17:05		MP	((pouring the measured beans into C1's plastic))	
19	17:24		C2	((C2 opens her hand bag, takes out the money and closes the bag. She stretches out her arm to hand the money to MP))	
20	17:41		C2	Takam 'Take it'	CPE
21	17:47		C1	((C1 adjusts her back pack and the wrapped beans in hand))	
22			C2	((C2 looks at MP as she brings out her balance))	
23	18:05		MP	((MP hands over the part of the balance to C2 ... MP Looks into her loin to see if she can find the remaining balance))	
24	18:12	Open	MP	((MP looks in the direction of her neighbor who is a vendor and request for balance)) <u>nà fobolong fifti bè change bi faiv hundred</u> 'Can you provide change for five hundred for I need fifty?'	Munke n/CPE
25	18:21	Answer	MP	((MP receives a fifty-franc coin from her neighbor and hands it over to C2))	

The interaction is between four participants MP, S, (sellers) C1 and C2 (buyers), who are in the business of transacting over beans. What we observe here is a typical routine of shared knowledge of roles by vendors and customers. C2 replicates almost the same order of speech by C1 when

transacting, so S also follows in MP's similar order of talk. The interaction is summarized as follows.

Lines 1-2 and 9-11 have to do more with the price. Bargain comes up in lines 3-5 and 11-12. The deal is finalized in lines 7-14 and 13-19. Finally, payment is realized in the last lines 20-25.

In this extract, the transaction is led almost entirely in one code, CPE. In fact, if one deletes MP's conversation in Munken and CPE with the passive character in line 24, we can be tempted to consider that the transaction between the sellers and buyers are performed using a single code. For instance, all but one line directed to a character outside the transacting situation is achieved in CPE. The question evoked from this interaction is: why do the participants communicate in CPE? The choice of the CPE code for the transaction is simply constrained by the need to communicate. The inferences about the participant's code selection are reflected in the repertoires of the individuals (see Table 27). Despite that none of the speakers is monolingual, the only available other code they all have active competence in is CPE. The motivation of use is out of necessity and not a choice. In this case, linguistic competencies as a sub-set of discourse-related meaning (Auer, 1999, p. 311) are the drive behind CPE use. This pattern of where a neutral code is used in the scenario where sellers and buyers lack a common local code for communication has been observed in the literature on language use in the market (Calvet, 1994; Connell, 2009).

We briefly comment about the switch to Munken by MP as some entire sub-sections are devoted to Choice practices during transactions. MP switches to Munken when speaking to another seller nearby (line 24) to request for change. Using a local code that both sellers associate with may trigger a personal relationship between them. They both have blood connections in Munken so that when MP uses Munken (the sign), what immediately comes to their minds is that they do not only share a commercial relationship—as vendors, but they connect at an interpersonal level—members of the same village and family (social indexical meaning).

7.12.1.2 The CPE code used as a strategy for social neutrality

In extract (2), I present the choice of CPE in a transaction event. The exchanges are recorded between the seller MP and the customers, C15, C16 and C17. C15 is a Mundabli woman married

to MP's brother, who is from Munken and accompanies C17, who originates from Mundabli as well. C16, a young boy from Koshin, interrupts the ongoing transaction with his request for avocados. But first, an ethnographic and biographic description is made available for possible interpretations.

7.12.1.2.1 Interactants metadata

Since I have already exposed MP's ethnographic and biographic information, I do not wish to repeat this here and in the subsequent sections where MP is involved in the interaction.

C15

C15 was born some 44 years ago to parents who originate from Mundabli in LF. She later got married to a man from Munken in the Betschafeh quarter. After marrying, C15 moved to Munken. Her grandmother-in-law comes from Abar, and the seller MP is her husband's sister. With respect to her locomotion, she has always generally not enjoyed moving from place to place because of the long trekking distances. She points out that she rarely visited the neighbouring villages of Mundabli at the time she was still residing there, as well as the villages closer to Munken. She has spent at least 15 years of her life in Munken, counting from the age of her first child. She acknowledged that Abar is the location she frequently visits to do trade. C15 reports active competence in 3 languages, namely: Mundabli, Munken and CPE. She notes that speaking Mundabli with people from Mundabli instils a sense of togetherness. In addition, using Munken with Munken people facilitates acceptance into the community she is married to. She explains that she uses CPE with strangers and people who do not speak the Mundabli code. She has not been exposed to the English language because she did not attend school.

C16

The only information I gathered concerning C16 was through my informant. He was born and lives in Koshin. C16 is about the age of 13. From the video recordings, he was recorded using CPE.

Therefore, what I have at hand in terms of his linguistic repertoire is mastery of Koshin and CPE. There is a high probability that he is in contact with the English language. He might just well be a pupil at the primary school in Koshin.

C17

Conversely, limited data gathered indicates that C17 is around her mid 30's and resides in Mundabli. She speaks Mundabli and CPE. I provide a summary of the linguistic repertoires of the speakers below.

	Abar	Munken	Missong	Ngun	Biya	Koshin	CPE	Mundabli	Mashi
MP	A	A	A	A	A	-	A	-	P
C15	-	A	-	-	-	-	A	A	-
C16	-	-	-	-	-	A	A	-	A
C17	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	A	-

Table 27. Table summarizing the multilingual repertoires of MP, C15, C16 and C17 (P=Passive competence, A=Active competence).

	Abar	Munken	Missong	Ngun	Biya	Koshin	CPE	Mashi	Mundabli
MP	1Member ship with grandmother 2Member ship with grandmother 3Relation ship with a man	1Associ ated to parents by village 2Associ ated to father by quarter 3Proble ms with brothers for inheritan ce 4Associ ated to mother by quarter	1Member ship by marriage 2Associ ated to a few friends	1Relation ship mediated through the grandmot her by marriage to a Ngun man	1Relation ship mediated through the maternal aunt by marriage to a Biya man		Associat ed to strangers Associat ed to incompetent users of the LF codes	1Associat ed to a few acquainta nces	
C15		Associat ed by marriage In-law to MP					Associat ed to strangers		Member ship with parents
C16						Member ship to by parents	Associat ed to strangers		
C17							Associat ed to strangers		Member ship with parents

Table 28. Table summarizing linguistic associations by the social networks and the linguistic profiles of MP, C1 and C2.

Extract 2. A transaction involving MP, C15, C16 and C17

Extract 2. C15 and C17 approach MP who sells produce in the Abar market, and the transaction of okro seeds starts. C16 later approaches MP and interrupts C15 and C17. They use CPE (in bold), Mundabli (in dashed-dotted lines) with the translations into English (italics) as in the gloss.

	Timing	Moves	P.	Text	Code
1	0:15		C15:	((approaching towards MP's stall))	
2	0:19		MP:	((points to the items displayed in front of her while looking at C15 and her company))	
3	0:21		MP:	((gets out of her seat and arranges her okro seeds))	
4	0:26	Open	C15:	Na okro for how much <i>'How much do you sell okro?'</i>	CPE
5	0:28	Answer	MP:	One twenty-five <i>'one hundred and twenty-five'</i>	CPE
6	0:29	Open	C15:	Nobi one hundred <i>'Is it not a hundred?'</i>	CPE
7	0:30	Answer	MP:	I be di sell three now I wan give wuna four for fifty <i>'I was selling three for fifty. I want to give four now for the same price'</i>	CPE
8	0:34	Answer	MP:	Wuna see how wey I di putam. Mek i just fixam for wuna noh. I go put [wuna dash <i>'Can you see how I am increasing the quantity for you? I will add some extra for free'.</i>	CPE
9			C16:	((a young male from Koshin walks towards MP))	
10		Open	C16:	[Pear na how much <i>'How much do you sell avocados for?'</i>	
11	0:43	Answer	MP:	(she pushes the boy away who obstructs her view) *Fifty. Give chance ma friend wan buy ma okro <i>'Fifty. Move away so that my friend can buy her okro'</i>	CPE
12	0:47	Open	C15:	Na how much for the okro anti <i>'how much does the okro cost aunty'</i>	CPE
13	0:48	Answer	MP:	I be put na three sef, but I be wan fixam [for you <i>'I did put 3, but I want to add one more for you'</i>	CPE
14	0:50	Open	C15:	[three] for fifty <i>'Three for fifty?'</i>	CPE
15	0:51	Answers	MP:	I don put na four now	CPE

16	0:53		C15:	<i>'I have just placed them in fours now'</i> ((looks in the direction of C17))	
17	0:54	Open	C15:	<i>má tang'á</i> <i>'Should I buy it?'</i>	Mundabli
18	0:56	Open	MP:	wuna buyam <i>'You guys should buy it'</i>	CPE
19	0:57	Answer	C15:	I wan buy pot for dey. [Make I change money for de <i>'I want to buy a pot so that I can have change'</i>	CPE
20	0:58	Open	MP:	[ok] OK	CPE
21		Close	C15:	((Turns around as if to leave))	
22			C17:	((C17 who accompanies C15 turns pointing towards groundnuts))	
23		Opens	C17:	You di sell groundnuts <i>'Are you selling groundnuts?'</i>	CPE
24	1:00	Answers	MP:	Four cups five hundred <i>'Four cups for five-hundred'</i>	CPE
25	1:04		C16:	(bending down to touch the pears)	
26		Opens	C16:	◊I nova ripe <i>'Is it ripe?'</i>	CPE
27	1:06		MP:	((looking at C15 and 16))	
28		Opens	MP:	If i be be na five i for don finish since morning time <i>'If it was for five cups, it would have sold them long ago'</i>	CPE
29	1:11	Answers	C15:	Hein <i>'What?'</i>	CPE
30	1:12	Opens	MP:	if i for be na five like i don finish <i>'If it was sold at five cups you would not have met it'</i>	CPE
31	1:15	Close	C15/17:	Exit	

The to-and-fro movement of turn-taking during the market transaction of some desired items is shown in Extract (2). The items requested are as follows: C15, accompanied by C17, is interested in okro seeds, C16 in avocados and C17 groundnuts. In this extract, I uncover the inquisition about the price of the various items in lines 1-5, 10-11 and 21-25. Then, the bargain is portrayed (in 6-9, 28-30) with C16 not given a chance to negotiate in line 11. Finally, the contemplation phase is captured in line 17. While the deal on the okro seeds is locked in lines 18 to 20, the avocados and groundnuts desired by C16 and C17, respectively, ends unsuccessfully.

In the extract, two languages are used. CPE, which is the dominant code, is used whenever the vendor exchanges with the customers and vice-versa. With the exclusion of line 17, the entire transaction holds in CPE. In lines 4, C15 opens the interaction in CPE by inquiring about the price of okro. MP responds in the same code announcing the price (line 5). They begin to negotiate on the number of seeds expected with a corresponding amount (lines 7-8) when a young male of about 13 interrupts their exchange (line 9). He begins by requesting avocados (line 10). However, MP does not entertain his request but reacts passively by pushing him while giving priority to C15. C15 repeats her inquiry (line 12), possibly motivated by the address MP assigns to her as a friend (line 11). She associates a mark of respect to MP this time around (line 12), hoping for a better deal. MP seems determined to do her business, and the bargain drags on (line 13-15). Feeling convinced, C15 confirms her uncertainty by seeking C17's opinion (line 17). Up to this point, this is the only instance where a local code is used, however, not directed to the seller. Deducing that both C15 and C17 are still in contemplation, she encourages them to purchase the item (line 18). C15 agrees to the deal and needs to seek change (line 19). The conversation continues this time with C17 interest in buying groundnuts (line 23) as she opens the conversation. MP responds in line 24 as she announces the price. All along, C16 stands close by observing as C15 and C17 transacts. Probably feeling he has waited for too long, he interrupts once again, seeking to know if the avocados are readily edible (line 26). MP ignores him once again and responds to C17 instead as they bargain over the groundnuts (28-30). C15 and C17 exit probably to return for the okro seeds.

Findings in language use studies in the market show that the goal of initiating a local code either by the trader (2009) or by the customer (Onyeche 2002) is for economic gains. One expects that Munken should be present during the transaction, especially as MP and C15 report active competence in Munken (see Table 29). Using a local code to which they share, at the very least, a referential meaning may seem to be a golden opportunity for both parties to make the most out of their transaction. For the customer—establishing a certain connection with the seller may result in a drop in price, and with the seller—accommodating the buyer in a local code may facilitate the customer's trust and loyalty while trading fairly. Interestingly, this is not the case. As we can see, C15 begins the interaction in CPE (line 4), and MP follows in response in the same code. In spite of the fact that C15 has lived in Munken for over 15 years and has the option of choosing Munken, she goes in for CPE. This turn-taking during the exchange is achieved throughout CPE.

One possible way to understand the choice of CPE is by inferring into the context. The selling and purchasing of goods, in general, is a quite “sensitive” environment in the sense that actors are in a no joking business. More, using a local code—Munken that is locally salient to both MP and C15 activates social closeness, which may put MP in an uncomfortable position to make economic favours. They have fixed objectives in mind, and a possible way of reaching their goals is by keeping aside any hitches. It is often the case that people take advantage of the social closeness to achieve their intentions. More so, in certain contexts, this is magnified through the language component. Friendship, for instance, is taken more seriously if the social actors (in this case, come from different linguistic backgrounds) are able to demonstrate that they speak the language(s) of each other (Bema, 2010; Di Carlo, Esene Agwara & Ojong, 2020). In order to avoid this deep ideological construct in the minds of the users, they might decide to keep things separate—that is match certain activities with certain languages in the same situational context. This might suggest that CPE is felt differently as compared with the local lects. So, it is not that “certain activities must match with certain languages” but, rather, that CPE is used in a special way. It might be that MP and C15 intuitively share knowledge of this sociocultural context that captures CPE use. When they are in a trading business, CPE perhaps is the preferred code that is regarded as a neutral code. We see C15 switches to the local code, Mundabli, when speaking to C17, who is her confidante, a fellow customer and her escort. She wishes to double-check with C17 about the offer by MP (line 17).

