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Identity and Minority Cues Within Multiculturalism in Northern Cameroon

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Abstract: *There are various languages spoken in the far-north region. In that respect, apart from English and French which are languages maintained for official communication, the Fulfulde language appears to be a very useful lingua franca. Alongside Fulfulde, we still have other home languages spoken in the region; these are guiziga, tupuri, massa, mundang, kanuri, shoa-arabic, mussey, mafa, mada, kapsiki, musgum, mandara, etc. These identity languages with different Sociolinguistic statuses and various functions call for a particular attention. The above topic has 100 participants sampled in far-north Cameroon, especially Maroua town. The study follows both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The instruments and technique used are direct observation, recording and questionnaire. The theory is Gumperz's 1982 contextualisation cues. The study is influenced by various studies in the same vicinity with following stands:Early studies on language and the negotiation of ethnic identity focused on code-switching (see, for instance, Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982; Auer, 1984). As Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982, p. 1) have argued, "to understand issues of identity and how they affect and are affected by social, political and ethnic divisions we need to gain insights into the communicative processes by which they arise." In their classic study of a bi-dialectal community in Hemnesberget, Norway, Blom and Gumperz (1972) observed the everyday language use of individual speakers across different interactional contexts and identified two types of code-switching practices, namely situational and metaphorical. The former refers to a switch from one language to another as the outcome of a change in the situational context.The latter refers to a change in language in order to achieve a particular communicative effect.*

Keywords: identity languages, minorities cues, multiculturalism, northern Cameroon, Maroua

INTRODUCTION

Geolinguistic background to the study

There are various languages spoken in the far-north region. In that respect, apart from English and French which are languages maintained for official communication, the Fulfulde language appears to be a very useful lingua franca. Alongside Fulfulde, we still have other home languages spoken in the region; these are guiziga, tupuri, massa, mundang, kanuri, shoa-arabic, mussey, mafa, mada, kapsiki, musgum, mandara, etc.

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LITERATURE REVIEW

Identity-related issues in language

The relationship between language and ethnic identity has been examined from a range of fields, theoretical approaches and disciplinary traditions (see collection of papers in Fishman and García (2010; 2011). In this section, Spolsky takes an applied linguistics perspective and discusses key studies at the intersection of language and ethnic identity focusing on different contexts and conditions and highlight some of the main analytic concepts that have informed these studies.

Early studies on language and the negotiation of ethnic identity focused on code-switching (see, for instance, Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982; Auer, 1984). As Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982, p. 1) have argued, "to understand issues of identity and how they affect and are affected by social, political and ethnic divisions we need to gain insights into the communicative processes by which they arise." In their classic study of a bi-dialectal community in Hemnesberget, Norway, Blom and Gumperz (1972) observed the everyday language use of individual speakers across different interactional contexts and identified two types of code-switching practices, namely situational and metaphorical. The former refers to a switch from one language to another as the outcome of a change in the situational context, such as a change in participant, setting or activity type. The latter refers to a change in language in order to achieve a particular communicative effect (e.g. to indicate co-membership in a local social network or to emphasise status). Gumperz (1982) further developed the social symbolism of metaphorical code-switching by distinguishing between "we code" and "they code" to represent the in-group and out-group respectively. He explained that "the tendency is for the ethnically specific, minority language to be regarded as the 'we code' and become associated with in-group and informal activities, and for the majority language to serve as the 'they code' associated with the more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 66).

Although Gumperz's distinction between the "we code" and the "they code" is interactionally produced through participants' language choice and code-switching practices, a common critique is that it assumes a more or less homogeneous speech community and a stable relationship between language and ethnic identity (De Fina, 2007). However, an early work by LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) on language and ethnic identity in the Caribbean highlighted that this relationship is neither stable nor easily predicted. More recently, a work on "crossing" has shown that interactants may move across social or ethnic boundaries and negotiate identities drawing on linguistic resources of groups to which they are not thought to belong (Rampton, 1995, Cutler, 1999, Lo, 1999, Lytra; 2007, Rampton & Charalambous, 2012). Even though interactants are seen to be using linguistic resources which are associated with distinct codes, studies on "crossing" have raised issues of legitimacy and authenticity and have shown how boundaries, including ethnic boundaries, are permeable and ambiguous. Moreover, they have further highlighted the complexity of speakers' communicative repertoires and language practices as well as the different ways these language practices are embedded in broader social, historical, political and economic contexts.

