

Negotiating Belonging and Language Attitudes of Francophone Cameroonian Migrants in
Pretoria: A Case Study

By

Gallous Asong Atabongwoung

A mini-dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (African-European Cultural Relations)

In the

Department of Ancient and Modern Languages and Culture

Faculty of Humanities

University of Pretoria

Supervisor: Professor Stephan Mühr

October 2019

ABSTRACT

Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria face socioeconomic challenges such as language barrier and difficulties in mingling with locals. Migrants are not easily accepted by locals and often face harassment. This is accentuated by negative perceptions that see migrants as economic threat to locals. South African labour laws make it difficult for migrants to find employment, yet, migrants must live in cities where cost of living is high to avoid townships where cost of living is low for fear of harassment by locals. This complexed nature of their relationship with host society stretches migrant to belong “here and there”–transmigration.” Francophone Cameroonian migrants belong to Pretoria and Cameroon, but their language attitudes in Pretoria may be different from their attitudes back home because of the precarious nature of transmigration. This study therefore seeks to answer the following questions; How does transmigration influence language attitudes and belonging? What is the role of indigenous languages when negotiating belonging in Pretoria? Has the emotional linguistic attachment of Francophone Cameroonians in Pretoria changed vis-à-vis French language? And if so, how and why?

Keywords: Migration, Transmigration, Belonging, Language Attitudes

DECLARATION

I, Gallous Asong Atabongwoung student number 15402071 hereby declare that this mini dissertation, “Negotiating Belonging and Language Attitudes of Francophone Cameroonian Migrants in Pretoria: A Case Study” is my own work and has not been previously submitted to any other institution of higher learning. All sources cited or quoted in this research paper are indicated and acknowledged with a comprehensive list of references.

.....

Gallous Asong Atabongwoung

October, 2019

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Many people need to be thanked for their patience and help that allowed me to complete this thesis. First, God for his help and inspiration. My mother Dorothy Akateh, Mankwana Ramodike. Without your help and allowance of time given to finish this thesis, it would have been impossible. I also need to acknowledge the help of for his occasional advice and tips about where to do more research. Finally, my supervisor Prof. Stephan Mühr deserves many thanks for his prompt responses his help and ongoing encouragement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS	PAGE
Abstract.....	i
Declaration.....	ii
Acknowledgement.....	iii
Table of Content.....	iv
List of Figures.....	v
List of Tables.....	vi
1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND	
1.1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.2 BACKGROUND.....	1
1.2.1 General History of Cameroon	1
1.2.2 Cameroon before and after Independence	2
1.2.3 The Reunification of Cameroon	4
1.2.4 The Anglophone Problem in Cameroon	6
1.2.5 The Sociolinguistic Background of Cameroon.....	7
1.3 Summary.....	13
2 LITERATURE REVIEW	
2.1 Introduction	16
2.2 The Concept of Migration.....	17
2.2.1 Internal Migration in Cameroon	19
2.2.2 International Migration from Cameroon to South Africa.....	21
2.2.2.1 Migrants Experience in Pretoria.....	22
2.3 The Concept of Belonging.....	23
2.3.1 The Sense of Belonging in Cameroon	25
2.3.2The Politics of Belonging in Cameroon.....	27
2.4 The Concept of Language Attitudes	28
2.4.1 Language Attitudes in Cameroon	30
2.5. Conclusion.....	31

3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction.....	33
3.1.1 Research questions and Objectives.....	34
3.1.2 Limitation to the Study.....	34
3.2 Research Methodology.....	35
3.2.1 Research Design.....	35
3.2.2 Research Site and Sampling	36
3.3 Data Collection.....	39
3.3.1 Interviews.....	39
3.4 Ethical Consideration.....	41

4 DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction	43
4.2 How does transmigration influence belonging and language attitudes of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria?.....	43
4.3 What is the role of indigenous languages when negotiating belonging in Pretoria?.....	62
4.4 Has the emotional linguistic attachment of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria changed vis-à-vis French language? And if so, how and why?.....	67
4.4.1 How the emotional linguistic attachment of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria has changed	72
4.4.2 Why has the emotional linguistic attachment of Francophone Cameroonians in Pretoria changed?	73

5 CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction	75
------------------------	----

6. REFERENCES	79
----------------------------	----

7. APPENDIX

1. Ethical Clearance.....	96
2. Letter of Informed Consent	97
3. Interview Questions.....	98
4. Sample Interview Transcriptions.....	101

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of Cameroon showing its administrative regions and neighboring countries.....	2
Figure 2: Map of Cameroon before and after the reunification.....	3
Figure 3: Map showing the indigenous language landscape of Cameroon.....	11
Figure 4: Graph showing number of international migrants by major areas of destination – 2015.....	18

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Numeric overview of indigenous languages and language phylum in Cameroon.....	8
Table 2: Dominant indigenous language per regions in Cameroon.....	12
Table 3: Indigenous languages in Cameroon and number of speakers.....	12
Table 4: Showing a representation of the participants selected.....	36

1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study seeks to explore phenomenon of negotiating belonging and language attitudes of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria. The purpose is to present an understanding of how Francophone Cameroonian migrants, who come from a multicultural and multilingual society, and are living in an equally multicultural and multilingual society under precarious transmigration conditions, negotiate belonging through hometown associations as institutions of belonging. It also looks at their current language attitudes. In order to present this study in a coherent and logical line of argument, I will proceed to present the general background, looking at the historical and political development of Cameroon. Thereafter, I will present the sociolinguistic background of the category of migrants that this research is focusing on – Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria.

1.2 BACKGROUND

1.2.1 General History of Cameroon

Post-colonial Cameroon is located between west and central Africa. Cameroon has ten administrative regions with an estimated population of 24,910,930 inhabitants living on a surface area of 475,442 square kilometres (CIA 2018). Geographically, Cameroon shares borders with Nigeria to the west, Chad to the north, Central African Republic to the east, and Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and Congo-Brazzaville to the south.

Before the Europeans arrived in present day Cameroon in the 15th century, the borders of Cameroon were limited to the coastal areas along the Gulf of Guinea. The Bantu-speaking ethnic groups inhabited the area before colonisation. Post-colonisation Cameroon presents a highly diverse society with significant internal cultural, linguistic and ethnic plurality (Eriksen 2010, 5-15). This makes it difficult to construct a shared ethnicity or ethnic homogeneity. Shared ethnicity is not a necessary foundation for a successful nation building project (Eriksen 2010, 5-15).

Figure 1: Map of Cameroon showing its administrative regions and neighboring countries¹



1.2.2 Cameroon Before and After Independence

History has it that a Portuguese navigator by the name of Fernando Po discovered Cameroon as a colony in 1472. When Fernando Po arrived at the Bight of Biafra, he sailed up the Wouri River in the coastal regions of Cameroon. Fernando Po was surprised to see large numbers of prawns in the Wouri River and named the Wouri River "Rio dos Camarões" ("river of prawns"). The presence of malaria in most of west Africa including Cameroon (west Africa was referred to as "the White Man's Grave") impeded Fernando Po from exploring and making further conquests into the hinterland (Raper 1995, 1186-89). Cameroon therefore derives its name from the Portuguese lexicon's camarões. The name became "Kamerun" during the German annexation of 1884-1916 after the Germans signed the Germano-Douala treaty in July 1884. The treaty granted the Germans

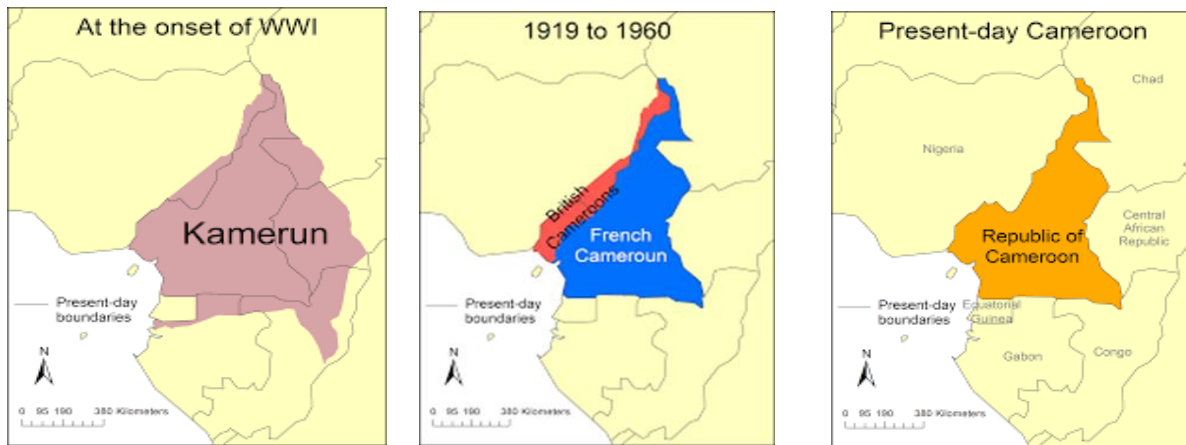
¹ <https://www.omicsonline.org/publication-images/cytology-histology-neighboring-9-503-g001.png>

full legitimacy to administer Cameroon as a German protectorate until March 1916 when the Germans were defeated in the First World War (1914 – 1918), and disposed of most of its African colonies.

The name ‘Kamerun’ was then changed to ‘Cameroun’ by the French and ‘Cameroon’ by the British after the territory was partitioned into East Cameroon and West Cameroon under French and British colonial administrations respectively (Elango 1985, 658-60). The partition gave the British one-fifth of the territory and the French four-fifths of the territory (Elango 1985, 658-60). East and West Cameroon later became League of Nations mandates in 1922 and United Nations trust territories in 1946 (Ngoh 1979, 28).²

The French ruled East Cameroon from 1916 until East Cameroon gained independence in January 1960 to become “La République du Cameroun.” The British, on the other hand, ruled West Cameroon from 1916 until February 1961, when British West Cameroon gained independence through (re)-unification with French East Cameroon to form a federal union³ called the Federal Republic of Cameroon.

Figure 2: Map of Cameroon before and after the reunification⁴



² On April 24th, 1961, the U.N. General Assembly approved October 1, 1961 as the date for the termination of the trusteeship for Southern Cameroon through federation with the Cameroon Republic (Ngoh 1979).

³ A “method of dividing power or granting a level of autonomy so that the general and regional governments are each within a sphere, coordinate and independent” (Ngoh 2004).

⁴ Sources: Gifford and Louis (1967; 1971).

1.2.3 The Reunification of Cameroon

Some African scholars and politicians saw the re-unification of French East and British West Cameroon as an example of political contingency. Here were two previous colonies with varying socio-political experiences, namely the British “indirect rule” and the French “policy of assimilation”, and two very distinct sociolinguistic backgrounds. French and English were ‘exoglossic’ or official languages that would both be included in the federal union after more than four decades of the British and French promoting their political ideologies and lifestyles in the two separate territories. Erudite scholars like Bernard Fonlon would not resist idealizing the glories of reunification as “the crucible of African unity” (Fonlon 1963, vol. 4). Such a sentiment would be contrary to the sentiment of Le Vine who described the re-unification of Cameroon as mundane (LeVine 1964, 273). Le Vine would argue that the reunification of Cameroon is an “imperial design” because it undermines the distinct socio-political realities of the two states and would compromise peace in the near future (LeVine 1964, 273). The reunification question in the early 1960s prompted LeVine (1964, 273) to coin the metaphor of West Cameroon as the "bride" and East Cameroon as the "bridegroom". The aim of Le Vine’s metaphor was to show a relationship of incompatibilities between a weaker in-group (English Speaking or Anglophone Cameroonians) vis-à-vis a dominant out-group (French Speaking or Francophone Cameroonians). In terms of surface area, demography, language and level of development, French East Cameroon was ten times the size of British West Cameroon. French East Cameroon had four times the population of West Cameroon and a higher level of economic development (LeVine 1976, 273). Moreover, LeVine reiterated the fact that the huge socio-political incompatibilities between the two previous colonies would compromise the future peace of Cameroon. LeVine envisaged the emergence of minority and marginalization sentiments, raising the possibility that Francophone Cameroonians would see Anglophone Cameroonians as a minority group in terms of language differentiation and the small size of the Anglophone population resulting from the partitioning of Cameroon. LeVine further states the inevitability of Francophone Cameroonians turning on, and marginalizing their Anglophone counterparts, since there is always tension in a majority – minority relationship in any given socio-political landscape (LeVine 1976, 273).

However, irrespective of LeVine's assertion, the then African politicians hailed the reunification of Cameroon as appropriate (LeVine 1976, 273). Through a plebiscite on 11 February 1961, the Federal Republic of Cameroon was born. The East and West Cameroon that previously existed as distinct political entities were now collapsed into one. The new Federal Republic would transform the two political entities into a single federal state. The first constitution of the Federal Republic of Cameroon came into force on October 1961. The constitution was supposed to ensure that the new Federal Republic maintains its originality as two autonomous federal states, given Cameroon's bi-jural, bicultural and bilingual nature inherited from colonialism.

The new Federal Republic quickly became a "Unitary State"⁵ in a 1972 referendum dominated by East Cameroon deputies. The deputies voted in favour of a unitary state. The vote was in violation of article 47 of the first Federal Constitution of 1961 because it dismantled the federal structure that advocated for separate autonomy of East and West Cameroon (Kale 1967, 70). On June 2, 1972, the United Republic of Cameroon was born. The United Republic of Cameroon would maintain the status quo of French East Cameroon, while British West Cameroon would become two administrative regions under one central government led by French East Cameroon. English would remain the official language of the two newly designated regions of West Cameroon (Ngoh 1987, 257).

Ahmadou Ahidjo (the first President of postcolonial Cameroon) said that the federal structure was collapsed to a conformist unitary state to promote national development. Managing a two-state federation was a hindrance to various national development efforts because it was cumbersome and expensive. The inadequately rationalized and harmonized public and town planning were already hindering agricultural production and urban development policies which came from the old federal structures (Chem-Langhëë 1995, 23). The argument of Ahidjo was refuted by Mr. John Ngu Foncha (then prime minister of West Cameroon). President Ahidjo replaced Mr Foncha with Mr S.T. Muna who agreed with Ahidjo.

The successful reunification caught the attention of supranational organizations, including the Organization of African Unity (present day African Union) who would reward Cameroon for its

⁵In 1972 the Federal Republic of Cameroon became known as The United Republic of Cameroon. The two stars on the flag designating two federated states were replaced by one star designating a union of two federated states (Ngoh 1979).

peculiar Pan-African approach. They subsequently appointed two Secretary Generals from Cameroon, namely Mr Nzo Ekanghaki (1972-1974) and Mr William Eteki Mboumoua (1974-1978). There is a growing perception that the reunification of Cameroon is a great political achievement, even the apotheosis of African nationalist struggles par excellence (Awasom 2000, 91-119).

In 1984, under President Paul Biya, the name was changed from the United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon. Translated into French verbatim, it means “la République du Cameroun” which alludes to the original state of former French East Cameroon after independence (Nghoh 1979, 93-98). The change of name was a blow to Anglophone Cameroonians who felt that British West Cameroon’s statehood was thereby dismantled and stripped of its autonomy. Even the inherited Anglo-Saxon culture was seen to be under threat. This heightened the feeling of exclusion and marginalization already experienced by Anglophone Cameroonians (Nghoh 1979, 93-98). Irrespective of the promise made by President Ahidjo in one of his official visits to the Anglophone town of Tiko on 17 July 1960 where he declared that “East Cameroon is not going to annex West Cameroon or the English-speaking part of Cameroon in the reunified Cameroon nation” (Nghoh 2001, 136-173). The subsequent change of name post reunification exacerbated anxiety among Anglophone Cameroonians. The result was a prolonged political crisis that scholars like Konings and Nyamnjoh would call the *Anglophone problem*.

1.2.4 The Anglophone Problem in Cameroon

The Anglophone problem dominates the current political atmosphere in Cameroon. It causes unsurmountable challenges to every attempt that post-colonial Cameroon makes to forge national unity and integration (Konings / Nyamnjoh 1997, 207). However, the root cause of the Anglophone problem dates back to the political history of the two Cameroons. When it was time to form a federal state through reunification, there was no precise indication as to the actual nature and involvement of the would-be federation. The federal state did not provide effective institutions that could guarantee and preserve the equal partnership of the two previous colonies, as envisaged in the first federal constitution (Kale 1967, 70).

