

*Multilingualism in a rural African region from a spatial perspective:  
The Lower Fungom zone of Cameroon*

# Acknowledgments

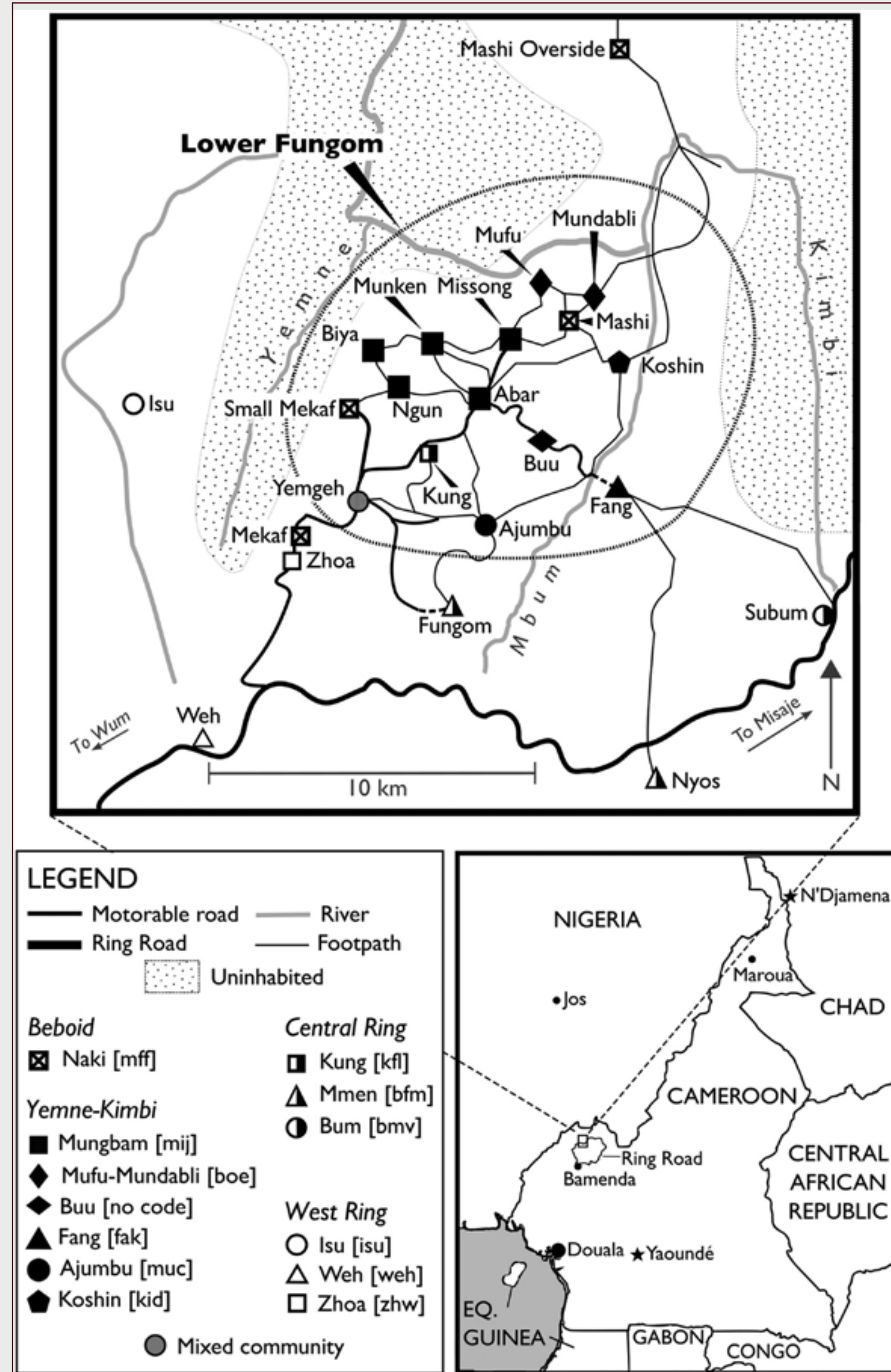
- Much of my research that has informed the development of this seminar has been supported by a number of granting agencies
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  - The Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology
  - The Endangered Languages Documentation Programme
  - The University at Buffalo, State University of New York
- Key co-researchers for this work: Pierpaolo Di Carlo, Ling Bian, Yujia Pan, Penghang Liu, Jiazhen Sun, Clayton Hamre, and Nelson Tschonghongi

# KPAAM-CAM

- Key Pluridisciplinary Advances in African Multilingualism
- A collaboration between U. Buffalo, U. Yaoundé I, U. Buea, U. Bamenda, U. Dschang, and the Catholic University of Cameroon, Bamenda
- Long-term research goal: Longitudinal investigation of language change in a diverse region of the Cameroonian Grassfields
- Applied research on language choice and public health messaging and building training capacity has also been undertaken
- See <http://kpaam-cam.org> for more information

# Dynamics of language and space

- The linguistic study of language and space generally
- Starts from a simplifying assumption that communities are monolingual
- Treats each speaker as being associated with a single location
- Views space primarily as a “stage” on which language users operate (but see Di Carlo & Pizziolo 2012 and Hammarström & Güldemann 2015)



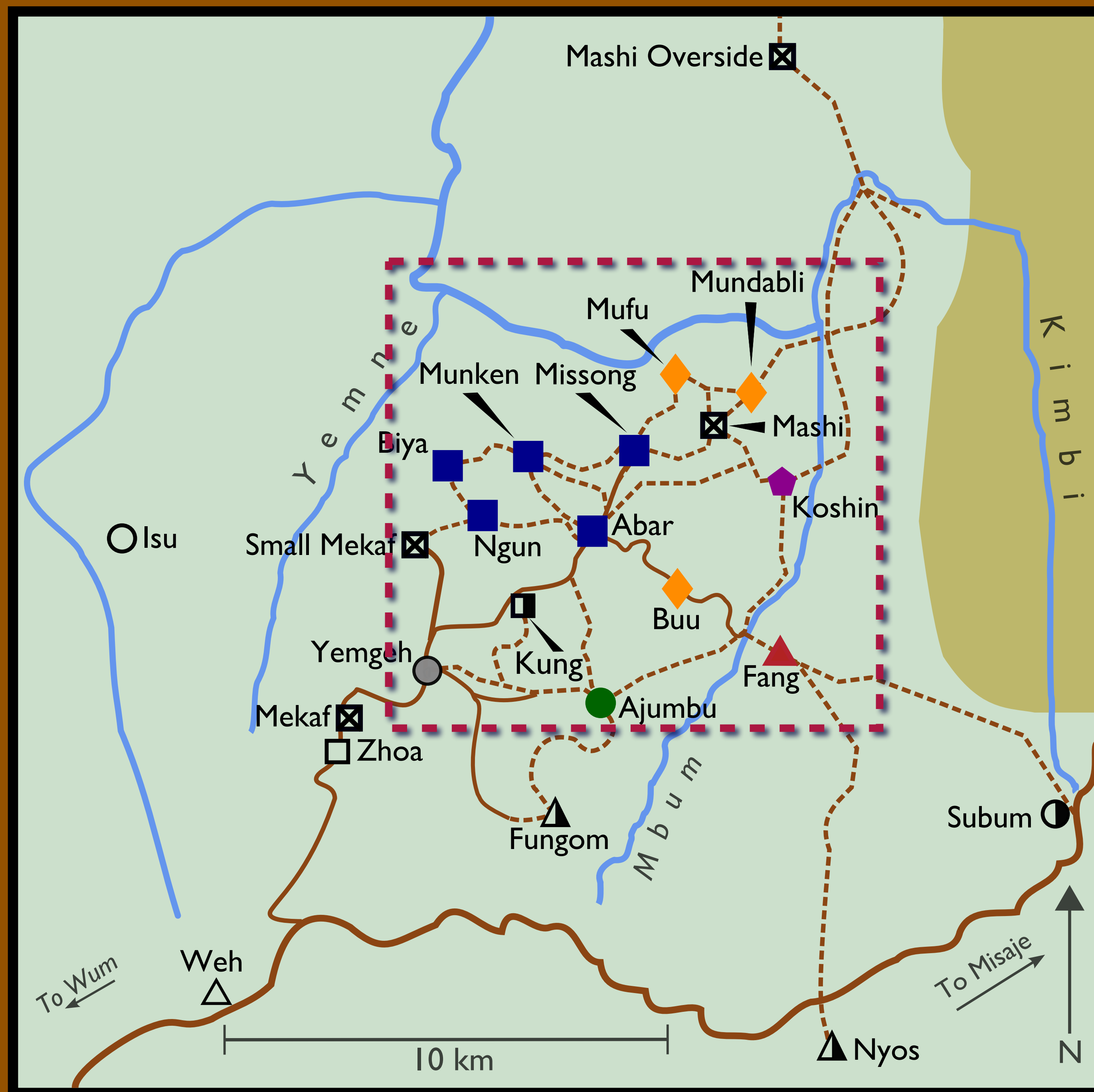
# Lower Fungom

*At the northern edge of the Grassfields*









## Lower Fungom

- 13 villages
- 7–9 “languages”
- 5 local isolates
- 2 dialect clusters
- 12,000(?) people (before 2017)
- Rural economy
- Localist attitudes
- Multilingualism/multilectalism pervasive





# Interview guide excerpt

Paternal name

Maternal name

Other names

Paternal affiliation

Maternal affiliation

Spouse's provenance

Spouse's languages

Father's provenance

Father's languages

Mother's provenance

Mother's languages

Children's languages

Language name

Degree of competence

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

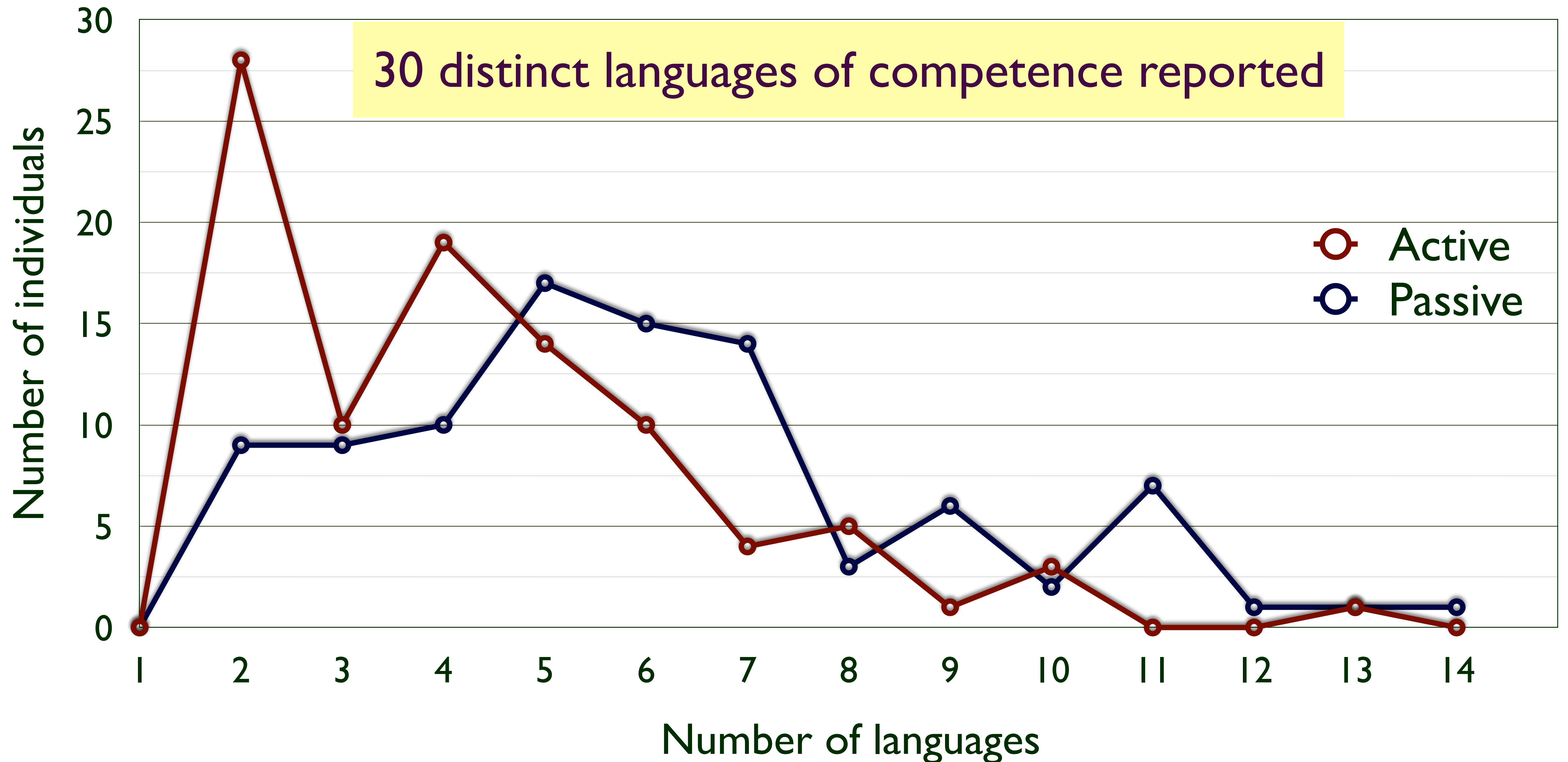
Where did you learn it?

Where do you use it?

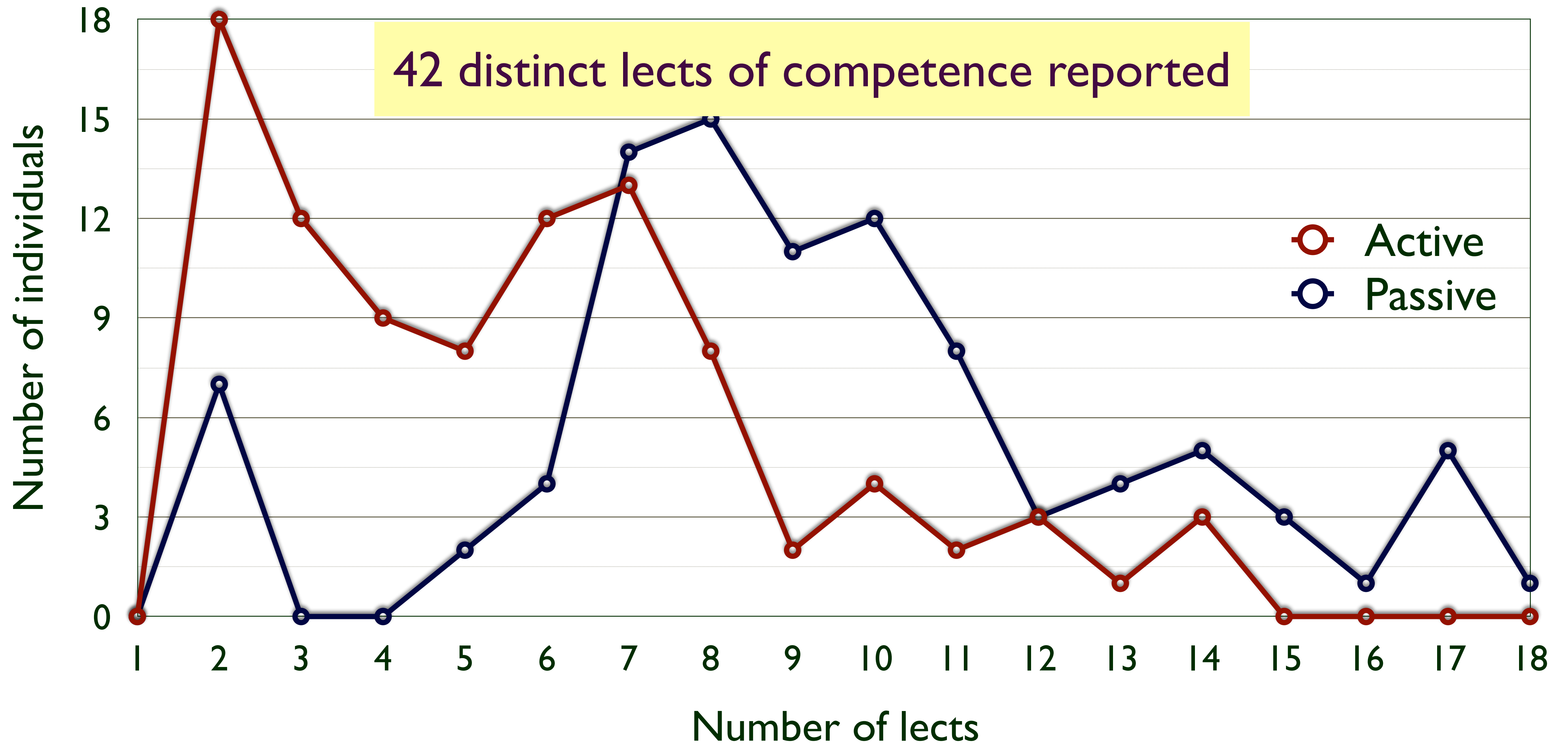
What are the advantages of knowing this language?

Are there special occasions in which you use it (e.g. prayers, songs, etc.)?

# Reported number of languages spoken



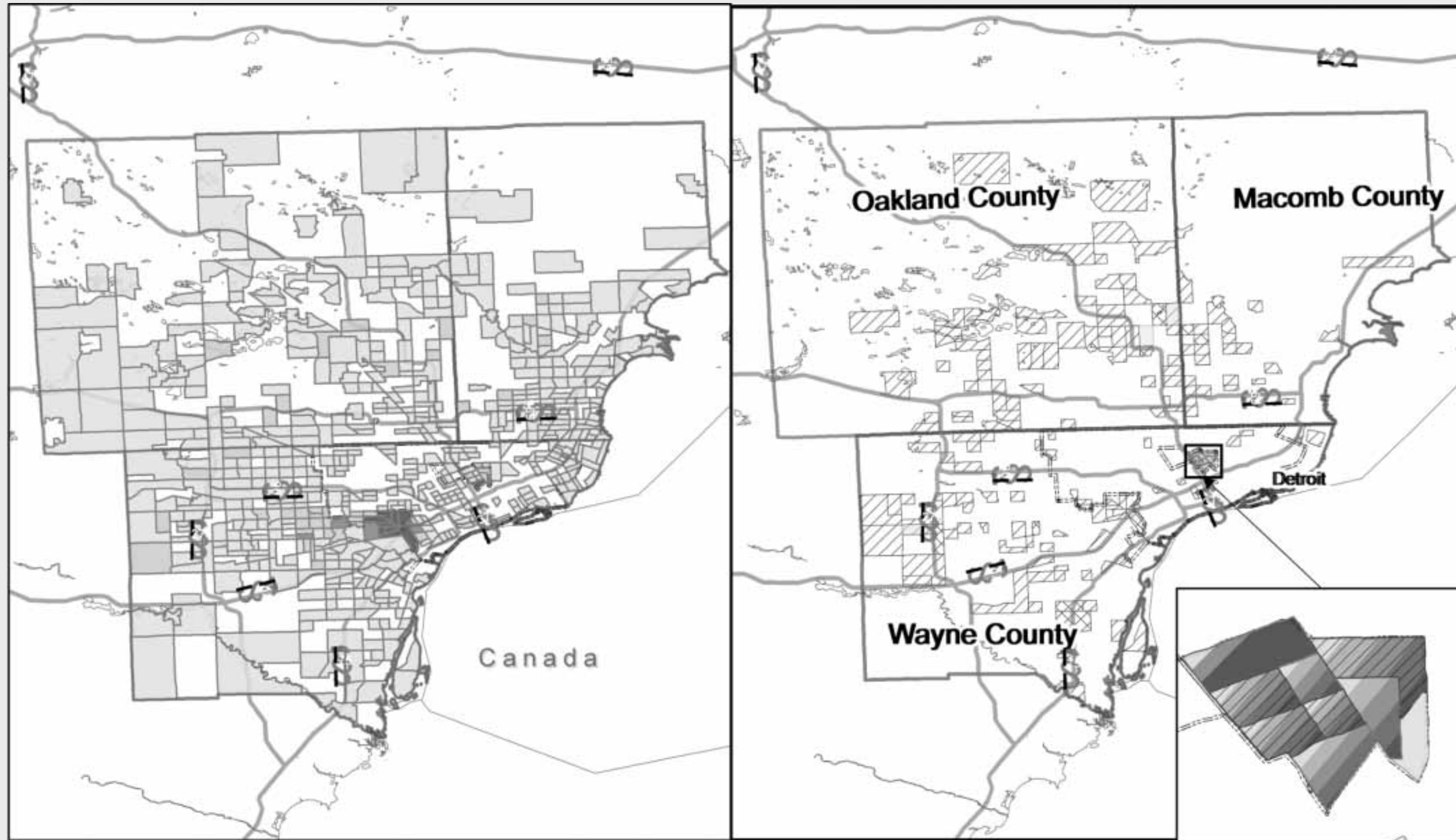
# Reported number of lects spoken



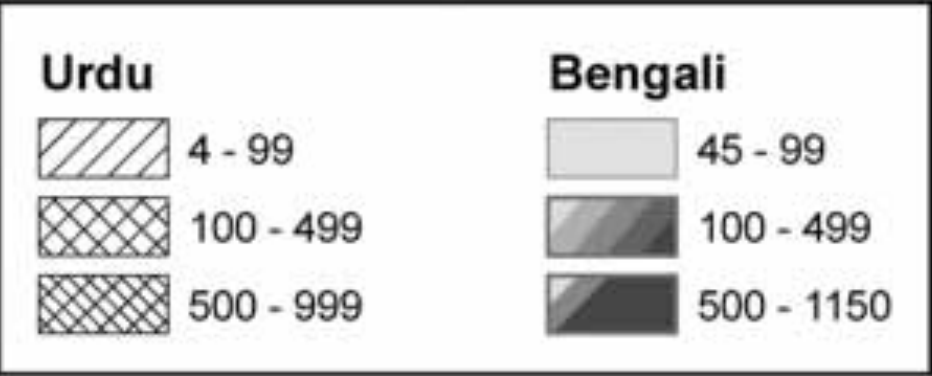
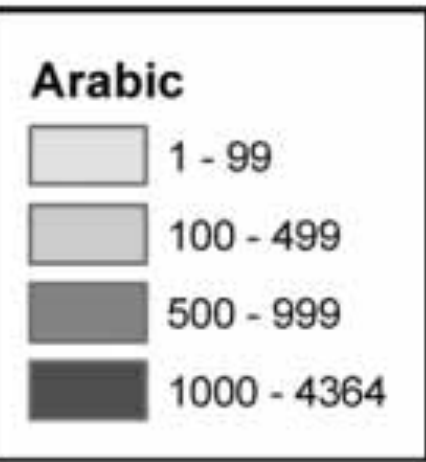
# Spatial representations and spatial analysis