In addition, the assumed stable link between language and ethnic identity has been further disrupted by research on multilingual language use in conditions of superdiversity. This line of inquiry has shown how speakers draw on the full range of their linguistic repertoires for communicative and identificational purposes (Blommaert & Backus, 2011). For instance, García (2009, p. 45) proposes the term "translanguaging" defined as 'multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds.' She views translanguaging as "going" beyond what has been termed code-switching, although it includes it, as well as other kinds of bilingual use and bilingual contact". In a similar vein, Blackledge and Creese (2010) employ the term "flexible bilingualism", while, following Bakhtin (1986), Bailey (2007, p. 257) uses the concept of "heteroglossia" to show "(a) the simultaneous use of different kinds of forms or signs and (b) the tensions and conflicts among those signs, based on the sociohistorical associations they carry with them." Otsuji and Pennycook (2010, p. 244) put forth the term "metrolingualism" to "describe the ways in which people of different and mixed backgrounds use, play with and negotiate identities through language" and Saxena (2014) coined the notion of "lifestyle diglossia" to examine how the language choices (such as language change or shift) people make are closely connected to chosen lifestyles.

These concepts provide lenses to theorise how language users move fluidly and flexibly across languages in social contexts. By redefining what counts as language competence "ranging from fully formal language learning to entirely 'informal' encounters with language" (Blommaert & Backus, 2011, p. 2), they question the assumed stable relationship between language, community and ethnicity on which much of the earlier code-switching research was predicated.

In applied linguistics, social constructionist and post-structuralist perspectives have been influential in the study of language and ethnic identity. These theoretical approaches emphasise the multiplicity and fragmentation of language and identity practices as they are affected by local and global contexts (see Baxter, this volume). Studies drawing on social constructionism and employing approaches to discourse such as Conversation Analysis, interactional sociolinguistics and ethnographic discourse analysis conceptualise identities as performed, negotiated and interpreted in discourse. These studies have shown that identity categories and their social meanings are not taken for granted nor are they located in the individual or the group. They are locally constructed in discourse and through the interactants' social and embodied behaviour in everyday interactions. Central to the social constructionist paradigm are the interactants' language practices and the linguistic strategies they deploy in order to make identity claims. As Benwell and Stokoe (2006, p. 4) argue "rather than being reflected in discourse, identity is actively, ongoingly, dynamically constituted in discourse [italics in the original]." A social constructionist perspective emphasises interactants as social actors that align or distance themselves from social categories of belonging in different discursive environments. This means that in "doing" identity work, participants may foreground particular identity categories, or they may downplay and ignore others. The role of the analyst is not to presuppose which social categories the interactants will orient to or are relevant in a given discourse context but rather to examine the interactants' own identity claims as "who we are to each other, then, is accomplished, disputed, ascribed, resisted, managed and negotiated in discourse" (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 4). The context-dependency of identities has been aptly captured by Moerman (1974, p. 62) in his study of Lue ethnic identity in the following remark:

"The question is not 'Who are the Lue?' but rather when and how and why the identification of 'Lue' is preferred."

Language and identity studies drawing on post-structuralism and employing approaches to discourse such as Foucauldian discourse analysis and feminist post-structuralist discourse analysis, have emphasized the role of power and inequality in processes of social identification. As Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004, p. 10) maintain:

Poststructuralist theory recognizes the sociohistorically shaped partiality, contestability, instability, mutability of ways in which language ideologies and identities are linked to relations of power and political arrangements in communities and societies.Studies drawing on post-structuralism have foregrounded the uneven distribution of linguistic resources and the structural constraints within which speakers have to act. According to Block (2007, p. 13), post-structuralist approaches allow for "more nuanced, multileveled and complicated framings of the world around us." This resonates with Kroskrity's (2001, p. 108) caution "against any approach to identity, or identities, that does not recognize both the communicative freedom potentially available at the microlevel and the political economic constraints imposed on processes of identity-making." For instance, Heller's (1992; 1999) ethnographic explorations of the use of French and English in Ontario and Quebec, Canada, at a time of socio-political and economic transformations, demonstrated that access to linguistic resources is linked to access to material resources and that language choice can no longer be unproblematically linked to a particular ethnic identity. Heller illustrated how language can act as a mechanism for social inclusion and exclusion. In the context of her study, mastery of the valued variety of French and English became a marker of elite status in the new economy. Heller illustrates how this placed some individuals at an advantage over others when it came to gaining access to learning the two codes (French and English) and to maintaining and/ or establishing networks that open doors to positions of privilege and power.