The would-be federation did not guarantee the preservation of an inherited colonial heritage. The huge imbalance in terms of socioeconomic and political development between East and West Cameroon due to the various socioeconomic and political policies adopted between 1961 and 1966 gravely undermined the socioeconomic progress of West Cameroon (Ardener 1967, 309-335). The poor socioeconomic state of West Cameroon caused it to depend financially on the federal subsidies largely generated from the more advanced East Cameroon state immediately after the reunification. Hence, Walter Rodney (1975) states, “when two societies of unequal level of socio-political and economic development interact, the more advanced one would exert total influence on the less advanced one.” French East Cameroon would clearly dominate British West Cameroon, thereby creating the feeling of exclusion and marginalization.

Today, the increasing Anglophone consciousness against exclusion and marginalization in the context of *forceful assimilation* of Anglophone Cameroonians into a Francophone-dominated state in terms of language and population has resulted in a civil war (Konings / Nyamnjoh 1997, 207; Lazar 2019, 1-2).

The duality of Cameroon’s history makes Cameroon a unique case in terms of how belonging is negotiated in post-colonial Africa. It also presents the pattern which language attitudes follow given a complex sociolinguistic background. That is why, before presenting a hypothesis, it is important to present the sociolinguistic complexity of Cameroon. It shapes the identification, culture and perceptions of Francophone Cameroonians.

1.2.5 The Sociolinguistic Background of Cameroon

In a study on Cameroon sociolinguistic history, Makoni and Meinhof (2003, 1-4) state that “pre-colonial migration, trade down the colonies, the arbitrary territorial changes under colonialism, the industrial exploitation of natural resources, and the unprecedented rapidity of migration and urbanisation brought different language groups into contact and conflict. Thereby changing the sociolinguistic landscape of Cameroon by reshaping the function and status of languages within communities” (Makoni / Meinhof 2003, 1-4).

Cameroon is officially treated as a bilingual country with French and English as official or exoglossic languages. Gordon (2005) states that Cameroon has up to 279 indigenous languages.

Echu (2003, no. 13) refutes Gordon and states that “Cameroon has 247 indigenous languages because some of Cameroon’s indigenous languages in Ethnology are varieties of the same languages. Cameroon indigenous languages are grouped into three protolanguages: Bantu (in southern and western regions); Nilo-Saharan (Kanuri) and Afro-Asiatic (Arabic and Chadic languages)” (Kouega 2003, 409; Echu 2004, 1).

Table 1: Numeric overview of indigenous languages and language phylum in Cameroon ⁶

	PHYLUM	NUMBER OF LANGUAGES
1	Afro-Asiatic	60
2	Nilo-Saharan	2
3	Niger- Congo (Niger-Kordofanian)	215
4	Unclassified (Bung, Luo)	2
	Total number	279

Source: Gordon (2005).

All the indigenous languages of Cameroon (more than 200) are limited to oral use in tribe and rural family circles (Echu 2004, 9) because the government downplays the importance of indigenous languages. There is no effective government policy promoting indigenous languages (Chumbow 1996, 5). The government prefers to promote French and English as medium of communication in schools, public administration, and businesses. English is relegated to second place below French within the state structure because French is associated with more benefits than English (Truong 2012, 8).

The fact that the government eschews indigenous languages has created a de facto prejudice against indigenous languages. Fonlon (1969, 9) says the government neglects indigenous

⁶Extracted from Gordon (2005) and Echu (2003). The term Niger-Kordofanian (Greenberg 1963) is widely used in earlier linguistic references and sources referring to the phylum, which for a couple of years has mainly be labelled Niger-Congo (which is Bantu).

languages because the “variegation” of indigenous languages presents a worst-case scenario in “the African confusion of tongues” (Fonlon 1969, 9).

Nevertheless, contrary to Fonlon (1969, 9), a study conducted by Muthwii and Kioko (2004, 8) on new language bearings in Africa says “the neglect of indigenous languages in postcolonial Africa is because Africans believe indigenous languages don’t offer any socio-economic opportunity.” This is in contrast with the pre-colonial era where Cameroon indigenous languages such as Bamoun, Basaa, Ewondo, Bulu Duala and Fulfulde, which are varieties of protolanguages, offered socioeconomic benefits because missionaries used indigenous languages for teaching, evangelisation and islamization (Echu 1999, 19-26; Wardhaugh 1987, 172).

However, the Cameroon government presents a counter narrative regarding the neglect of indigenous languages. The government states that, post the independence of Cameroon, the government’s inability to reinvent a common lingua franca that can be used by all Cameroonians as a way to forge national unity was due to the complex linguistic plurality of Cameroon (Makoni / Meinhof 2003, 1-4). Hence, in order to achieve national unity, there was need to promote French and English over indigenous languages. The government claims that in the absence of a common lingua franca, French and English would serve as neutral ground to foster national unity. Any effort focusing on promoting indigenous languages post-independence was considered counterproductive to national unity (Tadadjeu 1975). That is why the government instituted and promoted French and English official “bilingualism at all levels (Republic of Cameroon 1998a). Years later Kouega (1999, 112) would observe that Cameroon bilingualism is unidirectional - a one-way bilingualism where speakers of English increasingly operate in French, while their French-speaking counterparts remain largely monolingual”. According to Achille Mbembe (2016, 36), ‘monolingualism’ is a way of perpetuating colonialism in Africa because it involves imposing one’s language on others irrespective of their knowledge of that language.

Notwithstanding, the promotion of both French and English and official bilingualism would gain traction for the following two reasons:

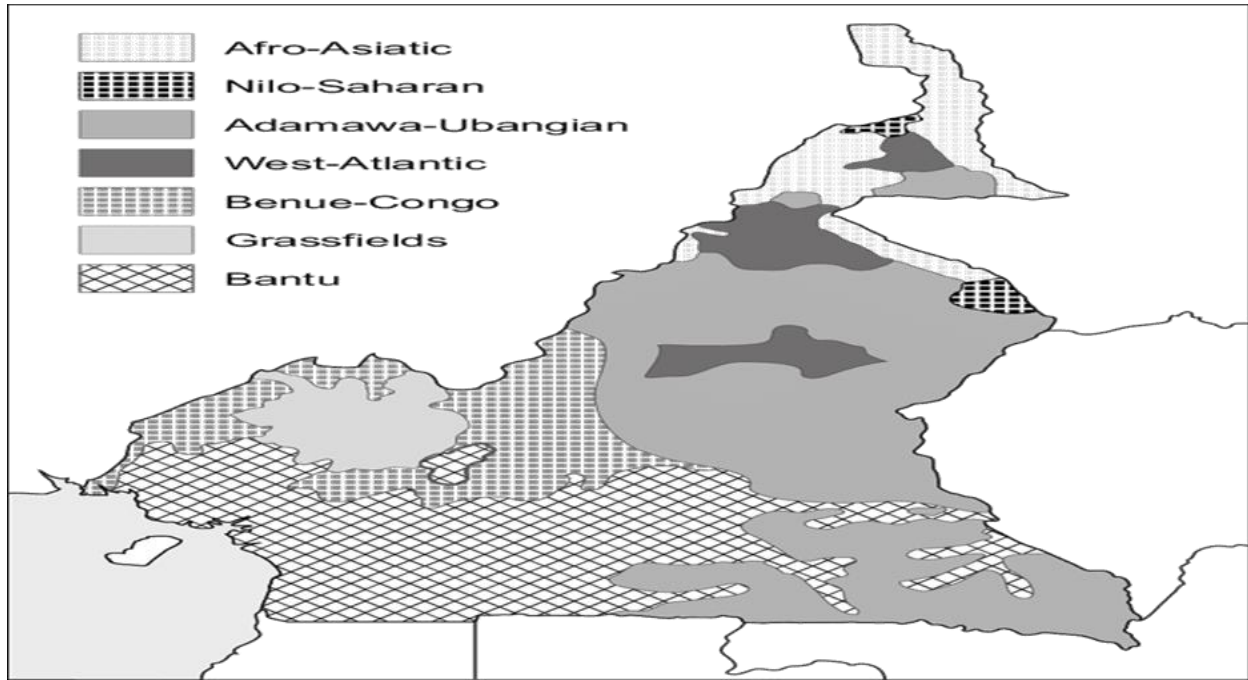
(a) Post-reunification, Cameroon's political elite, would consider French and English as non-ethnic weapons to quell inter-tribal conflicts and ensure a shared national belonging.

(b) French and English helped avoid conflicts that could arise in the attempt to choose an indigenous language as a common lingua franca to be used for the entire nation among the multiple indigenous languages.

It was obvious that, when choosing a lingua franca for the nation, there would be contention among indigenous language groups with political powers. Many would prefer their indigenous languages to that of other groups as an indigenous language for the entire nation (Bitjaa Kody 2001a). Ngũgĩ wa Thiongo (1985, 109) states that, "language choice in a multilingual society is critical because language shapes the way people think and see the world" (Ngũgĩ wa Thiongo 1985, 109). The view presented by Ngũgĩ wa Thiongo is upheld by Légliise and Migge (2008, 1-2) who state that any language chosen in a multilingual society can create prejudice in the same way. European languages assign low prestige to African indigenous languages in order to establish the superiority of European languages.

In the case of Cameroon, Chumbow (1980, 289) states that "the decision to choose French and English over indigenous languages was an absolute measure of temporality". The government officially halted all forms of literacy in Cameroon indigenous languages, asserting tighter control over the education system. Momo would support the view of Chumbow, stating that the government would see any move to promote indigenous languages as the promotion of "tribalism" (Momo 1997, 13). However, Bot Ba Njock et al. opposed the view of the government by stating that, "Cameroon indigenous languages' landscape can, despite what one might think, contribute to the harmonious development of the country, and to national unity" (Bot Ba Njock et al. 1974, 128).

Figure 3: Map showing the indigenous language landscape of Cameroon⁷



Hausa and Fulfulde are varieties of Afro-asiatic, Nilo-Saharan and Adamawa-Ubangian and are dominant in the North, Far North and Adamawa regions of the French-speaking part of Cameroon. Ewondo, Bulu, Duala, Bassa’a, Bamileke, and Bamoum are varieties of Bantu and Benue-Congo that are dominant in the Centre, South, West and East regions. In the Anglophone part of South West and North West regions, English and “pidgin” are dominant (Anchimbe 2005, 7-1). Ayafor (2006, 195) defines pidgin as a “makeshift or contact language that is developed when people of different linguistic backgrounds meet and interact”.

Fonlon (1969, 25-49) states that Cameroon’s Pidgin came from an entanglement with freed slaves and different indigenous languages speakers. There are three varieties of pidgin, namely Anglophone pidgin, Francophone pidgin, and “Camfrancanglais” (a mixture of French, English

⁷ Figure 3: Cameroon language map showing principal language families and their distribution (Adapted from Dieu / Renaud 1983, 5)

and pidgin) (Ayafor 2006, 195). Camfrancanglais is dominant among youths involved in hip-hop (Pennycook 2008). Niba (2007) describes Camfrancanglais “as a language of fun and leisure that originated in Douala in the 70s as a “langue des bandits” (language of gangsters). But is taken up by most Francophone students in urban spheres to mark their belonging through corresponding language attitudes.” Indigenous language dominance in Cameroon is by region and corresponds with the population size of the language speakers (see table 2 and 3).

Table 2: Dominant indigenous language per regions in Cameroon⁸

Regions

North, Far North and Adamawa	Centre, South, East	Littoral	Northwest and Southwest
Fulfulde	Ewondo	Duala	Pidgin and English
Shua Arabic	Bulu	Basaa	
Hausa			
Kanuri			
Wandala			

Table 3: Indigenous languages in Cameroon and number of speakers⁹

Group	Number of speakers	Number of languages
1	<1 000	38
2	1000 – 10 000	117
3	10 000 – 100 000	97
4	100 000 – 700 000	16
5	No number given	11
Total		279

Furthermore, Cameroon’s linguistic plurality of up to 240 indigenous languages, 2 official or exoglossic languages and 3 varieties of pidgin, pose systemic challenges in terms of language attitudes at the level of indigenous languages and at the level of official languages.

⁸Copied from Ethnologue (Gordon 2005)

⁹ Extracted from ALCAM studies and the classification based on Greenberg (1963) and Guthrie (1971).

In Cameroon or outside Cameroon, Cameroonians often identify themselves primarily as Francophone or Anglophone in terms of official languages (Anchimbe 2005, 1), and then as Bassaa, Ewondo, Hausa or Bulu at the indigenous language level. Cameroonians seem to commonly identify themselves first as Francophone or Anglophone because Cameroon's official languages serve as identifiers and political markers with strong borderlines that facilitate negotiating belonging in a manner that is stronger than the sense of shared national belonging (Anchimbe 2005, 1). Hence Alidou states, "The bond of unity existing between Cameroonians is confined along official linguistic borderlines (Alidou 2006, 9). Since overtime, "Cameroonians have demonstrated strong emotional linguistic attachment to French and English more than indigenous languages" (Anchimbe 2005, 1). Presently "to be Francophone or Anglophone, denotes a new kind of ethnicity that transcends conventional ethnic ties" (Anchimbe 2005, 1). In addition, French and English are able to transcend conventional ethnic ties because, French and English are symbols of in-group solidarity (Anchimbe 2005, 1). For example, the ubiquity of the Anglophone problem has caused Anglophone Cameroonians to see English as the enabler for creating a symbolic zone for themselves (Anchimbe 2005, 1). Francophone Cameroonians continue to emphasize the dominant use of French to gain control over the national territory. This tendency has affected the way Cameroonians lay claim to belonging in Cameroon.

1.3 SUMMARY

The impact of colonialism on postcolonial multilingual societies continue to shape and mould people's perceptions around belonging and language attitudes. Certain tendencies such as linguistic conflicts and unhealthy identification tend to be the hallmarks of the day, especially when people resort to negotiate their belonging on the basis of official languages. Such a way of negotiating belonging may create new forms of identification and acceptance which may include imposing one's language on others irrespective of their knowledge of that language, to be accepted. They may also refuse to speak the language of given groups of speakers and refuse to integrate them into the national space of belonging (Alobwede 1998; Anchimbe 2007, 71).

In contemporary multilingual Cameroon, the availability of multiple languages causes speakers to compete about what language to use (Ngefac 2010, 149). Francophone Cameroonians emphasize the dominant use of French (Anchimbe 2007, 71-72). Hence, "when traveling in

Cameroon you get a sense of the increase pervasiveness of French in terms of language in socio-political and economic spaces, media, dress code, food, and items for sale in shops” (Anchimbe 2005, 1). This was only “before Francophone Cameroonians realize that English is passport to a world of opportunities, as English enjoys global privilege as the dominant language in technology, aviation, commerce and education” (Plonski / Teferra 2013).

Nevertheless, under precarious transmigration conditions, the hypothesis is probably that, Francophone Cameroonian migrants would have to renegotiate their belonging and reconsider their language attitudes. This study therefore maintains that French dominance in Cameroon influence the way Francophone Cameroonians negotiate belonging. Whereas, the way Francophone Cameroonian migrants would negotiate belonging in Pretoria may differ from doing so in Cameroon. Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria may need to renegotiate belonging because they face various socio-economic challenges such as language barriers and difficulties in terms of mingling with locals. The South African labour laws also make it difficult for migrants to find employment. Some South African politicians constantly accuse migrants of stealing jobs and businesses of locals that always results in violence against migrants from locals.¹⁰ Because of the violence perpetrated against migrants, migrants negotiate belonging in cities like Pretoria where the cost of living is high, to avoid living in townships like Mamelodi where the cost of living is low, but they fear being attacked by locals. This creates a complex and volatile relationship between migrants and locals that makes migrants belong to “here and there” – Pretoria and Cameroon. This phenomenon is called “transmigration” which will be explained in detail in chapter 2.