- Geographers are not (necessarily) cartographers
- However, data with spatial properties can be used to create useful visualizations for conveying linguistic patterns
- The same data can be used to conduct quantitative analyses of the relationship between language and space

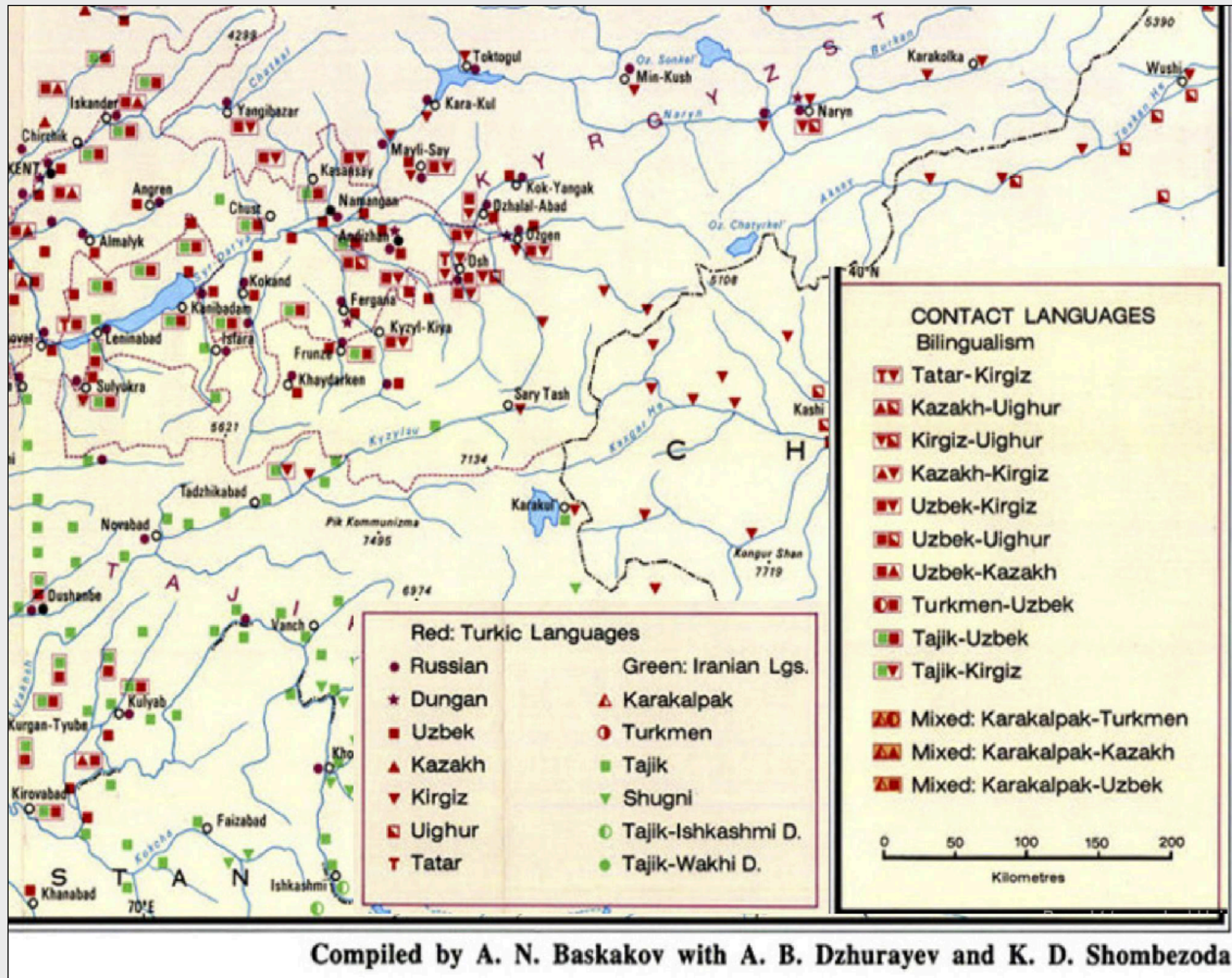
# Veselinova & Booza (2008)



*Uses census tracts for fine-grained visualization and analysis, as well as overlays for presence of multiple languages.*

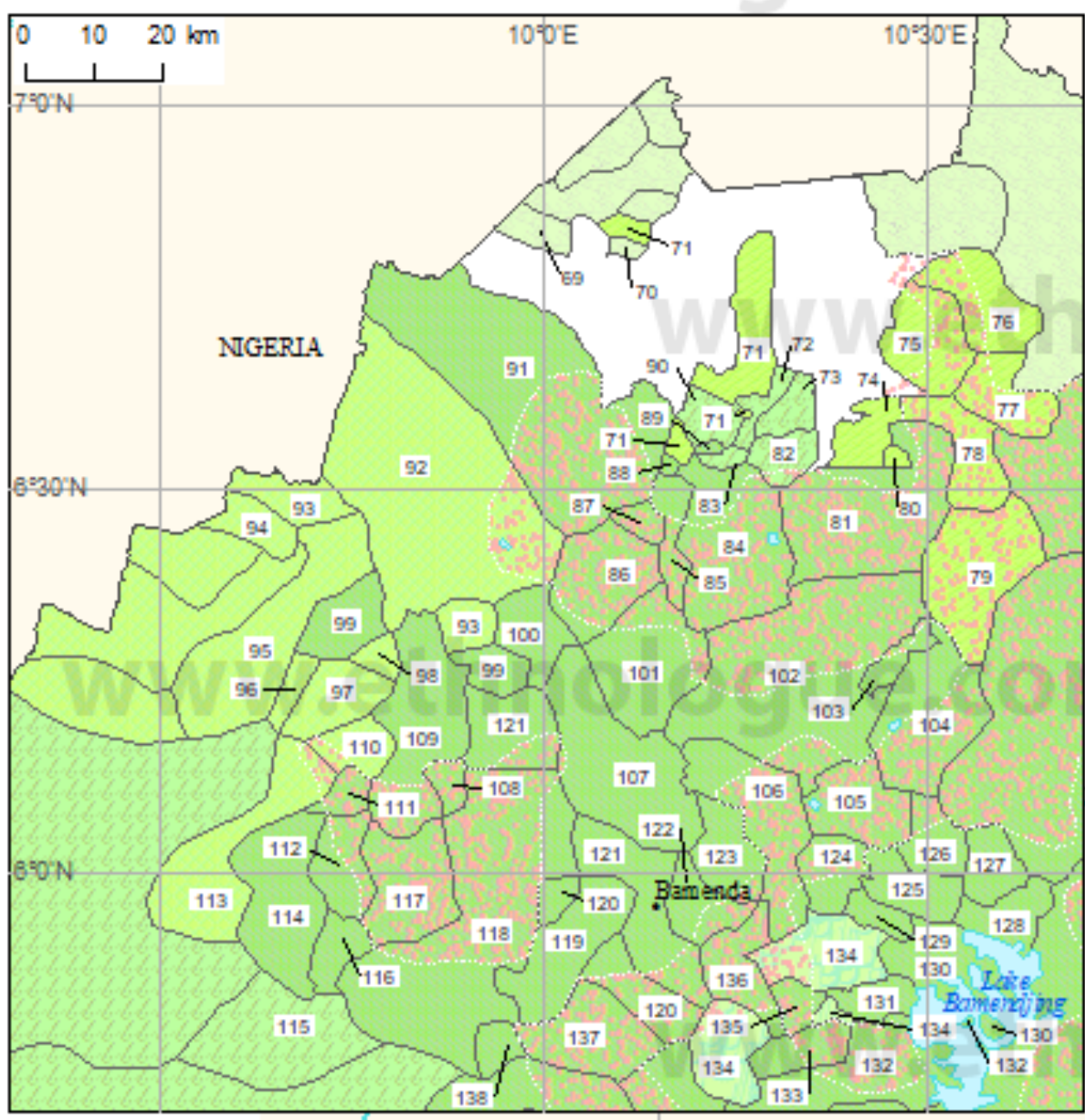


# Baskakov et al. (1996)



*Provides information on bilingualism among individuals surveyed, placing them in the place where they resided at the time of the survey.*

# CENTRAL CAMEROON



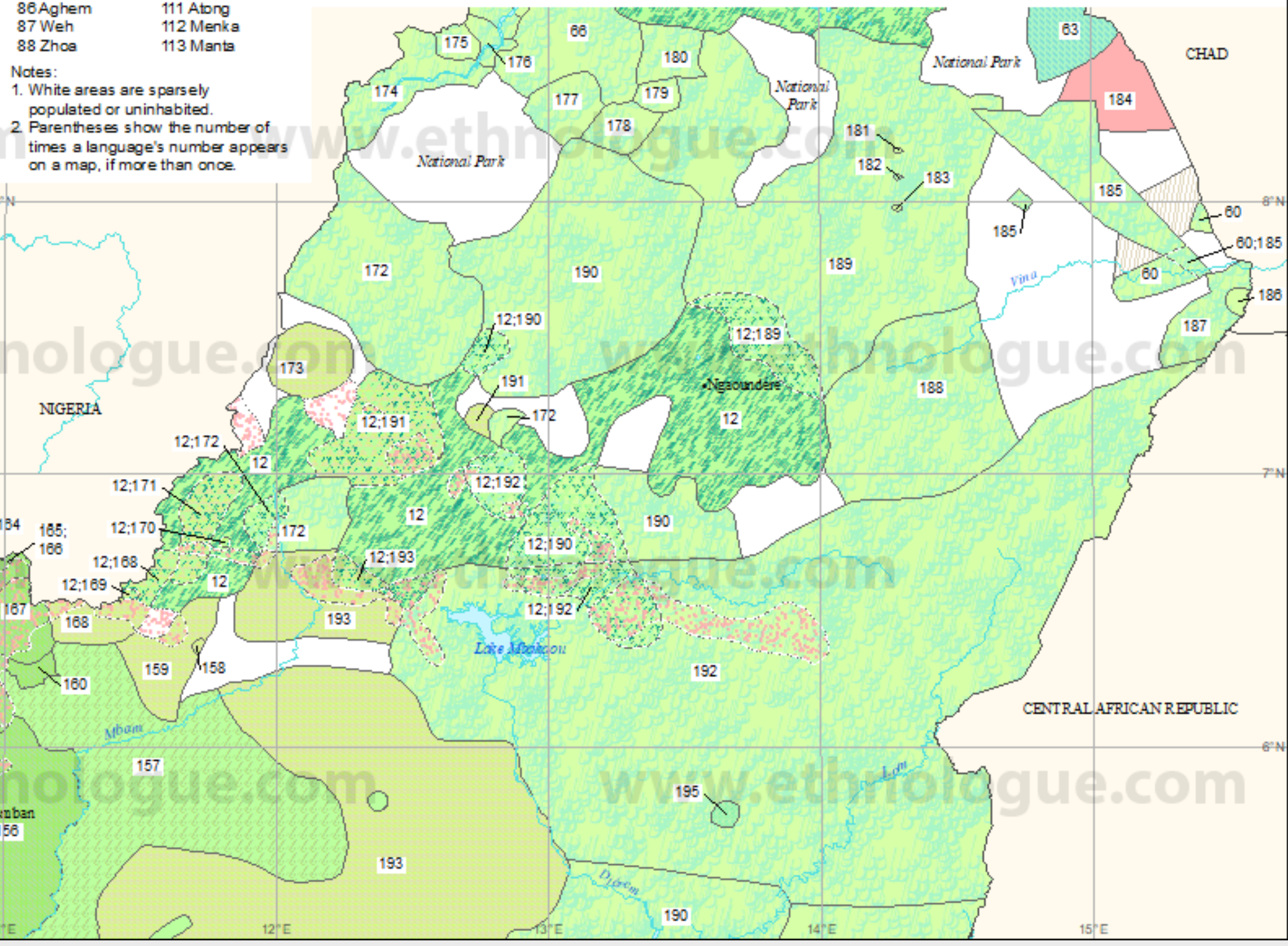
12 Adamawa Fulfulde (16)	89 Kung	114 Ambele	135 Bamukumbit	176 Gimnime
60 Kuo (3)	90 Mungbam	115 Kendem	136 Awing	177 Longto
63 Pevé	91 Isu [isu]	116 Busam	137 Pinyin	178 Kolbila
66 Doyayo	92 Esimbi	117 Ngie	138 Njen	179 Dugun
69 Akum	93 Mesaka (2)	118 Meta'	139 Kutep (2)	180 Duupa
70 Beezen	94 Tiv	119 Mungaka (2)	140 Yukuben	181 Oblo
71 Naki (4)	95 Ipulo	120 Ngamambo (2)	141 Jukun Takum (2)	182 Ndai
72 Mundabli	96 Eman	121 Ngemba (2)	142 Iyive	183 Pam
73 Koshin	97 Osatu	122 Mendankwe-Nikwen	143 Ioeve-Maci	184 Ngambay
74 Chung	98 Caka	123 Bambili-Bambui	144 Evant	185 Karang (3)
75 Kemedzung	99 Beba (2)	124 Kenswei Nsei	145 Denya	186 Nzakambay
76 Naami	100 Befang	125 Bamunka	146 Bokyi	187 Pana
77 Sari	101 Laimbue	126 Supayya	147 Ejagham	188 Kare
78 Nchane	102 Kom	127 Wushi	148 Kenyang	189 Dii (2)
79 Noone	103 Mbessa	128 Bangolan	149 Mundani	190 Mbum (5)
80 Mbuk	104 Oku	129 Bamali	150 Ngwe	191 Nizaa (2)
81 Bum	105 Vengo	130 Bambalang (2)	151 Ngombale	192 Northwest Gbaya (3)
82 Fang [fak]	106 Babanki	131 Bafanji	152 Yemba	193 Vute (3)
83 Ajumbu	107 Bafut	132 Mengaka (3)	153 Ghomala'	194 Ewondo
84 Mmen	108 Ngoshie	133 Bamenyam	154 Ngiemboon	195 Mbonga
85 Kuk	109 Ngwo	134 Mubako (3)	155 Ngomba	
86 Aghem	110 Balo			
87 Weh	111 Atong			
88 Zhoa	112 Menka			
	113 Manta			

Notes:  
 1. White areas are sparsely populated or uninhabited.  
 2. Parentheses show the number of times a language's number appears on a map, if more than once.

### Language Families

<b>Afro-Asiatic:</b>	..... Bantoid:
-Chadic:	Bantu
other Chadic	Beboid
<b>Niger-Congo:</b>	Grassfields
-Atlantio-Congo:	Jarawan
Atlantic	Mambiloid
-Volta-Congo:	Tivoid
Adamawa-Ubangi	other Bantoid
-Benue-Congo:	Nilo-Saharan
Cross River	
Jukunoid	

**WIDESPREAD LANGUAGE**  
 (Atlantic)  
 Mbororo Fulfulde



Ethnologue map that includes the Lower Fungom region







Overlays dots to show where Fulfulde herders live in areas also occupied by farmers; otherwise divides the country into polygons that are not always well supported by data.