We equally see the role of a pragmatic function being highlighted through forms of address when in line 11; for example, MP addresses C15 as a friend. In response, C15 calls MP aunt (line 12). These addresses are meant to be used as flattery (see Bema 2010 for numerous examples in the Doula markets in Cameroon) to achieve the desired outcome. MP flattering C15 to purchase the desired item and C15 in return flatters MP possibly doing so to cut a fair deal. The motivation behind these forms of address seems not to indicate any close relationship because neither is MP an aunty to C15 nor is C15 a friend to MP. They appear to be using these forms to meet up their desired objectives. They can go as far as flattering each other in what they understand as a market talk, but this seems to be as far as it can go. Crossing the line into a local code may trigger “real” ethnographic associations and, by extension, linguistic links to the users that might engender a failed business deal. One other possible reading that might be mentioned is that the use of Munken would have triggered too close a relationship between the two so letting MP think that C15 is

begging her to make a discount or give the good for free. There is dignity negotiated here, so among the objectives of a market transaction, there is not only cutting the best economical deal but also doing this without compromising one's face or a relationship. From this perspective, market transactions are not "totalizing" the interactants' choices, i.e., they interact in the market as part of a wider and ongoing relationship that includes, but is not limited to, the market transaction. In addition, the data seem to suggest that the choice of CPE is of social or indexical relevance.

From an ethnographic outlook presented in Table 30, we notice that MP and C15 share a linguistic and social relationship. C15 is married to MP's brother, the original Munken. It is no surprise that C15 reports to speak Munken. This is backed by the fact that she has been in contact with the Munken language after her matrimony to MP's brother. She moved away from Mundabli, the birthplace and village of origin, to reside in Munken. We also observe that MP, who was once residing in Munken, moved to Missong, her husband's place. With such ethnographic and biographical description comes some linguistic consequences with respect to code choice and use. According to MP's reports, her brothers, against their late father's wishes, have disinherited her and her children. Her brothers feel that the lands should be shared amongst the male children and grandchildren only. However, she strongly is against this decision because she has brought forth 2 male children who, in her opinion, should be entitled to their grandfather's inheritance. The repercussion of this behaviour shaped by the decisions of her brothers may have triggered such a negative feeling to the extent that speaking a local code with the wife of her brother could bring a certain closeness she may wish to avoid. The choice of Munken (sign) activates the membership with C15 through her brother—who carries the Munken identity. We see that she opts for the neutral code. A possible interpretation to C15's choice of CPE appears to suggest that she understands their contention as she wishes to disassociate herself to the problem at hand, the reason why she chooses to begin the conversation on a neutral basis.

7.12.1.3 CPE and numerals in transactions

One of the ways in which the multilingual individuals of LF exhibit language use involves the mixing of an LF code(s) and CPE. In the data provided below, we find many instances of

insertional mixing (Auer, 1999), also seen as borrowing (Blommaert, 1992) with numerals during transactions. Throughout the entire video recordings at the Abar market (also noticed during financial come together), no single instance of a numeral is not expressed in CPE. This is not limited to the use of numbers for money talk but also count items for sale. I present some selected portions of the entire interactions recorded to make clear this point. Extracts 3 and 4 illustrates insertional mixings or borrowings for financial transactions at the Abar market.

Extract 3. A transaction between C7 and MP

Extract (3) C7 approaches MP at her marketplace and the transaction of avocados begin. They use Abar (single line) and CPE (in bold), with the translations into English (italics) as in the gloss.

	Timing	Moves	P.	Text	Code
1	3:04	Open	C7:	<u>bè pijè bɛ fɔ à kwəumè</u> <i>'How much do your pears cost?'</i>	Abar
2	3:05	Answer	MP:	<u>à fifti</u> <i>'it is fifty'</i>	Abar/CPE
3	3:06	Open	C7:	<u>Em</u> <i>'What?'</i>	Abar
4	3:07	Answer	MP:	fifty <i>'fifty'</i>	CPE

The transaction in (3) takes place between C7 and MP. He is interested in avocados and makes an inquiry about the cost (line 1). MP responds by announcing the price in two codes, in Abar and CPE (line 2). The use of /à/ in line 2 acts as a dummy subject marker where an independent pronoun is modified by a numeral (Lovegren 2013:190) uttered in CPE. C7 reiterates in Abar by inquiring about the avocados (line 3), and the response is uttered in lines 4 by MP once again simply restating the price in CPE.

Extract 4: A transaction between S4 and MP

Extract (4) MP wishes to buy pumpkin seeds. S4 presents the bag of pumpkin seeds in front of her, and the transaction starts. They use Munken (double line) and CPE (in bold), with the translations into English (italics) as in the gloss.

	Timing	Moves	P.	Text	Code
1	1:20	Opens	MP	(points to where the lid is) <i>*bíkpwè bifimijà iwáhábá ikwéhé gowáhábíjá</i> 'Go bring the lid of this pan so that I can do a proper measurement'	Munken
2	1:25	Answers	S4	(open right palm facing upwards) ◇ <i>[kí nyeyà òkí nyeyà mo] kwabo kí nyeyà</i> 'what is the matter, what is the matter with you'	Munken
3		Opens	MP	(points to the lid) <i>*[tsá káŋ]</i> 'Bring the lid'	Munken
4	1:34	Opens	S4	<i>wá mé tu hondrød né nó</i> 'You have to give me two hundred, right?'	Munken/ CPE
5	1:36	Answers	MP	(points in the direction of the pan) <i>ba*yi tsakaŋ bi mēne</i> 'bring that pan to me'	Munken
6	1:37	Opens	S4	<i>bám wōma [bəmō mē tu hondrød wōnyé wō nkap momo]</i> 'Hold on, the money you have to give me is two hundred'	Munken/ CPE
7		Answers	MP	(nods head) <i>* [hein tsakaŋ bil]</i> 'yes bring the pan'	Munken

In Extract (4), MP transacts with S4 over pumpkin seeds. The transaction takes place in the Munken and CPE codes. Before S4 brings the lid MP is asking for (lines 1 and 3), she needs to make sure they agree on the amount MP is to pay (lines 4 and 6). The numeral 200 is inserted in between the Munken phrases.

We see in extracts (3 and 4) as illustrative examples of how numerals are expressed during transactions. This seems to be the general way of speaking among LF members in the market and in situations that deal with finances. Such insertions or borrowings do not appear to carry any local meanings but a pragmatic one. In fact, the code-mixing or borrowings presented here as well as in other transactional examples, are not related to a participant-related interpretation but to Hoffmann's (1991) category of topical code-mixing as pragmatically-constituted. In this sense, users prefer to use a particular code to express a theme otherwise unfamiliar in their everyday use. Therefore, the choice to use numerals in CPE, despite those utterances that carry numerical expressions that begin with a local code (line 2, extract 3 and lines 4 and 6, extract 4), do not function as a compensation strategy in Abar (extract 3) or Munken (extract 4) but, simply because

it is a habitual way of expressing numbers during transactions. Using numerals during transactions seems to require effort when speaking in the local code. Valentine (1994, p. 318) notes in her study on code-switching in the Severn area of Canada that the preference for the choice of English for expressing numbers to a local language is associated with the linguistic cumbersomeness of numbers above twenty. In Mungbam, this “cumbersomeness” may affect even smaller numbers. Lovegren’s (2013) shows that the complexity in the counting system begins from number six where, for instance, 6 is constructed from a based off reduplication of 3, and 7 is formed from the combination of 4 and 3 and so forth (Lovegren, 2013, p. 161-164).

Moreover, data indicate that there exist corresponding terms in the LF codes that are used on other occasions. For instance, in Buu, when expressing time in duration, for example, when someone says, “I have not seen him for more than 5 months”, 5 is mentioned in a local code. Another situation noted is during a conversation about the price of a vaccine against Rubella in the health unit in Abar. The price is mentioned in a local code (R. Ojong, personal communication, November 8, 2019). Therefore, one could argue that the mixing of codes in the market situation, which includes representing numerals always in CPE, is one way of the habitual ways that multilingual speakers interact with languages that may have no local meanings attached with the expressions of numerals. Rather, using CPE numerals during the transaction could provide a basis for contextual meaning, i.e., during market transactional situations, where the use of numerals and count items may be far too repetitive.

7.12.2 The use of two or more codes in market transactions

The multilingual members in LF are found to juxtapose two or more codes to achieve transactional goals. The findings indicate that 16 of 30 (53%) video recordings were carried out either in CPE and (a) local code(s). Elsewhere, language use in the market shows a high degree of CS between the languages of wider communication and the local codes among members. While sellers adopt the local language of buyers for economic gains, the language of wider communication is used to bridge communication difficulties (Laitin and Eastman 1989). Onyeche (2002) reports that the choice of a local code depends on the intelligibility of market interactants. That is to say that the buyers and sellers use Nigerian Pidgin English when speakers do not understand each other but

switch to Ika, the local code of the town, to establish a good vibe. However, I show in the following examples that despite the need to successfully do trade, choices are more encoded in social meanings beyond intelligibility choices and establishing good relations. Speakers make use of the social affinities they share in one way or the other to communicate their desired economic objectives. While prevalent in the market, the economic objectives remain part of a wider system of social significance, where “dignity” (i.e., face) is also constantly negotiated. This might be the case in Abar but not in the other markets found in the literature, because the Abar market is relatively small, and most people know each other. In the sections that follow, two examples are used to illustrate code choice involving two codes (CPE and a local code), and one example in the data where more than two codes are used (CPE and local codes), I first provide the tools that help us analyze the data in each interaction.

7.12.2.1 The use of CPE and a local code

Extract (5) presents a transaction between MP, C20, S2 and S3.

7.12.2.1.1 Metadata of the interactants

C20

Though biographic and ethnographic data was not collected from C20, the field consultant reports that C20 originates from of the northwest region and resides in the Wum area. She visits the Abar dispensary occasionally to carry out HIV tests and administer vaccines to LF inhabitants. The health unit is in close proximity to the market surroundings. I speculate that she is around 34 years old and has trained as a nurse from the recordings. Based on her duties as a nurse, I expect that she has had more than a basic level of schooling and, as such, can speak English fluently. She is recorded using CPE when transacting with MP.

S2

S2, aged 56 was born and raised in the village of Munken in the Mbu quarter. Her mother originated from the same village but was a member of the Fim quarter. S2, later on, married a

man from the same village where she originally comes from. She received no formal education. S2 shares affinities in Abar and has friends in Mufu. She often visits Missong and Ngun to buy some life stock for traditional rituals. She is highly multilingual in lects and languages. She reports speaking a total of 7 lects and 3 languages, respectively. More, she reports passive-only competence in 1 lect and 1 language. In order of claimed proficiency in lects (i.e., more proficient to less proficient), she speaks Munken, Abar, Missong, Biya, Ngun, Mufu, CPE and understands only Mashi. For languages, she speaks Mungbam, Mufu and CPE, and has passive competence in Mashi. She claims that using Munken carries a sense of identity associated with her parent’s origins. According to her, Abar is used with her Abar relatives and Missong, Ngun and Biya are used to gain favours during trading in the named villages and in the Abar market. She equally claims that she uses CPE to communicate with people (especially foreigners) who do not share the same active codes present in her repertoire.

S3

Data gathered from my field guide, consultant, and informal discussions with MP indicate that S3, aged around 42, also a seller, comes from Munken. She has lived for almost 23 years outside LF, precisely in Limbe, before migrating to the city, where she received minimal schooling for two years at the Abar Missong primary school. S3 recently returned to her parent’s compound in Umbu quarter in Munken due to her separation from her township husband of an unknown origin. She reports active competence in Munken and CPE. MP mentioned that S3’s long stay outside LF is the reason why she speaks only two codes. Below is a summary of the linguistic repertoires of the participants.

	Abar	Munken	Missong	Ngun	Biya	Mufu	CPE	Mashi	English
MP	A	A	A	A	A	-	A	P	-
C20	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	A
S2	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	-
S3	-	A	-	-	-	-	A	-	-

Table 29. Table summarizing the multilingual repertoires of MP, C20, S2 and S3 (P-Passive competence, A-Active competence).

	Abar	Munken	Missong	Ngun	Biya	Mufu	CPE	Mashi	English
M	1Member	1Associated	1Members	1Relation	1Relation		Associate	1Ass	
P	ship with grandmother	to parents by village	hip by marriage	ship mediated through the grandmother by marriage to a Ngun man	ship mediated through the maternal aunt by marriage to a Biya man		d to strangers Associate	ociated to a few acquaintances	
	2Member	2Associated	2Ass	her	her		d to incompetent users of the codes		
	ship with grandmother	to father by quarter	ociate	to a few friends					
	3Relation	3Problems with brothers for inheritance	d to a few friends						
	ship with a man	4Associated to mother by quarter							
C2							Associate		Associate
0							d to strangers		through schooling
S2	Members hip with relatives	1Associated to parents by village	Assoc iated to the members for economic reasons	Associate d to the members for economic reasons	Associate d to the members for economic reasons	Member ship with friends	Associate d to strangers		
	Members hip mediate through marriage		Members hip with husband from Otong						

S3	1Associated to parents by village	Associate d to strangers
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Table 30. Table summarizing linguistic associations by the social networks and the linguistic profiles of MP, C20, S2, and S3.

In Extract (5) C20 (a buyer and non-LF member), advances towards MP, who is selling food items (including the avocados owned by S3) and her purchase of avocados start. S2 and S3—MP’s neighbours, join in the transaction. They use Munken (in double lines) and CPE (in bold) with English translations glossed (in italics).