Moreover, by belonging to Pretoria and Cameroon simultaneously, migrants bring multiple societies into one social arena. An example of society that migrants bring from Cameroon is the replication of “hometown associations” as institutions of belonging formally and informally in Pretoria where more than one thousand Francophone Cameroonian migrants live (which will also be explained in detail in chapter 2).

It is important to understand the plurality in negotiating belonging and the current language attitudes of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria. This study must answer key research

¹⁰ <https://city-press.news24.com/News/anc-takes-a-hard-line-on-migrants-20190121>

questions such as, how does transmigration influence belonging and language attitudes of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria? What is the role of indigenous languages when negotiating belonging in Pretoria? Has the emotional linguistic attachment of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria changed vis-à-vis French language? And if so, how and why? The answers to these research questions would provide a new understanding on how Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria negotiate belonging, and their current language attitudes. Before I explore answers to these research questions, I will explain the key theoretical concepts of this study, namely migrations/transmigration, belonging, and language attitudes.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

As mentioned earlier, this study attempts to analyse the negotiating of belonging and language attitude of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria. The literature review shows that other studies have been conducted on migration/transmigration as regards “the notion of belonging” of Francophone African migrants in South Africa, Cameroonian refugees in Cape Town, and African immigrants in South Africa, in terms of whether they are job takers or job creators. Studies have also looked at identity among Cameroonians in Cape Town, Cameroonians and Nigerians in Johannesburg, Cameroonians in South Africa, navigating ‘ngunda’/ ‘adoro’, and negotiating economic uncertainty amongst mobile Cameroonian migrants in Cape Town (South Africa). Other related studies include:

- The place of women in the political sphere: a comparative study of Cameroon and South Africa,
- Multilingualism and identity in new shared spaces: a case study of Cameroonian migrant learners in primary school in Cape Town,
- Racism, ethnicity and the media in Africa: reflections inspired by studies of xenophobia in Cameroon and South Africa, and
- Witchcraft and the State: Cameroon and South Africa.

There is no single study on negotiating belonging and language attitudes of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria. This category of migrants is of great interest because Francophone Cameroonian migrants come from a country where French and English are the only two official languages amidst more than 240 indigenous languages (Ndille 2016). French speakers enjoy a numerical advantage over English speakers (Tamba 2017). French has dominated the national socioeconomic and political space for so long that “it is normal for French to retain an enormous value at the national level” (Abongdia / Willans 2014, 57-74). This has caused Anglophone Cameroonians to invest more time and effort in learning French than Francophone Cameroonians do in learning English because somehow English is relegated to a second place

below French (Truong 2012, 8). The reason according to Mforteh (2006, 16) is that Francophone Cameroonians consider French to be a language of prestige that is superior to English. What then happens now that Francophone Cameroonians live in Pretoria where English is dominant?

So far, the literature review presents what scholars have covered on the topic of belonging and language attitudes. This study will therefore answer some research questions that have not been answered regarding this category of migrants. These include issues such as how transmigration influences belonging and language attitudes. What is the role of indigenous languages when negotiating belonging? Has the emotional linguistic attachment of Francophone Cameroonians changed vis-à-vis the French language? If yes/no, how and why? (See page 34). Answers to these questions are missing in the literature review and serve as further motivation to conduct this study, in addition to the fact that Francophone Cameroonians migrants in Pretoria can speak at least two or more languages.

Because this study focuses on Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria, I would start by looking at the concept of migration, the history of international migration and then transmigration before looking at the concepts of belonging and language attitudes. The reason I start with the concept of migration is because the study involves the movement of Francophone Cameroonians from Cameroon to Pretoria which is described as international migration (Huzdik 2014).

2.2 THE CONCEPT OF MIGRATION

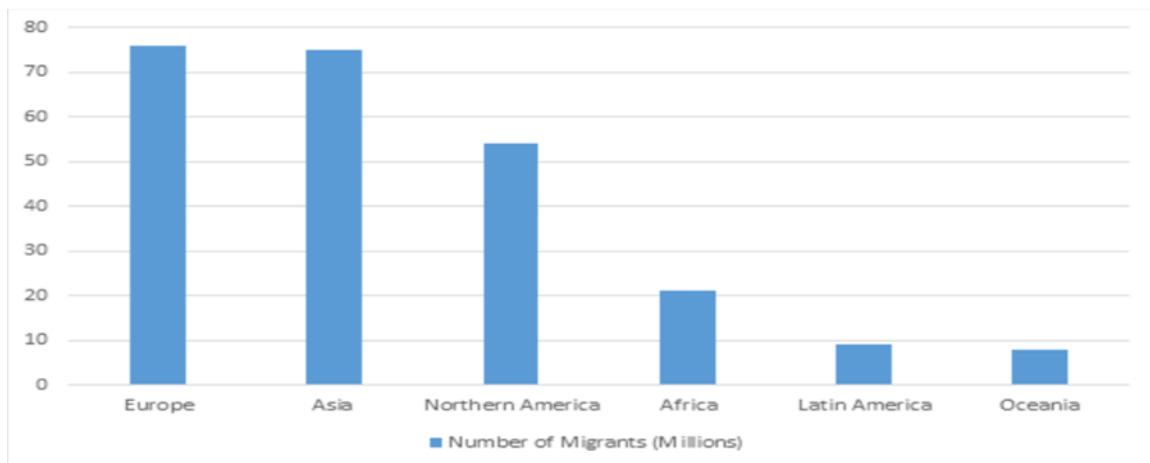
Massey et al. (2008, 1) state that, “like many birds, but unlike most other animals, humans are a migratory species. Migration is as old as humanity itself.” People migrate from one country to another (international migration) for living or work (Huzdik 2014; UN 2016b). “Each period in the history of international migration, identify a typical migratory wave that gives an ever-changing international migration history” (Massey et al. 2008, 1). However, “the intrinsic variation in the number of people moving from one international boundary to another at different time is an indication that international migration is an ever-increasing phenomenon” (Massey et al. 2008, 1). Bilateral and multilateral negotiations, and national policy and laws facilitate the free movement of labour from Africa to other parts of the world (Rosen, 2007). Previously, a combination of push and pull factors, as well as forced and voluntary factors have influenced international migration.

But today, the factors that influence international migration have become blurred due to the complex combination of push and pull factors, and compulsion and choice – “mixed migration” that influence migrants in their decision to move from one country to another (Van Hear 2010, 34-38).

International migration from Africa keeps rising because many African countries are plagued with socio-economic challenges such as endemic poverty and unemployment. Political instability, insensitive dictatorship, violent conflicts, nepotism, ethnic divisibility, marginalization of minority groups, bad governance and systemic corruption are rife. In the result has been “state failure or state capture” (Brooks 2005, 1159). Africans often migrate to developed countries (Casale / Posel 2006) to escape these things.

The United Nations states that, “socio-economic and political factors are responsible for international migration. And international migration among people moving from one developing country to another or from one developing country to a developed country is higher than international migration of people moving from one developed country to another or from one developed country to a developing country” (UN 2016b). The reason is because there is a global tendency for people in developing countries to move to developed countries in search of “greener pastures” (UN 2016b), (See figure 4).

Figure 4: Graph showing number of international migrants by major areas of destination – 2015



Source: UN (2016b)

From Figure 4, one can see that the nuance in the movement of people from the global South to the global North has created complexities. On the one hand, international migration can foster development in the receiving country. Migrants come with the skills and services that are needed. The receiving country may also suffer from an influx of unwanted migrants, that is, migrants without skills. International migration may deprive the sending country of economic development due to *brain drain* - the outflow of skilled labour and professional migrants. However, before looking at international migration from Cameroon, it is important to look at internal migration in Cameroon because international migration from Cameroon has a deep internal history.

2.2.1 Internal Migration in Cameroon

Before colonialism, “participation in trade networks and pastoral mobility, characterized the lives of Cameroonians” (Boutrais 1995; Boutrais 1996; Warnier 1993). Various instances of involuntary migration in Cameroon occurred circumstantially because of domestic and European slave trading and other colonial practices such as forced labour (Argenti 2006; Roschenthaler 2006; Warnier 2006). For example, “the coastal plantations in Cameroon attracted large labour force from all over the country before the economic crisis of early 1990s” (Ardener et al. 1960). After the economic crisis, the popular rural exodus from village to town became consistent and gained momentum in a chain of movement from village to town to city to Europe and North America, in particular (Ardener et al. 1960). The chain of movement became popular among Francophone and Anglophone Cameroonians. Francophone Cameroonians describe the act of traveling to Europe or North America in Francophone pidgin as ‘*aller à mbeng*’. The Anglophone Cameroonians described the same act as ‘bush-falling’ (Ojong / Otu 2014, 49).

For Francophone and Anglophone Cameroonians who engage in international migration, the choice of destination, the mode of traveling or migration route can be a personal or family decision. The success stories of returning migrants may serve as incentives for the destination choice of new migrants (Van Hear et al. 2012). Francophone Cameroonians in Pretoria may not have chosen Pretoria as their primary migration destination for reasons including the language barrier and the frequent arrestation and deportation of migrants by the South African government (Hiropoulos 2017, 1).

Nevertheless, there is no official data showing the rate of Francophone and Anglophone international migration from Cameroon to South Africa. A vast body of literature present only trends that respond to the changing socioeconomic and political developments in Cameroon. For example, in the first two-decades after reunification (1961 – 1981), Fanso (1989, 128), Jua and Konings (2004, 612) point out that Cameroon did well economically and international migration was low. International migration was mostly for knowledge, skill acquisition and experiential training (Fleischer 2007). But at the dawn of multi-party politics, the subsequent economic crises of the 90s, and the devaluation of the local currency (the Franc CFA) shaped access to state resources more in favour of Francophone Cameroonians who already enjoy advantages over Anglophone ones (Tamba 2017). This made Anglophone Cameroonians increasingly agitated who internalized a “no future possible” in Cameroon. To resolve their frustration, Anglophone Cameroonians increasingly migrated to countries like USA, Canada, Britain, Germany and Australia (Lado 2005).

While Francophone Cameroonians on the other hand see themselves as sedentary rather than mobile, and attach much meaning to village of origin, they were accustomed to migrate between village and city for socio-economic reasons, and to France due to the policy of assimilation and the absence of a language barrier (Lado 2005).

By the mid-2000s, the pattern of international migration of Francophone Cameroonians changed due to the worsening economic situation and rising unemployment. Francophone Cameroonians increasingly migrate to countries that have a language barrier. Scholars like de Rosny (2002), Forster (2010), Jua (2003), Nyamnjoh and Page (2002), Pelican and Tatah (2009) depict the situation of Francophone Cameroonians as overshadowed by a general feeling of disappointment and disillusionment. There is often a feeling of disappointment with the economic and political situation in Cameroon, and disillusionment about the impossibility of a decent future (Nyamnjoh / Page 2002). Examples of countries Francophone Cameroonians increasingly migrate to irrespective of language barrier, include the United States, Australia and Great Britain, with alternative destinations in Africa, such as South Africa.

2.2.2 International Migration from Cameroon to South Africa

Migration to South Africa increased drastically over the past two decades. The factors that attracted African migrants including Francophone Cameroonians to South Africa include “a chain of events such as: the lifting of restrictions on African urbanization in the late 1980s, the relatively tranquil political atmosphere after apartheid and the growing economy of South Africa” (Posel 2004, 277-292; Peberdy 2001, 15-32).

The arrival of African migrants in South Africa raised serious concern in South Africa’s legislative circles. The government of South African signed new immigration bills that encountered criticism because of their repulsive and exclusive nature against African migrants (Crush 2003; Hill 1998). The new immigration laws on obtaining employment are contradictory. According to the law, no one can apply for a job without a work permit. And no one can apply for a work permit without a job (see the Department of Home Affairs).¹¹ In other words, no work permit, no job, and consequently no income. This causes enormous challenges for African migrants, including Francophone Cameroonians, just to survive (Okyere 2018). Amidst the challenge migrants face, more than a thousand Francophone Cameroonians who migrated to South Africa after the end of apartheid for economic, education, social and political reasons, decided to settle in Pretoria while replicating hometown associations (Castles 2009, 1-31). Pretoria is the preferred destination for Francophone Cameroonian migrants because it has similarities to Cameroon in terms of linguistic plurality. Pretoria an interesting place for the case study. Hometown associations (HTAs) help migrants to connect their community of residence with their community of heritage, providing a forum for migrants from the same area to gather, exchange experiences, and work together on issues of common interest (Milusheva 2012). These play a supportive role in Pretoria by assisting new migrants with various administrative challenges and socio-economic needs (Moya 2005, 849) while also creating a symbolic experience for migrants through community events (Moya 2005, 849).

¹¹ <http://www.dha.gov.za/index.php/types-of-visas>

2.2.2.1 Migrants' Experience in Pretoria

Francophone Cameroonian migrants who arrived in Pretoria have experienced xenophobia (Blunt / Dowling 2006). Migrants struggle with the need of acceptance or integration with locals, since the success of migrants partly depend on the way migrants create networks with locals and the extent to which locals accept them (Blunt/Dowling 2006). In addition, “language is key when seeking acceptance and integration or when seeking to interact politically, economically and socially” (Cameron 2001, 11; Chiswick / Houseworth 2008).

Francophone Cameroonian migrants are not easily accepted by locals and often face xenophobia due to negative perceptions that see migrants as an economic threat to locals. The reoccurrence of xenophobia has forced Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria to become transmigrants (Wilson / Peter 2005). Schiller et al. (1992, 1-24) define transmigrants as “people who live across borders, developing social, familial, economic and religious networks that incorporate them into two or more states.” Francophone Cameroonian migrants traveling from Pretoria to Cameroon and back is no longer a way of improving personal emotional well-being or chasing a cherished opportunity for immersion in valued social relations and cultural practices (Marschall 2018). “It is a treatment to reinforce belonging on both sides” because through migrants’ travel, goods also travel from Pretoria to Cameroon and vice-versa, equalizing migrants’ belonging to both places (Marschall 2018, 29).

The vast narratives of transmigration look at the process of negotiating new belonging and socioeconomic networks while dealing with the burden and pain of dislocation. To subdue the burden and pain of dislocation, transmigrants may often perform ‘extraordinary cultural practices’ to create a sense of belonging. The reason why migrants engage in extraordinary cultural practices is because transmigration has changed the socioeconomic and political lives of migrants and their sense of belonging. Migrants still maintain a strong relationship with their kinship at home through communication, which constantly reminds migrants of their belonging. In addition, Benjamin (1995, 158) states that “transmigration has rendered the notions of ‘home and homeland’ as symbol of belonging to become ambiguous.” This talks to the nucleus of human existence that Relph (1976, 39) claims is home “with attachment to a particular setting, a particular environment, in comparison with all other forms of association with places are of limited significance now.”

Transmigration has caused transmigrants to live in multiple communities simultaneously. Having multiple residences means location no longer limits transmigrants' 'sense of belonging and language attitudes' (Relph 1976, 39). Such argument is supported by Koehn / Rosenau (2002, 105) who state "the development of efficient communication and transportation networks have collapsed the question of time and distance." This has not only propelled rapid economic, social and cultural interactions across international space. It has also altered existing social organisations (Pieterse 1994). Transmigration fundamentally changes the way people negotiate belonging (Schiller et al 1992). In order to understand how Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria negotiate belonging, I will proceed to look at the concept of belonging.

2.3 THE CONCEPT OF BELONGING

Belonging is key to conversations pertaining to human connectivity. Issues around belonging are salient because belonging can mobilize individuals, communities and nations, emotionally and politically around important subjects such as origin, citizenship, ethnicity in the midst of diversity (Peter et al. 2015). It is important to mention that belonging is not a static phenomenon but a set of processes that underpin the way human relationships are entangled (Tsilimpounidi 2016, 157). The fact that humanity is always seeking or granting belonging nationally and internationally has hitherto created dialectics when seeking to understand how belonging is negotiated. The dialectics render the notion of belonging semantically complex (Yuval-Davis 2006a; Anthias 2006). The complexity is partly because belonging is somehow intertwined with notions such as group identification, ethnicity and nationhood (Yuval-Davis 2006a). Even the assumption that citizenship implies a sense of belonging is problematic to a territorialized political community that often represents the nation-state, given the rise of transmigration and issues of "dual nationality or citizenship" (Castles / Davidson 2000).