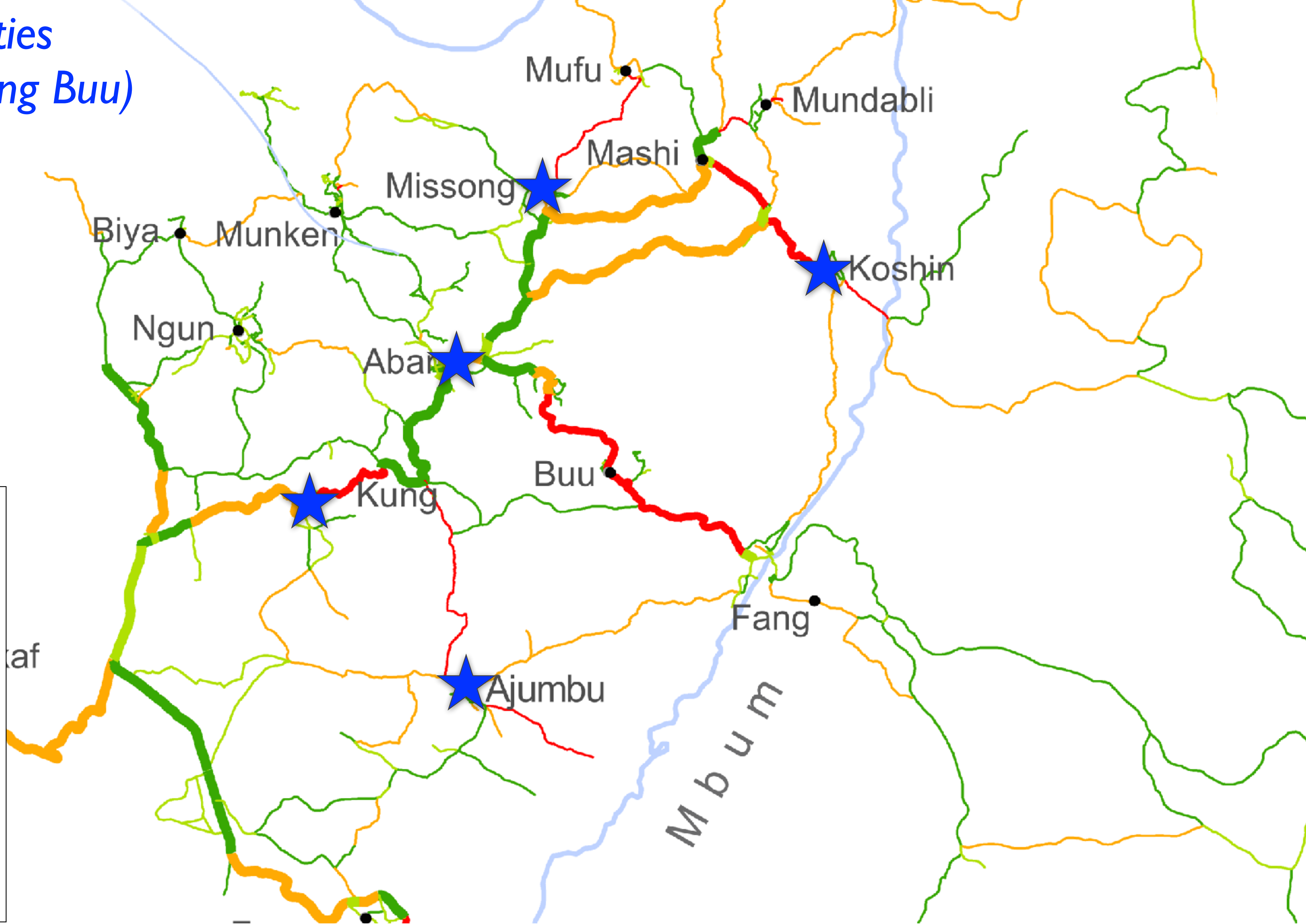


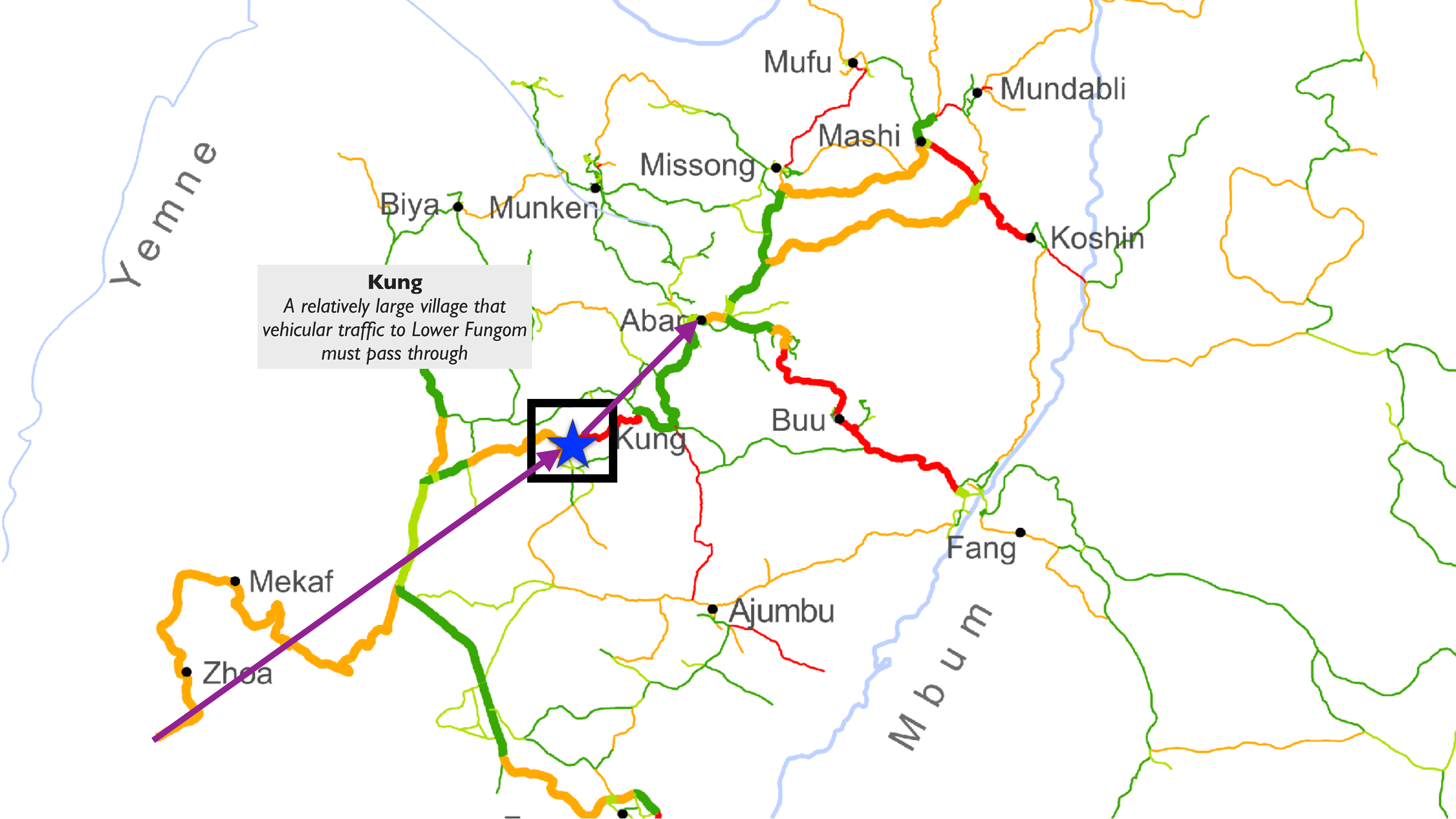


*Top five varieties  
in sample (excluding Buu)*

**Legend**  
*Estimated Difficulty*

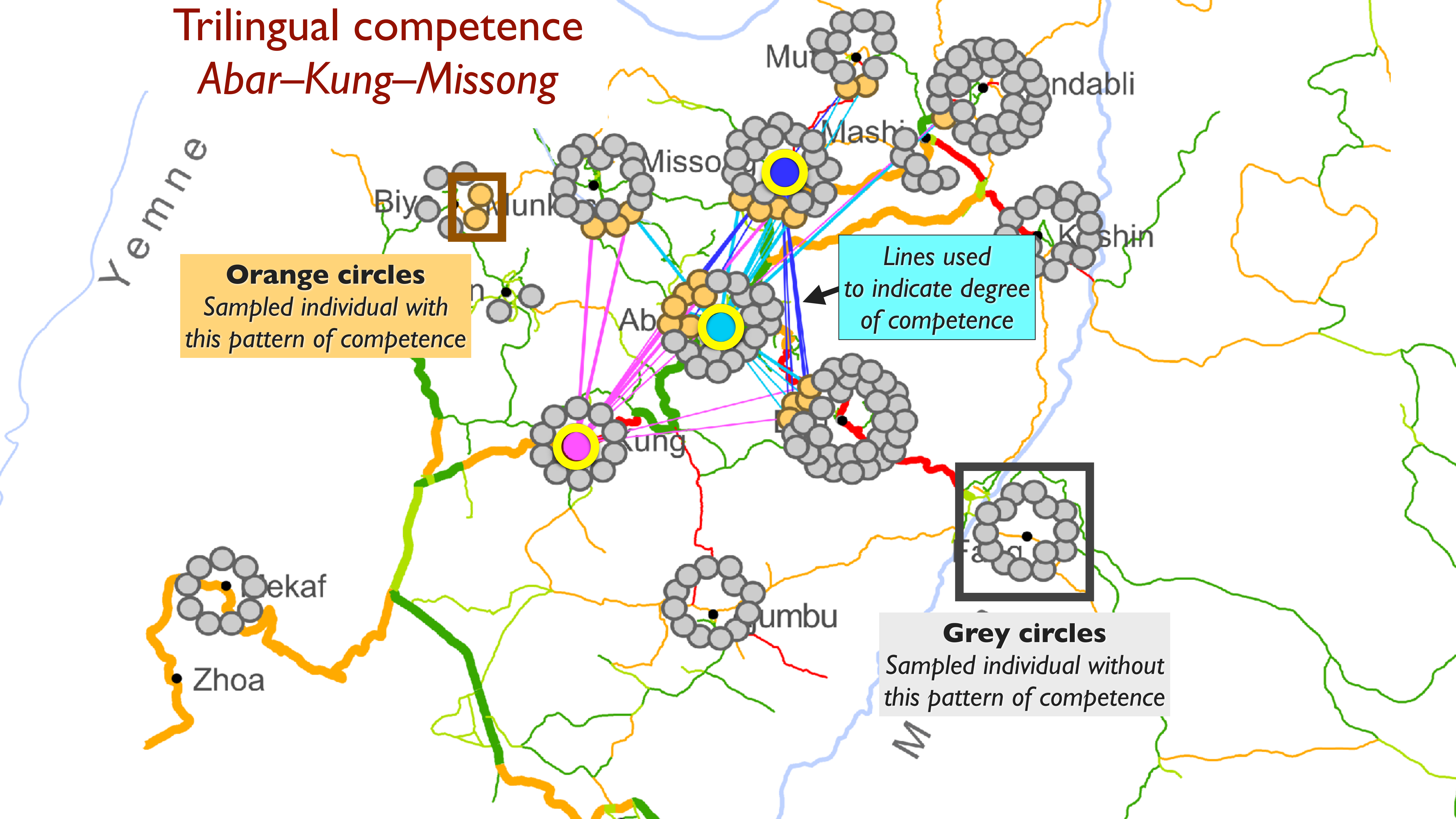
	Easy
	Normal
	Hard
	Very Hard
	Village
	River



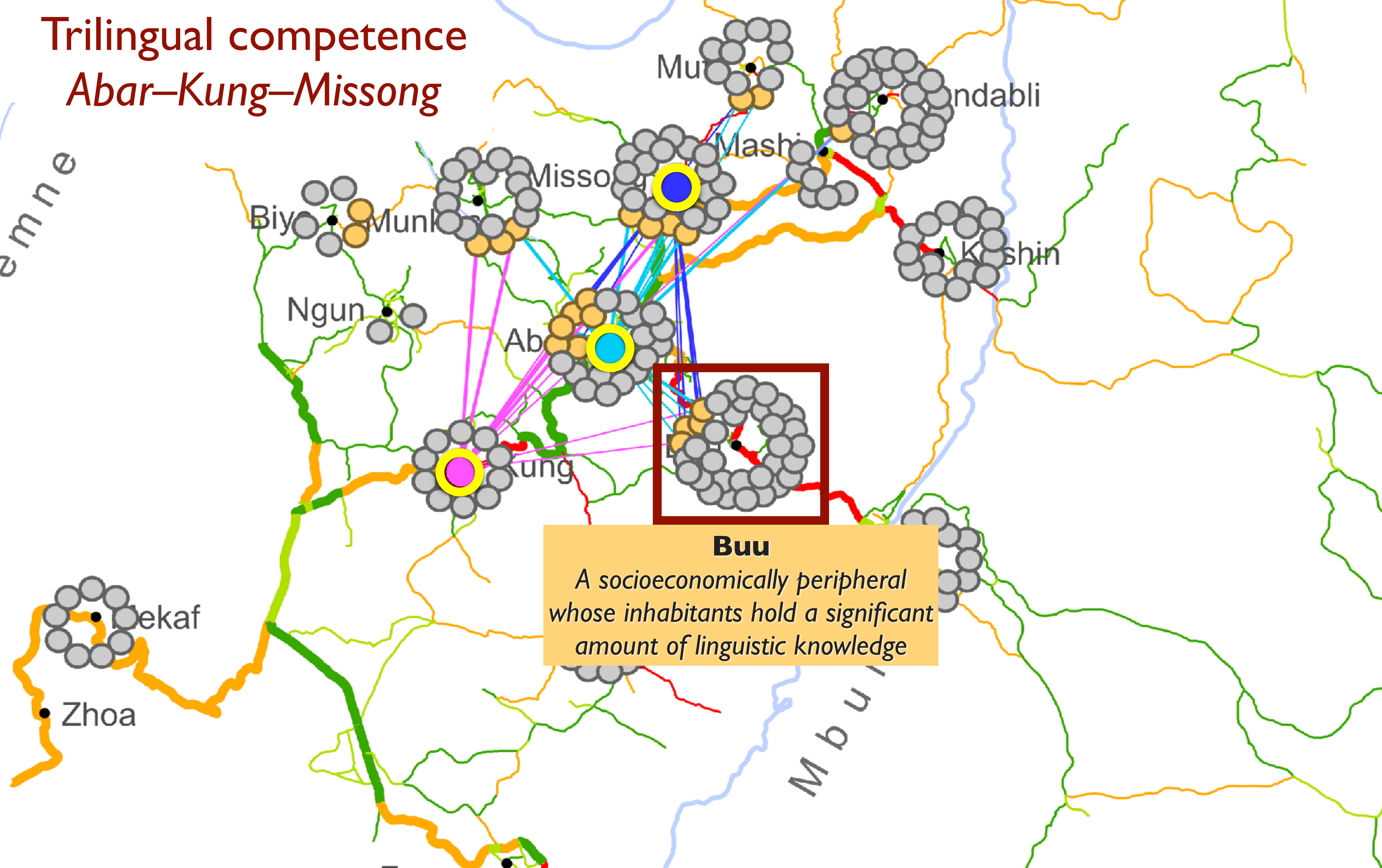


**Kung**  
*A relatively large village that  
vehicular traffic to Lower Fungom  
must pass through*

# Trilingual competence *Abar–Kung–Missong*



# Trilingual competence *Abar–Kung–Missong*

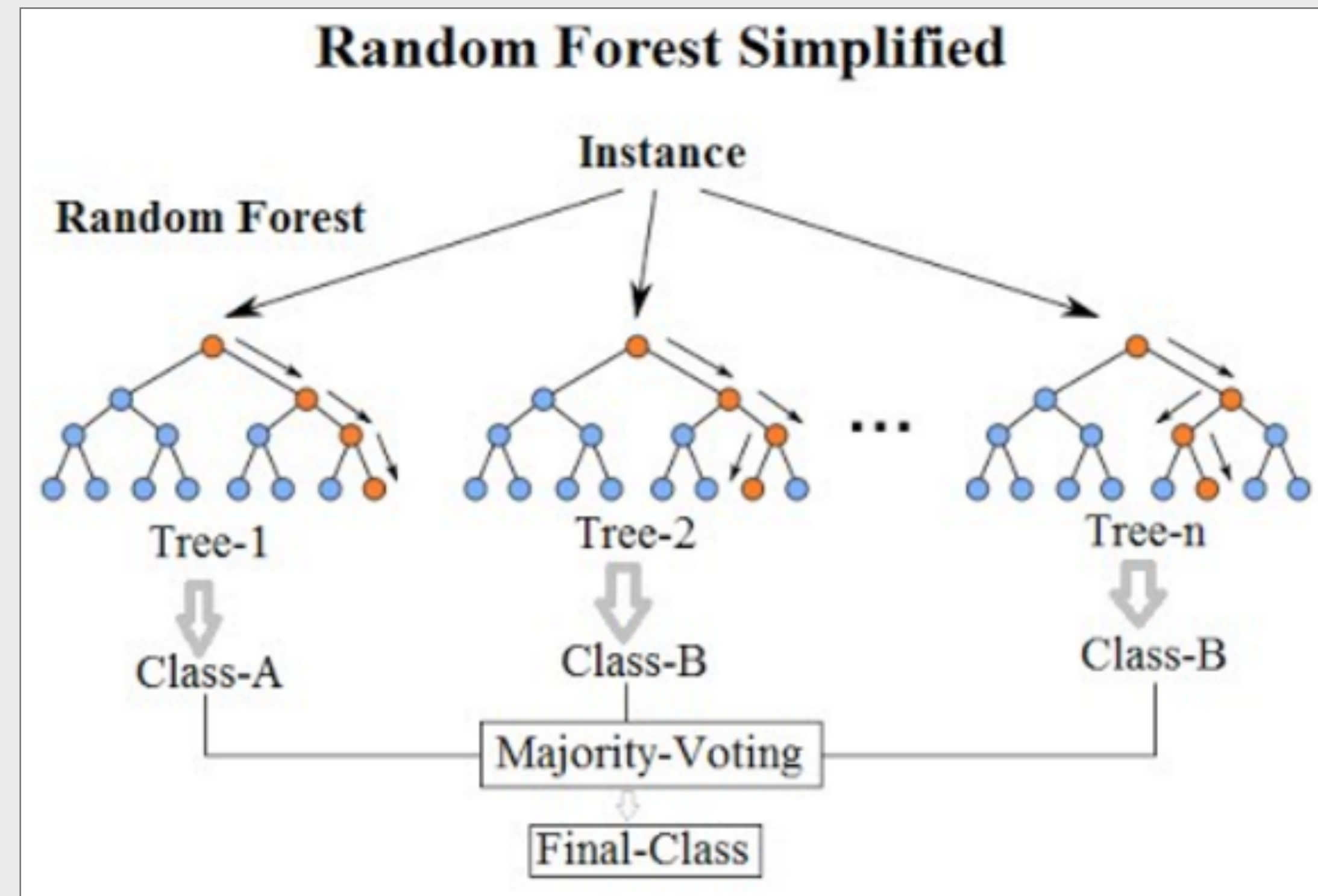


# Three spatial studies

- Predictive models of an individual's primary language
- Distribution of linguistic knowledge via village profiles
- Comparison between “key” languages and villages
- Work directed by Ling Bian and undertaken by Penghang Liu, Jiazhen Sun, and Yujia Pan

# Predicting primary languages

- An initial, relatively simple case, involves looking at factors predicting an individual's reported primary language
- The main question: What is the relative importance of social relations versus residence?
- Secondary question: Are there effects related to an individual's linguistic repertoire?
- Sample size of 206 individuals, with random forest algorithm used for classification



Source: Venkata Jagannath via Wikipedia

# Features for classification

- Around 120 features were considered in the classification
  - An individual's residence and gender
  - Village affiliations of mother, father, and spouse(s)
  - Languages spoken by mother, father, and spouse(s)
  - Gender of spouse(s)



## Top four predictive features

<i>Features</i>	<i>Relative importance</i>
Paternal affiliation	0.100
Ego's residence	0.090
Maternal affiliation	0.089
Ego's village of birth	0.057

- Across all features, the relative importance adds up to 1, the random forest approach should handle correlated variables well
- The next set of features is mostly repertoire-based (e.g., whether the father or mother speak a specific language)
- Most features contribute little to predicting an individual's main language
- It is not surprising that social networks and places of residence play a role in determining individual's primary languages
- This method helps us get a more precise understanding of the role of each in determining an individual's primary language identification

# Village–language profiles

- How is linguistic knowledge distributed across villages?
- How is it distributed across generations across villages?
- This lets us look at overall shifts in multilingualism within Lower Fungom; we focused on the “top five” languages
- The methods are adapted from algorithms used for comparing images for points of similarity
- Work conducted primarily by Penghang Liu