Extract 5. A transaction between C20, MP, S2 and S3

	Time	Moves	P.	Text	Code
1	0:01		C20:	((C20 facing MP and makes a request in a faint voice))	
2	0:02	Open	MP:	(MP lifts up her head and looks at C20) *hein <i>‘What?’</i>	CPE
3	0:03	Answer	C20:	I want pear for one hundred <i>‘I want pears for a hundred’</i>	CPE
4	0:04	Open	MP:	(points to the avocados) *fifty <i>‘fifty (each)’</i>	CPE
5	0:10	Open	S2:	<u>afo dzia yinkwe</u> <i>‘What did she say?’</i>	Munken
6	0:12	Answer	MP:	(turns in S2’s direction) <u>*hein</u> <i>‘What?’</i>	Munken
7	0:13	Open	S2:	(exchanges looks with MP) <u>*be piea befo bekwo mbi</u> <i>‘How much did you say a pear cost?’</i>	Munken
8	0:14	Answer	MP:	fifty <i>‘fifty’</i>	CPE
9	0:16	Open	S3:	<u>a be tebe fon ve</u> <i>‘You should have increased the amount’</i>	Munken
10			C20:	((starts to move away))	
11	0:17	Open	S3:	Buy ya pear <i>‘Purchase your pears’</i>	CPE
12	0:18	Open	MP:	sister cam <i>‘Come sister’</i>	CPE

13	0:20	Open	S2:	<u>ati buna a be nye ne wan hundred</u> 'She said that she has one hundred'	Munken/C PE
14	0:21	Open	MP:	Come takam 'Come and take it'	CPE
15	0:23	Open	S3:	((Looking at C20)) Go takam you mami wey i di hala i no know yi the price 'Pick up your pears. Never mind the mother (s2) who is shouting there for she is not aware of the price.'	CPE
16	0:26	Open	MP:	Come pick your own go levam then you come 'Come and select yours. Go and keep them (items earlier purchased) and return'	CPE
17	0:29		C20:	((looking at the items she already has in hand))	
18	0:32	Open	S3:	you for you for buy [small rapun 'You should have (x2) purchased a small wrap plastic bag'	CPE
19		Answer	C20:	[someone dey for dey gi me i seeyam 'If you have one there give it to me'	CPE
20	0:35	Open	S3:	See yam we no bring ripe one because when yi soft that sun di makam over holdlam softenam, so better we sellam emm you di buyam you know say you takam now you go likam. You understand me noh. Na why that we di bring the pears them. Last week people de 'Look, we do not bring the ripe avocados because the sun renders them soft. It is better we sell them this way so that you will be pleased to buy good avocados. Do you understand me? This is the reason why we bring them this way. Last week, people destroyed the avocados (by constant touching)'	CPE
21	0:51		C20:	((C20 bends over to touch the pears and drops a wrapped item))	
22	0:52	Open	MP:	Eh lokot oh 'Eh! Be careful!'	CPE
23	0:57	Open	S3:	At least you for hold some [bag noh mami you for come buy some that mukuta bag 'You should have brought a wrap bag with you, right mother? You should have bought a big mukuta (special bag for carrying produce) wrap bag'	CPE
24		Answer	C20:	[I go go puttam inside ma bag] 'I will put it inside my bag when I return'	
25	1:00	Open	S3:	((S3 complains to MP about C20 handling of the avocados)) <u>wo sibi bom lewo tcholokey</u> Do you see what I was talking about	Munken

26	1:03	Answer	MP:	<u>Em</u> 'Yes'	Munken
27	1:05	Open	S3:	if you buyam some pikin go hellep go leavam for you <i>'If you buy them (avocados) a child will help you to carry'</i>	CPE
28	1:06		C20:	((turns around backing the sellers))	
29	1:08	Open	MP:	Even me I fit carryam sef <i>'I can help carry them as well'</i>	CPE
30	1:17	Close	C20:	((exits))	

The discussion captured in Extract (5) concerns transactions over avocados. MP is assisting S3 to sell her avocados because S3 has observed a fast turnover of MP's produce in general. As noted with the interactions above, the customer generally begins the transaction. In lines 1-3, the request phase is introduced by C20. Line 4 unfolds with the price announcement. MP, S2 and S3 exchange about the price mentioned by MP in lines 5-10. The remaining lines (11-30) dwell on convincing strategies employed by MP and her colleagues towards C20, except for lines 25 and 26 that focuses on the complaints about the negative consequences of the repeated touching of avocados. While lines 11-16 and 19 are about branding the desired item, lines 17-24 and 27 show MP and S3 suggesting a wrap bag solution. The transaction comes to a close in line 30.

The transaction in example (5) is held in CPE and Munken. While MP, S2 and S3 use Munken to understand and negotiate the price arrangement (lines 5-9 and 13), S3 and MP express dissatisfaction later on using it. MP agrees (line 26) to S3 complains about the gentle pressure applied on the avocados by C20 (line 25). I discuss the meanings associated with the switch to Munken in the later part of this sub-section. The remaining transaction takes place in CPE. C20 begins the transaction by requesting to buy avocados in CPE (line 3), the code she believes she can be understood. To achieve effective communication, MP responds (line 4) by telling her the cost of a single avocado, knowing fully well that as a foreigner who rarely visits the LF area, C20 lacks passive and active competence in Munken (see Table 31).

S2, MP and S3 all go in for a code they all share in common (cf. Table 31) as if to prevent C20 from following in what they are discussing. Feeling left out, C20 decides to move away (line 10). C20's physical reaction to taking steps back prompts MP, S2 and S3 to realize that they might quickly lose a customer. This causes an alternation into CPE, the code understood by all the

participants (see Table 31). S3 rapidly engages C20 as she uses convincing words like the possessive determiner 'your' avocados (line 11). Literally, 'your' denotes that the avocados belong to C20, so price negotiation is unnecessary. However, the intention of the S3 goes beyond the literal meaning. However, this lexical item is not strange in transaction routines as it is rather a typical one. Oftentimes, vendors engage in such discourse to motivate the customers to buy their desired items. In fact, what they consider as belonging to the customer. C20 understands that this is normally what obtains in the market scene. The customer knows that it is a fashionable way for vendors to give value and sell their produce, which might often turn out to mark a successful transaction. C20 is fully aware that S3 wishes for her to purchase the avocados. She finally stays put and shows further interest in buying the item by requesting a wrap bag (lines 17 and 19).

Conversely, MP follows in C20's discourse choices by evoking the term 'sister' (line 12). This term does not imply that MP and C20 share a blood relationship, but it is rather used as a strategy of persuasion. MP intends to maintain a good interpersonal relationship by giving respect to the customer, which it appears she highly recognizes, and values. S2's insistence of maintaining Munken to transact (line 14) put S3 in an uncomfortable spot as she is determined to convince C20 to make her purchase. In line 15, she assures C20 that S2 lacks knowledge about the cost price of the avocados. MP continues by asking C20 to make a selection of the avocados (line 16). Both MP and S3 offer services that are usually not the norm in such a buying and selling context. They offer to make available a child who will help C20 carry the avocados since she is carrying lots of things (line 21) and lacks a wrap bag (lines 18 and 23).

It may be highly possible that C20 lacks competence in the local code that MP, S2 and S3 alternate into. Their use of Munken rather than CPE is a matter of choice. This choice may be motivated by the desire to exclude C20 from their discussion. The kind of information handled might not be pleasant or is apprehended negatively by C20 as a customer, who appears to feel that the sellers exchange may not be to her advantage. Her desire to exit the scene in line 10 is an indication that she feels uncomfortable. While this is not completely new in CS studies, the discussions around code choices have been related to power relations, for instance, between parents and children. However, there is neither an index pointing to the influence of power relations in this interaction nor is there a divergence as a means to portray salient features of a group. What is rather occurring is associated with a linguistic divergence to hinder communication. Looking at the data, the use of

Munken rather than CPE by MP, S2 and S3 selects the participants for whom it is meant. MP, S2 and S3 are fully aware that C20 lacks competence in Munken, which they use to their advantage to conceal information that will be perceived negatively if the hearer, i.e., C20, is able to understand.

Discourse contextualization switching emerges following some selected portions of the extract (5). The switching witnessed in this interaction does not always mean a change in the sociocultural setting or topic. A switch might take place if the “footing” changes (see Auer 1988). The switching in lines 5-9 changes the “footing of the interaction”. MP briefly responds to C20 on the price of the avocados in CPE like in other transactional interactions without any emotional twist attached to the response—a purely contextual phenomenon. Furthermore, the same topic of telling the price is maintained, but on a different note, S3, for instance, prefers that MP announces a much higher price than usual. In order that C20 is kept outside the loop (line 9), an alternation into a code C20 does seem necessary. S3 (assisted by MP in selling her goods) seems to evaluate C20 as financially viable as a foreigner working at the health unit. Thus, increasing the price seems to be a wise business strategy. The switching, therefore, coincides with the change in footing, which is marked by a mere routine-based price announcement to an over-priced item to make more gain than normal.

We present another example of language choice involving a local code and CPE. The interaction in extract (6) occurs between C11—a buyer of Missong origin and MP—a seller original to the Munken village.

7.12.2.1.2 Metadata of the interactants

C11

C11 is a female aged 32 at the time of the interview who is from the Mbu quarter in Munken. Her mother, just like MP’s father, comes from the Betschafeh quarter. Likewise, to MP, she is married to a man from the Biandezem quarter in Missong village and has lived for approximately 14 years in the Missong area. C11 has a stepmother from Mashi. She frequently makes visits to her friends in Abar, Biya and Ngun. She received primary school education for 6 years, where she made

friends with classmates from Ngun and Abar. She reports passive competence in 9 lects and 5 languages and active competence in 8 lects and 4 languages. Concerning lects, she speaks Munken, Missong, Abar, Mashi, CPE, Biya, Ngun, and English and has a passive-only competence in French. In terms of languages, she is active in Mungbam, CPE, Mashi, and English and passive in French. She reports that she uses Munken with her parents for respect and Mashi with her stepmother to please her father. According to her, using Abar, Ngun and Biya with her friends brings them closer to each other. She reports learning and using English at school and outside of school to show that she has been to school. Using Missong with her husband and Missong people, in general, generates love, acceptance and respect from her husband particularly and the Missong in general. She mentions using CPE often with strangers.

	Abar	Munken	Missong	Ngun	Biya	English	CPE	Mashi	French
MP	A	A	A	A	A	-	A	P	-
C11	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P

Table 31. Table summarizing the multilingual repertoires of MP and C11 (P-Passive competence, A-Active competence).

	Abar	Munken	Missong	Ngun	Biya	English	CPE	Mashi	French
M P	1Member ship with grandmot her 2Member ship with grandmot her 3Relation ship with a man	1Associa ted to parents by village 2Associa ted to father quarter 2Associa ted to mother by quarter 3Proble ms with brothers for inheritan ce 4Associa ted to mother by quarter	1Member ship by marriage 1Member ship with man from Biandzem quarter 2Associa ted to a few friends	1Relation ship mediated through the grandmot her by marriage to a Ngun man	1Relation ship mediated through the maternal aunt by marriage to a Biya man		Associat ed to strangers Associat ed to incompe tent users of the LF codes	1Associat ed to a few acquainta nces	
	Members hip with friends	1Associa ted to parents by village 2Associa ted to mother by quarter 2Associa ted to father by quarter	1Member ship by marriage 1Member ship with man from Biandzem quarter	Members hip with friends	Members hip with friends	Associa ted through schooli ng	Associat ed to strangers	2Member ship with step mother mediated through marriage	Associa ted through schooli ng

Table 32. Table summarizing linguistic associations by the social networks and the linguistic profiles of MP and C11.

Extract 6. A transaction between MP and C11

In Extract (6), C11 approaches MP, who is selling produce, and the transaction of avocados starts. They use Missong (in normal font) and CPE (in bold) with English translations glossed (in italics).

	Timing	Moves	P.	Text	Code
1	2:29		C11:	(C11 bends on one leg touching the avocados in front of MP)	
2		Open	C11:	òì bònglé wá bè djà <i>'Can I buy these avocados?'</i>	Missong
3	2:31	Answer	MP:	wí bì tún... wàhá ne kwèlé nì tsèlè ʒì yə nì tsèlè ʒì yə wà... lá sè nó [ʒènkwə <i>'It is not yet edible. Buy them and take home. You can eat them by tomorrow. Even tomorrow or the day after'</i>	Missong
4	2:38	Open	C11:	[I wan now <i>'I want (to eat it) right away'</i>	CPE
5	2:40	Close	C11:	((C11 turns around and leaves))	

The interaction in (6) occurs between two females who share linguistic and social affinities in common. They are recorded transacting over avocados. As usual, the customer opens the interaction with a request about the desired item (line 1-2). Line 3 signals the seller's role of convincing the buyer to purchase the item. C11 declines MP's suggestion and insists on the need to buy avocados that are readily edible (line 4). Finally, the closure phase is indicated in line 5.

In (6), two codes are used to transact, namely: Missong and CPE. The interaction is dominated by the use of Missong (lines 2-4). C11 starts with a polite request inquiring if she can purchase avocados in Missong. MP understands that C11 is not limiting her request to purchasing the avocados simply. However, the state of consumption is rather a determining factor for making a purchase, without which the response to the question will take the literal meaning of a yes or no answer. MP understands from the shared cultural knowledge that avocados are likely to be bought when they are at a stage of being consumed. Therefore, MP adopts the code of C11 and responds with instructions and a convincing discourse. Her uninterrupted lengthy talk marked by pauses (line 3) seems to suggest that C11 is keenly following. MP assures C11 that if she buys the avocados, she can eat them after 24 hours or maximum in 48 hours. Unbelievable to C11, she rejects MP's proposition with a switch to CPE.

Basically, C11's choice of Missong against several codes (see Table 33) allows for us to advance meaningful interpretations such as the indexical meanings thanks to the ethnographic tool provided (see Table 34). It is considered that the choice of a local code—Missong in this transaction (6) is to secure economic favours. However, the choice of Missong among five other intelligible local codes can be called into question. Under such circumstances, one would assume that the default code would be Munken—the code associated with the village where both participants were born and had at least paternal and maternal kins there. MP and C11 share linguistic membership not only at a village level—a broad category, but at a quarter level—a more specific category. However, they go in for Missong. As described in the biographic and ethnographic data of the participants, the linguistic sign that is most salient to both interactants is the one that is associated with marriage. C11 seems to think that using Missong with MP in the Munken corner (see market organization sketch) distinguishes them as members connected to a linguistic group thanks to marriage both at a village and quarter level. MP and C17 are both married to men who are original come from the Biandzem quarter (see Table 34). Moreover, their choice of Missong may be linked at an emotional level. A code that speaks to the deep feelings—like the love for their husbands (through their long stay in marriage and children produced from the union) may have triggered the use of Missong over Munken, for instance. In addition, MP's decision to accommodate C11 in the transaction may not only be limited to locking a fair deal and establishing good rapport. The biographic and ethnographic data indicates that MP has deep-rooted conflict with her family (brothers) over land inheritance issues. This state of conflict might explain her choice of Missong over Munken.

As I have already indicated above (see section 7.12.1.2), the use of CPE serves as a strategy for neutrality. The switch from Missong to CPE by C11 (line 5) exemplifies once more the place of CPE as a suppressor of social relations. CPE reduces the relational intensity that is shared between MP and C11. It appears that to ensure a smooth escape of not falling for MP's persuasiveness on the one hand and not hurting their social relationship on the other, the choice of CPE is achieved.