Antonsich (2010, 645) states that, "belonging may relate to social location, formal recognition of rights, emotional attachments to groups, social and political participation and a deep personal feeling of 'being at home' in any place." In the context of personal feeling, Miller (2003, 220) states that belonging is "a sense of accord with the various physical and social contexts in which lives are lived out." The view of Miller is supported by Carrillo Rowe (2005) who states that belonging is "attachment to a space - where one's body on the globe, conditions one's belongings."

To further problematize the notion of belonging, Yuval-Davis et al. (2006) state that “belonging revolves around emotional investments and desire for attachment by people who are not part of the privilege space of belonging.” Such view is also supported by Anthias (2006, 21) who states that “Belonging is the feeling of being part of a larger whole with the emotional and social bonds that are related to such places.” In other words, “belonging is to feel at home in any geographic space” (Yuval-Davis 2006, 197).

However, the views of Yuval-Davis et al. and Anthias contrast the view of Lovell who looks at belonging as “membership to a group instead of the feeling or attachment to a home” (Lovell 1998a, 1). The view of Lovell (199a:1) is important to this study because it is impossible for Cameroonians to live outside their village of origin both in Cameroon and in Pretoria without membership to hometown associations (Calhoun 2003, 536). Membership of a hometown association both in Cameroon and Pretoria costs a certain amount of money, which is described as the membership fee. There is no fixed amount for a membership fee. The fee differs from one hometown association to another. The founders of hometown associations are given the power to grant or reject an application for membership.

Notwithstanding, the fact that hooks (2009, 213) supports the view of Lovell by stating, “Home is a mere symbolic space of familiarity, comfort, security, and emotional attachment” further heightens the “multiscalarity” involved in negotiating belonging under transmigration since transmigration grants one the possibility of negotiating belonging simultaneously in two or more places at the same time. Nagel and Staeheli (2008, 419) state that the ability to negotiate belonging in two or more places simultaneously come with “multiple combinations of transnational and assimilative practices in the process.”

Negotiating belonging under precarious transmigration conditions may influence one’s personal sense of belonging in following the discourses and practices of a particular place. This in turn may deepen the ambiguity involved in seeking to understand the concept of belonging. This study therefore connects belonging to ‘feeling at home’, and being attached to, and rooted in a certain place (Yuval-Davis 2006, 197), to membership of a group or hometown association in the case of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria (Lovell 1998a, 1). The reason this study connects belonging with feeling at home, and being attached to, and rooted in a certain place, with group membership, is because Jayaweera and Choudhury (2008) state that, “to feel at home in any place

outside one's original space of belonging is not only a personal matter but also a social one." The reality of belonging as stated by Yuval-Davis et al. (2006, 197) would inevitably be spoiled (Jayaweera / Choudhury 2008) during times of social stress such as xenophobia. The view of Jayaweera and Choudhury is important because Blunt and Dowling (2006) also remind us of the complex relationships between African migrants in the diaspora and members of host societies. This would include the complex relationship between African migrants including Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria, and locals (South Africans). As mentioned earlier, such volatile relationships stretch migrants' feeling of simultaneously belonging in different places (Hartnell 2006). They also render the notion of belonging to encompass emotional dimensions of status or attachment, which Yuval-Davis et al. (2005, 526) have pointed out.

Limiting belonging to collective membership (Lovell 1998a, 1) will ignore the deeper emotions involved in negotiating belonging when "migrants experience simultaneity in their attachment to different places as a result of being "here and there" (Wilson / Peter 2005). Therefore, to understand how Francophone Cameroonian migrants negotiate belonging in Pretoria, it is important to go deeper into the process of negotiating belonging. I would like to first revisit the sense of belonging in Cameroon.

2.3.1 The sense of belonging in Cameroon

In Cameroon, linguistic plurality in terms of two official languages and more than 240 indigenous languages have created a peculiarity that does not facilitate interaction between the Francophone and Anglophone and between members of various indigenous language groups. For example, as mentioned earlier, "to be Francophone or Anglophone denotes a new kind of ethnicity that transcends conventional ethnic ties" (Anchimbe 2005, 1). French and English exert a stronger influence on Cameroonians who are originally Francophone or Anglophone than indigenous languages do. Such influence shapes the way Francophone and Anglophone Cameroonians claim their sense of belonging.

The literatures that attempt to explore the sense of belonging in Cameroon also look at belonging through the lens of the complex relationship between family ties and rural origin called "village" where a unique indigenous language is dominant. Such sense of belonging binds urban migrants

to their village of origin (Gluckman 1940). The relationship between urban migrants and their village of origin is evident because urban migrants' village of origin is considered their original home (Mitchell 1969).

The feeling of village of origin as a place of true belonging "is heightened by social practice such as the importance of one's village of origin as prospective burial place after one's death" (Gugler 2002). Such practice strengthens the narrative that see a village as the place of original belonging. Many times, when someone dies, the family members would travel a long distance with the corpse to the village of origin, for burial. The village of origin continually represents a sense of original belonging (Gugler 2002).

However, Geschiere (2005) states that, "to define belonging in terms of village of origin risks becoming self-validating because the desire to be buried at one's village of origin for example, appears to have grown stronger in Cameroon." The view is also held by Jua (2005); Mazzucato et al. (2006) and Page (2007) because it is influenced by the 'politics of belonging' which includes the process of socio-spatial inclusion and exclusion. The notion of viewing one's village of origin as a place of belonging has taken on new significance and developed a hardening of identities around claims of belonging which is wedded to a process of excluding outsiders – "the other" (Jua 2005, 13-36). The notion has become "a source of political legitimacy for urban-based elites to appeal to the village of origin focusing on who is an autochthon - a 'son of the soil' - capable of acting (and voting) in the perceived interests of their place of origin. From who is not an autochthon - a 'stranger', for the sake of excluding strangers regarding access to social welfare and economic gains" (Shack 1979, 1-17).

Furthermore, Geschiere and Gugler (1998, 309) state that, "there is growing obsession along autochthony and origins throughout Africa which is triggered by the politics of belonging." The politics of belonging has become a powerful framework which is almost normalized globally. Nevertheless, according to Broch-Due (2005), Englund and Nyamnjoh (2004), Eyoh (1999), Nyamnjoh (2005), Schipper (1999) "the African reflection of the politics of belonging" has gained traction because of the problems with evidence from countries with problematic nation - building efforts such as, Rwanda (the 1994 genocide) and Cameroon (the exoglossic linguistic divide) (Ceuppens / Geschiere 2005).

2.3.2 The Politics of belonging in Cameroon

The government of Cameroon continues to leverage sentiments associated with village of origin as a space of original belonging for political benefits (Eyoh 1998; Fonchingong 2005; Nyamnjoh 1999). The “government does so in order to secure regional power bases that could undermine political rivals from the opposition by nurturing local party loyalist movements and so pre-empting the emergence of any ideologically coherent opposition” (Geschiere 2004).

The advent of what is described above as autochthony is interconnected with the advent of multi-party politics in the early 1990s. Autochthony has become a political tool to constrain progressive democratic innovations, and has resulted in the rise of ‘ethnic territoriality’. Ethnic territoriality is reinforced with the replication of hometown associations throughout the national space of belonging. It is important to note that the history of hometown association in Cameroon is connected to internal labour migration. Hometown associations initially were created by Cameroonians living and working in places other than their village of origin, to serve as platforms for practicing their traditions. Today, hometown associations are ‘instruments of power’ that are crucial to the politics of belonging. They link urban elites to members of their village of origin for political gains (Geschiere 2004).

The act of linking urban elites to members of a village of origin through hometown associations has deviated from contemporary hometown associations as platforms of traditional practices “to reflect the politics of self-serving political entrepreneurs and regional elites who constantly seek platforms for political campaigns on behalf of the ruling Cameroon People’s Democratic Movement (CPDM)” (Bayait 1993; Mbuagbo / Akoko 2004). This has created tension among members of hometown associations who may hold divergent political views.

Notwithstanding, the danger with politics of belonging is that it does not only overturn the progress of promoting national unity. It is also the “mainspring of internal xenophobia and destructive sub-nationalisms” (Boone 2003, 1). The politics of belonging creates forms of spatial variability and draws attention to the treacherous nature of autochthony, which is subject to constant redefinition against new ‘others’ at ever-closer range (Ceuppens / Geschiere 2005, 385).

The deviation of hometown associations in Cameroon from traditional practices would therefore stand in contrast to the way Francophone Cameroonians migrants in Pretoria negotiate belonging through hometown associations. Yet, the motive to create hometown associations under precarious transmigration conditions in Pretoria is similar to that of internal labour migration in Cameroon. Both the day-to-day experience of the role of hometown associations in Cameroon and Pretoria as well as what constitutes membership, would differ. The difference might also create polarity when attempting to describe how Francophone Cameroonian migrants negotiate belonging in Pretoria because of the significance of language in the process. To understand the significance of language in the process of negotiating belonging in Pretoria, it is also important to revisit the concept of language attitudes and the language attitudes of Francophone Cameroonians.

2.4 THE CONCEPT OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

Language is most often described as a social force used to convey an intended message (Kaburise 2011). However, language has more functions than simply being a social force. Language creates commonality because it shares common knowledge. Language indicates personal and social characteristics of speakers, in relation to listeners. “A speaker’s accent, speech patterns, vocabulary and intonation can serve as markers for evaluating a speaker’s appearance, personality, social status and belonging” (Melander 2003, 2). Language attitudes and belonging are interconnected concepts because language may create attitudes from listeners to speaker or vice versa which may influence the way belonging is negotiated (Melander 2003, 2).

Obiols (2002) defines an attitude as a “mental disposition towards something acting as a bridge between opinion and behaviour.” While Myers-Scotton (2006, 110) describes attitude as “a more unconscious assessment that is more rooted in individuals’ subconscious thoughts and emotions.” In addition, Myers-Scotton states that, language attitudes are “... subjective evaluations of both language varieties and their speaker, whether the attitudes are held by individuals or by groups” (Myers-Scotton 2006, 120). Because “political and socio-economic forces can change community’s attitude toward a particular language or a variety of languages” (Myers-Scotton 2006, 110-20), as well as “personal circumstances can also have a lot to do with the shaping of individual attitudes. For example, a person who is part of a community that holds strong negative attitudes towards a particular language may develop a liking for it because of positive contact with

the language; finding a job because of competence in that language, marrying a speaker of that language.” (Myers-Scotton 2006, 110-20).

Ryan et al. (1982, 7) on the other hand state that language attitude is “any effective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions towards different language varieties or speakers.” The view of Ryan et al. contradicts that of Baker (1992, 12-3) who proposes “a multi-componential model of defining language attitudes, consisting of ‘...cognitive, affective and readiness for action’” (Baker 1992, 12-3). Other researchers have also emphasised the *affective* component of language attitudes. For example, Kembo-Sure / Webb (1999, 131) regard language attitude as “deep seated emotional entities which are generally associated with two human desires: the desire for personal gain and the desire to be accepted by others” (Kembo-Sure / Webb 1999, 120). This means that, “attitudes may not be directly observed, although those holding particular attitudes may express them either overtly, by making value statements like ‘I like the sound of that language’ or covertly, for example, when a non-standard variety, slang or secret code carries particular identity values for certain groups” (Kembo-Sure / Webb 1999, 120).

Kroskirty (1999, 19) also reveals how “people’s notions about languages are rooted in their social experiences and often tied to their political and economic interests.” For example, the language attitudes of Africans toward European languages “were an indicator of superior intellect and civilization par excellence” (Ngugi Wa Thiong’o 2005, 164). European languages created attitudes of elitism when Africans gain mastery of European languages because Ngugi wa Thiong’o (2005, 164) states that, “European languages were considered the ‘sine qua non’ of enlightenment and intelligence.” Previously, many African political elites held such attitudes, and that is why Alidou (2003) and Bamgbose (2000, 67-68) became critical of “African political elites who use European languages to silence speakers of indigenous languages and cling onto power.”

Notwithstanding, Derbel and Richards (2007, 103) state that, language attitudes varies because “people invest in languages that are not necessarily the language of their particular speech community but because it will be profitable to them.” Swigart (2000, 91) refutes the view of Derbel and Richards (2007, 103) by stating that “the narrative to learn a language for profit is problematic because language attitudes studies don’t fully capture, how languages provide their speakers access to profits.”

This study therefore considers language attitudes as what would “predict a given linguistic behaviour: the choice of a particular language in multilingual communities, language loyalty, and language prestige” (Obiols 2002). So, in order to gain deep understanding of the language attitudes of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria, it is important to revisit the language attitudes of Francophone Cameroonians in Cameroon.

2.4.1 Language Attitudes in Cameroon

Language attitudes are crucial in a multilingual space like Cameroon because “language attitudes determine the growth, decay, restoration or destruction of other languages” (Ngefacs 2010, 149-164). Any attachment to one language unsurprisingly develops attitudes towards other languages or even towards speakers of other languages (Myers-Scotton 2006, 120) - A “language attitudes owe its origin to the collective behaviour of the members of a social group (Mohanlal et al. 2005).

Politics may also make a language dominant in a multilingual society by attaching more importance to that language. The consequence is that the dominant language would influence the behaviour of people. The behaviour of people may follow a certain pattern. The pattern may create language attitudes toward other language (s) since individuals may derive, adopt or learn language attitudes in the midst of the use of multiple languages (Abongdia 2009).

However, although language attitudes are individual, the idea has origins in collective behaviour. For example, the majority of Francophone Cameroonians still receive their education in the French education system, rather than the English system. Anchimbe (2005, 1) states that the reason for this is that Francophone Cameroonians make up 80% of the population. The unequal population demography is the cause of the dominance of French. Echu (2004, 7) supports the view of Anchimbe (2005, 1), stating that “the dominance of French is a de facto dominance.”

Nevertheless, contrary to Anchimbe (2005, 1) and Echu (2004, 7), Fonlon stated much earlier that “the dominance of French in Cameroon is due to the attitude of the government to elevate French to dominate the entire socio-political and economic landscape” (Fonlon 1969, 43) as the government has no regard for English. The government appoints more Francophone Cameroonians than Anglophones to key positions in public administration (Fonlon 1969, 43).

Even government official texts and speeches are in French first, before being translated into English. Sometimes the translation is poor and does not capture the ideas and intentions of the

original text. The attitude of the government to undermine English is what makes the majority of Francophone Cameroonians operate in the system without any need of English, thereby causing Francophone Cameroonians to perceive English as inferior and French as a language of prestige or superiority (Mforteh 2006, 16). Such language attitudes have also influenced Anglophone Cameroonians who strive to learn French in order to integrate and be accepted by the broader Cameroonian society. The ability of Anglophone Cameroonians to understand and communicate in French is a predictor for smooth integration with 80% of the population.

The attitudes of Anglophone Cameroonians to strive to be fluent in French further deepens the language attitudes of Francophone Cameroonians in increasingly perceiving English as the language of lower-class citizens (Ngefacs 2010). Because attitude precedes prestige, Francophone Cameroonians assume that learning English will be correlated with a declining loyalty to French (Anchimbe 2007; Mforteh 2007). Such language attitudes may serve as a determining factor outside the space of language dominance, as in the case of French Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria.

2.5 CONCLUSION

The uniqueness of the language attitudes of Francophone Cameroonians lies in the government of Cameroon promoting French and English bilingualism in the context of nation building. Citizens can be fluent in both French and English (Torrent 2012). At the same time, the government relegates English to the status of second language below that of French (Truong 2012, 8). The majority of Francophone Cameroonians in Cameroon still uphold language attitudes that see English as inferior, or the language of lower-class citizens (Ngefacs 2010). In Pretoria, due to precarious transmigration conditions, Francophone Cameroonian migrants may shift their attitudes or maintain it. Language attitudes under precarious transmigration conditions may also differ from person to person. The difference may be attributed to the fact that “language is very important in the process of negotiating belonging under transmigration” (Finnegan / Besnier 1989, 326).

Buonfino and Thomson (2007, 17) also state that “language is the salient cultural identifier.” That is why, when collectives of different linguistic backgrounds come together, there is a need to

maintain symbolic expressions among them. Individuals strive to conform to their collectives out of fear of language exclusivity (Anchimbe 2005).