# Representing knowledge in space

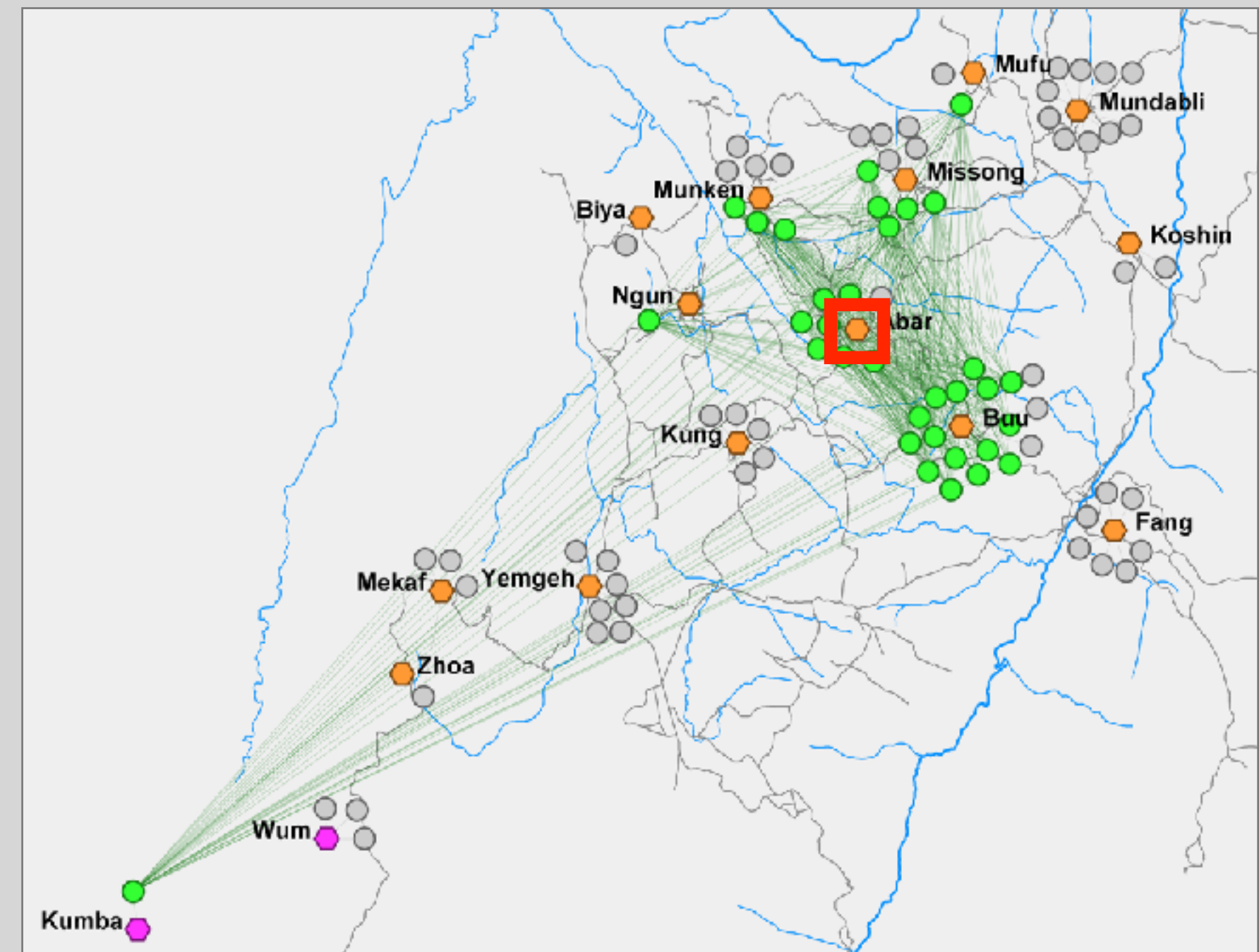
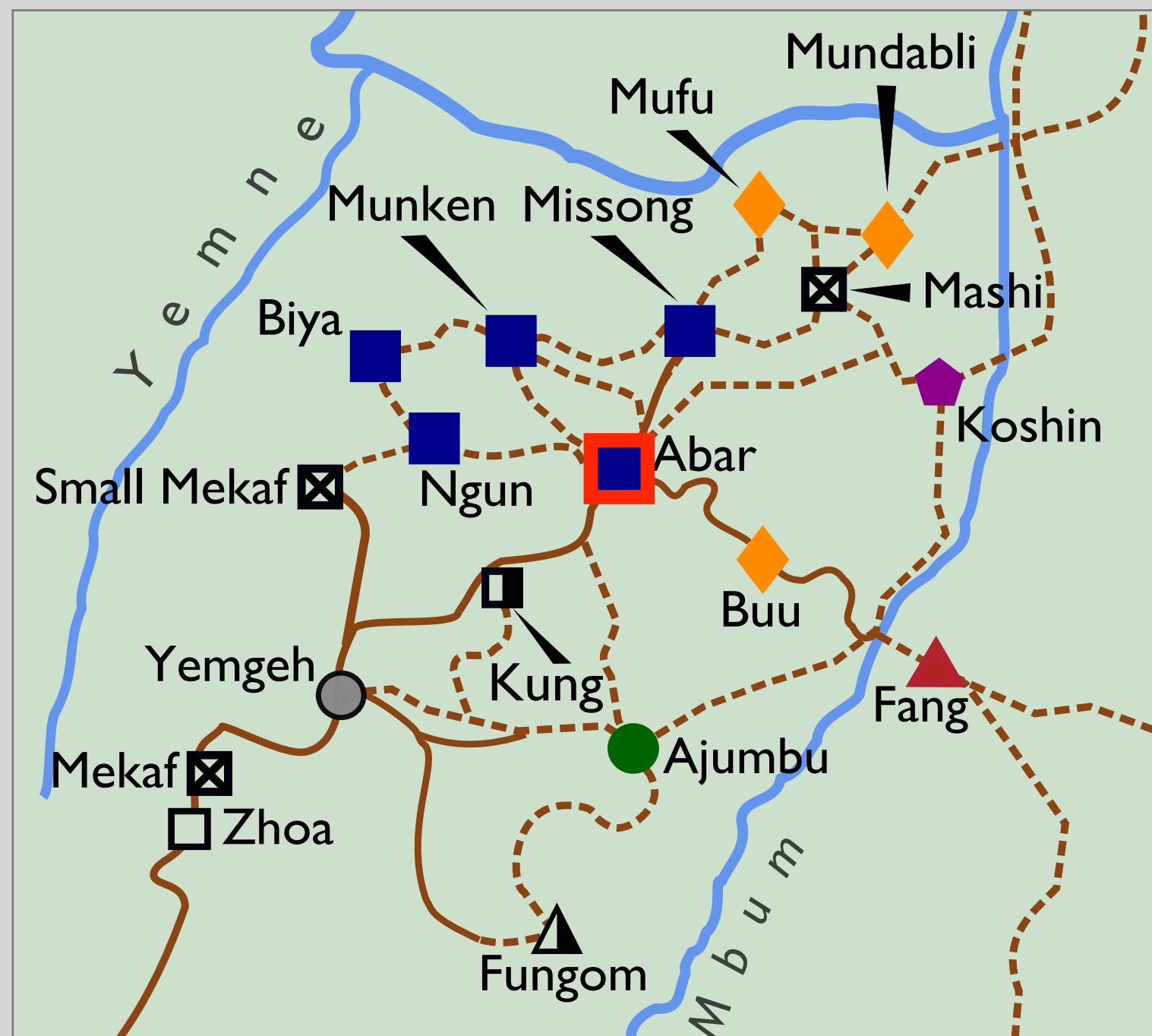
- Same sample size of 206 individuals from Lower Fungom
- For each language, create a vector representing how many people in a village report knowledge of a that language
- *Example: Knowledge of Abar across villages*  
(21, 0, 1, 34, 0, 1, 0, 3, 1, 0, 0, 0, 0, 1, 25, 0, 2, 2, 16, 2, 0, 0, 0, 5, 0, 0)
- Vectors produced for top-five languages in survey
- For Ego and Ego's Mother and Father

## Knowledge of Abar across villages

(21, 0, 1, **34**, 0, 1, 0, 3, 1, 0, 0, 0, 0, 1, 25, 0, 2, 2, 16, **2**, 0, 0, 0, 5, 0, 0)

34 people in village 4  
report knowledge of Abar

2 people in village 20  
report knowledge of Abar



# Generational comparison (e.g., for Abar variety)

Ego's generation

(7, 0, 0, 11, 0, 1, 0, 1, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 9, 0, 0, 0, 2, 1, 0, 0, 0, 1, 0, 0)

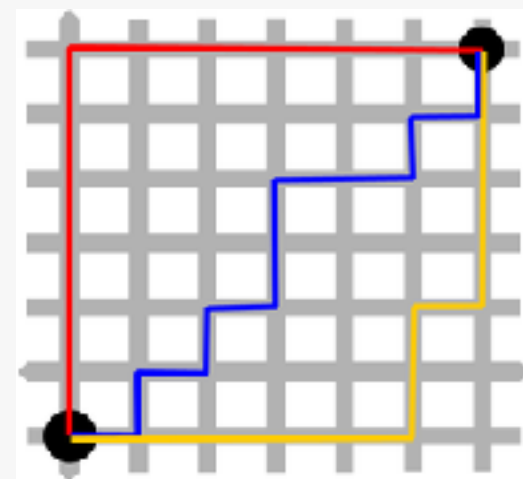
Mother's generation

(15, 0, 0, 12, 0, 0, 0, 1, 1, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 8, 0, 1, 1, 8, 1, 0, 0, 0, 2, 0, 0)

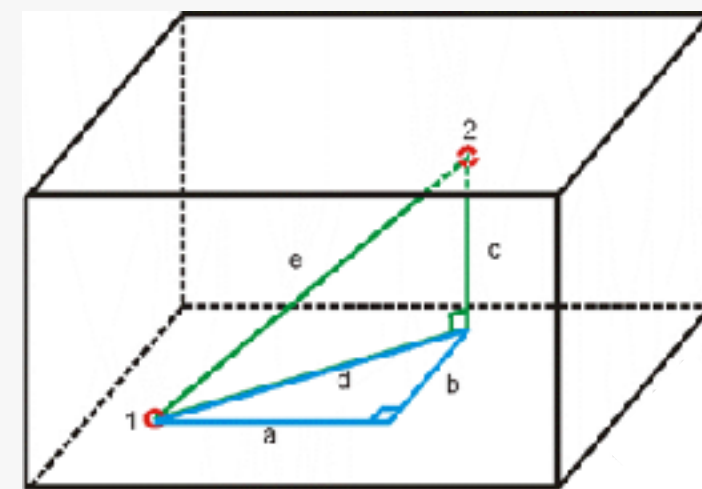
Father's generation

(13, 0, 1, 11, 0, 0, 0, 1, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 1, 8, 0, 1, 1, 6, 0, 0, 0, 0, 2, 0, 0)

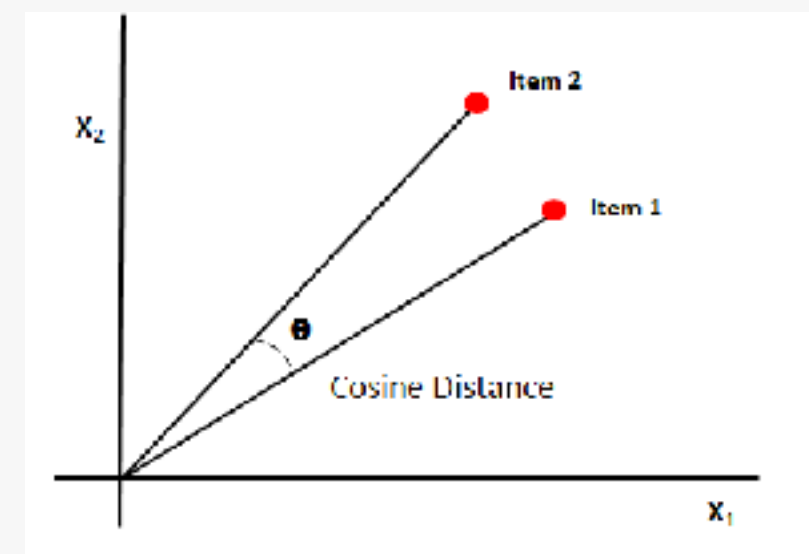
## Comparison methods



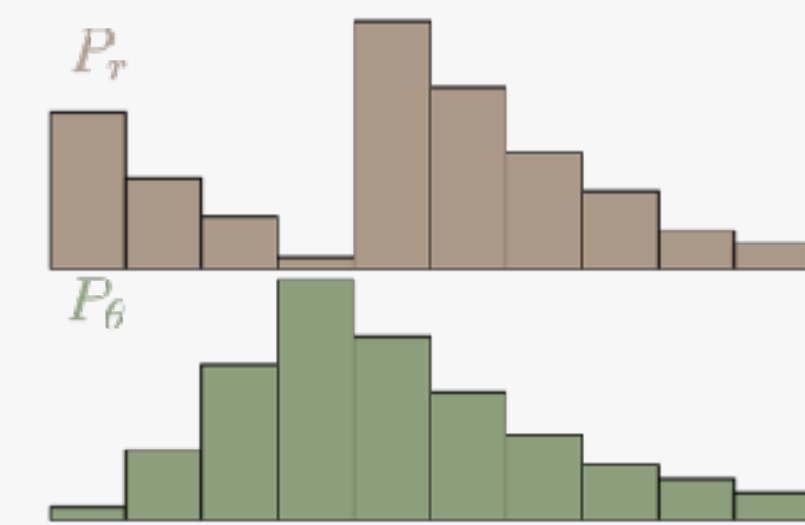
Manhattan distance



Euclidean distance



Cosine distance



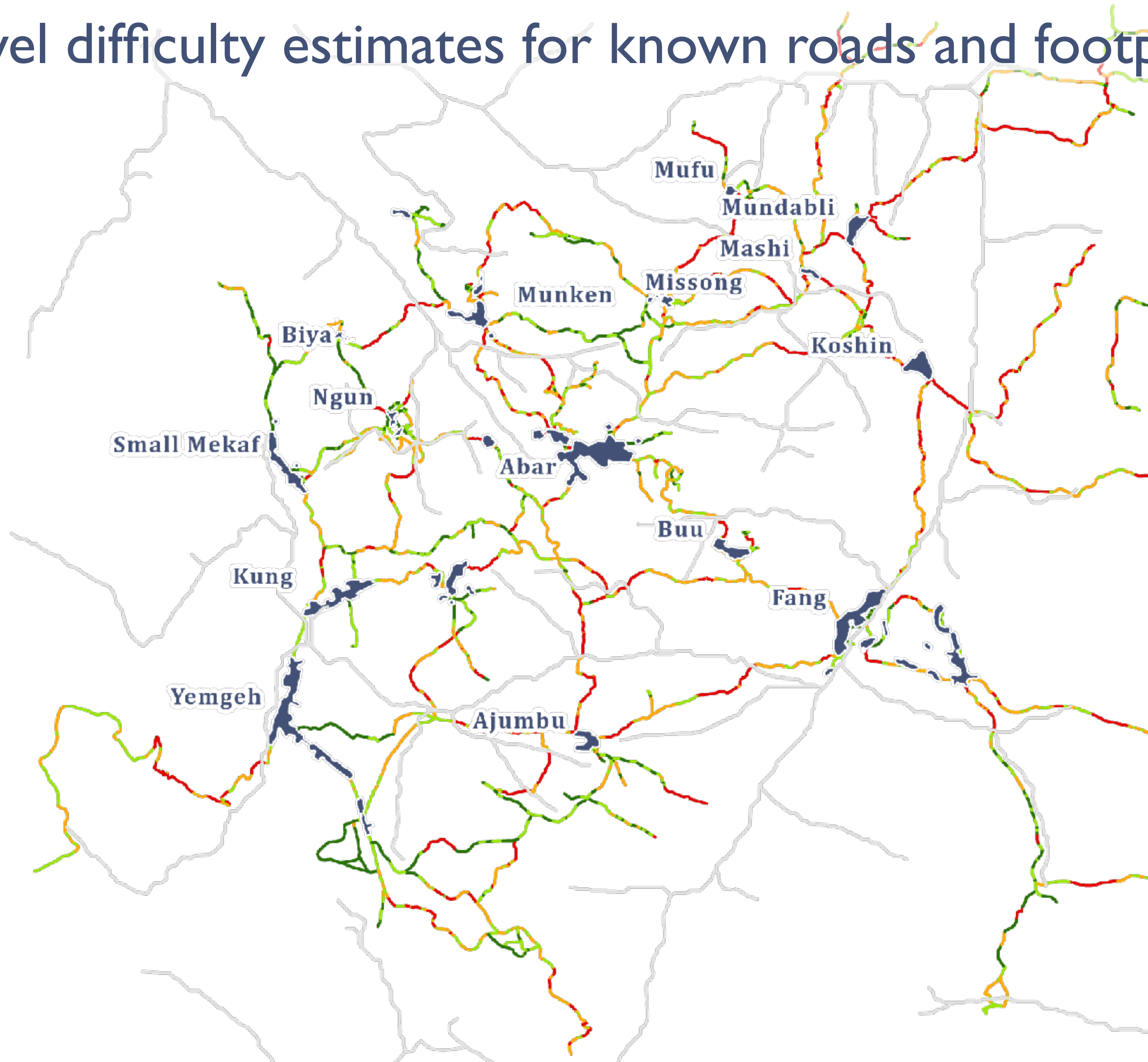
Earth-mover distance

(also Quadratic distance)

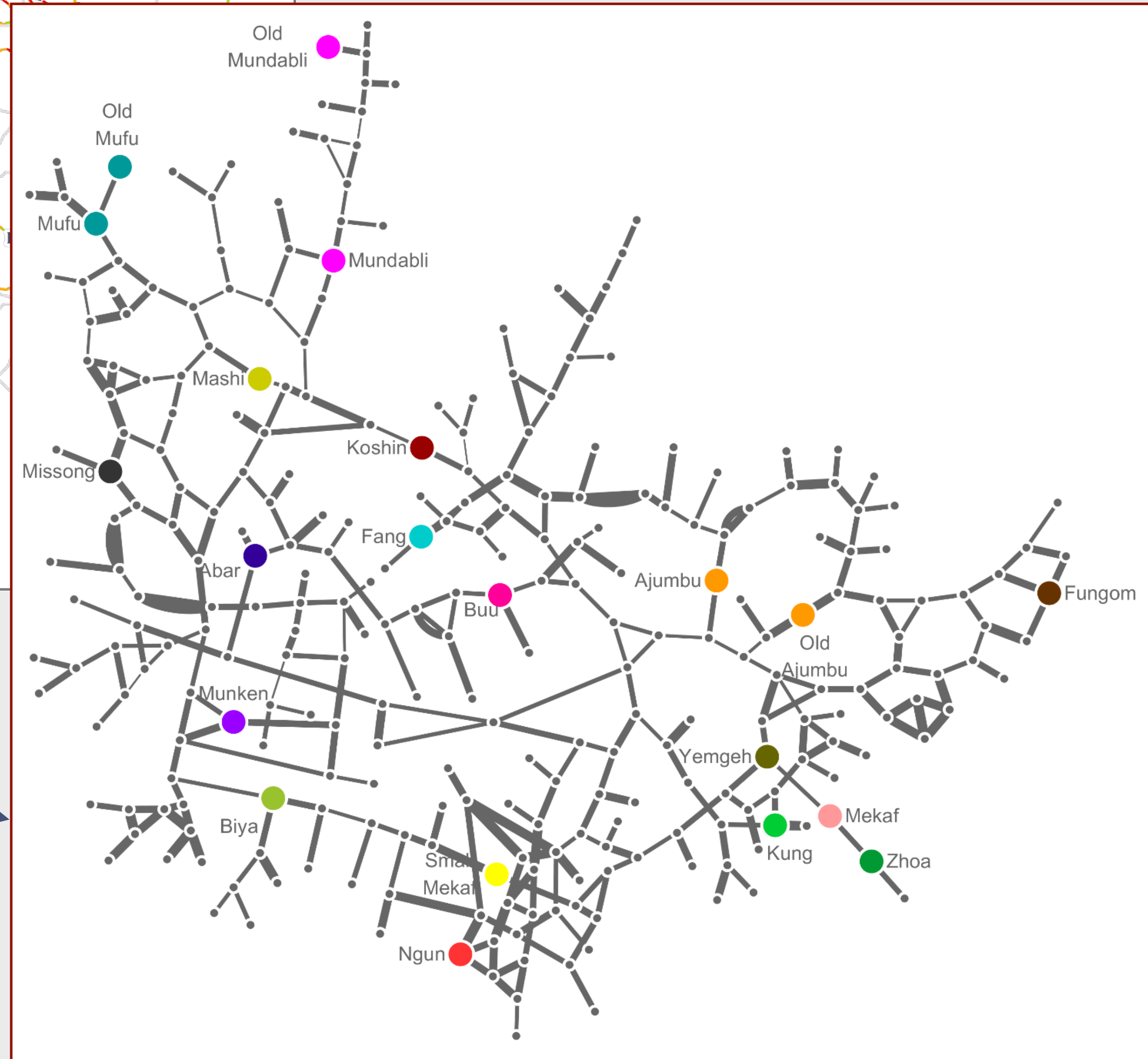
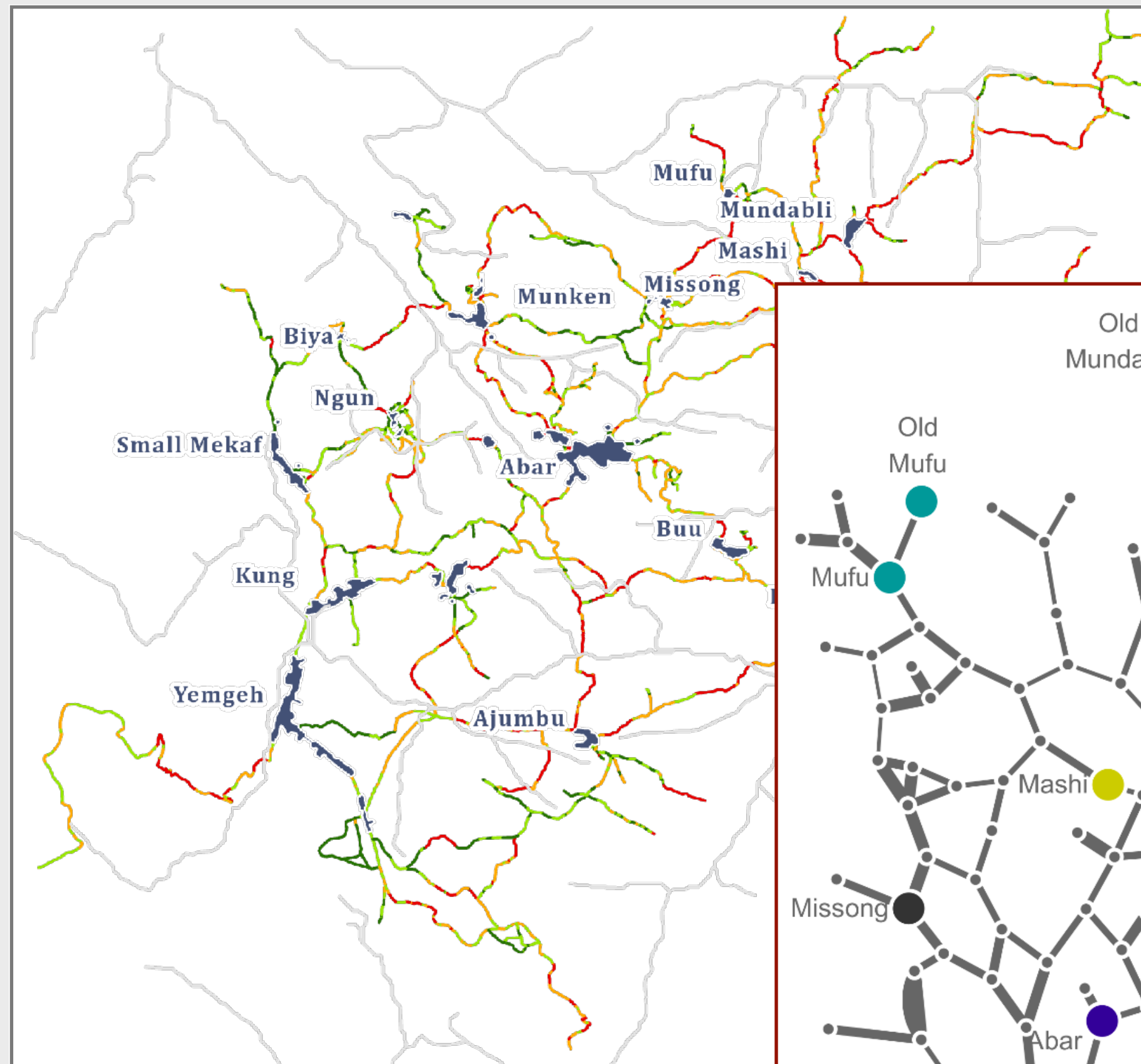
## Differences within generations overall lower than across them