Let us continue to examine some more examples of transactions that involve more than two codes to illustrate the analytical tools that allow the interpretations of the social meanings that shape these interactions.

7.12.2.2 The use of CPE and local languages

Extract (7) portrays a case of code-alternation between Abar, Munken (local codes) and CPE in a transaction event. The transactional interaction takes place between MP—a female trader, C14—a female customer—and S2—another female trader. I provide biographical data only concerning C14 here as data about MP and S2 have already been presented.

7.12.2.2.1 Interactants' metadata

C14

C14, who was 32 at the time of the interview in 2018, comes from patrilineal descent in the Otong quarter of the village of Abar. Just like MP, whose grandmother comes from Abar, C14's father and mother hail from this village, even though they come from different quarters. C14 completed her primary education at the government school in Abar at the age of 13 and came into contact with English as a language of instruction. In addition, she learned other local codes due to her exposure to other members of her class who came from Missong. At 15, she got married in the same village to a man from Itong quarter in Abar village, with whom they are now divorced. After her separation, she has so far gotten into sexual relationships with men from Missong and Munken. C14 occasionally moves outside Abar unless for a solidarity visit for a few hours to support her partners and sisters-in-law. Her brothers, who have married women from Mashi and Munken, respectively, speak the Abar language, with rare CPE occurrences. C14 also reported that her former husband's wife, who is from Munken, abused her children emotionally and physically. With respect to C14's linguistic repertoire, she reports active competence in 6 lects (Abar, Munken, Ngun, CPE, English, Missong) and passive-only competence in 5 lects (Fang, Biya, Koshin, Mashi and Mundabli). While using Abar serves as a code of secrecy from foreigners who visit the Abar area, using all other active codes facilitate discounts of commodities, with the exception of CPE and English. C14 sees English as a language of education and modernity, and CPE serves as an "emergency" language to bridge language barriers that exist among users.

	Abar	Munken	Missong	Ngun	Biya	Mufu	CPE	Mashi	English	Fang	Koshin	Mundabli
MP	A	A	A	A	A	-	A	P	-	-	-	-
S2	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	-	-	-	-
C14	A	A	A	A	P	-	A	P	A	P	P	P

Table 33. Table summarizing the multilingual repertoires of MP, S2 and C14 (P-Passive competence, A-Active competence).

	Abar	Munken	Missong	Ngun	Biya	Mufu	CPE	Mashi	English	Fang	Koshin	Mundabli
M P	1Membership with grandmother 2Membership with grandmother quarter 3Relationship with a man	1Associated to parents by village 2Associated to father by quarter 3Problems with brothers for inheritance 4Associated to mother by quarter	1Members hip by marriage 2Associated to a few friends 3Associated to the members for economic reasons	1Relationship mediated through the grandmother by marriage to a Ngun man 2Associated to the members for economic reasons	1Relationship mediated through the maternal aunt by marriage to a Biya man	-	Associated to strangers Associated to few incompetent users of the LF codes	1Associated to a few acquaintances				
S 2	Membership with relatives Membership mediate through marriage Membership with husband from Otong	1Associated to parents by village	Associated to the members for economic reasons	Associated to the members for economic reasons	Associated to the members for economic reasons	Membership with friends	Associated to strangers					

C 14	Membership with parents Membership with father from Otong Membership with mother from Oku Membership with husband Membership with husband from itong	Associated with acquaintances for economic reasons	-	Associated to by friends/strangers	Associated with acquaintances for economic reasons	Associated through acquaintances for economic reasons	Associated with acquaintances for economic reasons	Associated with acquaintances for economic reasons	Associated with acquaintances for economic reasons			
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Table 34. Table summarizing linguistic associations by the social networks and the linguistic profiles of MP, S2, and C14.

Extract 7. A transaction between MP, C14 and S2

Extract (7) presents MP selling her produce in the Abar market. C14 approaches and stands next to S2 and the transaction of groundnuts begins. They use Abar (single line), Munken (double line) and CPE (in bold), with the translations into English (italicized) as in the gloss.

	Timing	Moves	P.	Text	Code
1	1:00		C14	((C14 approaches MP while looking towards the ground where items are displayed))	
2	1:01	Open	C14	<u>à rapún wá dáhá</u> 'Where is your wrap plastic for selling?'	Abar
3	1:03		MP	((MP gets out of her seat and bends over in the direction of the groundnuts))	
4	1:10	Answer	MP	<u>rapún lì pìn lá fò</u> 'There is no wrap plastic?'	Abar
5	1:11	Open	C14	<u>rapún wò</u> 'Where is the wrap plastic?'	Abar
6	1:12	Answer	MP	i noh get me rapun 'I do not have a wrap plastic'	CPE
7	1:14	Open	C14	<u>è bò dìn lá</u> 'How can you say this?'	Abar
8	1:15	Answer	MP	(pointing to a plastic in C14's hand) * <u>rapún lá</u> 'That is a wrap plastic'	Abar
9	1:16		C14	(C14 points to the groundnuts and MP bends over it)	
10		Open	C14	◊à one twenty faiv 'Does it cost one hundred and twenty-five?'	Abar/CPE
11	1:18	Open	S2	((S2 who is standing close to C14 points to the groundnuts)) <u>dàà yí ì fòmá súm</u>	Abar

12	1:20	Open	C14	<i>'The (groundnuts) are so fresh'</i> <u>à yí hẹ̀ è owà yí hẹ̀ ì ràpún là</u> <i>'This wrap plastic of mine is meant to be used for something else'</i>	Abar
13	1:22			((C14 looking in different directions to see if she can find a plastic wrap))	
14	1:26	Open	S2	((looking at MP)) <u>nèé à kpwò ràpún fẹ̀ m̀è fí m̀è wé nò?</u> <i>'Can you help with a plastic wrap'</i>	Munken
15	1:27			((All three women are looking to see if they can beg for a plastic wrap around))	
16	2:13		C14	((a black plastic wrap is given to C14 by a male seller ((This is not captured in the video))	
17	2:14	Open	C14	Na how much for groundnut <i>'How much are your groundnuts sold for?'</i>	CPE
18	2:20	Open	C14	Na how much for one cup <i>'How much do you sell a cup of groundnuts for'</i>	CPE
19	2:22	Answer	MP	One cup na one twenty-five <i>'a cup cost one hundred and twenty-five'</i>	CPE
20	2:26			((S2 bends over the groundnuts to add extra to the already measured cup)) ((MP Addresses S2 in laughter))	
		Open	MP	<u>à né wò bò fànyá fánè né né é sésè bì lò bì látí</u> <i>'I am selling my goods. Stop adding in that way, do not exaggerate'</i>	Abar
21	2:34			(bends over and starts to pour in the measured item into the wrap plastic held by C14) *na one twenty-five for cup	
		Answer	MP	<i>'I charge one twenty-five per cup'</i> <i>'I am selling for one hundred and twenty-five per cup'</i>	CPE
22	2:52		C14	((hands over the money to MP))	
23	2:58		MP	((hands over to S2 while C14 exits))	

The transaction in (7) above occurs between two sellers—MP and S2, and one buyer—C14 over groundnuts. The transaction opens unusually: with C14 making sure she has a wrapped plastic for her desired item before making a purchase (line 1-16, except line 10). It appears to be that C14 thinks the seller should provide her with the wrapping plastic because of the type of commodity (small grains) sold and the quantity intended to be bought. From close observations, customers walk around with wraps of all sorts depending on the items they wish to buy. In lines 10 and 17-18, an inquiry is made about the price of groundnuts, with the announcement of the price in line 19. MP tells S2 to stop giving an additional favour to C14 (line 20) when she adds more grains of

groundnuts to an already measured cup. The price is confirmed (line 21), and payment follows (22). The transaction ends when C14 exits the scene.

In this example (7), three codes are juxtaposed in the entire transaction: Abar, CPE and Munken. C14 opens with a request for a wrapped plastic bag in Abar (line 2). In line 4, MP responds negatively, maintaining Abar. MP, after a repeat of C14's request for a wrap bag (line 5), switches to CPE, insisting she has no wrap bag for C14 (line 6). C14 continues to use Abar in questioning the fact that MP cannot provide a wrapped plastic for her (line 7). In line 8, MP responds to C14 in Abar, indicating to C14 that she has a plastic wrap in her hand. C14 diverts the line of the transaction from seeking a wrapped plastic to inquiring about the cost of groundnuts in Abar and CPE in line 10. S2, who has been observing MP and C14 transacting for a while, enters into the conversation with a positive comment about the groundnuts C14 intends to buy in Abar (line 11). C14 continues in Abar as she goes back to the issue of getting a wrapped plastic bag to carry her groundnuts safely. She tries to convince MP that the wrap she has in hand is meant for another item (line 12). So far, the entire transaction above is held mainly in Abar, but for the price, announcement expressed in CPE. C14 dire need is experienced in line 13 as she looks around to locate who can help with a plastic. S2 realizes this and tries to help. She switches from Abar to Munken, politely requesting a wrapped plastic (line 14). After she finally lays hands on a wrapped plastic given by a male seller, she dives directly to inquire about the price of groundnuts in CPE (line 17-18). MP answers in CPE and then goes over to measure. MP switches to Abar, accompanied with a laugh as she implores S2 to stop giving extra grains to C14. In line 21, MP reminds C14 of the cost of the groundnuts in CPE. The transaction comes to an end with a latent interaction by C14 as she hands the money to MP.

What we see with the use of local codes in the entire transaction, as noted in Extract 7, embeds social meanings. We realize that C14, who is original to Abar, begins the conversation in Abar. MP does not switch but adopts the code of C14. Knowing from the reported discourse that using a local code comes with favours may have been the drive behind C14's choice of Abar, she refuses to use CPE, as evident from the initial interactions (lines 1 to 13). She is hoping that she might receive favours at two levels: MP will make available a wrapped plastic, and she might purchase the groundnuts at a reduced rate. We may assume that C14 has shared knowledge about the linguistic competency of MP in Abar as she shares membership with maternal grandmother

probably from the same quarter as C14's father, mother or even husband (see Table 36). We might consider that C14 prefers to use Abar rather than Munken, which might be more salient to MP. As we have seen from the biographical and ethnographic questionnaire, MP moved out of Munken as a child due to her mother's death. She spent her retrospective years with her grandmother and aunty. MP conversely believes that maintaining the code introduced by her customer establishes a good social relationship that might spur C14 to purchase the goods without hesitation. Then comes the switch by MP from Abar to CPE due to the insistence for MP to make available a plastic wrap bag (line 6). By switching to an indifferent code seems to signal or remind C14 of her position as a customer, and as such, it is not mandatory to provide wraps for goods (to be) bought. C14 continues to maintain Abar with MP. The choice of Abar may activate the identity C14 shares with MP: a child to Abar parents and an Abar husband and a granddaughter to an Abar woman possibly from the same quarter as one of her parents or husband. This way, MP might yield to her request for a wrap bag, which she is fully aware is not compulsory to provide.

We see S2, who joins in the later part of the transaction, alternating from Abar (line 11) to Munken (line 14). S2 first begins in Abar when she makes positive comments about the nature of the groundnuts. It seems to be that S2 is encouraging C14 to purchase the groundnuts as they are of good quality. S2 appears to construct a kind of senior daughter-in-law relationship because she is married to possibly a close relative to C14 in Otong, the quarter original to C14's father. We see this desire to please her supposed in-law when she makes a switch to Munken, pleading with MP to make efforts in finding a wrapped plastic for C14. The choice of Munken seems to indicate the relationship activated when this code is used with MP. She decides to index herself as a member of Munken—a daughter to Munken parents, which coincides with MP's origin. She might expect that the choice of Munken triggers a blood identity as members of the same village, and as a consequence MP would soften in her decision to find a wrapped plastic for C14. S2 continues to show kindness to C14 by adding extra grains to the already measured cup, which causes MP to address her in laughter (line 20). We notice here that a negative action by S2 is discouraged in Abar accompanied by laughter. MP seems to strongly be associated with the code of the grandmother as she reprimands S2 with love. MP is sticking to Abar throughout the transaction, even after S2 switches to Munken. This choice of Abar may indicate the closeness she feels towards Abar (mediated by her grandmother) and not in Munken (current inheritance problems). The above instances of code choice between Abar and Munken signals an indexical or socially-

constituted meaning. The linguistic signs chosen seem to activate different identities salient to the speakers for various favours listed above.

7.12.3 The use of a local code

The members of LF are found to interact using a local code to achieve transactional goals. I include transactions that include CPE that are only expressed in monetary terms for reasons already discussed above (see section 7.12.1). The findings indicate that 4 of 30 (13%) video recordings were carried out in a single code that is local. Connell (2009) has shown that in 25% of transactions, customers adopt the local code of the trader if they share a principal code. This, however, does not mean to say that multilingual practices that include CS, especially in the market, are limited. As shown in Table 35, the participant's repertoires are crucially relevant to code selection and use. In the following two examples, I demonstrate that code selection by the speakers in a single LF code speaks to the objectives in talk and the reflection of the kind of relational identity that is pertinent for the interaction. As required, I first provide the tools that help us analyze the data in each interaction. The following example illustrates how Munken is used in a transaction event. Example (8) shows a transaction between MP—a female seller—and C18—her brother, a male buyer.

7.12.3.1 *Interactants' metadata*

C18

The biographical and ethnographic data reported here are based on speculations that can nonetheless provide a sense of conviction as MP and C18 are siblings. Moreover, my lengthy conversations with MP about family life and blood relations may provide further data about C18. Moreover, C18 happens to be married to C15. C18 was born some 5 decades ago in his patrilineal compound in the Betschafeh quarter of the village of Munken. His mother came from the Mbu quarter of the same village. Unlike MP, who moved to live with her maternal aunt at the age of 7 after her mother's death, C18 and three of his brothers stayed in the Munken village with their father. As per the conviction of their father, while males were opportune to get an education, the

females were not. C18 visited his maternal grandmother, who comes from Abar and his step-grandfather, who is original to Ngun. He also visited his maternal aunt, who is affiliated to Biya by marriage. He has been married to a woman of Mundabli descent for more than 15 years now. Customarily makes visits to the area of his wife and contributes in moments of sadness. During C18 childhood days, he and his peers will organize farm and fishing activities. They believed in collective work and moved to areas with large bodies of water like the Kimbi River and smaller rivers in Mashi.