In addition, social constructionist and post-structuralist paradigms have enabled language and identity researchers to investigate the interanimation of different identity aspects and how participants may take up, highlight or downplay particular identity categories. Scholars have been able to acknowledge that while some identity aspects may be subject to negotiation in given situations, others may be found to be non-negotiable because individuals and groups may be positioned in ways they do not choose by more powerful groups in society. In this context, individuals and groups may question, resist or transform accepted identity options and may draw upon their linguistic resources more or less strategically to negotiate a "third space" (Bhabha, 1994) where new and hybrid identities can be performed and maintained. As such, ethnicity is not examined on its own but as it intersects with and is shaped by other social categories, such as gender, age, social class, religion, geographical location and so on. For example, Doran (2004) showed how young people used Verlan (a code characterised by syllabic inversion, borrowings from minority languages and prosodic and phonemic differences from standard French, spoken by young people of different ethnic backgrounds in suburban Paris) as a resource to perform hybrid identities that diverged from dominant discourses available by mainstream French society. Doran (2004, p. 95) maintained that "speakers' choices to use, or not to use Verlan in particular settings were tied to various aspects of identity, including

ethnicity, class, cultural values, and the relation to the stereotypical figure of the suburban youth street culture, la racaille."

Many scholars investigating the intersection of language and identity draw on both social constructionist and post-structuralist perspectives. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 13) cogently argue that such an analytical framework brings together "the social constructionist focus on discursive construction of identities" and "the poststructuralist emphasis on the role of power relations'." Both perspectives to language and identity presuppose that ethnicity is negotiated, fluid and malleable. However, May, Modood and Squires (2004, p. 13) in their introduction to the edited collection Ethnicity, Nationalism and Minority Rights remind us that these conceptualisations of language and ethnicity may not resonate with the personal and collective experiences of many people and identify the following disjunction between theory and the reality on the ground: "there is something strange going on when theorists proclaim that ethnicity is 'invented and set out to 'decentre' it, while at the same time the news is full of ethnic cleansing and genocide". In a similar vein, Edwards (2009, p. 48) maintains that for most societies throughout history, ethnocentrism, hostility and prejudice towards 'out-groups' have been the norm. "In this context, May, Modood and Squires (2004) caution that it is important "to explain why ethnicity does seem to continue to mean something to so many people".

The stability of ethnic boundaries and ethnic classifications in the lives of many people can be witnessed in the multifarious roles played by heritage language or complementary schools (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Lytra, 2014; also see collection of papers in Lytra & Martin, 2010), ethnic churches (Han, 2011; Souza et al, 2012) and ethnic community associations (Angouri, 2012; De Fina, 2007) for individuals' self-identity and their group membership. This line of research has foregrounded the importance of not simply dismissing essentialist views of ethic identity, but rather making them the focus of analysis and examining them synchronically as they emerge in social interaction as well as diachronically by charting, for instance, how they may vary within and across groups in a diaspora commuity or how they may have developed and changed over time, across countries, continents and generations. Joseph (2004), for instance, examined the interplay of ethnic and religious identities in Lebanon and historically traced the ebbs and flows of Arab-French bilingualism as a key signifier of Lebanese (mainly Maronite and Catholic) Christian identity suggesting that during periods of political upheaval, French-speaking Christians expressed a weak connection to the Arabic language to demarcate themselves from the Arabic-speaking Muslims.

METHODOLOGY

To carry out this study, some methodological aspects had to be taken into account. These are instruments/techniques of data collection, data collection proper, data presentation and data analyses/interpretations.

Methods and instruments/technique

Within the framework of this study, both quantitative and qualitative methods are used side by side but, qualitative method is the most valuable as the data are majorly based on recordings of conversations that can displays some aspects of the study which carry qualitative undertone.

Collection of data

The research data were collected in a lively environment in an Institution that comprises various sociolinguistic profiles and languages, especially official languages as well as identity languages, either minority languages or major languages. Clearly, data were collected at the Rectorate of the University of Maroua.