No significant difference found among varieties examined	<i>Variety</i>	<i>Generation</i>	<i>Manhattan</i>	<i>Euclidean</i>	<i>Cosine</i>	<i>Quadratic</i>	<i>Earth Mover</i>
	Abar	Ego-Father	22	8.833	0.015	49.650	3.141
		Ego-Mother	47	16.549	0.047	41.919	1.400
		Mother-Father	33	12.773	0.030	2.588	1.025
	Ajumbu	Ego-Father	20	10.861	0.434	24.775	3.324
		Ego-Mother	22	10.000	0.455	23.738	3.582
		Mother-Father	8	3.743	0.038	16.334	2.694
	Koshin	Ego-Father	26	8.488	0.076	31.630	2.366
		Ego-Mother	27	8.892	0.085	21.702	1.569
		Mother-Father	15	5.194	0.019	13.264	0.785
Kung	Ego-Father	35	13.383	0.265	47.172	3.473	
	Ego-Mother	41	13.750	0.299	37.524	2.806	
	Mother-Father	16	5.092	0.039	17.349	1.094	
Missong	Ego-Father	22	8.124	0.017	32.933	1.304	
	Ego-Mother	37	13.000	0.040	28.613	1.185	
	Mother-Father	23	9.000	0.022	24.593	1.216	

# Travel difficulty estimates for known roads and footpaths

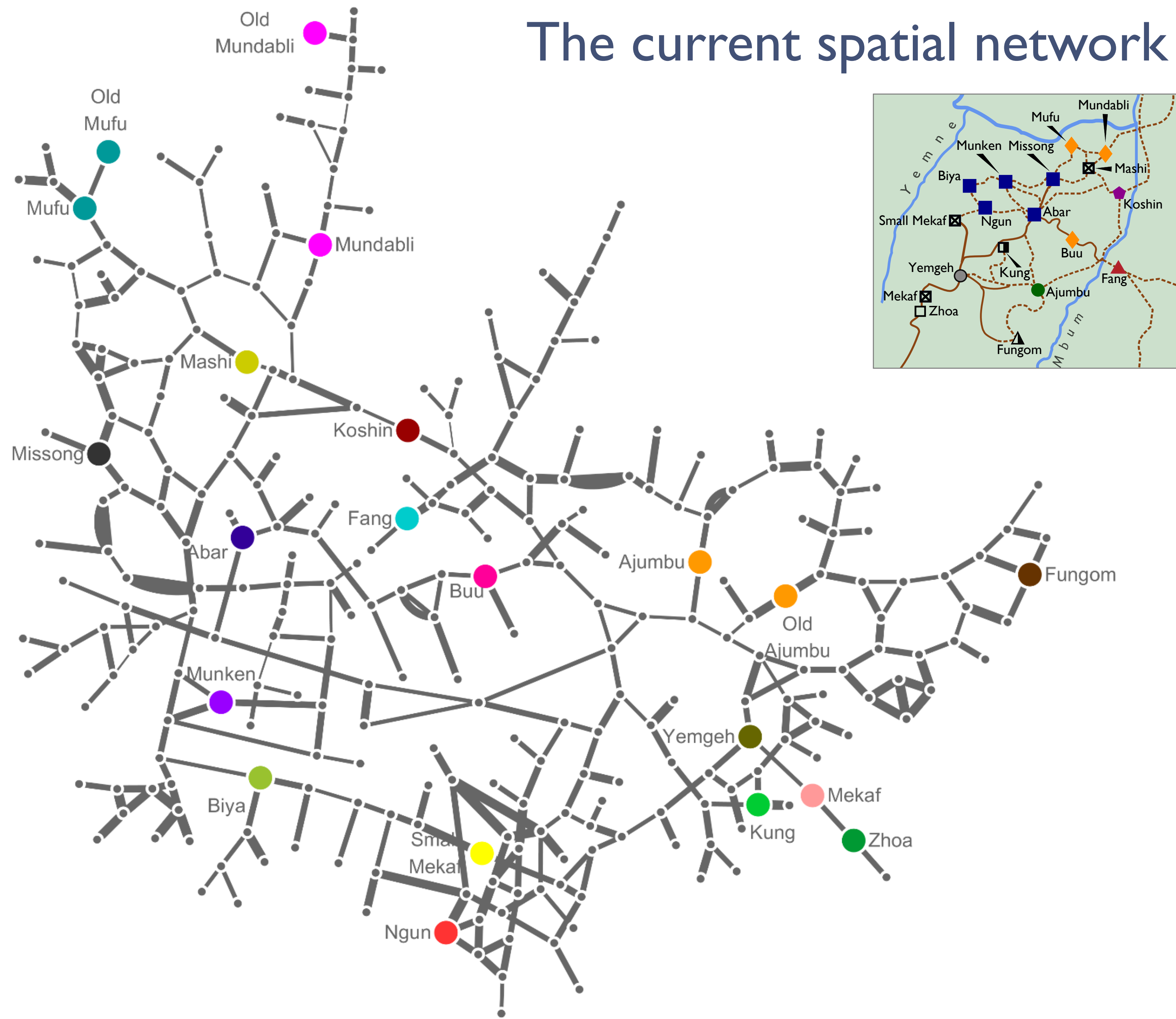


# Building a spatial network



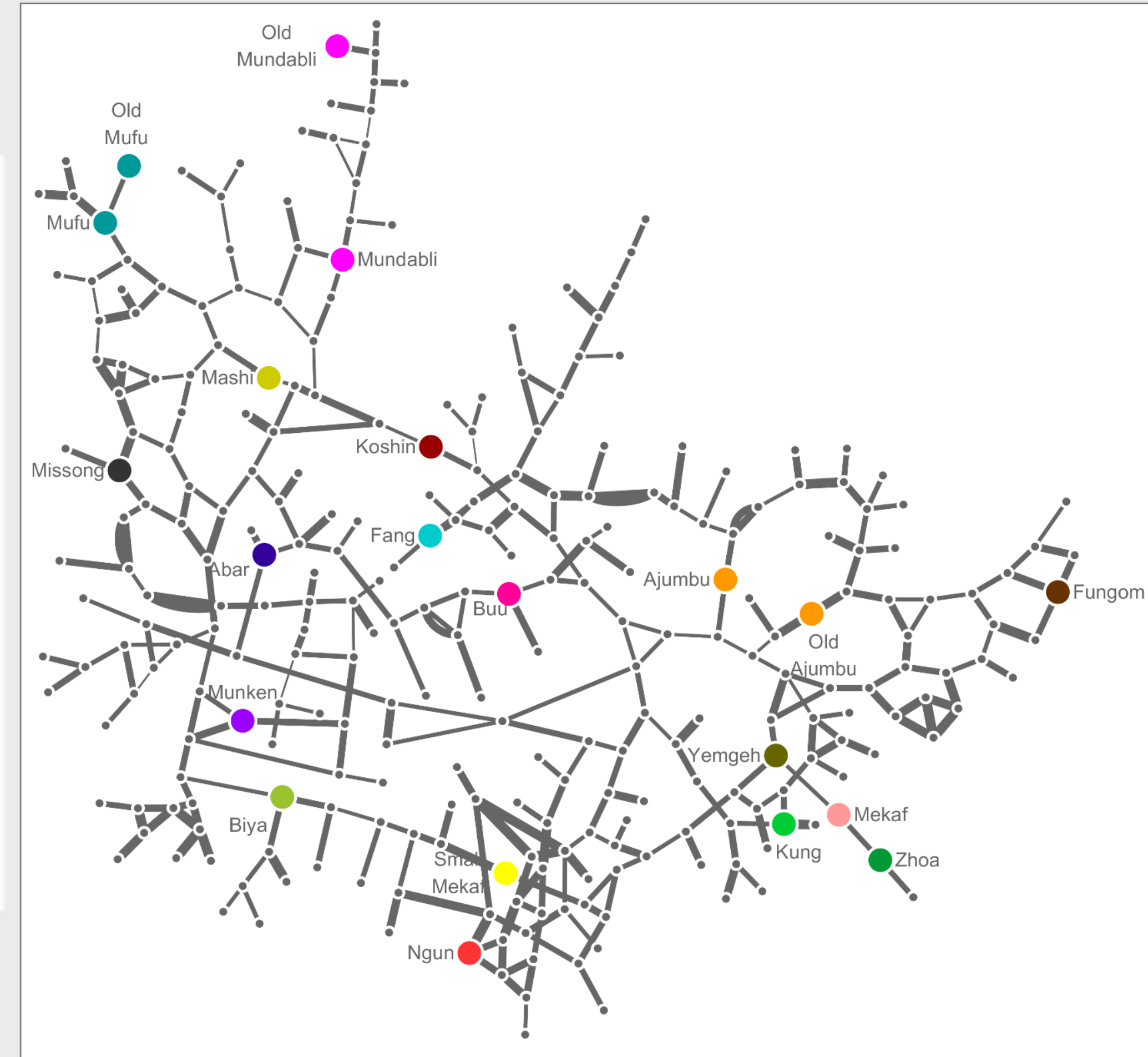


# The current spatial network



# Network analysis

- What can we learn by comparing a spatial and language networks?
- Are central villages associated with central varieties?
- **Degree centrality:** Measure of connections to other nodes
- **Betweenness centrality:** Measure of shortest paths that pass through the node
- **Closeness centrality:** Measure of how close a node is to other nodes along the existing paths

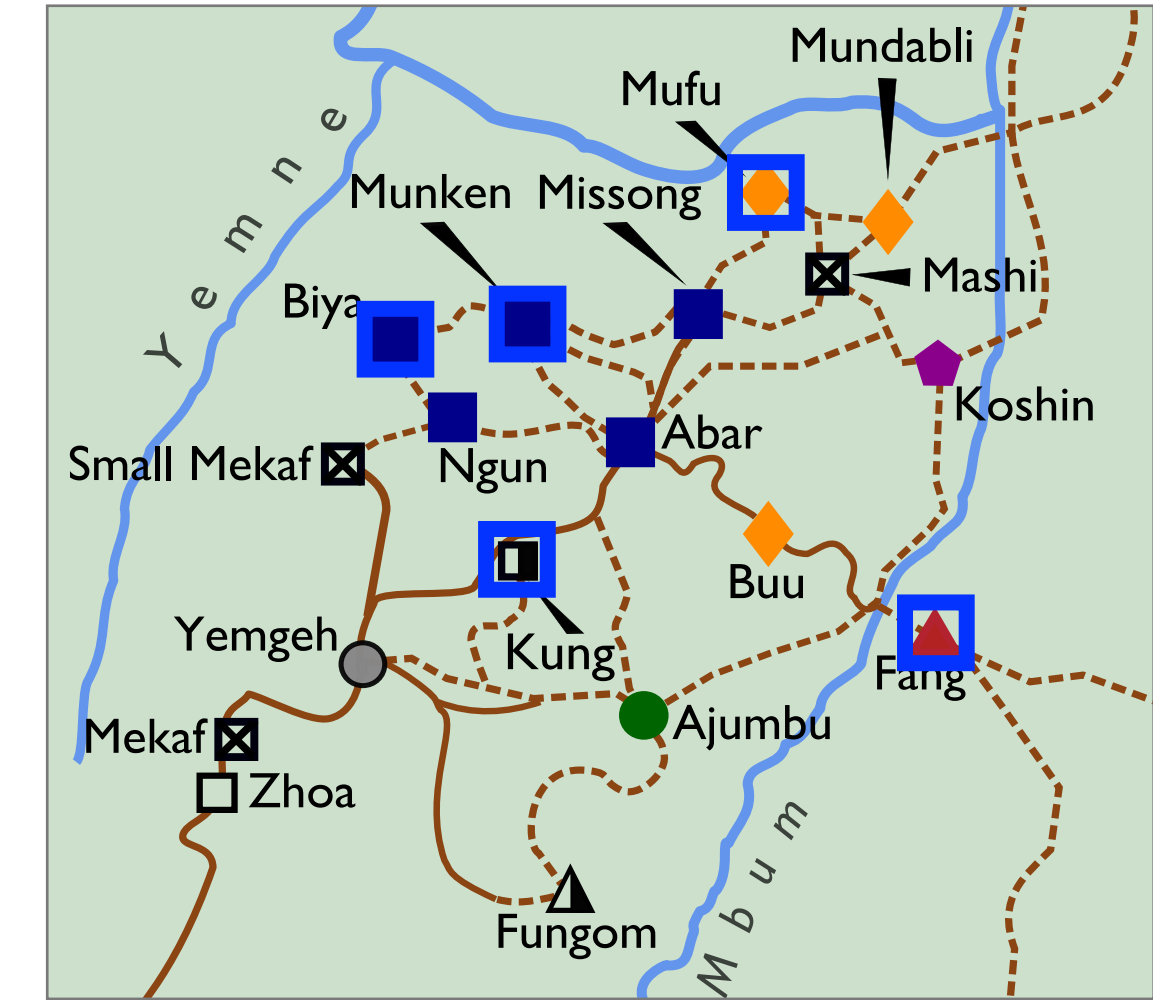
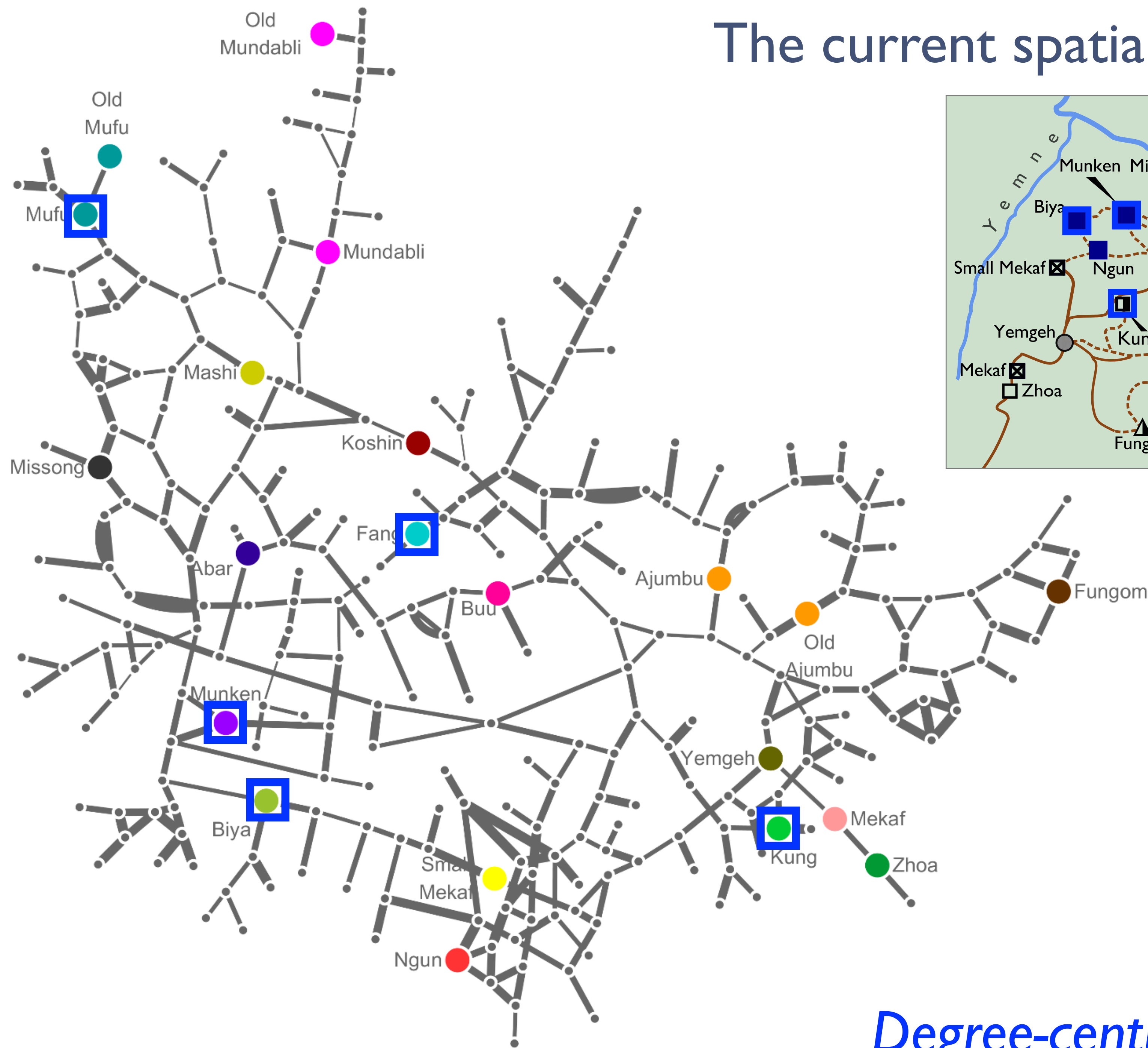