Due to C18 exposure, he might have learned to understand and speak multiple codes. Linguistically, one may hypothesize that C18 has an active competence in Munken, Abar, Ngun, Biya, Mundabli, CPE, English and Mashi. In addition, the desire to communicate with blood relations, friends and classmates might be the motivation behind learning these codes.

	Abar	Munken	Missong	Ngun	Biya	Mashi	CPE	English	Mundabli
MP	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	-	-
C18	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A

Table 35. Table summarizing the multilingual repertoires of MP and C18 (P-Passive competence, A-Active competence).

	Abar	Munken	Missong	Ngun	Biya	CPE	Mashi	English	Mundabli
M P	1Membership with grandmother 2Membership with grandmother quarter 3Relationship with a man	1Associated to parents by village 2Associated to father by quarter 3Problems with brothers for inheritance 4Associated to mother by quarter	1Members to hip by marriage to a friend 2Associated to a few friends	1Relationship mediated through the grandmother by marriage to a Ngun man	1Relationship mediated through the maternal aunt by marriage to a Biya man	1Associated to stranger 2Associated to incompent users of the LF codes	1Associated to a few acquaintances		
C 18	1Membership with grandmother 2Membership with grandmother quarter	1Associated to parents by village 2Associated to father by quarter 3Problems with brothers for inheritance 4Associated to mother by quarter		1Relationship mediated through the grandmother by marriage to a Ngun man	1Relationship mediated through the maternal aunt by marriage to a Biya man	1Associated to stranger 2Associated to incompent users of the LF codes	1Member with friends	1Associate through schooling	1Member ship mediate through marriage

Table 36. Table summarizing linguistic associations by the social networks and the linguistic profiles of MP and C18.

Extract 8: A transaction between MP and C18

Extract (8) illustrates MP selling her produce in the Abar market, and C18 approaches the transaction of groundnuts starts. Munken (double line) with the translations into English (italicized) as in the gloss.

	Timing	Moves	P.	Text	Code
1	0:01		C18:	((approaches MP's stall))	
2		Open	C18:	<u>be fane ja</u> 'What are you selling?'	Munken

3	0:03	Answer	MP:	(points to the items) <u>*me fefanja bitsapkwem be okro be fan tse tse itsekim</u> <i>'I was selling 'stick' beans and okro, but they are all sold out.'</i>	Munken
4	0:06	Open	C18:	<u>bitschong wowo pale</u> <i>'What about groundnuts?'</i>	Munken
5	0:07	Open	MP:	<u>a wafo bo wahabe wahabe bitschong a one twenty-five imwene</u> <i>'Did you just say you want to buy groundnuts? It cost one hundred and twenty-five per cup'.</i>	Munken
6	0:11	Answer	C18:	<u>eh</u> <i>'What?'</i>	Munken
7	0:13	Answer	MP:	<u>a one twenty-five</u> <i>'It cost one hundred and twenty-five'</i>	Munken
8	0:18	Open	C18:	((moves closer towards MP)) <u>bitschong bi apkwe</u> <i>'Is there more groundnuts?'</i>	Munken
9	0:19	Answer	MP:	<u>hein</u> <i>'What?'</i>	Munken
10	0:20	Open	C18:	<u>bitscha bi [ja</u> <i>'Is there groundnuts?'</i>	Munken
11		Answer	MP:	<u>[ehe]</u> <i>'Yes'</i>	Munken
12	0:21	Open	C18:	<u>boye asele bebi bo upkwe</u> <i>'I would like for you to bring me some from the house'</i>	Munken
13	0:24	Answer	MP:	<u>atsong nyi i biyang mame ya bi</u> <i>'Alright! You will see the mother of Biyang and collect them from her.'</i>	Munken
14	0:28	Open	C18:	<u>ok nyi biyang me festawu</u> <i>'Alright. The mother of Biyang will bring it'.</i>	Munken
15	0:29	Open	MP:	<u>Hein</u> <i>'What?'</i>	Munken
16	0:31	Open	C18:	<u>asekwe bwa wum</u> <i>'To our place?'</i>	Munken
17	0:32	Answer	MP:	<u>wu dzune be bi a sekwe</u> <i>'She will take the groundnuts to our place'.</i>	Munken
18	0:34	Answer	C18:	<u>Ok</u> <i>'OK'</i>	Munken
19	0:35	Close	C18:	((C18 turns around opens the paper in his hand and looks at his market list and later walks away))	

The transaction in extract (8) occurs between MP—the seller, and her older brother C18—the buyer of groundnuts. The transaction can be summarized as follows. Lines 1-5 are about the

item(s). The price of groundnuts is announced in lines 5-7. C18 requests for a larger quantity of groundnuts (lines 8-11) to be brought to their place (lines 12-18). The close is noted in line 19.

The entire transaction is carried out in Munken, with C18 opening the interaction with a question about what MP is selling (line 2). MP's reply is accompanied by a gesture telling the things she has already sold (line 3). C18 seems to be interested in the groundnuts that he sees in front of MP. He inquires about them (line 4). The price is announced in lines 5, and C18 shows dissatisfaction and questions the price (line 6). With the price of groundnuts unchanged, C18 want to know if MP has more groundnuts for sale (line 8). Unsure that she has heard him, she requests for a repeat (line 9). C18 poses the question a second time about the availability of groundnuts (line 10), and MP responds that there is more (line 11). With MP's confirmation, C18 makes another request about a home delivery (line 12). In line 13, MP agrees to his request by informing him that he will collect the groundnuts from Biyang's mother (i.e., his younger sister). Making sure that he has understood what MP says, he repeats the question this time with a twist. He prefers that the groundnuts are brought to him and not him going to collect (line 14). MP expresses her doubts by asking for a repeat (line 15). C18 responds by asking if Biyang's mother will bring it to 'their' place (line 16). She agrees to his request (line 17), and the interaction comes to a close in lines 18 and 19.

MP and C18 choose to speak Munken over the other codes they are are intelligible in (see Table 37). This is mainly informed by sociocultural context and the social meanings embedded in this choice. The primary local code(s) are heavily used in the home domain (Yakub et al., 2012). Biographical and ethnographic data shows that MP (in her early years) and her brother grew up using Munken with their parents, who are original to the village. In addition, identifying as siblings of the same ancestry sparks an intense blood relationship indexed through Munken. C18 preference of Munken over, say Abar (an association to the grandmother's village of origin), shows that Munken is far salient among the interactants than any other code. This is the reason why the entire transaction is held in Munken. Some of the cues provided in this interaction situates the interaction with the home are, for example, found in lines 12 to 17. C18 prefers that the groundnuts he intends to purchase should be delivered at his house (line 12).

Moreover, MP's suggestion that C18 collect the groundnuts from their younger sister (line 13) evokes the home context. Equally, C18's use of the possessive form 'our' place in lines 16 and

repeated by MP in lines 17 symbolizes the family/home environment they once shared. Such shared context might trigger the choice of Munken over any other code. Finally, MP seems to remind C18 that she is a member of the Munken home despite their dispute over inheritance problems (line 17). In this case, the continuous use of Munken indexes their linguistic identities as members of the same family tree that seems to be more salient than any other linguistic association.

In the following transactional interaction, we see how the use of Munken evokes relational identities. Participants make use of these relations vocally for economic gains. The extract (9) represents a transaction between MP—the buyer and S4—the seller.

7.12.3.2 Metadata of the interactants

S4

S4, aged 44, is a female born in Betschafeh—the patrilineal compound of the Munken village. Her mother comes from the Upahkweh quarter in Munken. She is married to a man from Dzanssekwe of the same village as her parents. S4 is related to MP through the father side as their parents come from the same family in Betschafeh. S4 has lived all her life in Munken and seldom moved to other villages in the LF area. She has friends in Abar, Missong, Biya and Ngun. She is multilingual in languages and lects. She reports passive competence in 6 lects and 2 languages and active competence in 2 lects and 2 languages. She speaks Munken and CPE and has passive-only competence in Abar, Ngun, Missong, Biya. S4 did not receive any formal education. CPE is used to communicate with her friends and people with whom she does not share a mutual code. She states that her passive competence in the codes mentioned is motivated by the desire to apprehend whether someone is saying some unpleasant things about her.

	Abar	Munken	Missong	Ngun	Biya	Mashi	CPE
MP	A	A	A	A	A	P	A
S4	P	A	P	P	P	-	A

Table 37. Table summarizing the multilingual repertoires of MP and S4 (P-Passive competence, A-Active competence).

	Abar	Munken	Missong	Ngun	Biya	CPE	Mashi
MP	1Membership with grandmother 2Relationship with a man	1Associated to parents by village 2Membership with father from Betschafeh 3Membership with mother from Mbu 4Problems with brothers for inheritance	1Members hip by marriage 2Associated to a few friends	1Relations hip mediated through the grandmother by marriage to a Ngun man	1Relations hip mediated through the maternal aunt by marriage to a Biya man	Associated to strangers Associated to incompetent users of the LF codes	1Associated to a few acquaintances
S4	Members hip with friends	1Associated to parents by village 2Membership with father from Betschafeh 3Membership with mother from Upakweh 3Membership with husband from Dzansakwe quarter	Members hip with friends	Members hip with friends	Members hip with friends Biya man	Associated to strangers Membership with LF people	

Table 38. Table summarizing linguistic associations by the social networks and the linguistic profiles of MP and S4.

Extract 9. A transaction between MP and S4

In extract (9) S4—the seller approaches MP—the buyer and the transaction of pumpkin seeds starts. Munken (double line), with the translations into English (italicized) as in the gloss.

	Timing	Moves	P.	Text	Code
1	1:06		S4:	((S4 approaches carrying a small bowl for measuring and hands it over to MP))	
2	1:10		MP:	((MP receives the bowl and deeps it into the bag of pumpkin seeds locally known in Munken as ‘adong’))	
3	1:19	Open	S4:	<u>ka dʒoŋ lélo há</u> <i>‘Do you want to measure?’</i>	Munken
4	1:20	Open	MP:	(points in the direction of the lid) <u>*bíkpwè bífímíjà iwáhábé ikwéhé gowáhábíjá</u> <i>‘Go bring the lid of this pan so that I can do a proper measurement’</i>	Munken
5	1:25	Answer	S4:	(open her right palm facing upwards) ((action performed twice)) ◇ <u>[kí nyeyà ðkí nyeyà mo] kwabo kí nyeyà</u> <i>‘what is the matter, what is the matter with you’</i>	Munken
6		Open	MP:	((MP smiles while she opens a white wrap plastic)) (pointing to the lid) <u>*[tsá káŋ]</u> <i>‘Bring the lid’</i>	Munken
7	1:34	Open	S4:	<u>wá mé tu hondrəd né nó</u> <i>‘You have to give me two hundred, right?’</i>	Munken
8	1:36	Answer	MP:	(points in the direction of the pan) <u>ba*yi tsakaŋ bi mənɛ</u> <i>‘bring that pan to me’</i>	Munken
9	1:37	Open	S4:	<u>bám wəma [bəmɔ mɛ tu hondrəd wənyé wə nkap momo]</u> <i>‘Hold on, the money you have to give me is two hundred’</i>	Munken
10		Answer	MP:	(nods head) <u>*[heɪn tsakaŋ bi]</u> <i>‘yes bring the pan’</i>	Munken
11	1:41	Open	MP:	<u>abam bilongo beyan bewaha tsetse bi nyiben wɛ ɛh aba angeye aboŋ nɛ abiyo abanɛ</u> <i>‘Come ‘what kind of hard luck is this? These things (pumpkin seeds) will all be bought. Bring that lid please.’</i>	Munken
12	1:59		S4:	((hands over the lid to MP))	
13	2:06		MP:	((measures and pours into the lid and starts sieving out the unwanted seeds))	
14	2:31	Open	MP:	(continues sieving) <u>*bo dze maki ya bɛ wahabɛ nyabi bɛŋ</u> <i>‘I am doing this so that you will have many customers’</i>	Munken
15	2:45		MP:	((responding to friends who stop by to inquire what she is selling in Munken))	
16	2:53	Open	S4:	<u>mo nyinyi foboŋseh mboŋ wahabi nyi bi sɛ</u>	Munken

17	2:58		S4:	<i>'Hurry up! I want to go up there and buy some things'</i> ((Sighs because MP is speaking to the ladies rather than measuring the quantity she wants to buy))	
18	3:01		S4:	((S4 walks away))	
19				((411 seconds omission))	
20	9:52	Open	MP:	* <u>tschei tfei tfidan tsi zekwei</u> (opening the wrap plastic) <i>'Look here, come and do the measurement'</i>	Munken
21	9:58	Open	MP:	<u>pke bimí me nyézən</u> <i>'Come I have already measured'</i>	Munken
22	10:02		MP:	((pours the measured seeds into a wrap plastic))	
23	10:32	Open	S4:	(pointing the bowl in her face) <u>◇à kwo lyáhá iyèlémə</u> <i>'You are always cheating me'</i>	Munken
24	10:34	Answer	MP:	((sighs)) sighsádátu mòmonyi ì [daha] <i>'I am here to pay for the item'</i>	Munken
25	10:35	Open	S4:	((pointing her finger at MP's face)) [◇mopodi] podi ◇idiayemà hein a <u>pume a pume podi iyememu</u> <i>'I am always allowing this because it is you'</i>	Munken
26	10:40	Open	S4:	<u>táfuwò àbíyò àbíbábémèná wòtsòk tsòk bábábémèná</u> <i>'what have you ever given me, given me'</i>	Munken
27	10:46	Answer	MP:	<u>wà tumí məwái makemì iwòpkwó mepjà ásé pkwa</u> <i>'I am helping you sell your produce, can't you see'</i>	Munken
28	10:50	Open	S4:	((tchai)) exclaims	Munken
29	10:53	Open	MP:	<u>ábàngiyá faba dzémə nè məkunè kèmedija məkumkumine</u> <i>'I understand that you should have denied me from taking the item if I did not pay for'</i>	Munken
30	10:57	Open	S4:	◇((pointing her finger while moving away)) <u>◇bèbèbian udidimájà</u> <i>'You are fond of cheating'</i>	Munken
31	11:01	Answer	MP:	<u>mèbémà kéké kuna waha bopofotifá ì falè nè mèlénə ì wáhá</u> <u>né mè lain ì bídzín mí əwáhálé mébəfəpké tsimèrèná</u> <u>tsimèrènáwáhá nòfu</u> <i>'I have not taken it (the item) for nothing. I am buying so as to encourage other customers to buy. Do you think that these (pumpkin seeds) are not found in the Missong corner'</i>	Munken
32	11:31	Open	MP:	<u>ménè wáháinyí bá[səbímí bímí [mitubə sulə]</u> <i>'why do you say that I have cheated when I have bought'</i>	Munken
33	11:49	Answer	S4:	(still struggling to tie up MP wrap plastic paper) ◇Eh <i>'Yes'</i>	Munken
34		Open	MP:	(tying the wrap bag) * <u>í[é wáhá mè wáhátu</u> <i>'Haven't I paid? I have paid'</i>	Munken

S4 and MP transact over pumpkin seeds or locally called 'adong'. In lines 1-12, except for lines 7 and 9, focuses on the measuring bowl that MP fiercely needs. The price is announced in lines 7, 9-10. Their discussion concerning the measurement of the beans is noted in lines 13-22. MP's contention about her market dishonesty is captured in the rest of the transaction (line 2-34).