Presentation of data

At the Rectorate

A : Délégué Général (French)! (a way of indirect greeting by saying that)
B : Bonjour, grand (French)! ***Noy*** (Fulfulde)?
A : ***walla sam*** (Fulfulde)! (With some enthusiasm on the face)
B : ***onne nyamɓè*** (Fulfulde)?
A : ***Djam koo ɗumè***. (Fulfulde)
B : Good morning, Madam (English) ! (B addressing C in English with a teasing attitude)
C : ***Djam djam*** (Fulfulde). C'est comment? Nous on est là. Vous ne venez plus trop en brousse ici… C'est comment ! Mais vous ne venez pas trop ici. (French)
B : Non, on est tous les temps ici.
C : Hahaha ! (with a laughter to show that B is not saying the truth)
B : On vient mais vos choses sont trop techniques….c'est le contrôle interne etc…c'est pas facile.
C : C'est ce qu'on évite…..Hahaha…….Uhummm. Sinon ?
B : Ça va. Et le travail (French)?
C : ***Mi ɗone habda***(Fulfulde).
B: Ça veut dire qu'elle a appris le fulfuldé! (French) (B turning around and looking at A to show his curiosity about C speaking Fulfulde)
C: Ah, c'est normal (French) ***noh*** (Camfranglais)?
B: Ok. C'est quand même normal parce que quand on arrive quelque part, on apprend à s'intégrer…….(after a while). Je passais dire « bonjour » à tous les gens que j'ai oubliés il y a déjà quelques années (now addressing A to imply his departure).
A : Ok. Merci.
C : Merci (French)! (talking to B)!

Excerpt 4:

A creating a sub-setting of communication (to eventually show closeness and solidarity with B still in the same location)
A: ***A timmini djangugo naa?***
B: ***Mi ɓadi timmingo kam.***
A: ***Ohoo!***
B: ***Mi ɗone djangina haa (Fulfulde)*** Faculté des Arts et Lettres.
A : ***Ohoo*** (Fulfulde), c'est bon ! félicitations (French)!
B : ***Ohoo*** (Fulfulde). Merci. Ça fait déjà trois ans (French) que (French) ***mi ɗone habda*** (Fulfulde). Je suis dessus. On va se battre (French). (B talking about one of his challenges lying ahead)
A: Merci beaucoup (French)! (an implied way of saying "see you…" to B for his paying of visit).

Theory

The Gumperzian Contextualization cue

This theory backs up the study as it looks at the various aspects that reflect identity through some language choice or switchings. In effect, the theory deals with how people contextualise to sound more familiar and more or less connected in one way or the other. This is can be seen from the excepts whereby a participant involved in a communication situation tends to deliberately shift from one language to the other to show solidarity or family ties as identical, close relationship in terms of pertaining to a particular identity. So doing, the conversation situations reveal the cues behind switching from one language to the other to just express ties in terms of connectedness, relativeness, self-identification with a category of people sharing some common social traits as well cultures.

When people code-switch or when they chose a specific language, it is not done in a vacuum but it cares a lot about the end or the goals of a given communication such as expressing family ties, self-identification, relativeness, showing power dynamics(the behaviours being influenced by the a person-to-person statuses) etc. If we consider gender , some people involved in a communication will address more or less, issues that cut across their sensitivity such as being a female or a male activity with the intention to exclude a male or a female gender in conversation. This can be referred to as a social cu serving the purpose of social exclusion/inclusion.

Data analyses

Language attitudes

According to Sadanand (1993), language attitude refers to the people's perception of the role of each language and the function it performs in relation to each other.

Socio-psychological aspects: language attitudes

Social psychology is the parent discipline of language attitude research and linguists interested in the socio-psychological aspects of language production must be fully aware of the psychological complexity of attitudes (Baker, 1992, p. 8). While attitude research has long played a distinctive and crucial role in social psychology, the concept of attitudes has also become a major point of interest in sociolinguistics (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 2). However, the exact nature of attitudes remains a highly debated topic despite the wide interest that attitudes have received from various research fields. In an elaborate definition, an attitude can be defined as a 'psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor' (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993, p. 1). This definition of an attitude as a 'psychological tendency' calls attention to the fact that attitudes constitute a speaker-internal concept which consists of a speaker's attribution of various degrees of goodness or badness to a given entity (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993, pp. 1-3). Evaluative responses to an entity include, for example, approval or disapproval, favour or disfavour, liking or disliking, approach or avoidance and attraction or aversion (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993, p. 3). Social psychologists typically refer to these entities as 'attitude objects' which they loosely define as anything that can be evaluated (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p. 4). Consequently, attitude objects can be concrete

(e.g., different kinds of food) or abstract (e.g., feminism) as well as inanimate (e.g., computers) or animate (e.g., people, groups of people) (Bohner, 2001, p. 241).