# The current spatial network

Degree	Biya
	Mufu
	Fang
	Kung
	Munken

Betweenness	Abar
	Biya
	Ngun
	Ajumbu
	Munken

Closeness	Abar
	Munken
	Kung
	Missong
	Ngun



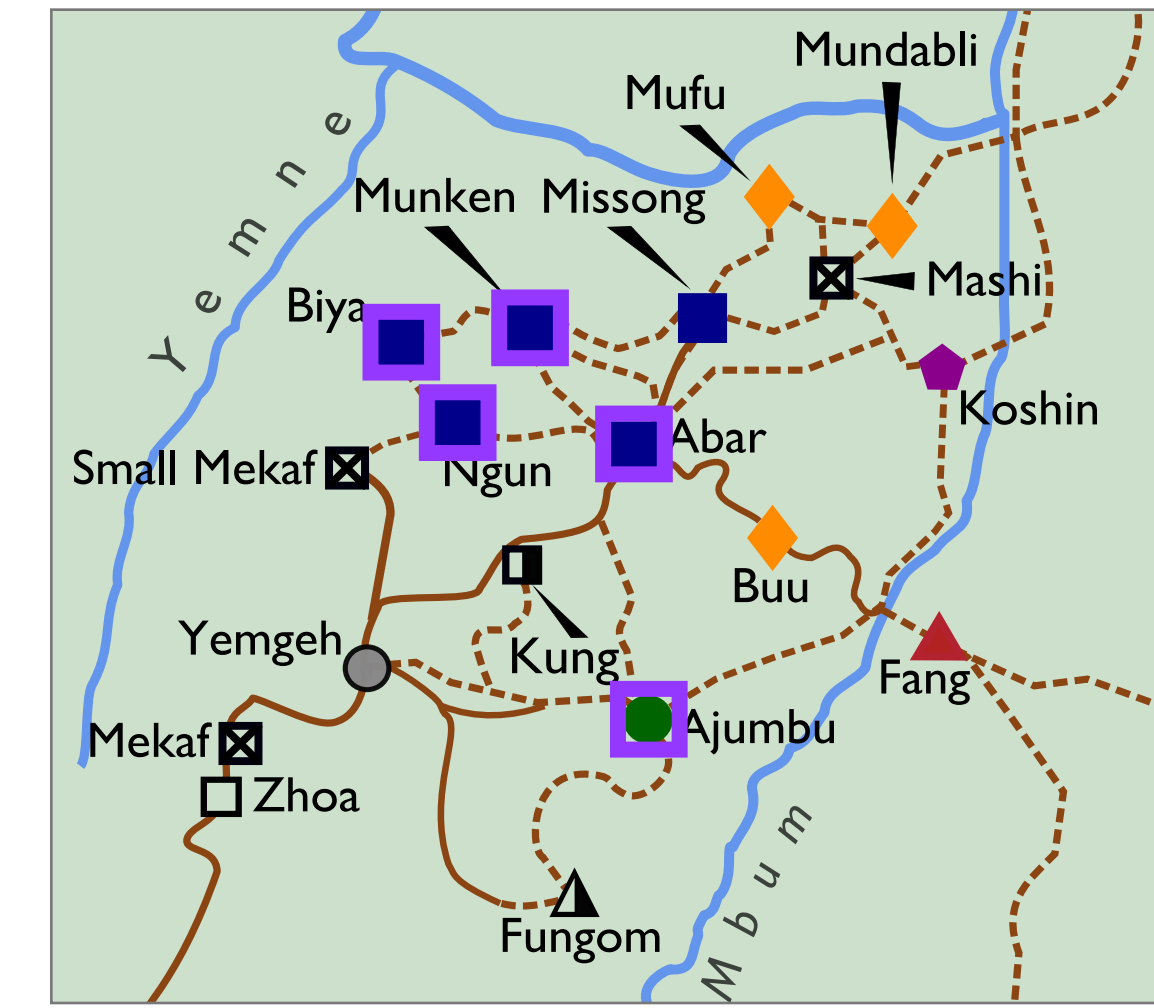
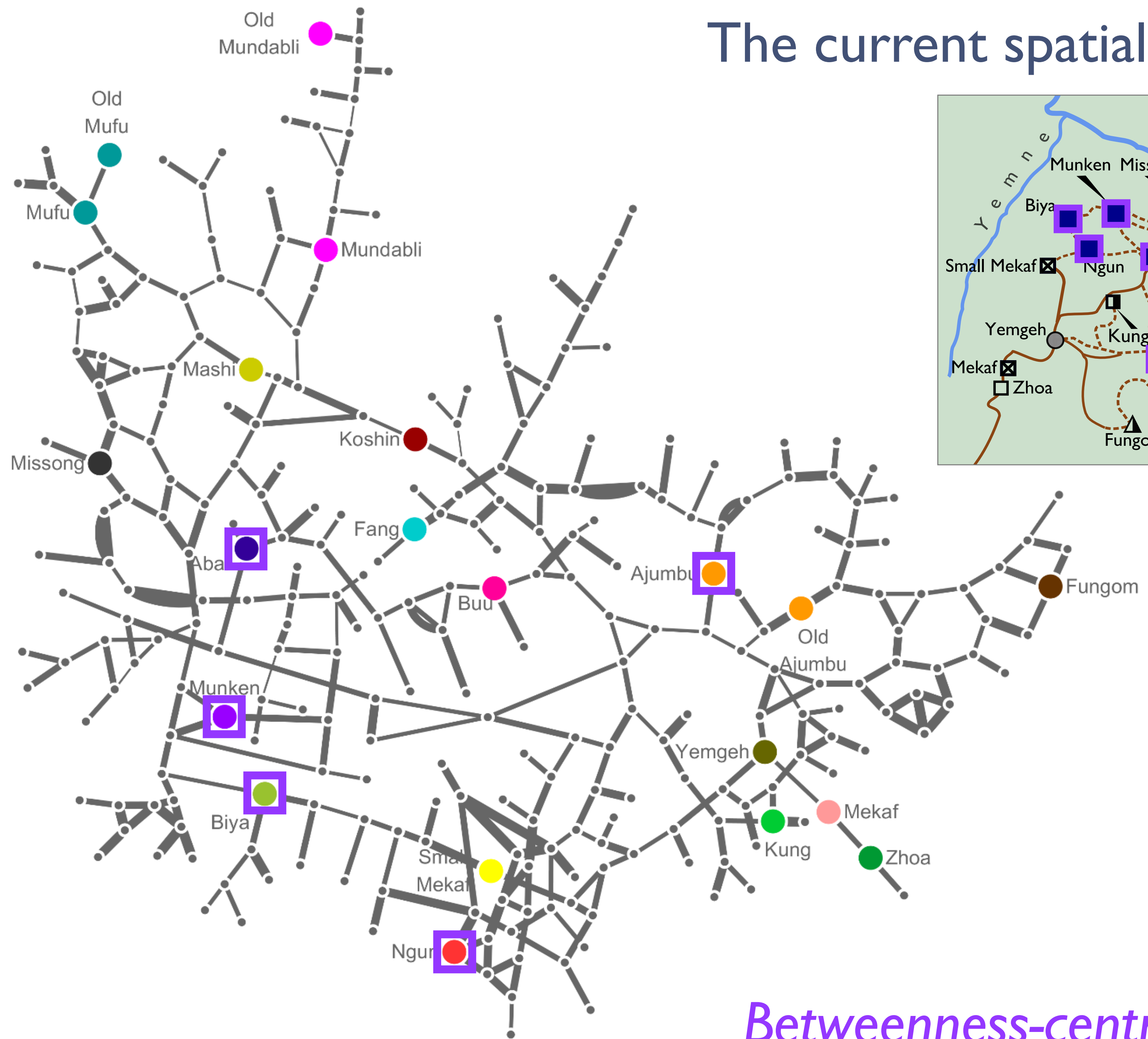
*Degree-central villages*

# The current spatial network

Degree	Biya
	Mufu
	Fang
	Kung
	Munken

Betweenness	Abar
	Biya
	Ngun
	Ajumbu
	Munken

Closeness	Abar
	Munken
	Kung
	Missong
	Ngun



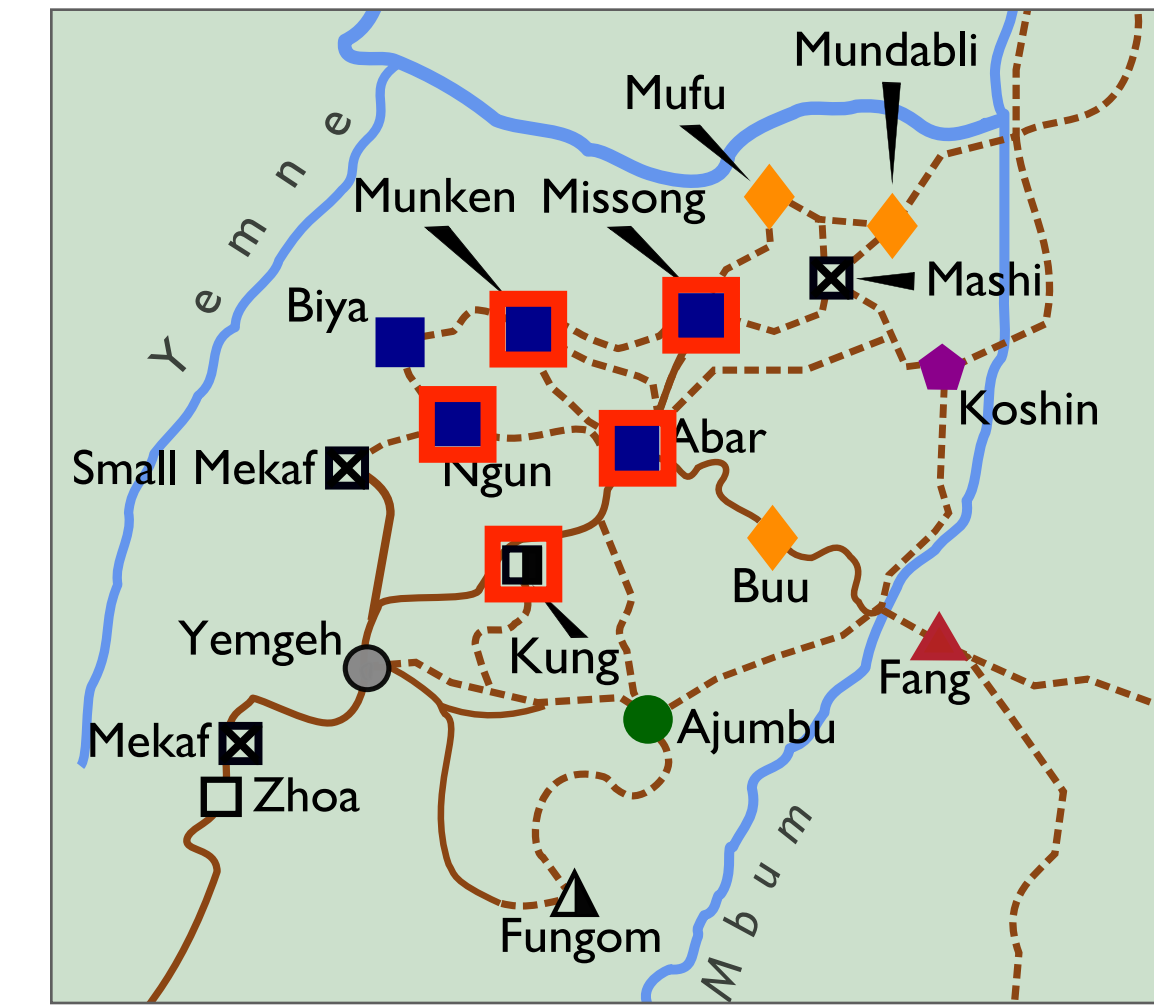
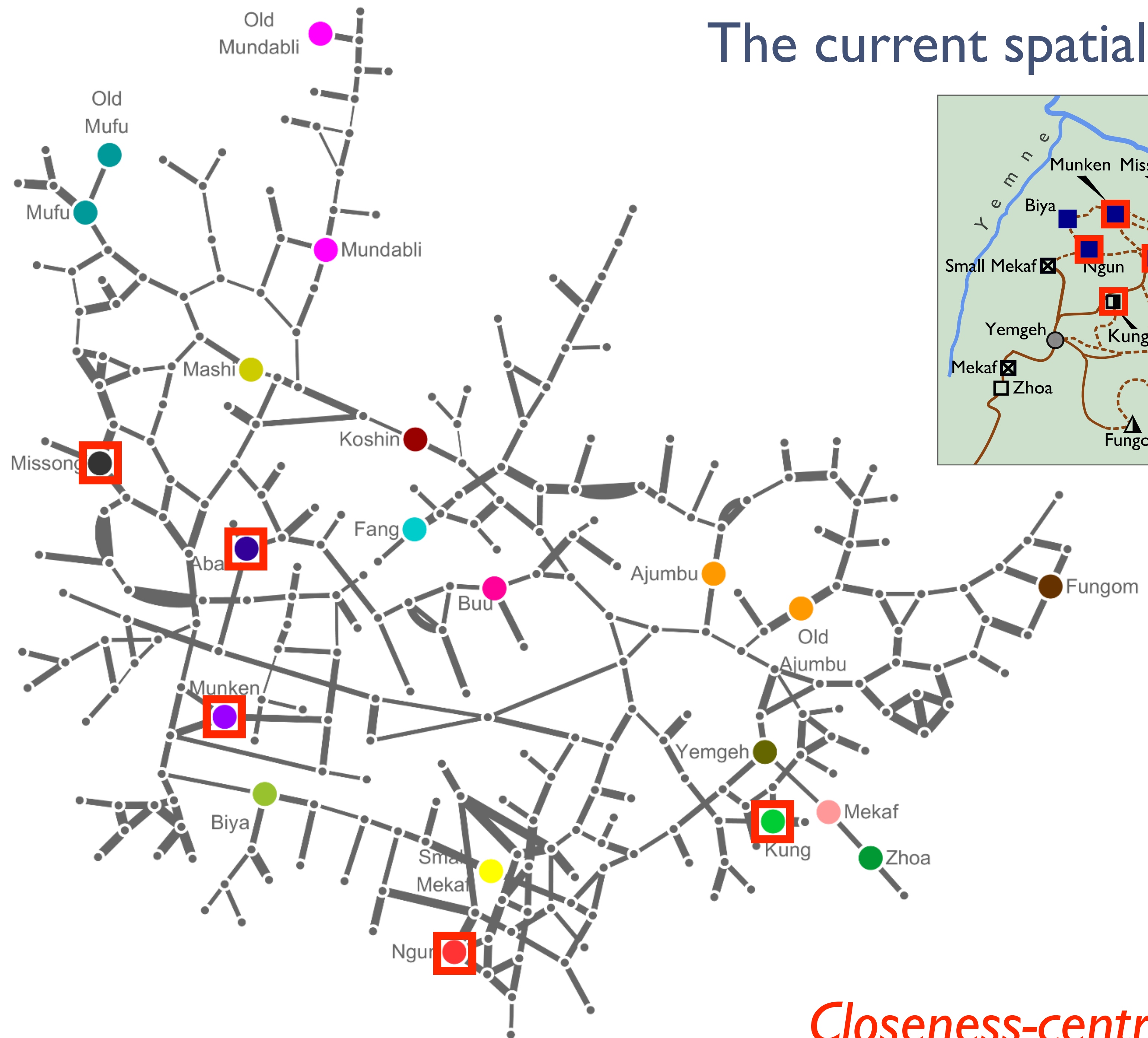
*Betweenness-central villages*

# The current spatial network

Degree	Biya
	Mufu
	Fang
	Kung
	Munken

Betweenness	Abar
	Biya
	Ngun
	Ajumbu
	Munken

Closeness	Abar
	Munken
	Kung
	Missong
	Ngun

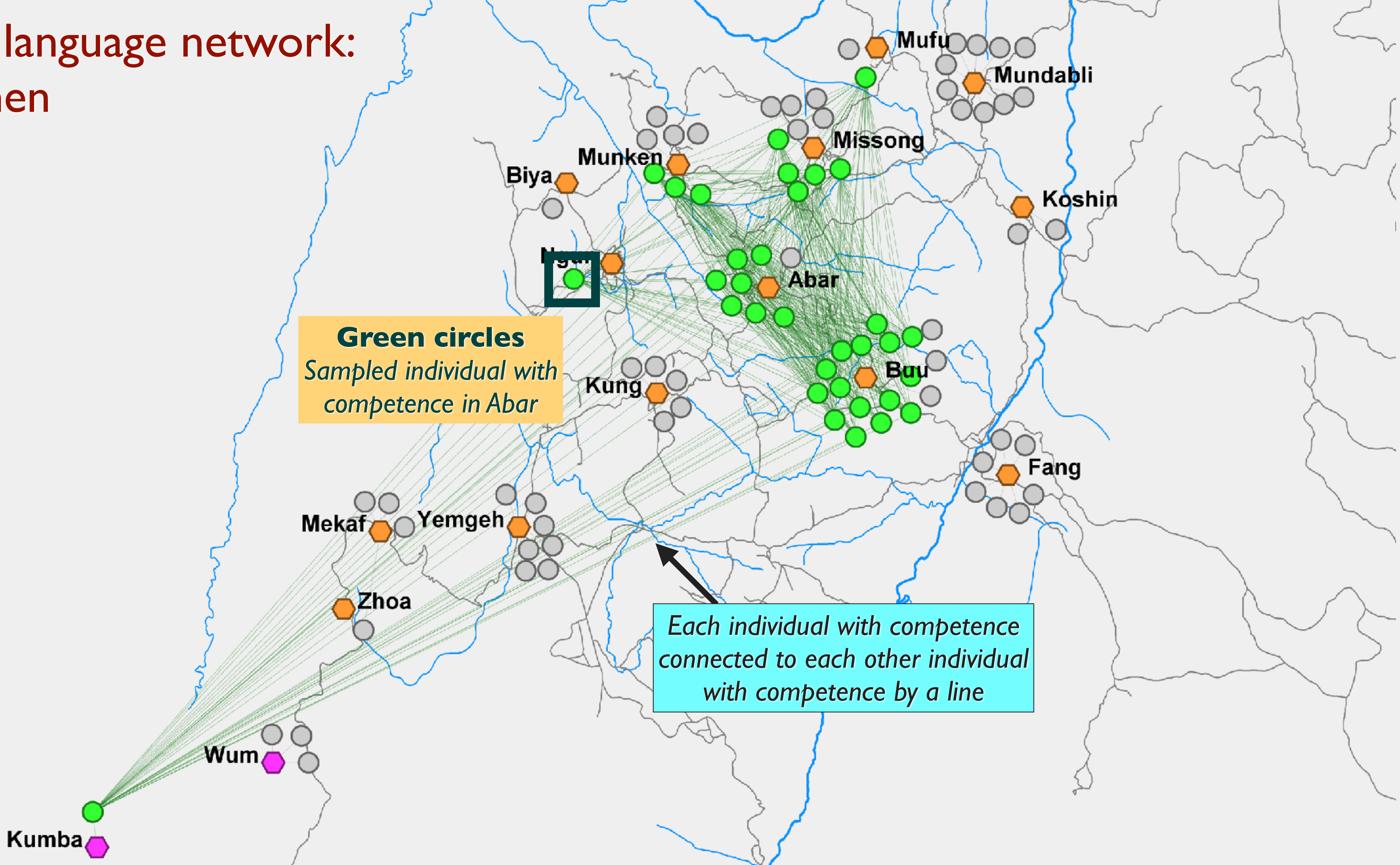


*Closeness-central villages*

# Language networks

- Language network
  - Fix individuals in space (e.g., on the basis of residence)
  - Link individuals who share competence in a language
- This approach can represent distributed knowledge visually and also be used to look at correlations between linguistic and spatial features