However, under transmigration, language is implicated in significant ways. Language is needed in the process of negotiating belonging. Moreover, because Francophone Cameroonians already have attitudes towards English, their experience in terms of negotiating belonging in Pretoria would be very unique. English is dominant in Pretoria. Learning English would be correlated with a declining loyalty to French as Anchimbe (2007) stated for the situation in Cameroon.

3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter deals with the methodology use in collecting the data. The chapter is divided into an introduction, the research methodology, and a description of the research instrument and sample collection techniques.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

There are rising negative perceptions in South Africa that see African migrants, including Francophone Cameroonians, as posing an economic threat to locals (Sibanda 2012) and thereby creating a complex relationship between African migrants and locals. Francophone Cameroonian migrants end up belonging to Pretoria and Cameroon simultaneously (Blunt / Dowling 2006, 199). While Francophone Cameroonian migrants must negotiate belonging in Pretoria and not in Cameroon, because of the precarious nature of transmigration, their language attitudes in Pretoria differ from their language attitudes in Cameroon.

To get an understanding on how Francophone Cameroonian migrants negotiate belonging and their current language attitudes in Pretoria, as a first step I collected data by asking direct questions to 20 participants. This data was analysed using content analysis method because content analysis allows the researcher to approach the data with an open mind in seeking what emerges from the data as being important and of interest (Seidman 1998, 100). In addition, content analysis is an unobtrusive means of analysing interactions that can provide insight into complex models of human thought and attitudes. As opposed to deductive approaches that limit the researcher to only advancing material with a set of hypotheses to test or with a theory developed in another context, which he/she wishes to have match the data (Seidman 1998, 100). In my case the data are the interviews. I qualitatively analysed the interviews according to my research questions.

3.1.1 Research questions and objectives

As developed in chapter 1, the study is to inquire:

- (1) How does transmigration influence belonging and language attitudes of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria?
- (2) What is the role of indigenous languages when negotiating belonging in Pretoria?
- (3) Has the emotional linguistic attachment of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria changed vis-à-vis French language? And if so, how and why?

Not much is written on this category of migrants. By conducting a study on Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria, the study will therefore;

- (a) Provide new understanding on how Francophone Cameroonians negotiate their belonging in Pretoria from “transmigration” perspective;
- (b) Provide new understanding how language is presented when negotiating belonging under precarious situations such as transmigration;
- (c) provide a detailed understanding of individuals’ perceptions in terms of current language attitudes in Pretoria. This case study would contribute to contemporary debates of belonging and language attitudes.

3.1.2 Limitation to the study

The main limitation is the fact that this study is a mini-dissertation in cultural studies. In order to answer the research questions, I will use qualitative and not quantitative methods. The scope of the scientific claim will be limited to interviews with 20 participants and will not cover the diverse nature of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria as seen in the diversity of hometown

associations. Therefore, the result of the findings cannot be generalized to all Francophone Cameroonians under transmigration.

In addition, by my name and background, I will be regarded as an Anglophone Cameroonian. Francophone Cameroonians in Pretoria were willing to share their opinions with me. This willingness may also be due to the non-disclosure of the identities of the participants. The potential bias is minimal because among Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria or in the diaspora, internal biases are very small.

3.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The scope of this research is a case study on how 20 Francophone Cameroonian transmigrants in Pretoria from as diverse backgrounds and status as possible, negotiate belonging and their current language attitudes. This study does not claim to answer how Francophone Cameroonians in general negotiate belonging, as this would not be an agent-sensitive question.

3.2.1. Research design

A descriptive case study is the research design employed in this study. Yin (2009, 6971) states that “a case study provides the researcher with an opportunity to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events.” Mayring (2000) also states that “A descriptive qualitative case study describes a phenomenon in which real life context occurs.” Therefore, a descriptive qualitative case study is the most suitable for this study because the research questions focus on answering “how” transmigration influences language attitudes and belonging and why language attitudes change or do not change in precarious transmigration situations. Questions of “how” and “why” give contextual detail into human behaviour (Guba / Lincoln 1989, 300). How and why also allow participants to tell their stories (Crabtree / Miller 1999). By telling their stories, participants are able to describe in their own words their reasons, attitudes and perceptions. When participants use their own words to describe their views, it helps the researcher to capture the complexity in terms of participants’ aspiration, regrets and fears (Lather 1992, 87-92). This not only broadens the researcher’s understanding of participants’ day-to-day concern, but also provides rich data for theoretical and practical use (Boeije 2010, 11).

3.2.2 Research site and Sampling

This study adopts non-probability sampling to gather data. Non-probability sampling involves a preselected criterion that is relevant to this study. Morgan and Sklar (2012, 72-80) posits that non-probability sampling are used frequently in qualitative research where the aim of the investigation is usually to create an in-depth description of the phenomenon and not to generalize the findings (Nieuwenhuis 2016, 111-112). Purposive and convenience sampling as non-probability sampling have been used to recruit participants for this study. Palys (2008, 697-698) states that, “Purposive sampling is a selective choice of whom to interview.” In a different study conducted by the researcher on Francophone Cameroonian migrants in the month of April 2018 in Sunnyside and Arcadia for a semester module, the researcher established contacts with specific hometown associations as point of departure. The researcher stayed in contact with members of a hometown association in Pretoria and visited hometown associations on meeting days between mid-January 2019 to mid-March 2019 to do purposive sampling in order to recruit participants. Furthermore, because the researcher has been to French and English institutions in Cameroon, not only as a student but also as an educator, the researcher was able to identify a Francophone Cameroonian without an Anglophone background in terms of their names and accent when they speak English and indigenous languages. This avoided compromising the authenticity of the data collection. The following participants were then approached to request their participation for interviews (See Table 4).

Table 4: Showing a representation of the participants selected

Participant Number	Sex	Age	Place of Origin	Marital Status	Migration Status	Indigenou s language	Hometown Association
Participant #1	F	30	Yaoundé	Single	Asylum seeker	Mbouda	Mbouda Cultural Association and Foyer Francophone
Participant #2	M	40	Douala	Single	General Work Visa	Duala	SAWA Cultural Association

							and Friends of Friends
Participant #3	M	37	Dschang	Married	Accompany Spouse Visa	Nde	Nde Cultural Association and –Foyer Francophone
Participant #4	M	30	Yabassi	Single	Asylum Seeker	Bassa’a	Bassa’a Cultural Association and Centre - Sud
Participant #5	M	42	Bafoussam	Single	Asylum seeker	Baneng	Nde Cultural Association and Centre - Sud
Participant #6	M	39	Foumban	Married	Permanent Residency	Bangoua	Nde Cultural Association and Foyer Francophone
Participant #7	M	42	Lolodorf	Single	Asylum seeker	Ewondo	Foyer Francophone and Upper Nkam Cultural Association
Participant #8	F	29	Kekem	Single	Study Visa	Nde	Nde Cultural Association and Friends without Borders
Participant #9	M	43	Obala	Single	Business Visa	Eton	Beti Cultural Association and Centre - Sud
Participant #10	M	26	Banganste	Single	Study Visa	Nde	Nde Cultural Association

Participant #11	M	30	Dschang	Single	Study Visa	Nde and Fe'fe'	Nde Cultural Association and Foyer Francophone
Participant #12	F	37	Boumyebe	Single	Asylum seeker	Ewondo and Banja	SAWA Association and Bassa'a Cultural Association
Participant #13	M	35	Mbouda	Married	Study Visa	Nde	Nde Association and Foyer Grand Mifi
Participant #14	M	40	Garoua	Single	Asylum seeker	Hausa	Foyer Francophone and Nde cultural association
Participant #15	M	44	Bafoussam	Married	Asylum seeker	Nde and Bangoua	Nde Cultural Association and Friends without Borders
Participant #16	F	38	Babimbi	Married	Accompany spouse Visa	Bulu and Mbouda	Bassa'a Cultural Association and Foyer Francophone
Participant #17	M	54	Edea	Married	Permanent Residency	Nde	Nde and Foyer Francophone
Participant #18	M	29	Kribi	Single	Study Visa	Ngoumba	Mbouda Cultural Association and Friends of Friends
Participant #19	M	43	Yaoundé	Married	Business Permit	Nde	Nde Cultural Association

							and Foyer Francophone
Participant #20	M	52	Douala	Married	Critical Skill Visa	Fe'fe'	Nde Cultural Association and Foyer Grand Mifi

M=Male, F=Female

The researcher booked appointments with the participants selected for interviews. The researcher communicated and followed up to reconfirm the appointment date, place and time chosen by participants.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

After booking appointments with the participants at hometown associations and various communication to follow up on interview date, time and place, the researcher collected the data outside hometown associations – usually at participants’ workshops or shops, in coffee shops and homes, because of confidentiality.

The interviews were in-depth-interviews with open-ended questions with the help of an interview guide (see Appendix 3 on page 99). Open-ended questions help participants to express themselves in their own words. The order of questions depended on the responses of the participants. All 20 participants chose to respond to the interview questions in English. Lofland and Lofland (1996, 183-203) state that “when participants are given the opportunity to respond in the language of their choice they evoke responses that are salient”. The researcher recorded most of them in Sunnyside and Arcadia.

3.3.1 Interviews

The researcher used a recorder to conduct the interviews. The recorder helped the researcher to listen to the interviews repeatedly. This made it possible for the researcher to produce wordy (verbatim transcriptions) from the interviews and an accurate presentation of the data (see Appendix 4 on page 101). As the interviews served to create a base for the content analysis on

belonging and language attitudes, these transcriptions are not fully linguistic but verbatim only. Passages where participants deviated from the topic, for example, have not been transcribed.

In the introductory phase, I did not mention the name of the participants in the record, so that the participants would not feel uncomfortable mentioning their names on a recorder. As a result, the researcher excluded participants' personal details from the recorder. The interview questions were approved and every participant signed the informed consent letter before the interviews took place (Appendix 2 on page 98).

The researcher designed the interview questions in a manner that covered the research questions. The researcher was able to shape and direct the interviews due to the semi-structured nature of the interviews. In this manner, the researcher was able to understand the participants' experience in a natural way. The interviews provided space for a one-to-one discussion, which made the data more trustworthy and specific.

The researcher did not ask the interviewee questions exactly as they appear on the interview guide. The researcher did everything possible to cover the themes of the study. Nevertheless, from earlier interviews, the researcher discovered the easiest way to get participants to talk more about their lifestyle in Pretoria was to ask questions in a comparative form. The idea is to try to make participants link their perceptions in Pretoria with their perceptions in Cameroon. The interviews gave the researcher a chance to collect useful data which made the interviews a fulfilling experience for both the participants and the researcher. It also guaranteed success to a large extent (White 2002, 33), since the participants' answered all the research questions in every single interview.

During the interviews, the researcher frequently asked questions like "how" and "why" to allow participants to elaborate more on their response. Each interview lasted a total of about 30 minutes and all 20 interviews were conducted over a period of two months, from mid-January to mid-March 2019.

The researcher also solicited the free and unforced consent of all participants according to the guidelines of the University of Pretoria, before recording the interviews. The recordings served to

store information in its most natural form and to preserve it for future reference. The recordings also helped guarantee accuracy during transcription.

During the interview, the researcher noticed that the majority of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria prefer to live in a fraternity usually in a particular area or in the same building where they usually give a nickname like “Q-G” which means “Quartier Générale” (the military headquarter in Yaoundé). This also facilitated the researcher’s task since the researcher was able to get many interviews in one area. The researcher interviewed all 20 participants as individuals, which made it impossible for other participants to influence the views and responses. In some cases, the place of the interview was crowded, and the participants took the researcher to an area where the effect of noise, music or sounds from passing vehicles was minimal. Since the interviews were conducted in the language of choice of the participants, there was minimal misinterpretation of questions. In the case where the participants did not understand an interview question, the researcher immediately reformulated the question in other words so that the participant could fully understand the question.

3.4 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The researcher presented himself to the participants and briefed the participants on the purpose of the interview, which is solely for a higher degree, as well as on all the University of Pretoria ethical details. The researcher told the participants that their identities will remain anonymous and their free and unforced consent was solicited at all levels of the interviews and post the interviews. The participants were free to withdraw at any point during the interview (Strydom / Bezuidenhout 2014). The researcher recorded the participants only if they allowed the researcher to do so. If they were interested in the result of the study, the researcher promised to respect their request by providing them with a summary of the findings. So far, the identities of participants are not disclosed. I refer to a particular participant only by a number. The study was conducted in line with the University of Pretoria’s (UP) professional research code of ethics. Ethical clearance was obtained from the Ethics Committee of UP before conducting the study (see Appendix 1 on page 97). This included approval of the letters of the informed consent form in which the participants’ roles were well explained (see Appendix 2 page 98). The researcher informed participants of their

voluntary participation and signed the informed consent form. There were no withdrawals and the participants understood that the interviews would be available to participants to review if requested. The recordings as well as the transcription will be stored in the University of Pretoria's archives for a period of 15 years.

4 DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

I will not present my analysis on a person to person basis. Instead, I will present it according to the three research questions. The analysis and interpretation of my findings is from the instruments and procedures mentioned in Chapter 3. I therefore proceed to present the data according to the method and then the interpretation of the data to answer the research questions. The first research question is, how does transmigration influence belonging and language attitudes of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria? The second question is, what is the role of indigenous languages when negotiating belonging in Pretoria? The third question is, has the emotional linguistic attachment of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria changed vis-à-vis French language? And if so, how and why?

In order to get a deep understanding of how Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria negotiate belonging and their language attitudes, I will present an analysis of the data gathered from interviews of 20 Francophone Cameroonians in the subsections below. Despite the small-scale nature of the case study, I believe the findings could indicate how Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria negotiate belonging and language attitudes under precarious transmigration conditions.

4.2 How does transmigration influence belonging and language attitudes of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria?

Transmigration influences belonging in a very distinct way. Negotiating belonging in Pretoria does not often begin on day one of migrants' arrival. Migrants with contacts in Pretoria start negotiating belonging prior to their arrival. Those without contacts do so when they arrive. Participant #3 stated,

“...before I left Cameroon my girlfriend had been living in Pretoria for about 4years. She told me about the difficulties of having a job in South Africa and the importance of belonging to a hometown association. My girlfriend registered and paid my membership fee in her hometown

association 6 months before I arrived. When I arrived, I was not seen as a new member, this helped me to get financial support though it was a small amount. It somehow helped me to extend my Visa.”

If all migrants negotiate belonging on day one of their arrival in Pretoria, there would not be much complexity involved in negotiating belonging under precarious transmigration conditions. From the interviews, new migrants who are registered in hometown associations before arriving Pretoria are more stable in their respective hometown associations than are new migrants who are not registered with a hometown association before arriving. New migrants who are not registered with a hometown association before arriving in Pretoria get confused in terms of choosing a hometown association. It seems from the interviews that old migrants who have already been living in Pretoria usually give new migrants conflicting information regarding the different hometown associations in Pretoria. Participant #5 mentioned,

“...when I arrived Pretoria, I did not know which hometown association to join, I was confused.”

When asked why? He stated,

“When enquiring on which hometown association to join every one that I spoke to said bad things about the hometown associations which they are not members and good things about the hometown associations which they are members. This really made me confused; I stayed for almost a year without joining a hometown association.”

For new migrants, the complexity involved in negotiating belonging under precarious transmigration starts with conflicting information from old migrants about various hometown associations. Yuval-Davis (2006) demonstrated the complicated, multiple and fragmented nature of belonging when it is negotiated outside the space of original belonging as is the case with Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria.

Bell Hooks (2009) provides “an intricate and detail account of how negotiating belonging is different per circumstances throughout history”, especially in terms of the ‘precarity’ involved in transmigration.

There is a polarity in describing how transmigration influences negotiating belonging under precarious transmigration conditions in this case study. As a point of departure, all 20 participants mentioned somewhere that they interact with other Francophone Cameroonian migrants every day around Sunnyside and Arcadia, which is higher than for all other suburbs in Pretoria. Francophone Cameroonian migrants prefer to live in Sunnyside and Arcadia because it is affordable. Participant #11 stated,

“...I live in Sunnyside because it is cheaper compared to places like Hatfield or Menlyn.”