Due to their hypothetical or speaker-internal nature attitudes are not directly observable but need to be inferred from observable responses (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993, p. 2). A researcher can obtain such observable responses by confronting people with a set of stimuli such as direct questions aiming to elicit people's reactions towards particular attitude objects. While the speaker-internal nature of attitudes continues to cause disagreement regarding the exact definition of attitudes (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 2), considerable consensus has been reached with regards to the composition and functions of attitudes which will be reviewed in detail below.

Components of attitudes

It is widely claimed that attitudes contain cognitive, affective and behavioural components (Garrett et al, 2003, p. 3). People's evaluative responses to stimuli can be divided into three classes – cognition, affect and behaviour (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993, p. 10). Evaluative responses of the cognitive type are also referred to as 'beliefs' which consist of the connections or associations that people establish between an attitude object and various attributes (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993, p. 11). Fishbein (1967, p. 259) explains that 'the cognitive component refers to beliefs about the nature of the object and its relations to other objects'. A connection or relation of this kind can, for example, be reflected in a person's belief that learning the Welsh language will help them to get a better job in Wales (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 3). A person holding this belief has established a connection between the acquisition of Welsh (Object A) on the one hand and finding better employment (Object B) on the other hand.

Evaluative responses of the affective type, on the other hand, consist of feelings and emotions such as a person's feeling of enthusiasm for poetry written in the Welsh language (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 3). The affective component of an attitude can also be manifested in the form of 'sympathetic nervous system activity' that people experience when they are confronted with certain attitude objects (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993, p. 11). Whereas some people experience a feeling or emotion of anger when considering nuclear power stations, others feel hope and optimism (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993, p. 11). The affective component of attitudes frequently constitutes the focus of inquiry in attitude research (Fishbein, 1967, p. 257) and it gains further importance due to its close connection with the cognitive component (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 10). While beliefs (i.e. cognitive component) are typically free from affective content, they may be based on or lead to affective reactions (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 10). Consequently, attitude researchers must take into account both people's beliefs (cognitive component) and their feelings (affective component) towards attitude objects.

The third component of attitudes is behavioural in nature and is referred to as the 'behavioural', 'conative' or 'action' component (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993, p. 12; Fishbein, 1967, p. 259). Various definitions of the behavioural component of attitudes have been put forward. On the one hand, this final component of attitudes has been described as both leading to overt actions and reflecting people's behavioural intentions (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993 p. 12). According to this definition, a behavioural response does not necessarily result in actual behaviour, but can merely represent a person's desire to act. For example, a positive attitude towards the Green Party could involve the intention to donate money to the party's election campaign. (Bohner,

2001, p. 242) Actual behaviour, on the other hand, would consist of physically donating money to the election campaign. While this dual definition encompasses both concrete behaviour and abstract behavioural intentions, Fishbein (1967, p. 259) conversely argues that the behavioural component solely consists of intentions to act and does not lead to or include concrete actions. In addition to restricting the behavioural component of attitudes to a person's intention or desire to act (as opposed to concrete actions), Fishbein (1967, p. 259) establishes a close connection between the behavioural and cognitive components of attitudes in the following definition:
Both the cognitive and action components of attitude can be viewed as beliefs about the object. The cognitive component refers to beliefs about the nature of the object and its relations to other ''objects'', while the action component refers to beliefs about what should be done with respect to the object.

This definition is in keeping with the argument that the behavioural component consists of an intention to act, as opposed to a real action. The disagreements concerning the exact nature of the behavioural component of attitudes draw attention to the complex relationship between attitudes and behaviour.