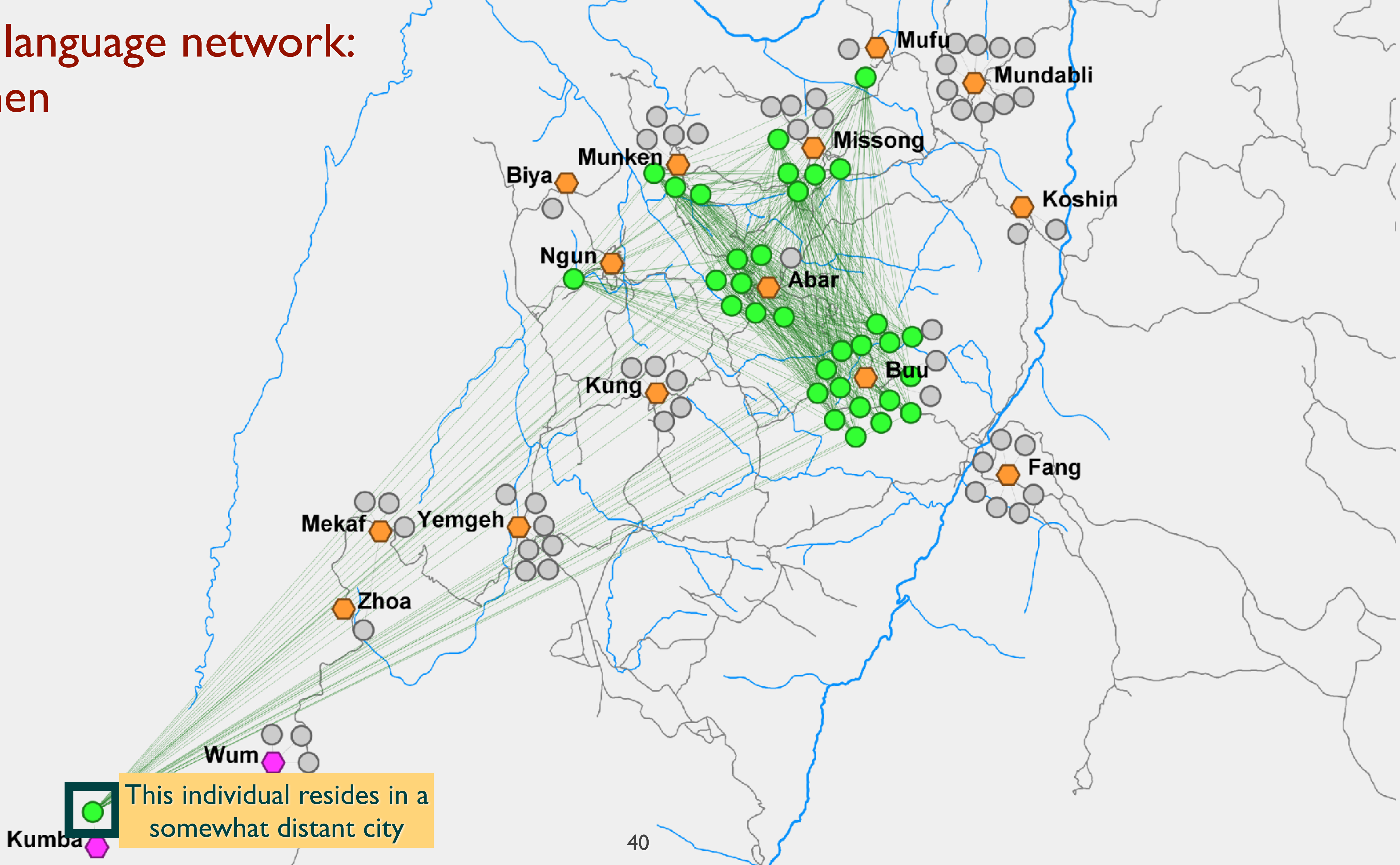
# Abar language network: Women



**Green circles**  
*Sampled individual with  
competence in Abar*

*Each individual with competence  
connected to each other individual  
with competence by a line*

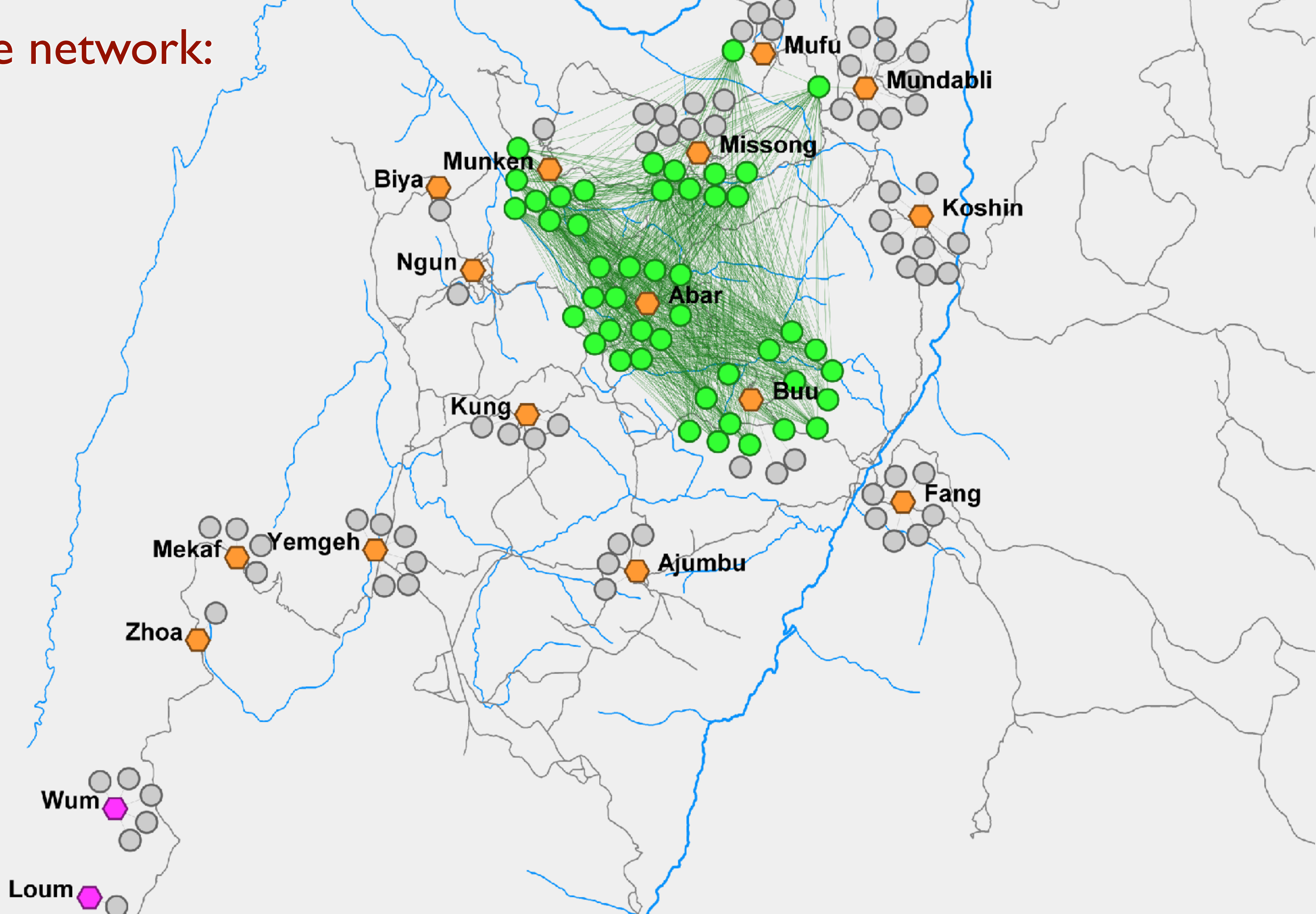
# Abar language network: Women



This individual resides in a somewhat distant city

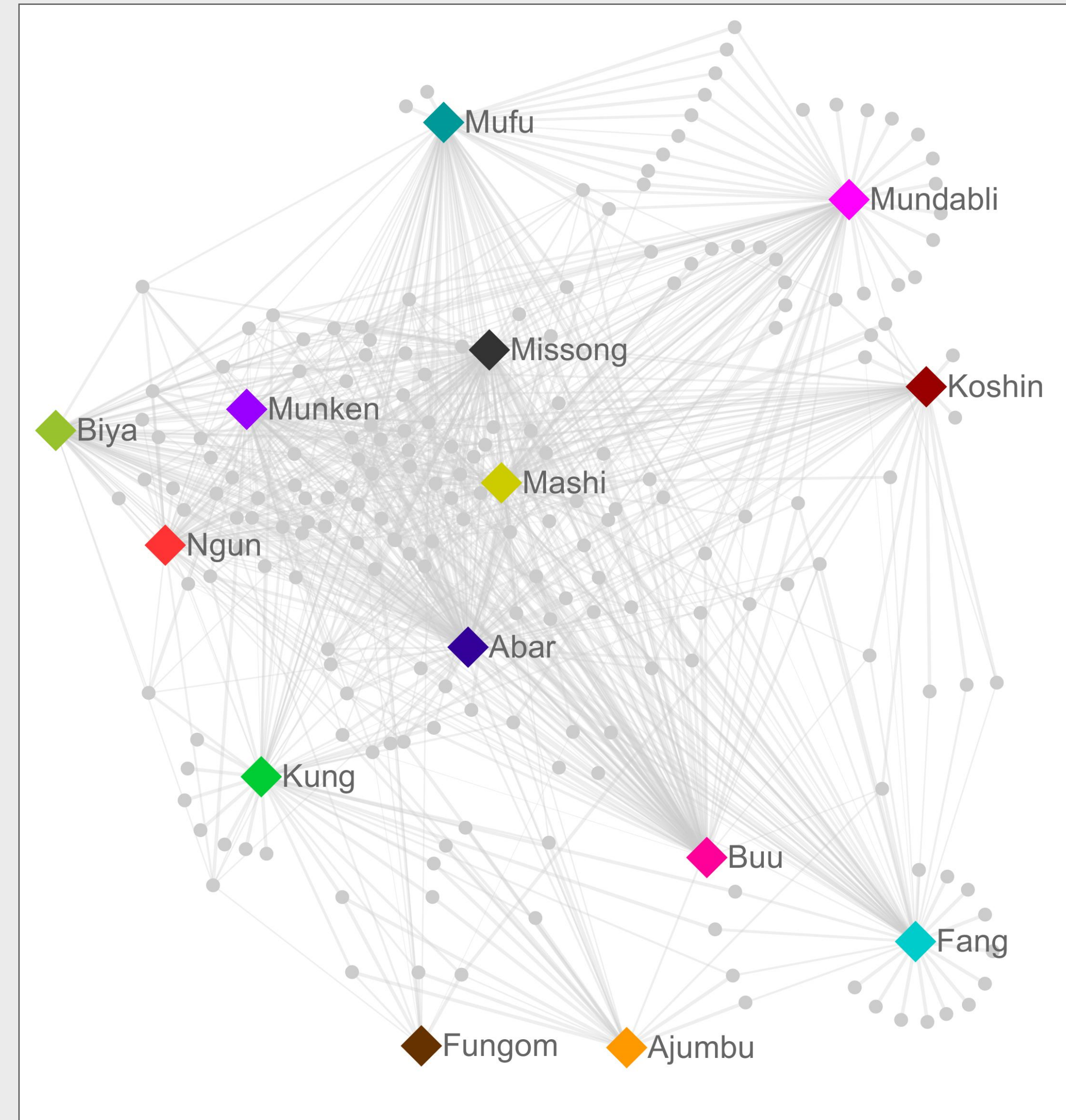


# Abar language network: Men



# Two-mode language network

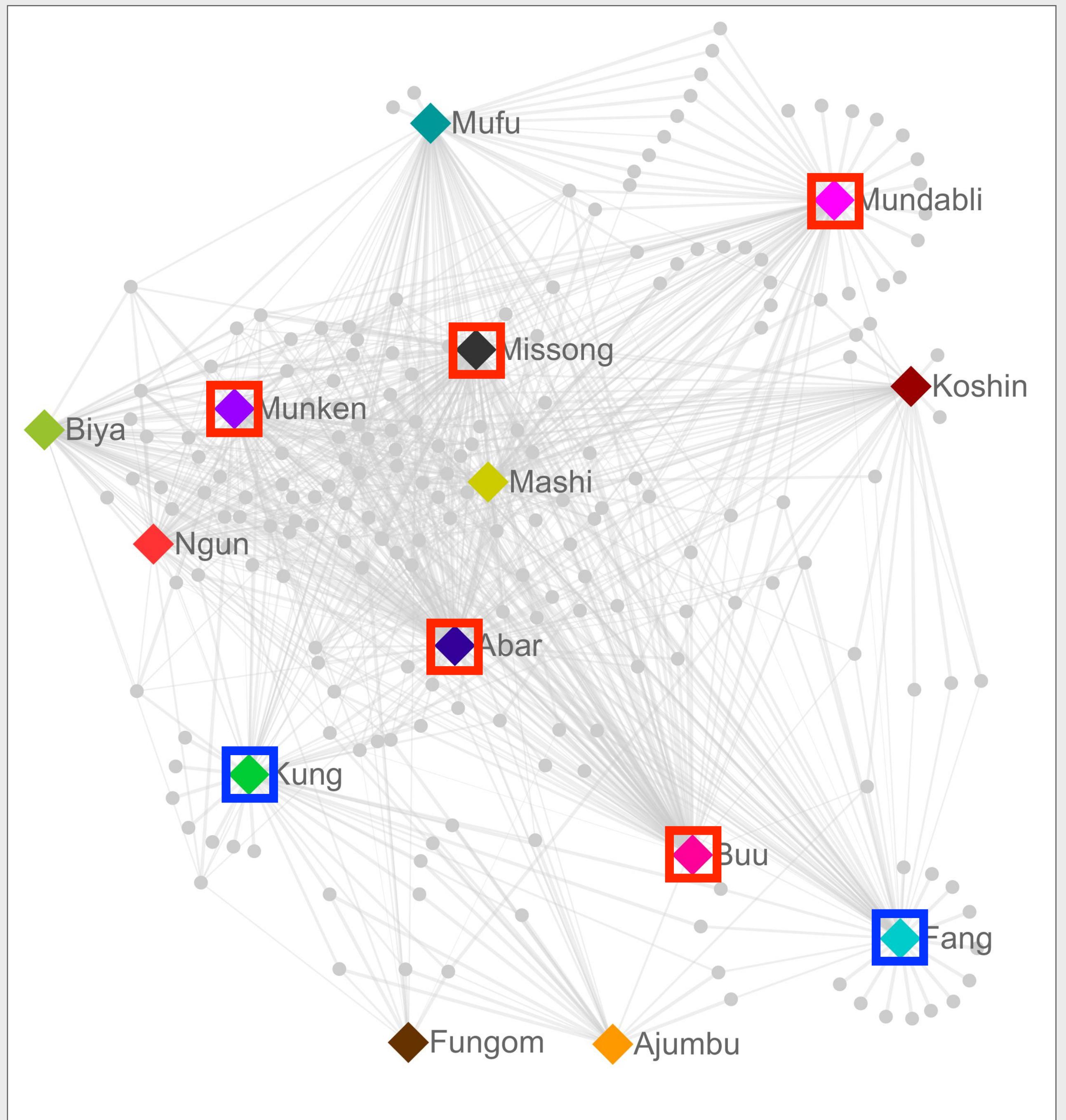
- A two-mode network allows us to visualize multiple language networks, which is useful for multilingual settings
- Language varieties then play a similar role to villages in the spatial network
- We can calculate centrality scores for different languages and how they connect individuals



Degree	Abar
	Missong
	Buu
	Mundabli
	Munken

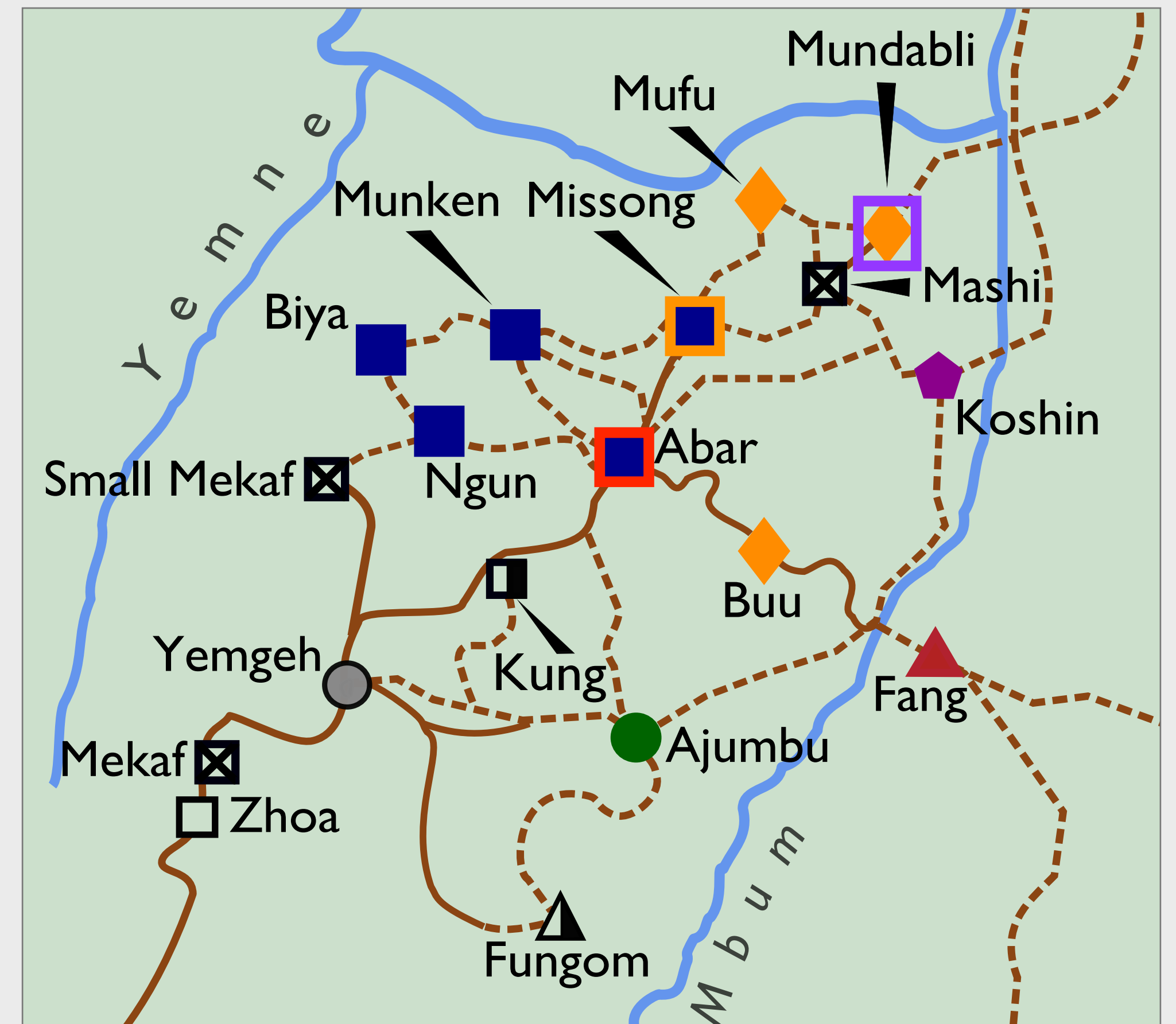
Betweenness	Abar
	Mundabli
	Fang
	Missong
	Kung