Similarly, to extract (8) see above, the lexicon for numerals conveyed in CPE is not considered because of the general tendency for numbers to be expressed only in CPE in the market domain. Therefore, the transaction in (9) is held in one local code. S4 and MP use Munken to transact over pumpkin seeds in the whole interaction. Before the actual recording, some action has taken place prior to their interaction. In front of her items, MP requests to buy seeds from pumpkins from S4, who then brings a bag full of the desired items. Later on, an MP asks S4 to bring the bowl she measures the seeds with. She hands the bowl to MP (line 1), who places it into the bag of seeds (line 2). Shared knowledge of the market requires that sellers hand over (measured) items to their customers. However, the question raised by S4 in line 3 confirms a violation of the market regulation. MP's request and insistence of a lid to do what she considers as a proper measurement (4, 6, 8, 10-11) trigger S4's hesitance. In line 5, she repeatedly asks what MP's problem is and continues in lines 7 and 9, making sure that MP pays the right amount for the quantity requested. MP's confirmation of the price mentioned (line 10) pushes S4 to hand over the lid (line 12) finally. She tries convincing S4 selecting the unwanted seeds (line 13-14) will result in a fast turnover (line 15). S4 is agitated by the less attention paid to her (line 15-17), and she walks away (line 18). Some 7 minutes later, S4 returns. MP understands that she is not allowed to initiate a measurement without the seller's presence, pretentiously asking S4 to do the measurement (line 20) when she has already done so (line 21). S4 is not convinced of the right measurement and scolds MP for cheating her (lines 23 and 30). She does so with the measuring bowl directed to MP. Her anger continues as she points to MP telling her that she is letting her dishonesty go because she is "the one" (line 25). According to S4, she never receives favours from MP (line 26). MP believes that she is doing a great favour by selling S4's produce (lines 27 and 31). Moreover, MP presses that the seeds are not for free (24, 29, 32 and 34).

Their rather lengthy exchange can be said to partly be activated by their familiarity accentuated through the choice of Munken. A number of situations provide context for the social meaning uncovered. This is further supported by the biographic and ethnographic description of the participants. S4 goes against the typical role of buyers and sellers. She allows MP—the buyer, to measure the desired item and selects what MP considers the bad seeds. In addition, instead of concentrating on completing her transaction with S4, she rather spends time talking with some ladies who pass by. This act upsets S4, who decides to exit the scene. She later finds out that MP has measured the pumpkin seeds in her absence which she finds dishonest. Despite that, she expresses her disapproval through gestures like pointing fingers at MP (lines 23, 25 and 30) alongside exclaiming (line 28), she still grants more favours to MP, such as helping her to tie her wrap plastic while laughing, as shown at the end of the transaction (line 34). The above data makes it vividly clear that MP shares more than a business relationship with MP. MP and S4 are in the first place members of the same village, and secondly, their fathers come from the same quarter. One may consider that they might be blood relatives. Di Carlo (2011:72) has shown that quarter formations in LF canon societies are made up of kin groups.

The use of Munken is favoured over any other code, including CPE. Table 39 indicates that S4 and MP can conveniently communicate in 5 codes. In this case, MP might decide to use Missong to communicate with S4, who has passive-only competence. She mentions to S4 that she could purchase seeds in the Missong corner (line 31). One may expect that by mentioning the Missong area, she might go in for the Missong code to disassociate herself from S4. This, however, is not the case as she maintains Munken. The data suggest that the choice of Munken activates the most important identity—members of the same village and (maybe cousins) from the same quarter. This choice may also be motivated by economic interest. Therefore, MP adopts the code of S4 for favours.

7.13 Discussions

7.13.1 Code-switching

The language used in transactions in the Abar market illustrated above and in the other extracts not covered here makes use of two kinds of CS. The first type of CS is what is captured in Myers-Scotton (2006), defined as “the use of two language varieties in the same conversation” (p. 239). This type of switching has also been described as inter-sentential switching—seen as producing one sentence in one code before producing another sentence in another code within a speech event (Myers-Scotton, 1993a; Sebonde, 2012).

Contrary to the believe that the use of multiple codes is present in the conversations of urban Africans (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, p. 118), it has also been noticed in the speech of rural Africans (Connell, 2009; Cobbinah et al., 2017; Di Carlo, Good & Ojong, 2019). When I explore the language use patterns in the LF context, we see the practice of the multiple uses of codes at the inter-sentential level in an exchange that excludes the presence of a foreign official code. In this sense, the languages involved are void of hierarchical organization. They involve local codes indigenous to the people and a CPE code, which is officially not recognized in the Cameroonian context. I must emphasize that two LF codes are not found to be in the same sentence in market transactions. In other words, there is no such thing as a matrix language and an embedded language are present at sentence boundary. Ojong (2020) characterizes such a pattern as code regimentation—a situation where one code is favoured over another in an interaction.

The second type of CS is what is commonly known as intra-sentential switching—i.e., switching that takes place within the clause or sentence (Gumperz, 1982). This phenomenon is common when a local code is juxtaposed with CPE. I, however, have found a single instance where CPE alternates with a local code. In addition, CPE is always mixed with a local code when the seller announces the price of an item. They are sometimes expressed in singly occurring words or phrases. For discussions on CPE and numerals, see 7.12.1.3.

7.13.2 The layers of social meaning in code choice

Discussions on language choice have consumed much of the literature within the field of multilingualism, as language choice patterns are often associated with the kinds of languages selected in particular settings and their underlying ideologies. Moreover, the meanings that are assigned to these choices can be either of a discourse-related kind (Auer, 1999; Gumperz, 1982) or social indexical meaning (e.g., Johnstone & Kiesling, 2003). Hardly do we find literature that makes use of different kinds of meaning. Within the context of LF, while different languages come together to articulate different ideologies (Di Carlo, Esene Agwara & Ojong, 2020), the market context, in particular, is characterized mainly by a host of local codes and CPE. I found out that the possible explanations for code choice among multilinguals in the stretch of extracts shown above could not be catered for singly with the (indexical) or social meanings that characterize local codes. Hence, other layers of analysis were needed, such as the discourse-related and contextual meanings.

All the expressions referring to numbers (count items and pricing) in the LF market are produced in CPE. From this view, CPE in the market context would seem to lack any diagnostic potential in referring to code choice. Since it is always used to tell numbers in the market context, we might as well refer to them as “the language of numbers” and that tell us very little about other reasons for the switch. The context can account for the interactants choices of using CPE to utter numerals, but hardly can it be justified by the language ideologies, metaphorical and discourse contextualization switching (see section 2.3.2.3). For instance, when seller X switches to a local code over CPE—a code her audience shares, she does so to transact in the Abar market, not necessarily to index herself as a member into the local language category, but because of a discourse-related reason. The topic involved changes with the language, which was then used to select the speakers I wished to accommodate. There are also instances in the data where switching into another code cannot be explained by language ideologies but simply represents a change in footing or communicative activity (see section 7.12.2.1).

Nevertheless, the role of language ideologies cannot be downplayed in explaining language choices during transactional interaction in the Abar market. When members produce utterances in LF codes, sometimes it is just articulating one identity over the multiple webs of relations they

share with their interlocutor. For example, when MP uses Munken with S4 in extract 9, she occupies a village-specific position—as a member from the Munken village, down to members of the same quarter. In this, the identity triggered is of a relational type. MP’s relational identity is activated depending on her position within a specific web of relations she shares with S4. There are many examples I have identified following the social (indexical) meanings as discussed in the previous sections. One that is particularly telling and should be recalled as presented in extract 6 is how MP and her customer, both from Munken, use Missong instead (both are married in Missong). Among the possible readings of this choice, there is the idea that the two do not want to appear as being gossiping about their husbands as the market is full of Missong people and, after marriage, their main outward identity is that of a Missong woman. Using Munken would foreground an identity that transcends their marital status, but this is probably reserved for other issues, not a banal market transaction.

Indeed, the relational identities that can be indexed through language use in these interactions are really numerous, and each has individual-based “streaks”: it is not just affiliation, but also an association with the actual people they are related with (e.g., MP has problems with her brothers and this contributes to the value for her to use Munken).

7.14 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to investigate the patterns of transactional interactions in the market and the role of language ideologies of the LF people. Put differently, this part of the study examined the extent to which language ideologies shape the patterns of language use in the market—using a range of methods, namely, sociolinguistic language documentation, an ethnographic questionnaire and observations in a highly diverse market of 30 transactions with a total of 35 interactants, interesting discoveries were made as to the patterns of language use.

The guiding tools for analysis of the examples in the chapter demonstrated that multilingualism is an essential aspect in the LF society revealed by the absence of monolingualism. As such, for a greater majority of the participants that share a mutual repertoire, language choice from CPE to Munken, Abar to Munken is not done randomly but rather serves as a strategy to achieve economic

gains. One of the ways uncovered to achieve buyer-seller communicative objectives in a business milieu is activated by the local language ideologies of the people. Selecting a local code instead of a code that is widely shared as identified by researches on language use in the market (Adeniyi & Bello, 2014; Calvet, 1994; Connell, 2009) points to an identification that is relational in nature and not categorical (i.e., exoglossic codes that are associated with prestige, authority and education (see the previous section)). The patterns of code choice clearly indicate that there are varied meanings underlying language use in market transactions. In fact, code choice is not limited to the locals' exploitation of their different web of relations to cut fair trade deals. The selection of CPE, for instance, is evaluated to be used, for example, as a code of social neutrality.

In addition, discourse-related meanings have also been seen to construct meaningful interpretations to code choice patterns in transactions. For example, in situational switching, the change from CPE into a local code is selected based on the interlocutors involved in the speech situation. A choice may indicate an exclusion of a certain audience in the interaction and no other meaning associated with the multilingual behaviour. With discourse contextualization switching, we noticed that the switches do not match with a change in context or even topic, but a change in footing (Auer 1999). We see this exemplified in some extracts where the topic on price telling is produced in two different ways—one that projects a basic practice of a straightforward price announcement to an over-priced item to gain extra from the customer.

The picture presented here provides patterns of language use in the market of Abar. CS is mostly achieved at an inter-sentential level when two local codes are involved in a conversation. For the most part, CPE is used when the interlocutors lack a shared code to facilitate communication. Given the various layers of meanings associated with code selection during transactions, it would be unreasonable to fixate on the relational ideologies, as they single-handedly cannot explain code choices in the market. Thus, in describing the intricacies of language use in the Abar market, this study will add new insights and open avenues for further research.

8. CHAPTER EIGHT: GENERAL CONCLUSION

As I have come to the end of this study, it is important to remind ourselves of the starting point of this study, which sets out to critically examine how individual multilingualism materializes in self-reports language attitudes and language use in the small-scale multilingual community of Lower Fungom (henceforth LF) in the Cameroonian Grassfields. Furthermore, the study specifically explores how language ideologies shape multilingual repertoires, language attitudes and language use. This work started with the premise that multilingualism remains highly under-researched, particularly in rural African contexts, especially considering the significant differences from studies on urban multilingualism. As a result, there is a lack concerning, for instance, the methodology to study the above-mentioned sociolinguistic phenomena. Contrary to urban settings, there is less prominence in official languages found in rural spaces. Moreover, the development and use of local repertoires do not seem to be accounted for by the hierarchy of prestige or compartmentalization of social domains. Therefore, this study establishes the need to have knowledge about the linguistic diversity and local cultures that exist in LF such that the language ideologies of the area emerge, shaping the research tools used in this study.

In this research, I have tried to contribute to the exploration of the role of language ideologies through an uncommon yet comprehensive approach by including three main foci in this study—i.e., repertoires, language attitudes and language use—which ultimately descend from the adoption of an ethnographic approach. Although individual studies have treated aspects related to multilingualism, language attitudes and use (see chapter 3.3), no single study has attempted to use the results gotten from the level of analysis, i.e., on the development of individual repertoires, to shed light on the other levels such as language attitudes and language use.

In chapter one, I set the pace by justifying the reasons for carrying out the study, starting from the observation that the kind of multilingualism studied here is generally less known, one generally referred to as a context of small-scale multilingualism (see section 2.2.4). As such, the dearth in literature extends to a limitation at the level of methodology for studying this kind of multilingualism. Chapter two provides a general review of literature on principal terminologies and theories as it cuts across the various domains (i.e., multilingualism, language attitudes and language use) of analysis. Such review permits one to show how definitions like lects and

individual multilingualism are used in the study and theories applied for the analyses. It further sheds light on the delimitation of the scope of this study. Chapter three describes the ecology of the research context of the study and past research conducted in the LF area. The linguistic diversity and way of life of the people are fully captured. For example, we are aware that there are thirteen local lects present in an area of 240 square kilometres. The fourth chapter presents and describes fieldwork experiences to provide sketches of the data-collection methods and instruments to explore how language ideologies pattern with multilingualism, language attitudes, and language use in LF. It also presents the choice of utilizing a mixed-method research approach in gathering and analyzing data. The first four chapters provide a detailed background and an understanding of the LF context for the subsequent analytical chapters.