As outlined above, the cognitive, affective and behavioural components of attitudes can all be described as 'evaluative' responses to an attitude object (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993, p. 10). However, disagreements regarding the association of 'evaluation' with all three attitude components persist among attitude theorists. Some social psychologists define affect and evaluation as identical concepts and use the terms interchangeably. Within this definition, beliefs (i.e. cognitive component) are regarded as 'motivationally and emotionally neutral' and do not consist of an evaluative response (Fishbein, 1967, p. 259). On the other hand, Fishbein (1967, p. 259) argues that all beliefs indicate some degree of favour or disfavour and, therefore, are evaluative in nature. Recent advances in attitude theory and research on affect and emotion have established affect and evaluation as distinct concepts (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993, p. 12). According to this line of thought, people can express evaluation through cognitive, affective and behavioural responses.

The tripartite model of attitudes outlined above raises the question of whether attitudes must always contain all three components. Research carried out by social psychologists has shown that all three components do not have to be in place for an attitude to emerge, as attitudes can be based largely or exclusively on any of the three concepts (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993, p. 16). In addition, whenever an attitude contains all three components, these do not have to be in agreement with each other. Fishbein (1967, p. 257) explains that 'a multi-component conception of attitude turns out to be a multi-dimensional conception, and the attitude of any one person toward an object or concept may fall at three very different positions on three different dimensions'. Consequently, a person may believe (i.e. cognitive component) that speaking a particular language will help him/her to get a better job while simultaneously having a negative emotional response (i.e. affective component) to this language.

The prediction of attitudes from beliefs

In attitude theory, beliefs are often described as the 'building blocks' of attitudes (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993, P. 103). Fishbein's (1967, p. 259) description of an attitude as a 'hypothetical variable' is based on the idea that attitudes are 'abstracted from the many statements and actions

that an individual makes with respect to a given object'. Consequently, researchers are only able to analyse attitudes by considering people's many beliefs collectively (Fishbein, 1967, p. 259). Beliefs can be accessed in a straightforward manner as people consciously believe or disbelieve in the existence of an object and can express what they believe should be done in relation to an object. People's beliefs about objects can subsequently be connected with their affective evaluation of these objects. The expectancy value model constitutes a popular framework for the prediction of attitudes from beliefs and the following discussion will throw further light onto the benefits of connecting cognitive and affective components in attitude research (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993, p. 106).

In the expectancy-value model people hold positive attitudes towards objects/concepts which they associate with positive attributes, and negative attitudes towards objects/concepts which they associate with negative attributes (Eagley, & Chaiken, 1993, P. 108). This model is based on the idea that 'one's attitude (understood in the abstract sense of evaluation) is a function of one's beliefs, when these beliefs are represented as the sum of the expected values of the attributes ascribed to the attitude object' (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993, p. 106). These 'expected values' contain an 'expectancy' and a 'value' component. The expectancy component consists of the probability that the attitude object is characterised by the attribute. For example, a person can hold a belief that a film has amusing dialogue but simultaneously lacks an interesting story line. 'Amusing dialogue' and 'lack of interesting story line' are attributes of the attitude object. The expectancy component represents the probability that the film (i.e. attitude object) contains amusing dialogue but lacks an interesting story line (i.e. attributes). The value component of the expectancy-value model consists of the evaluation of each attribute. So a viewer is likely to evaluate positively amusing dialogue but evaluate negatively the lack of interesting story line. The expectancy-value model combines both components in order to predict an attitude from the evaluative meaning of beliefs. Eagley and Chaiken (1993, p. 106) conclude that the model 'proposes that evaluation of an attitude object is a summation of the evaluations associated with the particular attributes that are ascribed to the attitude object'.

The expectancy-value model draws attention to the importance of combining people's many beliefs with their evaluations. The linkages or associations which people establish between various entities (i.e. beliefs), such as for example that a particular film (entity A) contains amusing dialogue (entity B), need to be connected with their positive or negative evaluation of these entities in order to fully understand their attitudes. In other words, finding out that a person believes that a particular film contains amusing dialogue cannot reveal to the researcher whether this person holds a positive or negative attitude towards this film. The researcher must also assess whether this person likes or dislikes amusing dialogue.