Closeness	Abar
	Missong
	Buu
	Mundabli
	Munken



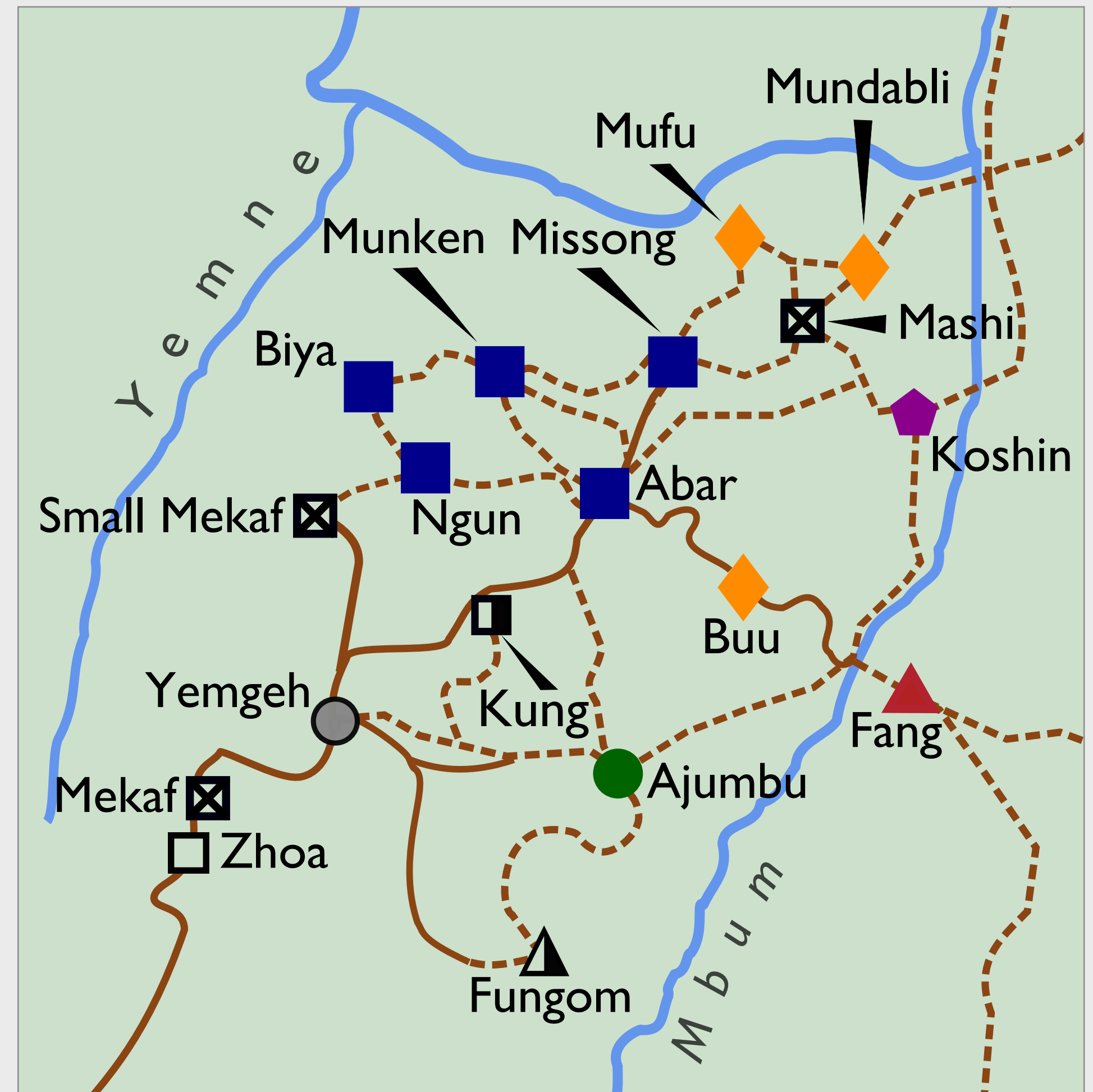
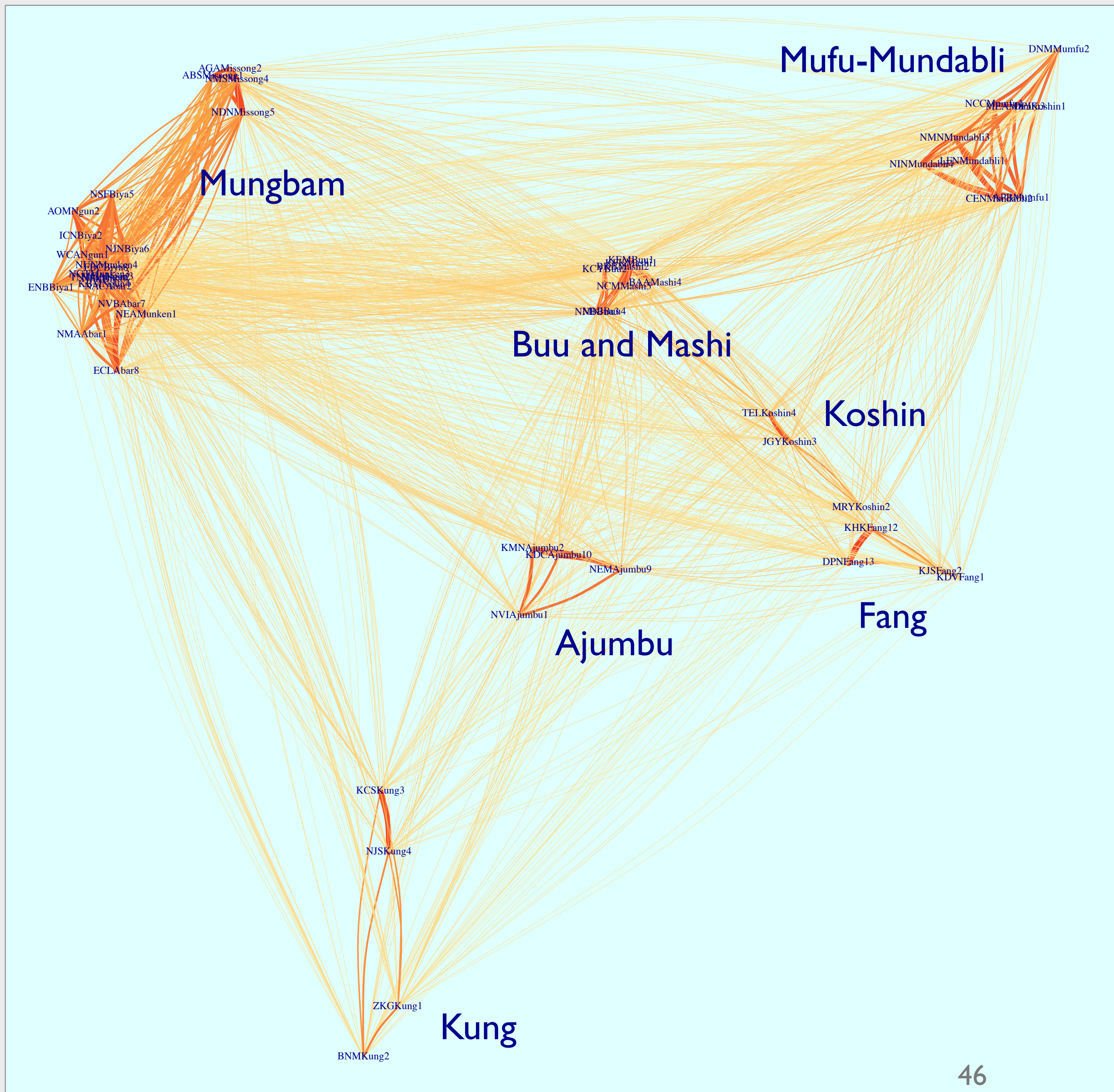
# Interpreting the networks

- According to this (imbalanced) dataset, Abar emerges as spatially and linguistically central
- Missong and Mundabli are linguistically relatively central, but not especially spatially central
- The language and spatial networks link people in different ways
- We do not yet have a clear interpretation for these patterns



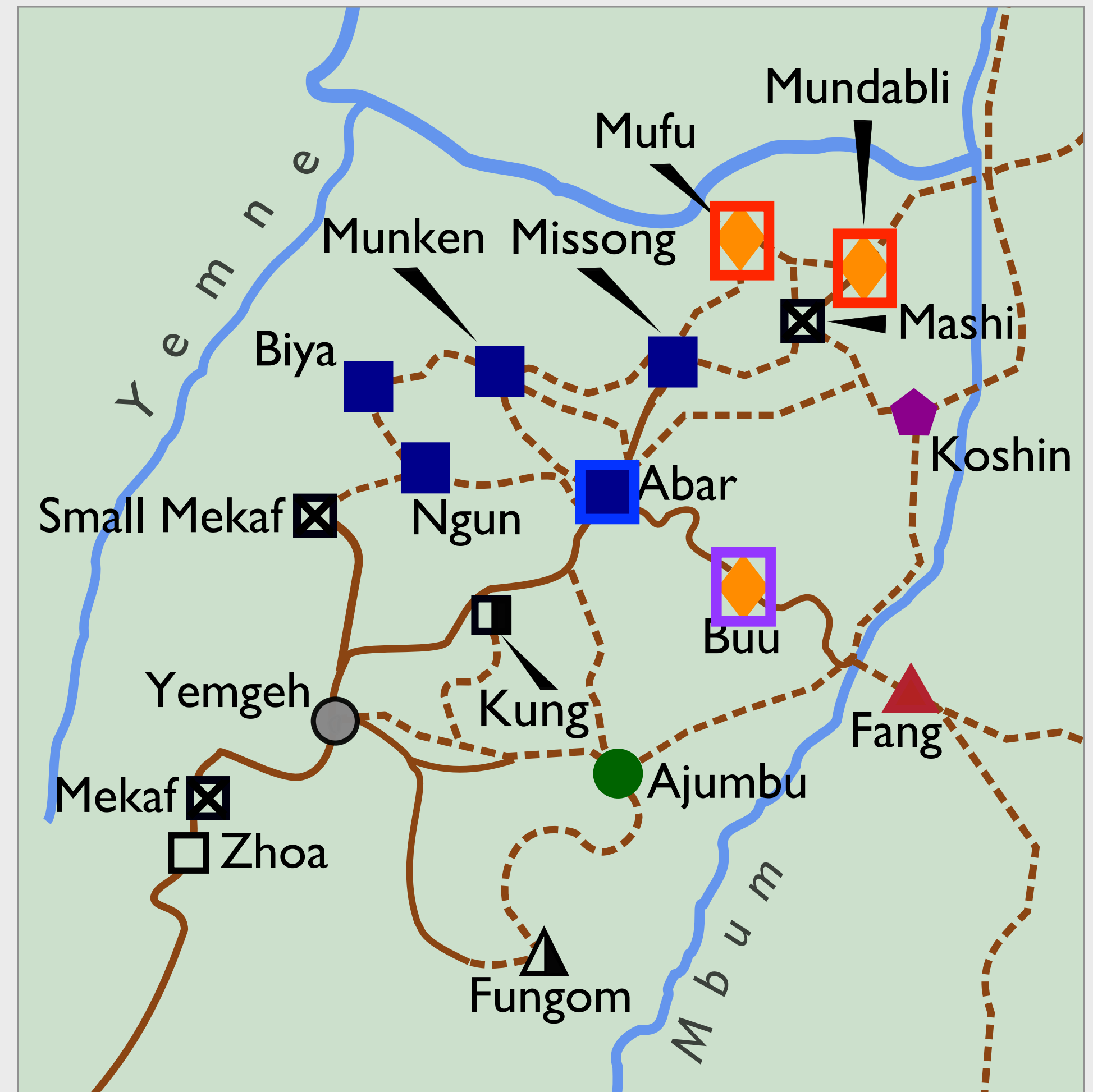
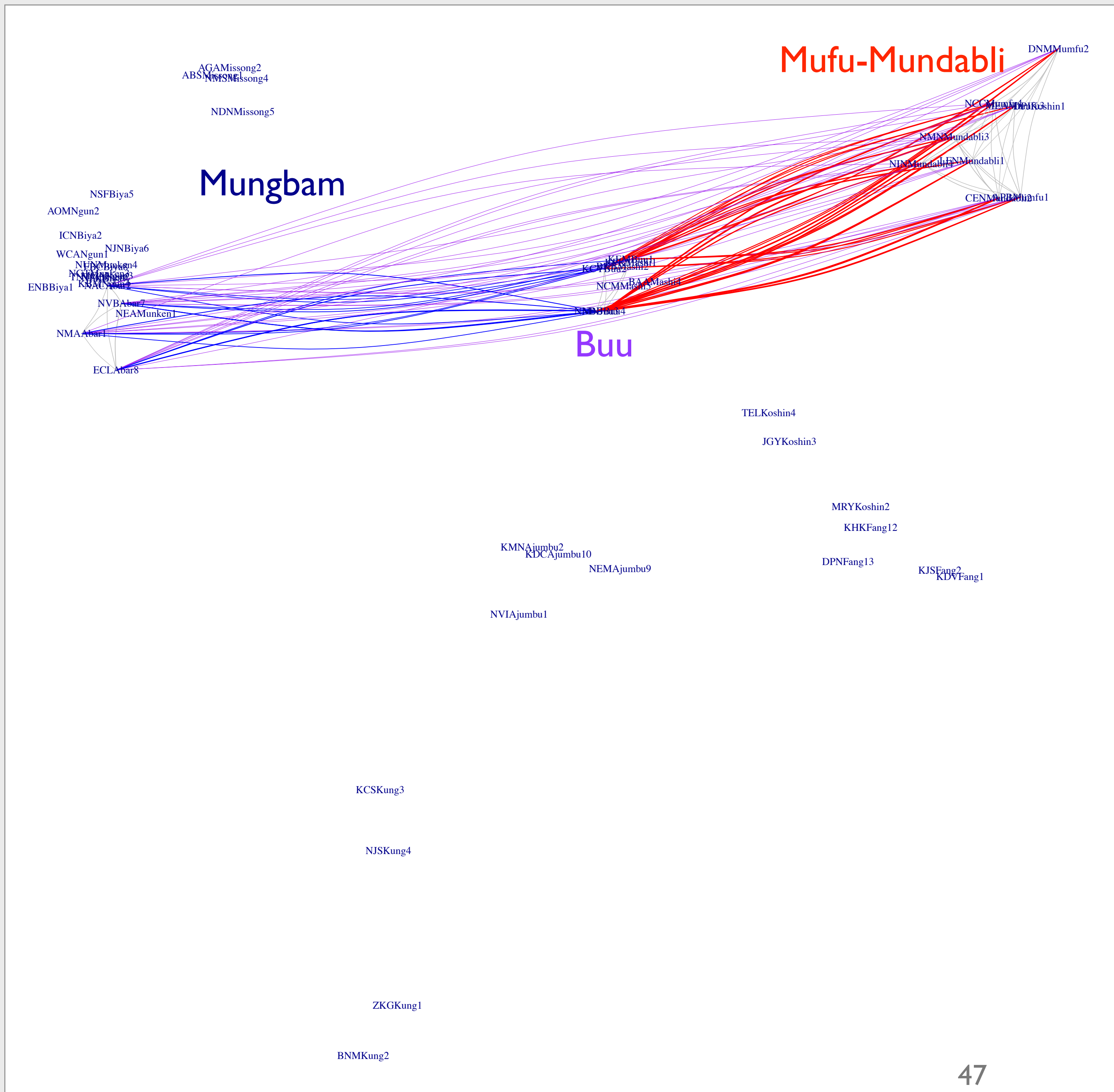
# Next step? Using data from individual-based word lists

- Based on methods first developed by Angela Nsen Tem (see Mba & Nsen Tem 2020)
- Wordlists collected by Nelson C. Tschonghongi in individual sessions, without standardization/harmonization
- More than 18,000 entries currently across 54 speakers covering all thirteen Lower Fungom varieties
- Detailed sociolinguistic information collected for each speaker to help with analysis of variation



Lower Fungom core area

Network representation based on shared similarity sets



*Links between Abar variety of Mungbam, Buu, and Mufu-Mundabli*

# Roots shared by Buu with Abar (contact relationship) vs. Mufu-Mundabli (genealogical? relationship)

Shared across all

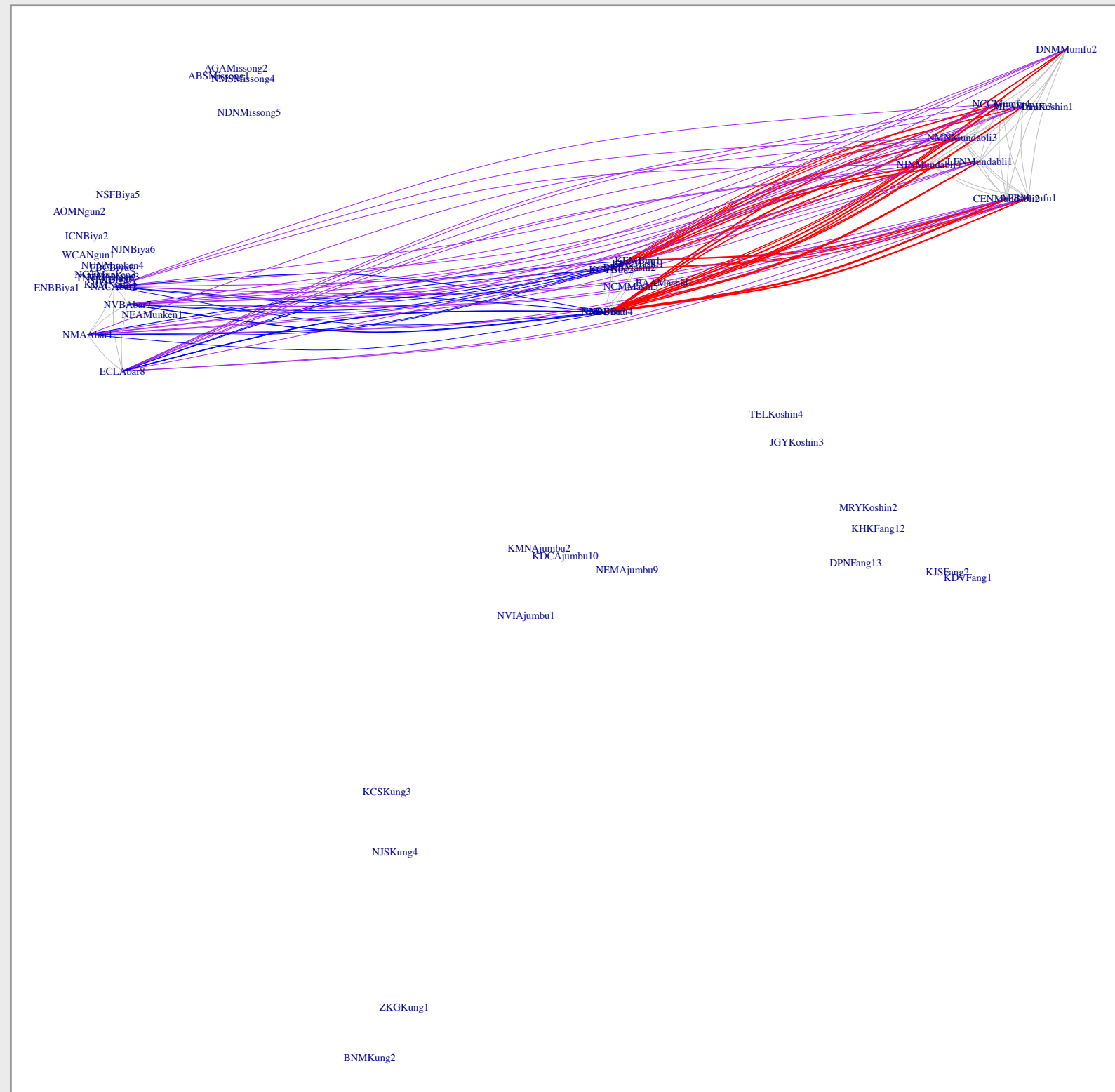
Concept	Homogeneity
tongue	0.93
child	0.93
axe	0.89
grave	0.87
sieve	0.76
<b>Average</b>	<b>0.88</b>

Shared across Abar and Buu doculects

Concept	Homogeneity
breast	0.89
mother	0.88
ear	0.84
horse	0.83
song	0.78
soap	0.76
cat	0.72
forest	0.70
hair	0.70
book	0.69
umbrella	0.68
devil	0.67
bitter leaf	0.66
jaw	0.66
caterpillar	0.65
dust	0.63
faeces	0.63
yam	0.62
air	0.61
intestine	0.57
<b>Average</b>	<b>0.74</b>

Shared across Buu and Mufu-Mundabli doculects

Concept	Homogeneity
father	0.79
tooth	0.78
bag	0.75
war	0.75
smoke	0.74
stone	0.73
head	0.71
fowl	0.71
basket	0.71
nose	0.70
sand	0.70
goat	0.69
friend	0.65
house	0.64
farm	0.62
plantain	0.62
belly	0.61
snake	0.59
case (court)	0.59
egg	0.55
oil	0.54
<b>Average</b>	<b>0.71</b>





# New directions in language and space

- With rich datasets of individuals' multilingual competences, we can create language maps that are more representative of actual patterns of language use
- By treating spatial features and spatial network relationships as explanatory variables, we can uncover new linguistic patterns and describe known patterns more accurately
- In future work, we hope to look at the network distribution of linguistic features in more detail

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