Other participants mentioned that they interact with each other at shops or workshops owned by other Cameroonians such as hair dressers, delicatessens, scrapyards, hometown associations, school campuses, churches, nightclubs, gyms, and Cameroon soccer matches.

Furthermore, from the interviews, it seems that the relationship that most of the 20 participants claim to have with each other varies. The relationship that 12 participants claim to have with members of their hometown associations goes beyond casual relationship. This is in contrast with the relationship they have with other Francophone Cameroonians who are not members of their hometown association. This is because the precarious nature of transmigration brings some forms of despair for migrants who already feel excluded from employment opportunities as a result of contradictory employment laws. Migrants from the same hometown association help them build long lasting relationships with each other. Participant #4 mentioned that,

“...since there are no jobs in Pretoria, I needed to have true friends that I can trust. I needed friends that I can share a meal with them today knowing if I don't have food tomorrow they can also do the same. I realized the only place to have such kind of friends is in the hometown association.”

Negotiating belonging along indigenous or exoglossic linguistic borderlines is also impracticable under precarious transmigration conditions. In Cameroon, belonging is negotiated along the linguistic borderlines of Francophone/Anglophone or indigenous languages via hometown associations. There is a shift in negotiating belonging via hometown associations in Pretoria. Participant #13 stated that,

“My hometown association in Pretoria is not like the one in Cameroon even though it is still Nde association. The one in Pretoria accepts people who cannot speak Nde.”

The shift in the nature of hometown associations in Pretoria to institutions of belonging is a result of the disproportional number of speakers per indigenous language and the conflicting role that hometown associations play in Pretoria. Hometown associations play that the role of pragmatic belonging which is driven by economic motives and that of overcoming 'isolation' driven by the quest for regional or national belonging. The second reason is not the same for all Francophone Cameroonians in Pretoria. Those who have blood relatives in Pretoria feel the need to join a hometown association for pragmatic belonging.

The findings also show that the nature of hometown associations in Pretoria are very complex and complaisantly mixed. For example, membership of a hometown association in Pretoria turns to be semi-inclusive in nature as it is open to Francophone and Anglophone Cameroonians. Hometown associations therefore lack indigenous language homogeneity. They are semi-inclusive in nature as a result of disproportional numbers of speakers of some indigenous languages. Indigenous languages with a large number of speakers include Nde, Mbouda and Bangoua. Languages with a small number of speakers include Hausa, Bulu and Eton. The disproportional number of speakers per indigenous language is a result of a change in the nature of hometown associations in Pretoria. The shift has an adverse impact on the language attitudes of individual Francophone Cameroonian in Pretoria. As Finnegan and Besnier (1989, 326) stated, "language is involved in very significant ways in the process of negotiating belonging." Participant #20 mentioned that,

"... I have friends in my hometown association who are Anglophone. I told them to only speak to me in English so that I can improve my English since I cannot pay for English lessons."

Meanwhile, for the purpose of logical alignment, I have placed hometown associations in Pretoria under two categories as they differ in nature or function. The first category of hometown associations in Pretoria operates like a 'Stokvel' which is "a self-help initiative designed to respond to the problems of poverty and income insecurity in communities" (Matuku / Kaseke 2014, 502-504). Strictly speaking, this category of hometown association is not a replica of hometown associations in Cameroon. This category was created due to the precarious nature of transmigration. Even though the first category of hometown associations is referred to as hometown associations by Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria, it should really not be called hometown associations. They completely lack the binary characteristics of conventional

hometown associations in terms of indigenous language homogeneity and region of origin. This first category deviates completely from the essence of regional solidarity, focusing more on national solidarity. The activities of this category are mostly economical. They provide financial assistance to members in distress, and a regular monthly financial contribution where one or two members take the contribution home. Such contributions are popularly known among Francophone Cameroonians as ‘tontine’ which is “an investment scheme through which shareholders derive some form of profit or benefit” (Milevsky 2015, 1).

The high-level economic activities practiced in the first category of hometown association as opposed to the more socio-cultural activities in the second category of hometown associations, is the principal attraction for many Francophone Cameroonians in Pretoria who are in dire financial need. The feeling of economic solidarity subverts the feeling of belonging in terms of regional origin. 16 out of the 20 participants who are members of the first category of hometown associations mentioned economic motives as the principal reasons why they belonged to the first category of hometown associations. Among the economic motives, financial support emerged as the dominant reason. For example, participant #16 stated that,

“...the reason why I joined a hometown association is because I am interested in the support system offered in the hometown association more than anything [...] what do I do with culture while I am suffering in Pretoria?”

Moreover, it is of great interest to note that there are no attitudes towards particular languages in the first category of hometown associations. There is no particular language preference in the first category. Members frequently switch between French and English because members include Francophone Cameroonians who arrive Pretoria and cannot speak English and Anglophone who arrive Pretoria and vice-versa. No language preference also means there is no language dominance in the first category of hometown associations. Any attachment to one language will unsurprisingly develop attitudes of dominance or subjugation towards others (Myers–Scotton 2006, 120). One might have assumed that in the absence of indigenous language homogeneity in Pretoria, French which is the common language spoken by all Francophone Cameroonians and that serves as an enabler in negotiating belonging in Cameroon, would play a similar role in negotiating belonging via the first category of hometown associations in Pretoria, especially as the

first category is created in an English dominant environment. On the contrary, because members of the first category of hometown association are more interested in financial solidarity under precarious transmigration conditions, French does not count for much. Participant #1 mentioned that,

“...there is no law in my association that says I must only speak French. I mostly speak English during meetings because I am trying to perfect my English. When I speak French, it is usually to someone who doesn’t understand English very well like a new comer from Cameroon.”

Examples of hometown associations under the first category are Friends of Friends, Foyer Francophone, Centre - Sud and Friends without Borders. These hometown associations are registered as not-for-profit organizations at the Department of Social Development in Pretoria in order to obtain valid documentation that would facilitate the process of creating a bank account for the association. There are financial implications involved in this category.

Some of the participants interviewed mentioned that they feel a strong sense of belonging to the first category of hometown associations. The support system is indiscriminate when it comes to assisting members in distress with financial donations. French language and other culture variables are of minimal significance, with financial interest taking precedence. Hence, Participant #7 mentioned that,

“...If Afrikaans can give me money in Pretoria, I would drop every other thing to learn Afrikaans.”

The testimony of Participant #7 concurs with that of Participant #9, who stated,

“...it is normal for me to focus on the language that put food on the table. After all, what is the use of any language if I cannot eat?”

While economic motives such as financial support seems to be dominant in the 20 interviews, precarious transmigration conditions influence the way financial assistance is given to members of hometown association who are in distress. Participant #18 mentioned that,

“...we only give money to support members in our association who have a history of contributing money to support others. Even if you don’t regularly come to meetings but as long as your financial record in terms of supporting others is clean we will support you. Except in the case were everyone

can see that a member who does not regularly contribute to support others is dying or has an accident. In such case, at least 5 members with clean records are required to veto the decision of our association by first presenting their individual financial contributions to the set member as a motivation, then the other members would follow suit.”

Regarding financial contributions or donations, members of hometown associations are requested to pay a monthly contribution depending on their individual affordability. The monthly contributions help them maintain an active membership. 14 out of the 20 interviews show that the monthly financial contributions for hometown associations are more significant than the physical presence of members. Financial contributions ensure active membership, but also help members to have quick access to financial assistance in moments of distress such as sickness or bereavement. The hometown association offers an amount of money as support and also requests members to make a fixed contribution that is given to the member who is in distress. An active membership, or clean record, as it is called in some hometown associations, is necessary to access financial assistance, participant #3 stated that,

“... My girlfriend had registered me by paying my membership fee in her hometown association 6 months before I arrived Pretoria. When I arrived, I was not seen as a new member. This helped me to have financial support though it was a small amount. It somehow helped me to extend my Visa.”

The girlfriend of participant #3 understood the importance of having an active membership as a means to gain financial assistance. That is why she registered him before he arrived in Pretoria.

Participant #11 also has an active membership and mentioned that,

“...when my father died I got enough money from our association to pay my flights to travel home to bury my father and back.”

When I asked participant #11 how long it took for him to get money from the hometown association, he stated,

“...in my case, the treasurer was requested to make sure I get the money in a week’s time. This is because I am an active member. In our meeting we know all active and none active members because the treasurer reads out the financial reports of all members at the end of every meeting.”

Sometimes financial assistance can be provided from funds that are collected through fines levied on members who transgress the bylaws of the hometown association. The fines are deposited in the “trouble bank” – a special savings account to assist active members in any emergency situation. Participant #14 stated that,

“...when I had an accident, I was lucky because there was money in the trouble bank. The President requested an urgent meeting and it was decided that, instead of waiting for all members to first send their contribution, money should be taken from the trouble bank to give me. The members then contributed later and the money was returned to the trouble bank.”

Money that is saved in the trouble bank comes from two sources. The first is through fines in the form of liquor. The liquor is sold to other members who have pending fines. Participant #1 mentioned that,

“...there was a member in our association who was given financial support twice because he is a relative to the President of my hometown association. The meeting decided to discipline that member because of wrong behaviour by asking him to bring 20 bottles of beer.”

The second source is interest generated from loans extended by the trouble bank. Members who take out loans to develop a business or invest in a project repay the loans with interest, further generating funds for the trouble bank.

To qualify for a loan, membership must be active. A member requesting a loan must be faithful in his/her monthly contribution, or he/her must present at least 4 members who are faithful in their monthly contributions as surety.

The diversity of indigenous language and region of origin of members of the first category of hometown associations in Pretoria impede sentiments of language dominance and attitudes. Instead of instruments of division, French and English are simply regarded as languages of communication.

In addition, members of the first category of hometown association are less polemic in the way they express their feeling of belonging. This could be attributed to the fact that Francophone Cameroonians who emphasise the dominance of French throughout Cameroon (Anchimbe 2005a) are now more or less conscious of the present linguistic landscape and the local and global privilege that English enjoys (Plonski / Taferra 2013). The evidence is that French did not bring Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria together. Participant #14 mentioned that,

“...I did not join Foyer Francophone because there are many Francophone there [...] I would have joined it even if the majority of the members were Anglophone. I just needed money to start a business. There was even a time someone took me to join a hometown association from Ghana. I didn't join that one because I was rejected.”

Regarding the administrative nature of the first category of hometown associations, members vote for all the members of the management committee such as the president, secretary general, treasurer and public relations officer for a period of two years. The president does not have absolute power to appoint any member of his choice to take up a position in the management committee. This helps members of this category experience less corruption, nepotism and favouritism. Inclusiveness in terms of belonging is promoted since every decision taken under this category is subject to a vote.

The second category of hometown associations in Pretoria is very similar to conventional hometown associations in Cameroon. They attempt to operate along indigenous linguistic borderlines, but due to obvious challenges such as a disproportional number of speakers per indigenous language in Pretoria, not many Francophone Cameroonian migrants can speak the same indigenous language. During the field work, it was impossible to meet 10 Francophone Cameroonians who speak the same indigenous language in many of the hometown associations. In some cases, 5 out of 10 may come from the same region, but would not speak the same indigenous language. Therefore, in order to create an effective hometown association, membership recruitment poses serious challenges. Membership of the second category of hometown associations in Pretoria also considers the diverse nature of migrants in terms of indigenous language or region of origin as the criterion for membership. Hometown associations of the second category are also accepting speakers of other indigenous languages on the condition that they come

from the same region in Cameroon. However, there is no guarantee that hometown associations in this category and with such conditions are getting more members. Therefore, by allowing speakers of different indigenous languages or regions of origin to become members of a hometown association of the second category makes them lose their indigenous language homogeneity, which is a key identifying factor among conventional hometown associations in Cameroon. It is common to find all members in a hometown association in Cameroon speaking the same indigenous language. However, irrespective of the semi-inclusive nature that the second category of hometown associations in Pretoria is subjected to, there are still forms of dominance and attitudes which will be explained in detail under in sub chapter 4.2.

The president of hometown associations of the second category of hometown associations and the members of the management committee are usually members whose names appear on the draft constitution as office bearers of the hometown association at the time of applying for legal documentation for the association. The principal member who conceptualizes the idea of replicating the hometown association in Pretoria automatically becomes the president, except in cases where he or she does not want the position.

The presidents of the second category of hometown associations is allowed to handpick members of the management committee. Usually, first preference is given to members whose names appear on the draft constitution that was submitted to the Department of Social Development for obtaining legal documents. An exception could be where the president decides to use his discretion to appoint someone whose name does not appear on the draft constitution. One example is the case of Nde hometown association where the name of the treasurer in the draft constitution was the wife of the president. The president had to choose someone else to replace his wife who was pregnant and could not exercise her function as treasurer properly.

The number of hometown associations in Pretoria falling under the second category are gradually diminishing. They are attracting fewer and fewer members due to the lack of financial implications involved even though they are also registered as not-for-profit organizations with bank accounts. Some participants who belong to the second category of hometown associations at the time of the interview also mentioned that they belong to a hometown association of the first category. It seems like the second category of hometown association in Pretoria is dying out as members are gradually

integrate more and more into the first. Some conventional hometown associations in Cameroon are also experiencing similar crises. The phenomenon of ‘ethnic territoriality’, reinforced through the replication of hometown associations in the national space of belonging (Geschiere 2004), is gradually collapsing because of political elites infiltrating hometown associations and seeking votes (Geschiere 2004). Members of hometown associations who have opposing views or belong to opposition parties which are also institutions of belonging may then get expelled from a hometown association, causing a decrease in the number of members. When a member who is expelled leaves the hometown association, they often leave with other members who share their opinions.

Furthermore, the fact that migrants belong to two or more hometown associations in Pretoria makes negotiating belonging via hometown associations “multiscalar”. This is because, as has been gathered from the interviews, negotiating belonging in hometown associations of the first category is overtly underpinned by financial motives. For the second category of hometown associations, belonging is underpinned by social motives, or the desire to belong to a region of origin. Participant #4 mentioned that,

“... I am a Mbouda man, I joined Mbouda hometown association because I don’t have blood relatives in Pretoria. The closest relatives I could think of are people from my village that is why I only belong to Mbouda association.”

Participant #17 also mentioned a social motive with economic implications when explaining why he belonged to a hometown association:

“...I joined a hometown association because it is like an insurance scheme since I don’t have a medical aid in South Africa. Hometown association are very helpful when a member is sick, or when he dies. The hometown association gives financial support to the member or pays the cost to repatriate the corpse to Cameroon through members’ regular contribution or ‘fines’ levied on members who transgress hometown associations’ bi-laws. When you belong to two hometown associations like me, it means when you are sick, you will get financial support from the two hometown associations separately. And also, if a member dies the hometown associations would give some financial support to his/her family and would delegate members to fly with your corpse back to Cameroon”.

However, the contrast in the two underpinning motives that precede emotional belonging to the two categories of hometown associations in Pretoria further bring a nuance to negotiating belonging under precarious transmigration conditions. There is a divergence in participant reasons as regards why they belong to one or more hometown associations. Participant #16 stated that,

“...the reason I joined more than one hometown association is only because I have to survive in Pretoria. If I don’t find help in one, I can find it in the other.”

Clearly, joining a hometown association in Pretoria has less to do with the quest for culture and regional or national belonging. Migrants must provide their own food, shelter and social security irrespective of whether they have a source of income or not.

The diversity of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in terms of region of origin makes them place national belonging at the forefront when negotiating belonging in Pretoria. Some participants mentioned they joined a hometown association to be in touch with fellow migrants from their home country. Participant #12 stated that,

“...for me, I joined a hometown association because I was feeling lonely. At some point, I felt like I needed to belong to something. I just wanted something beyond my church because after church when everyone goes home I felt I was alone. To me, I just needed to join any hometown association as long as the people are from Cameroon.”

From the testimony of Participant #12, it seems that belonging to a hometown association under precarious transmigration conditions helps some Francophone Cameroonians avoid isolation. Participant #3 states the same reason as participant #12, in other words:

“...I joined a hometown association because I wanted to feel a sense of belonging.”