Much attitude theory and research is based on the assumption that attitudes develop as a consequence of cognitive learning. During these cognitive learning processes people form beliefs about objects based on information they progressively gathered (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993, p. 14). Beliefs can be formed through both direct and indirect experience with attitude objects. For example, a person can directly learn about the attributes of a new type of food by eating it. Alternatively, beliefs can be formed through indirect experience with a new type of food when it is seen in a television advertisement. Consequently, beliefs play an important role

in the formation as well as the investigation of attitudes. This is visible in the processes which underlie the expectancy-value model of attitudes.

Functions

The high degree of complexity found in the composition of attitudes also applies to the functions of attitudes. In social psychology research, a distinction is typically made between the following four functions of attitudes: knowledge (1), utilitarian (2), social identity (3) and self-esteem maintenance (4) (Bohner, 2004, pp. 242-243).

The knowledge function (1) consists of having a formulated attitude towards an object which can be retrieved every time the object in question is encountered. As previously outlined, attitudes are formed through processes of cognitive learning the first time people encounter a particular attitude object. Once attitudes are formed, they are stored so that each time the same attitude object is encountered, the attitude can simply be retrieved without having to figure out again how to behave towards it (Bohner, 2004, p. 242). However, attitudes can still change despite this knowledge function.

Attitudes can also fulfil a utilitarian function (2) by assisting people in achieving positive goals and avoiding negative outcomes. Bohner (2004, p. 243) provides the example of attitudes to certain types of food and claims that 'one's attitude towards pizza should be based on the rewards (pleasant taste, repletion) and punishments (weight gain, high cholesterol level) associated with pizza'. Consequently, people establish a connection between particular attitudes and their positive and negative outcomes. This example of the utilitarian attitude towards types of food can illustrate how attitudes can change over time. A person may hold a negative attitude towards pizza most of the time, based on the belief that the disadvantages (e.g., weight gain) outweigh the advantages (e.g., pleasant taste). However, occasionally the disadvantages can override the advantages. As a result of this, the same person can temporarily change his or her attitude towards pizza.

The social identity function (3) of attitudes helps people to identify themselves with certain social groups through the expression of their attitudes (Bohner, 2004: 243). For example, individuals may portray themselves as feminists or conservatives by holding or expressing 'feminist' or 'conservative' attitudes (Bohner, 2004, p. 243).

Finally, through the self-esteem maintenance function (4) of attitudes people associate themselves with positive objects and distance themselves from negative objects. For example, individuals may hold negative attitudes towards minority groups, such as immigrants, due to an assumption that this creation of distance can help to protect them against the danger and negative connotations associated with these groups (Bohner, 2004, p. 243). The various functions are highly interactive and are often difficult to dissociate as attitudes frequently fulfill multiple functions at the same time (Bohner, 2004, p. 243).

DISCUSSIONS

Language and identity in Africa are intricately linked, reflecting the continent's rich cultural diversity and complex history. Here are some key aspects:

Language as a marker of identity

- ✓ Ethnic identity: Language often serves as a primary marker of ethnic identity, connecting individuals to their cultural heritage and community.
- ✓ National identity: Language can also play a role in shaping national identity, particularly in countries with a dominant language or lingua franca.

Language and power dynamics

- ✓ Language of power: In many African countries, European languages (e.g., English, French, Portuguese) are often associated with power, education, and economic opportunities.
- ✓ Language marginalization: Indigenous languages may be marginalized or excluded from official domains, leading to language shift or loss.

Language and cultural preservation

- ✓ Cultural expression: Language is a vital means of cultural expression, allowing individuals to convey their experiences, values, and traditions.
- ✓ Language revitalization: Efforts to revitalize endangered languages can help preserve cultural heritage and promote linguistic diversity.

Challenges and opportunities

- ✓ Multilingualism: Africa's linguistic diversity presents both challenges and opportunities, requiring effective language planning and policy-making.
- ✓ Language education: Language education policies can promote linguistic diversity, cultural preservation, and social inclusion.

Future directions

- ✓ Language documentation: Documenting African languages can help preserve linguistic diversity and promote language revitalization.
- ✓ Language policy reform: Reforming language policies can promote linguistic inclusion, cultural preservation, and social justice.

By exploring the complex relationships between language and identity in Africa, we can better understand the continent's rich cultural heritage and promote linguistic diversity and social inclusion though there is a tendency to dominate minor language with lingua francas in some African countries and towns. Fulfulde in this study, has proven to be the vehicle language even in a highly competitive environment being a public institution with two major official languahes apart from countless of the remaining foreign languages.

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