Chapter five proposed a strong ethnographic approach to questions about the construction of multilingual repertoires of 174 respondents in the LF area. This approach contrasts with the mainstream sociolinguistic perspective that pays attention to the notions of class and dominance of linguistic codes that are characterized by literacy standards and used in official settings, as opposed to low prestige and low language varieties evaluated, for instance, through the absence of literacy materials and used in informal domains. Indeed, the notion of diglossia has greatly influenced the approaches and nature of data collection. In this study, I moved away from multilingual repertoires that pattern with a clear linguistic division of labour as shown in predominantly urban studies to a more context-sensitive approach that uncovers language repertoires that are not motivated by social compartmentalization but rather, heavily, through relational ideologies.

Thanks to the ethnographic approach, I was able to gather detailed speaker metadata through self-reports that targeted questions patterning to language ideologies such as linguistic affiliations to close as well as distant blood and social relations, the mobility of individuals, biological and geographical inquiries. I found out that there are high multilingualism rates, with the individual repertoires largely made up of local codes. Amongst the variables that indicate a positive correlation, the number of friends one has, the backgrounds of their parents and grand/great grandparents, geographical proximity, linguistic similarity and age seem to account significantly for the development of multilingual repertoires. I also drew from the study that language repertoires are developed by how people represent themselves in their relationships with others

greatly connected with village representations. In other words, social networks such as the number of friends one has and how diverse one's parents, maternal and paternal grandparents and great grandparent's provenances are greatly contributing to passive and active multilingual repertoires of the LF individuals.

The underlying motivations for the largely localized codes are mainly associated with activating distinct social identities from the individual's web of relations. Thus, when an individual report knowing and speaking a certain number of codes, s/he only does so, drawing deeply from the affinities s/he has with members of the different codes. For instance, comprehending or/and speaking the code of one's friends solidifies the relationship one has with each other. In another case, speaking the code of one's parents, paternal and maternal grandparents, or great-grandparents activates more love, loyalty and respect. This finding is not at all new in studies of multilingualism except for one feature: most of the respondents exemplified multiple webs of affiliations so calling for a reappraisal of concepts such as "solidarity", "home language", and other labels that sociolinguists have been content within their previous studies of multilingualism. Hence, the chapter emphasizes the essence of multiple affiliations as a way of life of the LF members that directly relates to their linguistic repertoires.

In chapter five, the appeal to contextual details was considered crucially relevant for selecting data collection methods and the general understanding of the dynamics of individual multilingualism in LF. For example, the notion of "lects"—that characterizes one village to one language calls up a linguistic identity associated with a village as an important socio-political unit. Thus, capturing the development of multilingual repertoires necessitates an understanding of the localist ideological perspective. The present work contributes to our understanding of multilingualism in a rural context, and it further serves as a continuous point for replication in similar contexts. In addition, this study contributes methodologically as it engages new ways of designing multilingual questionnaires to capture the sociolinguistic realities of LF that are considered different. There are nonetheless questions regarding further considerations. For example, what are the rates and motivations of multilingualism in purely urban contexts? What role will local language ideologies play on the local language repertoires of multilinguals in urbanized areas? Future research will give room for comparative frames and most probably devise uniform strategies for further research.

Chapter six dealt with the exploration of language attitudes of 31 Misong participants thanks to a modified matched-guise test technique. I evaluated the language attitudes of Misong in-group and out-group members (Munken, Ngun and Mashi). I wanted to show that they are free from stereotypical judgments by choosing context-relevant test items thanks to ethnographic information, using 13 traits grouped into features indexing categorical and non-categorical identities. Studies on language attitudes focused on stereotypes, i.e., categorical social categorizations, where two distinctive dimensions were created. The first one was made up of status or prestige qualities, whereas the second was made up of social attractiveness qualities. The status category laid emphasis on speakers with high and powerful speech styles, and the social attractiveness category characterized speakers with low speech varieties. Hence, on the one hand, traits that portrayed categorical attributes such as height, looks, intelligence, ambition, hard work, wealth were matched against social attractiveness traits, which included humour, warmth, entertainment, and welcoming. The promotion of such distinctions is caused by the roles assigned to certain languages (see section 2.3.2.2). I soon realized that in environments where language repertoires are heavily localized, with ideological matrixes that differ from hierarchization and compartmentalization, this calls for new ways of studying language attitudes. Moreover, the social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), group distinctiveness theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), stereotype theory (Tajfel, 1981a) and ethnocentric theory (Tajfel, 1982) were all inspired by non-egalitarian linguistic systems where there exist dominant/standard varieties vs minority/non-standard varieties. Additionally, the features that have been used to categorize groups for language attitude studies include race, nationality, class and geography that can hardly fit in the LF situation because of strong multiple identities across villages. These theories could not account for social meanings that shape language attitudes in LF.

With this challenge in mind, I adapted the MGT. This tool was developed through the lens of Western realities by representing speakers' local identities by selecting the language, participants' multilingual competencies, the test items, and the procedure. In order to keep both categorical and non-categorical qualities separate, I selected the categorical, i.e., the quality of being tall, good looking, intelligent, proud, rich and hardworking based on existing literature (Garett, 2010; Ryan et al., 1960). Regarding the relational items, I explored the possibility of using traits describing personal qualities that implied interpersonal or group-based relations. For instance, the quality of being "friendly" automatically means that one tends to accommodate and be careful to others as

one cannot be friendly alone, unlike one can be tall, intelligent or rich alone. Thus, the qualities of being friendly, helpful, protective, and trustworthy for the positive traits and being selfish, wicked and hypocritical for the negative traits were targeted. Respondents then responded to whether they strongly agreed, slightly agreed, remained neutral, slightly disagreed or strongly disagreed to all the targeted traits orally because of the low literacy levels. Finally, I used additional data methods like the ethnographic questionnaire that provided insights into extended social relations of individuals and language repertoires, oral histories, situational factors and observations that allowed for meaningful local representations.

The principal results reveal that Missong people generally hold positive attitudes (77%) towards themselves and others when relational items are targeted and more neutral attitudes (61%) when categorical items are involved. Overall, Missong in-group members judge themselves more favourably than they judge their out-group counterparts on positive traits despite their unique internal differences (see section 6.16.2). While Missong is the most rated (30%), Munken (28%) narrowly follows. Mashi comes third place (21.5%) and Ngun most underrated (20.5%). On the negative relational qualities, Mashi out-group members are highly downgraded (35%), followed by Munken (26%) and then Ngun (20%), and finally by Missong (19%). Generally, the image of friendly, trustworthy, and hardworking is called up the most whenever listeners perceive the targeted codes. By contrast, the image of being hypocritical and selfish take the lead on the negative qualities. On the response rate per each test item, some images stand out across individual codes. Even though the perception of all targeted codes calls up more or less neutral images on the categorical dimension, perceiving Ngun calls up the image of being tall and protective but was less evaluated on the quality of being trustworthy. Mashi is very much rated on the image of being proud, selfish and wicked and downgraded on the image of being friendly. Missong and Munken were upgraded on the quality of being friendly and trustworthy.

Three analytical perspectives, all informed by the ethnographic approach was advanced that shape language attitudes of Missong listeners—the degree of physical proximity between the in-group and out-group villages, the degree of linguistic similarities between languages/lects, and historical and sociological factors using, for example, Mashi and Ngun. A starting point for the evaluation of Mashi is its linguistic status. Mashi is the only language singled out as different from the targeted code. It may appear to be that the degree of linguistic similarity gives more salience for in-group

members (Missong) to judge themselves more positively together with speakers of other varieties of Mungbam (i.e., Munken and Ngun), and downgrade speakers who are perceived linguistically different (i.e., Mashi). More so, historical and sociological factors seem to account more for this negative judgement. Their sporadic market appearances are viewed as a place for high socialization in rural contexts. Their recognized inability to speak other LF codes except for a handful may influence negative evaluations. Historical accounts state that the Mashi were the most recent comers into LF and known for beheading other LF people who trespassed in their territory, probably for their status as ‘newcomers’. Ascertaining themselves in a newly settled LF area was projected through violent ways. They have been in recent conflicts over land and poor farming methods with Missong whom they share physical boundaries with. These past and relatively new experiences may certainly shape the way listeners evaluate the targeted speakers.

Regarding qualities associated with Ngun, there is equally convincing evidence that Ngun is the only code to be highly attributed to the image of being tall despite that this categorical quality has been identified to be associated with speakers of a prestigious variety, i.e., English (Garett, 2010). 10 out of 31 listeners associate this image with Ngun. This, however, is not pinned down to stereotypes as ethnographic, historical, and participant observations account for this result. In a relatively small village (ca. 150), two (i.e., Asaweh and Bendine) out of four village quarters in Ngun had physically tall people of about 1.8 meters, not excluding women. Drawing a connection with the ethnographic data gathered during the interviews, I found out that listeners who identify Ngun with tallness have blood relatives in the Bendine and Asaweh quarters of the Ngun village. Therefore, one could assume that the image of being protective as a non-categorical feature linked to Ngun may also indirectly be connected to being tall. Oral accounts also indicate that Missong people and other LF people all agree to the successful ring fights organized in the past using sticks. Winning such fights was facilitated due to the tall nature of the Ngun people. In addition, Di Carlo (2011) identifies Ngun as the “first comers” to occupy the LF area, a historical feature that is quite well-known throughout the area. Their tallness in stature, their physical victories and being the first settlers in the LF area may cause listeners to upgrade Ngun on the image of being protective since they might be seen as people who can provide some kind of protection from outsiders—i.e., a feature of “landowners” according to the local traditional culture.

Listeners' perceptions of the targeted codes during the MGT trigger distinct social identities from the numerous interpersonal relations the individual possesses was certainly exposed. Thus, when an individual calls up an image associated with the code listened to, s/he draws deeply from the shared multiple networks and experiences s/he has with members of the targeted codes. For example, s/he associates the image of being friendly and trustworthy with Missong and Munken varieties because of the physical proximity of the two villages. In addition, friendships are created, and bonds are easily solidified because of many friends and frequent visits to the areas. Moreover, being trustworthy is a characteristic of a firm friendship foundation, which Missong listeners report to have within Missong and outside in Munken. Thus, the chapter accentuates that the evaluation reactions towards the different codes, i.e., Missong, Munken, Ngun and Mashi, are actually shaped by the experiences that people undergo that carry deep local ideologies, rather than stereotypical categorizations.

Chapter six thus contributes to the understanding of language ideologies via indirect attitudes in a small-scale multilingual context. In addition, this chapter contributes ideas towards the adaptation of MGT in similar ideological contexts like ours that are quite the opposite of those in urban and Western contexts. Finally, this chapter contributes methodologically as it demonstrates the importance of shaping existing tools like the MGT to fit sociocultural realities.

The main aim of chapter seven is to determine how language ideologies condition the patterns of transactional interactions in the market. I examined the language use patterns of 30 transactions among 35 interactants following a wide array of methods: the sociolinguistic language documentation, the ethnographic questionnaire and deep observations. Past studies have mostly dwelled on language use in formal domains like the school and public administrative sectors, and informal domains have targeted the home domain. Moreover, studies on language use in the market have been carried out in typically urban markets. For example, English is most preferred in high-status shopping areas, and local codes are used in low-status shopping areas. Unfortunately, studies on language use have emphasized sociological factors like age, status and gender accounting for language choice. The limitations to these variables overshadow language ideologies from transactional interactions to emerge. Chapter seven reveals the role of language ideologies as a determinant in language use patterns in the rural Abar market in LF, taking into account social affinities spread across the differing village, quarter and compound memberships.

Similar to the multilingualism and language attitude data, I equally draw from the ethnographic approach to establish multilingual profiles of the market interactants as well as the biographical and social affiliations that exist through the speaker metadata for a better analysis of the dynamics surrounding language use. Audio and video recordings were used to capture the market exchanges, as demonstrated in the extracts. The results show that there are social motivations and social meanings attached to language choices. We saw that while some interactants are obliged to use certain codes out of the need to communicate their intents, others were by choice. In the former case, the multilingual linguistic profiles of the interactants showed no shared mutual local language but for CPE. The social motivation for using CPE, in this instance, hence, acts as an emergency language to serve the desire to achieve a successful transaction. CPE was also used as a strategy for social neutrality to avoid economic favours from the seller and customer despite that there is a shared mutual local code. Both parties appear to understand the situational context in which they find themselves—and decide to keep personal relations outside the market business. In extract 2, for instance, the disassociation of the local code by both vendor—the main seller (MP) and the buyer (C15)—the main seller’s sister-in-law seems to arise from the family problems both interactants are aware of—i.e., the disinheritance of her children by her brothers in their father’s compound. Thus, the preference for a neutral code as a social motivation carries an indexical relevance—tainted village relationships due to inheritance problems. Another finding suggests that insertional mixing or borrowings of CPE to a local code are due to pragmatic reasons. Throughout the entire corpus, there is no instance where a local code is used to express numerals in terms of money and count items, although clearly, the vocabulary for numerals exists. The market users choose numerals, especially in monetary terms, because of the frequency and ease in everyday use and not as a compensation strategy.

I also found out that users juxtapose two or more codes during market transactions, with these choices encoded in social meanings that go beyond achieving communicative needs and establishing good rapport. In extract 7, MP and C14 have more than a buyer-seller relationship. They share more than four local codes at active levels but choose to stay on two codes—Abar and Munken most salient in their transactional situation for special favours that are not habitual in market transactions. MP shares membership with C14’s grandmother from Otong quarter in Abar, where she spent her childhood and teen years, and C14’s membership to Otong quarter in Abar village is mediated through her parents. In addition, MP shares membership with her father from

Munken and C14 shares membership with her close friends from Munken. C14 refused to use CPE, but Abar obtained a plastic wrap and purchased groundnuts at a very cheap rate from MP. By choosing Abar, C14 activates a salient identity Abar, that she shares with MP— child and grandchild to Abar parents and an Abar grandmother respectively. Their shared knowledge of this relationship might motivate MP to yield to C14 for a wrapped plastic and realize a cheaper purchase. In the same transaction, another interactant, S2, alternates from Abar to Munken to encourage C14 to buy the groundnuts. She first uses Abar to construct a kind of senior daughter-in-law relationship since she is married to possibly a close relative of C14 in Otong, the quarter original to C14's father. S2 then switches to Munken when trying to convince MP to provide a wrap for C14. This choice of Munken seems to indicate the relationship activated when this code is used with MP. She decides to index herself as a member of Munken—a daughter to Munken parents, which coincides with MP's paternal origin. She might expect that the choice of Munken triggers a blood identity as members of the same village, and as a result, MP would soften in her decision to find a wrapped plastic for C14, her sister-in-law. We see here a manipulation of non-referential indexes to trigger sets of salient social identities among the interactants for personal favours.