From the above testimonies, it is obvious that hometown associations give migrants a feeling or sense of belonging. At the same time, the fact that migrants negotiate belonging to hometown associations with economic motives also, such as the need for financial assistance, not only creates volatility in negotiating belonging under transmigration conditions, but also presents a juxtaposition in migrants’ decision to negotiate belonging via hometown associations in Pretoria.

Again, there is a shift in terms of how belonging is negotiated via hometown associations in Pretoria.

Negotiating belonging under precarious transmigration conditions also creates anxiety for migrants because their success partly depends on how they create networks with locals and how locals accept them (Atanda 2011). Some participants mentioned that Francophone Cameroonians are not accepted by locals. Participant #11 for example stated that,

“... South Africans don’t like foreigners from other African countries. They see us as bad people. They don’t like us and they don’t want us here.”

The testimony of Participant #11 can be linked to the reoccurrence of the recent 2019 xenophobia sentiments which further heightens the anxiety involved in negotiating belonging in Pretoria. Xenophobia makes it extremely difficult for migrants to mingle with South Africans, thus adding constraints on how migrants negotiate belonging. Hometown associations increasingly present an option for negotiating belonging in Pretoria. Migrants do not have multiple options of negotiating belonging, including family, political parties, community, and alma mater, among others.

Furthermore, constraints in creating networks with South Africans also cause Francophone Cameroonian migrants to negotiate belonging via hometown associations as a way of seeking national belonging while being motivated with the need for financial support. The fact that migrants cannot easily network with South Africans, puts migrants in a difficult position. Migrants depend on hometown associations to raise the resources that are necessary to succeed. Participant #14 stated that,

“...My only friends are the members of my hometown association because it is difficult for me to have a relationship with other migrants from other African countries here in Pretoria.”

Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria find it difficult to mingle with other African migrants because of ongoing negative stereotypes about African migrants from various African countries (Danso / McDonald 2001).

Pinpointing one principal reason why individual Francophone Cameroonian migrant may choose to belong to one or more hometown associations has proven to be elusive. One also cannot

disregard the fact that the notion to belong to hometown association in Pretoria symbolizes a sense of “national belonging”. Hometown associations in Pretoria are wholly exclusive to migrants who are not from Cameroon, but at the same time the notion of national belonging is conflated with the notion of belonging to a hometown association as a strategy to seek financial support. This makes it intricately complex, under precarious transmigration conditions, to give a single answer as to why this category of migrants would join hometown associations.

Also, because there are fewer cultural events in Pretoria, Francophone Cameroonian migrants can’t display their emotional belonging to hometown associations. The only way to display their emotional belonging is to present mixed reasons as to why they belong to hometown associations. Economic solidarity is the dominant reason and 16 of the 20 participants mentioned it.

The other 4 participants who mentioned that they didn’t join hometown associations because of financial interest, gave reasons that have no financial implications. For example, participant #12 stated that,

“...for me I decided to join to a hometown association because hometown associations offer a platform to eat local Cameroonian dishes such as “ndole” and “mbongochobi” which are difficult to get and also because hometown associations regularly import traditional Cameroon liquor like ‘palm wine’ which I love so much.”

Some participants also mentioned that hometown associations serve as excellent platforms where members connect to their regions of origin. They dress in traditional outfits for functions like baby showers, graduations or wedding ceremonies, which have become occasions to display regional belonging. Interestingly, as gathered from the interviews, when members of a particular hometown association of the second category dress in their various traditional outfits, there is no discomfort regarding the dominance of one particular traditional outfit which would be that of the members of the dominant indigenous language group who are the majority in terms of membership. Yet, when members of the dominant indigenous language group speak in their indigenous language in the same hometown association, there is often a backlash from non-speakers who feel excluded. Participant #15 mentioned that,

“... I feel bored sometimes attending hometown associations because I cannot speak the language of the majority of people in my association. Sometimes when I sit in the meeting and don’t understand what they are saying, I feel like leaving. It is just a pity that people from my tribe are not many here in Pretoria.”

The contrast in the way members of the same hometown association respond towards the dominance of a traditional outfit, compared to how they respond towards the dominance of an indigenous language, highlights the role of language in negotiating belonging under transmigration conditions. The role is very visible in Pretoria because, as a common language that is spoken by all Francophone Cameroonians, French does not play a significant role in negotiating belonging in Pretoria.

The influence of precarious transmigration conditions on negotiating belonging cannot be underemphasized. 4 participants mentioned that they belong to hometown associations and that hometown associations give them access to speakers of their indigenous language in Pretoria. Participant #2 stated that,

“...I join a hometown in order to meet other people who speak my language. When I speak my language with them, I feel like I am around my brothers and sisters. I easily share their pain and burden.”

From the above interview, it seems that under transmigration conditions, hometown associations create a feeling of ‘brotherliness’ for migrants who are single. For those who are married it is not the case. Participant #6, who is married, stated that,

“...the reason I belong to a hometown association is because my wife comes from one of the dominant indigenous language groups in Pretoria. By virtue of marrying a woman from that indigenous language group, I had to join her hometown association. I and my wife are actually not from the same village in Cameroon, but because I needed to please her, I joined her hometown association, if it depends on my personal decision, I would never be part of any hometown association.”

During the interviews it was found that not all Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria are interested in joining hometown associations, especially hometown associations of the second

category. Some participants mentioned that they might cancel their membership or join a different hometown association for reasons ranging from personal commitments, including time constraints, to resisting corrupt practices in their hometown associations. This made me to question how participants who no longer want to be members of hometown associations may negotiate belonging. The answer became clear when participant #6 also mentioned that,

“...it does not bother me to leave the hometown association because should anything bad happens to me, my wife is there to take care of me and I am there to also take care of her.”

It seems like migrants who have their family members with them in Pretoria or who are married, feel a stronger sense of belonging to their families than to hometown associations. The testimony of Participant #6 also emphasizes the fact that under precarious transmigration conditions, belonging as such is usually not in the mind of many Francophone Cameroonian migrants who are members of hometown associations. The fear of isolation for migrants who are not married may have compelled them to belong to hometown associations, while migrants who are financially stable or married may no longer see the need to belong to hometown associations. Migrants' emotional belonging to hometown associations is ever-changing in nature.

The interview with participant #19 who lives in Pretoria and belongs to a hometown association heightens the sentiment that migrants who are married no longer feel that membership of a hometown association is a sign of seeking belonging. Participant #19 gave a complex scenario about his life by mentioning that,

“...the fact that I am married to a Canadian lady, and because I frequently travel between Pretoria and Cameroon, I do not feel a sense of belonging because I belong to a hometown association in Pretoria.”

According to participant #19, because he regularly travels to different places simultaneously, he does not feel that being a member of a hometown association is a sign of seeking belonging. He further mentioned that,

“...because of the nature of endemic systemic corruption in Cameroon, I no longer feel I am a Cameroonian, I instead feel a deeper sense of belonging to Canada, but before I used to feel like Pretoria is my home until my shop was vandalized during the 2016 xenophobia attacks. From then,

nothing about South Africa moves me. When I travel to Canada to visit my family, I feel I belong there. When I am here in Pretoria, I am busy with my business, I only attend meetings at hometown associations to meet old friends so that we can go out and share a bottle of beer together. I feel no connection with my hometown association even though I am a member. Sometimes hometown associations can be boring, it is always from one fight to another or from one financial problem to solve to another. I think if you ask me where I belong, I would say Canada.”

Participant #19 seems to express his sense of belonging outside of a hometown association in Pretoria because he gets a fulfilling experience in terms of belonging based on where his wife and kids are. It is obvious that under precarious transmigration conditions, migrants’ sense of belonging may change by virtue of marital status or living conditions. Migrants who are married may get a sense of belonging more from their family than hometown associations. Participant #6 mentioned that,

“...it does not bother me to leave the hometown association because anything bad happens to me, my wife is here to take care of me.”

Participant #6 and two other participants wanted to leave the hometown association because of increasing corrupt practices in hometown associations of the second category. When I asked participants to describe the nature of such corrupt practices, participant #10 stated that,

“...in my hometown association, if you do not speak the same indigenous language with the president, the association will give you less attention when you are facing a ‘storm’.”

By a storm, participant #10 meant financial difficulties, and by ‘less attention’ he meant that,

“the member would receive less financial support often with much delay or sometimes the member does not receive any support at all, unlike the case of a member who is facing financial difficulties, but who comes from the same tribe with the president.”

Participant #18 confirmed what participant #10 mentioned, by stating that,

“...I don’t speak the same language with most of the people in my hometown association. When my father died, I only received financial help after I returned from burying him.”

Participants #8 also mentioned that,

“...there are times when money that is allocated to a specific activity in my hometown association ends up in private pockets without any proper accountability because members of the finance committee do everything to support the interest of the president who selected them.”

Besides of the precedent scenarios of corrupt practices in the second category of hometown associations, there are also cases of corruption such as nepotism and favouritism. Participant #10 mentioned that,

“...if a member who speaks the same indigenous language with the president is guilty of transgressing the bi-laws, the president would try to shield that member from paying a fine or would make sure the fine is reduced, whereas on the same issue, if it concerns a member who does not speak the same indigenous language with the president, the latter would neither be shielded nor have his/her fine reduced.”

From the interviews, it seems that the mere fact that a member has the same ethnic origin as the president, can be a guarantee that the member would be assisted financially during moments of distress, but it would also depend on their relationship with the president.

Participant #10 further stated that,

“...the president would even give somebody a loan even if he or she is not an active member.”

Participant #13 also mentioned that,

“...I could not withstand the lies telling in my previous association so I left and joined the current association I am in.”

It is a common experience that, under precarious transmigration conditions, nepotism or favouritism in hometown associations can cause divisions or breakaways. When members break away from hometown associations they usually join another hometown association. These tendencies highlight the tragedies occurring in the second category of hometown associations due to their semi-inclusive nature. The tragedies would prevent us from idealizing belonging under precarious transmigration conditions as something nice.

It is not within the scope of this dissertation to collect statements of corrupt practices, even though a few statements are presented for purposes of logical coherence. Corrupt practices such as nepotism constitute a specific form of economic practice of belonging.

However, the scenarios of corrupt practices in the second category of hometown associations clearly show that indigenous language plays a very critical but contradictory role in the process of negotiating belonging among Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria. For example, in a particular hometown association, indigenous language serves as a symbol of in-group solidarity for speakers, and out-group solidarity for members who are not part of the dominant indigenous language group. Precarious transmigration conditions do not offer members of hometown associations the luxury of having indigenous language homogeneity in hometown associations. Only recruiting members who speak the same indigenous language poses serious challenges.

The challenge of precarious transmigration conditions also makes it possible for members of the second category of hometown association to belong to this category without having belonging in mind. It also enables them to belong to one or more hometown associations and localities simultaneously, and such belonging to multiple hometown associations and localities may partially stem from lived experiences or existing social relations and networks which transmigrants have created with different hometown associations and localities. Migrant activities in hometown associations and suburbs, and how individual migrants treat each other, as well as how South Africans treat them, may increase or diminish migrant's individual sense of belonging to hometown associations and localities.

The interviews revealed that members who have positions of responsibility in the second category of hometown association such as the president feel a deep sense of belonging to the hometown association, more so than ordinary members, for two reasons. The first reason has to do with corrupt practices like nepotism, which is an economic practice of belonging for ordinary members who are not beneficiaries of the practice but experience a crisis in their sense of belonging. Participant #10 mentioned that,

“...the corruption going on in my hometown association make me sick. I have lost the excitement of going to hometown association.”

The second is, because the fact that the president of the second category of hometown associations is usually the founder, his sense of belonging is intertwined with the sentiment of “entitlement” and “ownership” while members who don’t have a position of responsibility and who may disagree with the various corrupt practices going on in the hometown association may not demonstrate the same sense of belonging to the hometown association as the president and other members with a position of responsibility. Participant #10 further stated that,

“there are people in my hometown association who think they own the association.”

The interview with participant #10 shows that there is variation in terms of individual senses of belonging in a hometown association under precarious transmigration conditions, thereby making belonging an ever-changing phenomenon. Disgruntled members like Participant #6 and #10 don’t feel a belonging to their hometown association after evidence of corrupt practices even though they are still active members. Their current distrust with the management committee of their hometown association have affected their sense of belonging, which is different from day one when they joined the hometown association.

The fact that a migrant’s sense of belonging to one or more hometown association can change or diminish, makes belonging under precarious transmigration conditions complex, as more often than not, the motives of belonging are highly economical which is an enormous strength for survival in the global capitalist system where economic forces cause people to give up languages in order to assimilate. While reference to culture becomes quite irrelevant in Pretoria, what then is the role of indigenous languages when negotiating belonging?

4.3 What is the role of indigenous languages when negotiating belonging in Pretoria?

There is a common assumption that Cameroonians in general can speak one or two indigenous language besides the two exoglossic or official languages of French and English. This assumption is becoming questionable in urban centres (Djimeli 1997; Haman Bello 1997; Bitja’a Koddy 2001; Simo Bobda 2006; Njika 2006), where some Cameroonians only speak French, English or Pidgin. In spite of the fact that the majority of Cameroonians may speak one or two indigenous languages, in many rural communities and in some urban centres, many Cameroonians use only their

indigenous language as a means of communication. Cameroonians who can speak up to two indigenous languages besides French or English usually come from interethnic marriages.

However, many Cameroonians who are born in interethnic marriages may end up not being able to speak one indigenous language. French or English is usually the first and last language because it is mostly used as a means of communication in families of interethnic marriage due to the parents' language difference. Participant #16 mentioned that,

“...my dad speaks bulu and my mom speak mbouda. I neither speak bulu nor mbouda because at home we spoke only French all the time.”

Tenjoh-Okwen (1985, 18-20) and Mba (2009, 553) still uphold the view that the vast majority of Cameroonians are multilingual. It seems to me that the vast majority of Cameroonians are not multilingual but ‘semilingual’. Hansegard (1962 in Skutnabb-Kangas 1984, 250) defines ‘semilingualism’ as “a half-knowledge of the second language coupled with a half knowledge of the first language.”

In addition, the concept of semilingualism can be linked to “subtractive bilingualism” in which the language of the majority replaces the first language of the minority. This is a common phenomenon in Cameroon because many Cameroonians can write in one or two of the languages they speak in a subtractive way.

From the interviews, 12 participants mentioned that they speak their indigenous language fluently. Some indigenous languages that participants associated themselves with in Pretoria are Bangoua, Bassa, Baneng, Banja, Beti, Eton, Fefe, Fulfude, Hausa, Mbouda, Nde, Ngemba, Nyokon, Ngoumba and Yambassa.

The presence of multiple indigenous languages in Pretoria emphasise the critical role that indigenous language play during the process of negotiating belonging under precarious transmigration conditions. The fact that there are many indigenous languages spoken by Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria gives indigenous languages a tricky role in negotiating belonging. Hometown associations of the second category with dominant indigenous language speakers, such as the Nde Hometown Association, enable Nde speakers to enjoy speaking the Nde indigenous language during their meeting hours. This creates frustration among non-Nde

speakers who are active members of the association. Somehow, it seems that Nde speakers are proud of the situation, because Participant #11 stated that,

“...Nde cultural association primarily belongs to Nde people. Non-Nde speakers are only members because they cannot create their own association. Nde speakers in my hometown association only speak French or English in order to accommodate fellow tribesman who are not fluent in Nde.”

From the interviews, it seems that when members of a dominant indigenous language group speak the indigenous language during meeting, there is bound to be conflict as seen in the case with the Nde hometown association where non-Nde speakers always feel excluded. Participant #15 stated that,

“... there is always a quarrel when some people in my hometown association start speaking their indigenous language. Two weeks ago, we had a vote to make English and French to be the only languages that must be spoken during meeting. Unfortunately, majority people voted against the proposal.”

In the scenario above, the reason why some members may feel excluded is because of the contradictory role indigenous languages play when negotiation belonging under precarious transmigration conditions (Finnegan / Besnier 1989, 326). Indigenous languages no longer serve as an enabler for joining a hometown association of the second category, but instead are tools for internal inclusion or exclusion. For example, in the case of Nde hometown association, Nde language speakers may speak French or English only with the intention of accommodating other Nde speakers who are not fluent in Nde, instead of accommodating non-Nde speakers.