I also illustrated that language choice cannot singly be captured by indexical meanings that characterize local codes; other layers of meanings explain the patterns of language use. I already referenced the expressions referring to numbers produced in CPE even when local codes are involved in the same transaction, as a result of pragmatic and contextual meaning emerging. From this view, CPE in the market context would seem to lack any diagnostic potential in referring to code choice. Since it is always used to tell numbers in the market context, we might as well refer to them as “the language of numbers”, and they tell us very little about other reasons for the switch. Hence, the context can account for the interactants choices of using CPE to utter numerals, but hardly can it be justified by the language ideologies. There are also instances in the data where switching into another code cannot be explained by language ideologies but simply a change in footing or communicative activity, otherwise known as discourse contextualization switching. For example, the switch that takes place in extract 5 indicates a change in footing. MP briefly responds to C20 on the price of the avocados in CPE like in other transactional interactions without any emotional twist attached to the response—a purely contextual phenomenon.

Moreover, this is the only code they share in common. S2 enters with a switch to Munken, unknown to C20, the foreign health worker who lives in the city. S2 advised MP to increase the price. The switching, therefore, coincides with the change in footing, which is marked by a mere routine-based price announcement in CPE to an over-priced item as instigated by S2 in Munken to make more gain than normal. Switching in this instance cannot be explained by language ideologies but simply a change in footing or communicative activity.

In chapter seven, we see that appropriate context-relevant data collection methods like the ethnographic questionnaire and the sociolinguistic documentation methods promote the documentation of linguistic codes alongside the social and cultural practices that aid meaningful interpretations of the dynamic language patterns used in LF. Thus, the present chapter contributes to our understanding of language use in market transactions in a rural context. It further serves as a continuous point for replication in similar contexts and comparative studies in other areas. In addition, it contributes methodologically as it displays the importance of studying language use patterns of multilinguals using diverse approaches.

Multidisciplinary approaches have largely been encouraged in language studies as they can take researchers into unexpected areas (Alex, 2015). Articulating the language ideologies of LF through different data sets is the principal focus of this work. Through explicitly reported patterns of individual repertoires, the implicit language attitudes of multilinguals and the dynamic patterns of language use have all demonstrated the role of indexical relations or relational language ideologies. However, the choices people make in a situational context cannot always be explained by relational ideologies, as other layers of meanings can account for language choices. Nevertheless, the main claim I am making so far is that indexical relations pattern with sociolinguistic behaviour in LF. Thanks to the ethnographic approach that expounds on the sociocultural knowledge of the LF people, we are able to infer that the linguistic sign that is non-referential points to positional identity—in the sense that the speaker defines his or her identity based on his or her relationship with whom he or she is speaking to (language use), the code that he or she listens, (language attitude) and the history behind the language found in his or her linguistic repertoire (repertoires). Much of what I am saying suggests that multilingual behaviours in local lectures are not tied to ideologies of hierarchy and prestige but local social networks, which is demonstrated throughout this work. This is drawn from the studies on repertoires, language attitudes and use. I showed that

linguistic repertoires are largely localized, and the drive behind these repertoires are not informed by prestige or power but through the web of existing relations. In language attitudes, I uncovered that responses to the categorical dimension that appeal to physical attributes are less meaningful to the listeners as their responses were of a neutral kind, unlike the relational dimension that pointed more to attributes that portrayed interpersonal or group-based relations. In this sense, responses indicated high salience that is generally associated with their way of life and not some assumed stereotype categorizations based on the diglossia model. For language use, I suggested that the choice to speak a certain code is an ideological one to an extent, while considering facilitating communication needs and other discourse-related features. When people use a local code away from a neutral code CPE, they are communicating their social identities. From all the above, we can assume that individual multilingualism materializes in self-reports, language attitudes and language use in the rural multilingual community of Lower Fungom in the Cameroonian Grassfields. More so, the concept of language ideologies largely shapes repertoires, language attitudes, and language use.

In addition, in order to be able to collect all these diverse sets of data in a way that would allow their proper analysis, this study had to be based on a radical ethnographic approach, that is, an approach that would allow data to be collected aiming to discover and adhere to people's culture rather than to mainstream sociolinguistic theories. This was all the more important because as collective works such as Di Carlo & Good (2020) amply illustrate, small-scale multilingualism in rural areas of Africa, by and large, falls out from what can be predicted by the polyglossia models that have dominated the scene of (urban-based) multilingualism studies so far. This is telling that the epistemology embedded in this research is innovative, as with all innovations, required many additional efforts, and implied some risks. Nevertheless, this study represents the first comprehensive attempt at studying small-scale multilingualism from multiple viewpoints, using a diverse dataset, aiming to connect one level of analysis with all the others. With its successes and flaws, I hope this exploration will serve to advance sociolinguistics towards becoming really globalized, i.e., able to capture salient features of the sociolinguistic lives of human beings in ways that do justice to their particular ways of seeing the world.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. The ethnographic questionnaire by Pierpaolo Di Carlo, modified by Esene Agwara

“Sociolinguistic Interview Guide”

Basic metadata of the recording		
1	Researcher	Researcher’s name
2	Date	Date of interview
3	Audio files	Name of the audio file(s) in which the interview is recorded.
4	Place of interview	Village, quarter and any other useful details pertaining to the interview location
Consultant’s personal details		
5	Village & quarter (provenance)	Village and quarter where the consultant was born
6	Village & quarter (residence)	Village and quarter where the consultant resides
6	Matrilineage (if present)	In matrilineal societies (e.g., Aghem, Kung, Kom, etc) residence does not necessarily reflect kinship affiliation. In these cases, it is necessary to know the matrilineal affiliation of the consultant.
7	Paternal name	Name given by father’s side
8	Maternal name	Name given by mother’s side
9	Other names	Any other name given by grand mother, uncles, extended family
10	Gender	
11	Date of birth	Year of birth
12	Occupation	
13	Father’s affiliation(s)	Father’s quarter and village of birth; father’s mother’s quarter and village of birth and of marriage; father’s grandmother’s affiliations
14	Father’s languages	Languages known by father; Languages spoken by father
15	Mother’s affiliation(s)	Mother’s quarter and village of birth; mother’s mother’s quarter and village of birth and of marriage; mother’s grandmother’s affiliations;

16	Mother's languages	Languages known by mother; Languages spoken by mother
17	Spouse(s)' provenance	Village and quarter of birth of spouse
18	Spouse(s)' languages	Languages known by the spouse; Languages spoken by the spouse
19	<i>Njangi</i> memberships (name of the njangi consultant is in and some remarks on the other members)	Name of <i>njangi</i> the respondent is a member of, and some remarks of other members of the njangi. Keen attention is paid to their provenance and languages
20	Membership in other groups (cult, dance, music etc)	List names of cults, dance groups and other groups in which the respondent is a member. Mention the geographical areas of activity, provenance of other members. This will enable us have a view of the languages the respondents may be exposed to
21	Schooling (list all the schools attended by the respondent, include locations and remarks on school mates' languages)	List all the schools attended by the respondent, with school location and remarks on school mates provenance and languages
22	In which villages/quarters did you live between 0 and 6 years of age? Which school did you attend if any?	
23	In which villages/quarters did you live between 6 and 10 years of age? Which school did you attend if any?	
24	In which villages/quarters did you live between 15 and 20 years of age? Which school did you attend if any?	
25	In which villages/quarters did you live between 20 and 25 years of age? Which school did you attend if any?	
26	In which villages/quarters did you live between 30 and 40 years of age? Which school did you attend if any?	
27	In which villages/quarters did you live between 40 and 50 years of age? Which school did you attend if any?	
28	In which villages/quarters did you live between 50 and 60 years of age? Which school did you attend if any?	

29	In which villages/quarters did you live since your 60th year of age?	
30	Friends (list all the friends respondent's have, including locations and remarks on friends' languages)	List all the friends of respondents, and remarks on friend's provenance and languages
31	Close friends (list all the friends respondents have, including locations and remarks on close friends' languages)	

2- Known and spoken languages (we expect to profile participant's repertoires but pay attention to Mungbam varieties)

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

Consultant's paternal name

Language name	Degree of competence 1= hears a bit; 2= hears but doesn't talk; 3= talks a bit; 4= fluent ; 5= native

3- Language / lect Consultant's paternal name

ONE SHEET = ONE LANGUAGE / LECT with respect to Mungbam varieties

B1	Language name	
B2	How and where did you learn this language?	Were you taught? Or did you just pick it up from day-to-day activities? For how long were you in contact with speakers of this language? Where did you learn it?
B3	When do you use this language?	
B4	Are there any special occasions were you use this language? (e.g., prayers, songs, invocations, formulas)	This has to do with the intimate life of the consultant. We were trying to understand the place of this language in the day-to-day activities. What language does he/she use when in pain? When afraid of something? When surprised with something unexpected (snake, people fighting, helicopter, someone dies, etc.)

B5	Do you ever have dream in this language?	Is this a language he/she remembers was present in any of his/her dreams?
B6	Are there advantages to knowing this language?	Does speaking the language benefit you in anyway (e.g., inheritance of properties, seat in a njangi group, some specific rights)
B7	Do you ever have dreams in a particular language?	Is this a language he/she remembers was present in any of his/her dreams?
B8	What would be the consequences if you did not know this language?	This question is similar to the one above. However, the question is taken from another end. This is suiTable for people who do not have a lot of negative imagination. One could ask if you lose memory of this language what would change in your life? Emphasis here will be towards family relations, friends, colleagues, etc.

Appendix 2. The matched-guise questionnaire

Language / lect Consultant's paternal name

MGT eliciting personality traits via the linguistic stimuli. Does the speaker seem to you...? This is meant to see whether some traits are strongly associated with one or other varieties. We equally include one test language to check if similar results would be provided irrespective of the linguistic codes (varieties and languages). We equally partition our MGT into two sections: one capturing categorical qualities and the other, relational qualities. The latter especially may be able to reveal more directly the indexical ideology found in largely localized context.

	Range	1	2	3	4	5
C1	The speaker is tall	Strongly agree	Slightly agree	Neutral	Slightly disagree	Strongly disagree
C2	The speaker is good looking	Strongly agree	Slightly agree	Neutral	Slightly disagree	Strongly disagree
C3	The speaker is intelligent	Strongly agree	Slightly agree	Neutral	Slightly disagree	Strongly disagree
C4	The speaker is proud	Strongly agree	Slightly agree	Neutral	Slightly disagree	Strongly disagree
C5	The speaker is rich	Strongly agree	Slightly agree	Neutral	Slightly disagree	Strongly disagree
C6	The speaker is hardworking	Strongly agree	Slightly agree	Neutral	Slightly disagree	Strongly disagree
C7	The speaker is friendly	Strongly agree	Slightly agree	Neutral	Slightly disagree	Strongly disagree
C8	The speaker is helpful	Strongly agree	Slightly agree	Neutral	Slightly disagree	Strongly disagree
E9	The speaker is protective	Strongly agree	Slightly agree	Neutral	Slightly disagree	Strongly disagree
E10	The speaker is trustworthy	Strongly agree	Slightly agree	Neutral	Slightly disagree	Strongly disagree
E11	The speaker is selfish	Strongly agree	Slightly agree	Neutral	Slightly disagree	Strongly disagree
E12	The speaker is	Strongly agree	Slightly agree	Neutral	Slightly	Strongly

	wicked				disagree	disagree
E13	The speaker is hypocritical	Strongly agree	Slightly agree	Neutral	Slightly disagree	Strongly disagree

REMARKS

1. Confidentiality agreement comes in basically by assuring them that this data will not go outside linguistic research.
2. We take note of the place where the interview is held as the environment (market, a room gathered with family members, in-laws, friends, pastor, and priest) may condition respondent responses.
3. We will equally jot down everything that was observed [facial expressions (sad, smiling, worried, annoyed), head position, hand movement] during the interview especially about the relationship between consultant's and the language dealt with.

ⁱ The term 'Grassfields', otherwise known as 'Grasslands' characterises the paramount features of the NW region of Cameroon. This is equally an appellation used since the 1800 to capture language groups indigenous to the area.

ⁱⁱ Personal communication with Rebbecca Voll, PhD student at the University of Leiden (28.02.2013).

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

^{iv} Good et al (2011) attest that the name Mungbam also stands for a name of a grass present in all the Mungbam varieties.

^v A day meant for no physical or farm related activity, otherwise met with punishable fines and community work. The men especially on such days would prefer to stay at home and drink their palm wine or pay visits to other relatives.

^{vi} I collaborated as a research assistant on two major language documentation projects: Jeff Good's National Science Foundation grant on the Lower Fungom languages in North West Cameroon and Pierpaolo Di Carlo's Endangered Languages Documentation Programme grant on Linguistic and ethnographic documentation of two Bantoid languages in LF aimed at identifying loci of cultural and linguistic reproduction.

^{vii} This is a financial commitment agreed by interested and capable members, who take turns in receiving the amount contributed by the entire group.

^{viii} He is a facilitator on the KPAAM-CAM and 'Pig for Pikin' project (see more <http://www.pigforpikin.org>).

^{ix} They are Ph.D. students and members of the Key pluridisciplinary Advancements of African Multilingualism-Cameroon (KPAAM-CAM) team who are currently doing research in the LF area and are affiliated to the Cameroonian Universities of Buea and Yaounde 1, respectively.

^x My special thanks to Phillip Aboluwade of the department of Institutional Economics, University of Bayreuth, for suggesting this test and implementing it.

^{xi} We do not have exhaustive information about their provenances, but we know that the majority come from the towns of Isu, Weh and Wum, located to the west of LF and associated with the western Ring languages (i.e., Isu and Aghem).

^{xii} Mr. Njing Simon has been very useful as a field consultant during my entire fieldwork. He assisted in identifying multilingual consultants. After watching the video recordings, he located the interactants especially those living in the distant villages like Koshin, Fang in the market for the sociolinguistic interviews to be conducted. He greatly contributed to the interpretation of all the extracts where local codes were used to CPE.