In another cases, indigenous language speakers with a small number of speakers in Pretoria, such as Eton, mention that they only speak Eton when they reminisce and want to reconnect to their village of origin. They don't want to exclude non-Eton speakers. Participants #9 stated that,

“...I only speak Eton for one or two minutes per encounter with other Eton speakers in Pretoria. I speak Eton just to reconnect to my roots, as I realized that a few Eton speakers that I have met in Pretoria have either forgotten Eton or have never been fluent in Eton. Also, because I don't speak Eton regularly with members of Eton association, I don't feel a strong sense of belonging to Eton

association. I just feel I am a Francophone from Cameroon who is living in Pretoria. This feeling might also be because most of my friends in Pretoria are non-Eton speakers.”

Furthermore, the role of indigenous language under precarious transmigration conditions becomes nuanced with 5 participants mentioning that they do not know how to speak their respective indigenous language. Participants #7 stated that,

“...Growing up, I never had the chance to communicate in my indigenous language. I grew up in the south region of Cameroon which is far from my region of origin which is the centre region. I instead know how to speak a bit of Bulu from the South region which is not my indigenous language.”

Three other participants who hail from interethnic marriages mentioned that they don't know how to speak their indigenous language, thereby supporting the earlier claim that Cameroonians from interethnic marriages may end up speaking only French or English and none of the indigenous language of their parents (Njika 2006). Participant #12 stated that,

“...my father speaks Banja from the west region, my mother speaks Ewondo from the centre region. I speak neither Banja nor Ewondo.”

Participant #5 also stated that,

“...I don't speak Baneng but I can understand a few words that my mother taught me, my late father never spoke his language to me. I doubt if he even knew how to speak it, I also have not met anyone speaking Baneng in Pretoria.”

The participants who mentioned that they are fluent in their respective indigenous language mentioned the fact that, when they speak to their relatives back home, they mostly speak in the indigenous language.

The reason why they speak in their respective indigenous language is because the indigenous language not only creates a sense of belonging, but also helps them to feel a sense of profound intimacy with their family members, which cannot be felt when speaking their indigenous language with other members of their hometown association in Pretoria.

Four other participants also alluded to the fact that when they speak to their relatives in the indigenous language, it helps them maintain secrecy when they are around other Francophone Cameroonians in Pretoria who are non-speakers of their indigenous language. Using an indigenous language for intra-family ‘code-switching’ as stated by Deprez-de Heredia and Varro (1991) is a common practice among multilingual or bilingual migrants and their families.

Furthermore, two participants mentioned that speaking their indigenous language with their relatives gives them a sense of comfort. Participant #18 stated that,

“...when I speak my indigenous language with a member in my hometown association in Pretoria, I feel a little comfortable in the sense that I easily relate to anyone who can speak my indigenous language, even though sometimes such people may deceive you, but when I speak my indigenous language with my relatives [...] my own blood, the comforts I get is deep - without any doubt or fear of disappointment. This is the only way I can show the difference of how I feel when I speak my indigenous language with a relative in Cameroon and with a member of my hometown association in Pretoria.”

One participant also mentioned that speaking the indigenous language in Pretoria is a way of preserving culture. Participant #14 stated that,

“...I speak the indigenous language with relatives back home and members of my hometown association just for the fact that I truly love the phonetics of my indigenous language. I battle not to lose the phonetics. There are expressions in my indigenous language with very deep meaning that cannot be translated into French or English. Any attempt to translate the word or phrase will lose the original meaning.”

The point raised by participant #14 is common to every other language (Budd 2015). Two other participants presented very opposing views as to why they don’t mind speaking only French instead of their indigenous language with their relatives. From the interviews, the two participants reiterated what was previously stated regarding African indigenous language inferiority which Muthwii and Kioko (2004, 8) have covered in a study on why postcolonial Africans believe indigenous languages don’t provide any benefit. Participant #12 stated that,

“...there is no benefit speaking my indigenous language in Pretoria because it cannot provide me with any form of employment which I need in order to survive.”

Participant #10 also stated that,

“...it doesn't bother me if I don't speak my indigenous language to my relatives when I am around other Francophone Cameroonians. I intentional speak to them in French, after all I don't have anything to hide. I prefer to speak French, anyone who listens to my conversation would change anything.”

The fact that Participant #10 prefers speaking French with his family members could probably be because he not only feels very comfortable speaking French, but also because French being a language that he studied in school and spoke most of the time growing at home, he may have created a form of emotional attachment with the language. Anchimbe (2005a, 1) stated that, “over time Cameroonians have become emotionally attached to French and English more than their indigenous languages.” The perception of emotional linguistic attachment of Cameroonians that Anchimbe (2005a, 1) raised may shift under precarious transmigration conditions, and also affect other social aspects such as belonging.

It is therefore important to try to understand whether Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria who prefer to speak French do so because they are more fluent in French than English or because of some form of emotional attachment that Anchimbe (2005a) mentioned.

4.4 Has the emotional linguistic attachment of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria changed vis-à-vis French language? And if so, how and why?

Transmigration has posed sundry challenges to the government of South Africa. It is not only concerned about tackling the menace of poverty, crime, and social violence. Landau (2005) states “the government is also confronted with regularly formulating succinct laws to regularise and curb the upsurge of African migrants including Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria.”

The laws emanate from the illusion that African migrants pose security challenges” (De Haas 2008, 1), and that African migrants including Francophone Cameroonians are stealing jobs that belong to locals (Madue 2015, 60-61).

The laws not only have adverse effects on the way migrants negotiate belonging, they also influence the language attitudes of migrants. It seems that there is a xenophobia in the law. If you speak English you cannot get a job, and it is even more difficult for someone who speaks French (Landau 2005, 1119).

The emotional attachment of Francophone Cameroonians in Pretoria vis-à-vis French preludes diverse sentiments, as explained in sub chapter 4.3. The variation of emotional linguistic attachment of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria varies more than it does within Cameroon. Perceptions around emotional attachment to French varies from participant to participant, with 10 participants mentioning that their love for French has changed, and 3 participants mentioning that they never loved French. 2 participants mentioned that their love for French would never change, 3 participants mentioned that they always see French as a means of communication, and 2 participants stated that they are only attached to whatever language puts food on the table.

In all, 12 participants mentioned that French is not important in Pretoria and hence their attachment to French is diminishing, and 3 mentioned that French and English is an advantage in terms of job hunting, education, travels and interacting with the rest of the world. Participant #4 who is a speaker of the Bassa’a indigenous language, stated that,

“...although I am a Francophone Cameroonian, I have never loved French nor had any emotional attachment to French even while I was in Cameroon.”

Intriguingly, when I asked Participant #4 for the reason why he had never loved French, he stated that,

“...During the struggle for the independence of Cameroon, the Bassa’a and Bamileke speaking people wanted an outright independence that is free from any form of colonial interference. The Bassa’a people in particular under Um Nyobe fought the French soldiers with the help of Bamileke people, but were betrayed by other indigenous language speakers of French Cameroon. This

resulted in the massacre of Bassa'a and Bamileke resistant forces. That is why as a Bassa'a man I can never like French.”

Scholars have written on Um Nyobe and the Cameroon Rebellion (Joseph 1974; Ngoh 1979). From the testimony of Participant #4, it seems like Bassa'a speakers speak French because they originated from the French speaking region of Cameroon, and languages in Cameroon are not resourced equally, which limits any possibility of switching language preference. French has more advantages than all other languages in Cameroon, as French is the main language of communication by the government of Cameroon which also then becomes the principal lens in which Francophone Cameroonians view the world.

From the interviews, it is evident that when Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria acquire proficiency in English as the dominant language in Pretoria, there is contradiction in terms of how participants describe their attachment to French. Some participants mentioned that English is at the top of their list of language preference, followed by their indigenous language and French being the last. According to this classification, it looks like participants who can now speak English prefer English more than French, while participants who are still struggling to speak English still claim to love French more than English. This became clear to me when some participants mentioned that they never loved French, except for the fact that French was the only language they could speak at school and in family circles back in Cameroon. Participant #16 mentioned that,

“...before I studied English, I use to love French more than English, but now that I can speak English, I think I love English more than French because I speak more English than French today so that I don't forget my tenses, and since I don't speak French often I think my love for French is dying.”

The contradiction above suggests that the issue of emotional attachment to French among participants in Pretoria is becoming complex in the sense that participants who are now fluent in English seemingly are claiming to either no longer love French or to have never had any emotional attachment to French. Participants who cannot speak English very well claim to love French more than English. Participant #9 stated that,

“...might be when I start speaking English very well, I will no longer love French.”

Different forms of linguistic attachment are common in multilingual societies. The dominant language in any geographic space is normally the language that most people would be attached to. It would therefore be interesting to revisit participants who still claim to maintain their emotional linguistic attachment to French at a time when they have become fluent in English, in order to understand if they would still maintain their linguistic attachment to French.

The other participants who mentioned that their love for French may not change also mentioned that now that they are living in Pretoria, it is normal that their level of emotional attachment vis-à-vis French would not be the same as it was in Cameroon. This is probably because they now live outside their space of original language dominance and privilege.

In addition, economic survival in Pretoria demands that migrants speak English. Participant #17 stated that,

“...even if I still love French, my love of French would not hinder me to daily improve my English skill. Because I do not need French in Pretoria as I need English.”

Participant #9 also stated that,

“...my love for French would not change because I am planning to resettle in France in the near future because all my siblings live there. I am also tired of the hardship in Pretoria. I think when I go to France, I will still need French and would probably not need English that much. I guess I already have enough knowledge of English.”

About 15 out of the 20 participants now believe that English has more value than French in terms of global rating and opportunities. Participant #3 mentioned that,

“...the fact that I have become mature and can make decisions for myself on any language choice, I would solely consider a language that can positively affect my future. I would choose English in any case because English has more opportunity than any other language. Take Chinese for example, they speak Mandarin but at the same time they learn English. This is because English is the first language of the world.”

Participants #13 also stated that,

“...my love of French has not changed because when I speak French, I feel proud. I feel like I am civilized.”

The statement of Participant #13 is not surprising because French dominance in Cameroon still has an influence on Francophone Cameroonians perceiving Anglophone Cameroonians as uncivilized (Ngefacs 2010).

Francophone Cameroonians in Pretoria may still be emotionally attached to French, depending on their day to day involvement with French. Participant #18 stated that,

“... I can say I am still attached to French while in Pretoria because French is an international language. And also, because I had the opportunity to have worked on projects that required a French speaker who understands English. In addition to the fact that, French allows for easy communication and bonding between me and my siblings.”

Participant #19 also stated that,

“...I live in Waterkloof Ridge in Pretoria, in my suburb I have never physically met a Francophone Cameroonian. The only time I interact with other Francophones is when I am at my shop.” Attachment to French and its importance for migrants in Pretoria in terms of day to day involvement is also relevant for certain regions in Cameroon.

Participant #20 stated that,

“French has never been important to me in Pretoria as well as in Cameroon because growing up, I only spoke Hausa - my indigenous language most of the time. Hausa is widely spoken in the north region of Cameroon including schools.” Some Hausa speakers only learn French in secondary schools. Unfortunately, I did not attend secular secondary school. I only attended ‘Madrassa’ - school where you study the Koran. Although I can express myself in French, French has never been important to me and I don’t feel any emotional attachment to French. I think I am more attached to Hausa.”

It is captivating to seek to understand the current language attitude of all 20 participants under precarious transmigration conditions vis-à-vis English being the dominant language in Pretoria, being mindful of the fact that participants mentioned that French is not important in Pretoria

because it does not add meaning to their welfare and it cannot take them far in Pretoria in terms of acquiring education. English is of greater significance and important for job hunting as most companies operating in South Africa use English. Hence, English is more needed than French. French does, however, help some migrants switch languages for discretion. What then are the current language attitudes of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria vis-à-vis English?

4.4.1 How has the emotional linguistic attachment of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria changed?

From the data, it is evident that the emotional linguistic attachment of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria has changed. All 20 participants saw English as neither an inferior language (Mforteh 2006) nor a language for lower-class citizens (Ngefac 2010). 17 participants mentioned that they never saw any benefit of English while in Cameroon, apart from the fact that English was a subject in school, which they had to pass at Matric level. The participants also mentioned that they felt English was imposed on them. Participant #18 mentioned that,

“...before I came to South Africa, I always thought English was the language spoken by Nigerians. This made me also believe that Anglophone Cameroonians were Nigerians, since Nigerians, who migrated to Cameroon spoke English in the same way that Anglophone Cameroonians do. But now that I live in Pretoria I have realized that English is the first language of the world.”

Participant #17 also stated that,

“...I don't know why our government did not make us to know that English is better than French. I remember while in college, I studied other subjects intensively so that I can have good marks to cover up for lost marks in English. Since I never attended English lessons and examination because it never occurred to me that English was of any significance. I did not see life beyond Cameroon and France. My dream was to travel to France. I am now paying huge sum of money to learn English at the British Council. Something I would have learned in school back in Cameroon.”

Participants #5 also mentioned that,

“...sometimes I would even ask my English teacher in school that, “que ferais-je avec l'anglais (what would I do with English)? Unfortunately, in Pretoria the quality of my life depends on my knowledge of English.”

4.4.2 Why has the emotional linguistic attachment of Francophone Cameroonians in Pretoria changed?

The change of emotional linguistic attachment of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria vis-à-vis French is because of the shift in their language attitudes. 16 participants mentioned that they speak English most of the time in Pretoria because the environment demands English. They must interact with other English speakers, whether it be for business or leisure. 4 participants who are doing business mentioned that they speak English the most to maintain their clientele. By speaking English fluently, the participants said they have come to love English. Participant #13 mentioned that,

“...I have come to love English more than French because, when I Google things on Johannesburg stock exchange in English, I easily get the result than when I try in French. I think English is the business language of the world because of the influence of the United States. So, it makes more sense to me to love English. I think it was a mistake to shy away from English in Cameroon. I am sure if I was able to speak English when I come to this country, I would have made much progress in my career.”

Surprisingly, 2 participants mentioned that they still speak French most in Pretoria. The reason is that they only speak English during working hours. Outside work (meaning at home) and on weekends they speak French the most. The 2 participants also mentioned that they live in a building at Sunnyside that is owned by a Francophone Cameroonian. The majority of the tenants there are Francophone Cameroonians. Participant #13 stated that,

“...Cameroonians have a tendency of living together in order to mutually support each other because Pretoria is a tough place to live if you don't have a job or business.”

When Francophone Cameroonian migrants find themselves living together in a community, they communicate mostly in French. However, inasmuch as the 2 participants claimed to speak French most of the time, I asked them about their love for French now that they live in Pretoria. Participant #18 stated that,

“...I speak French most of the time only because my English is not good. But when I see my compatriots speaking English fluently, I envy them. And I know when I will be able to speak English very well, I will not return to French. I feel like English makes someone responsible more than French.”

Participants #10 stated that,

“...I know many Francophone Cameroonians who have returned to University like me. I know that fields of study like natural and medical sciences, engineering and information technology are easier when studying in English than in French because there are more academic publications in English in these fields than in French.”

5 CONCLUSIONS

As presented in Chapter 4 regarding how Francophone Cameroonian migrants attest to negotiating belonging and language attitude under precarious transmigration conditions, this chapter presents a discussion and conclusion of the findings in consideration of the three research questions which are: How does transmigration influence belonging and language attitudes of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria? What is the role of indigenous languages when negotiating belonging in Pretoria? Has the emotional linguistic attachment of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria changed vis-à-vis French language? And if so, how and why? The result of my findings can be summarized below.

The interviews show that there is enormous instability in belonging and language attitude under precarious transmigration conditions. The instability makes belonging to become multiscale in nature because belonging under precarious transmigration conditions is driven by individual circumstances and context. The notion of belonging as an identifying concept of culture is regressive for two reasons; the first is because under precarious transmigration conditions belonging differs, changes and is rather driven by economic factors such as financial benefits. The second is that belonging as an identifying concept of culture is ambiguous because culture is meaning making derive as a result of entanglement and not some form of “closed islands”. Under precarious transmigration conditions as is the case of this case study, there is a disproportion in terms of number of speakers per the different indigenous languages of Francophone Cameroon. This factor dismisses any narrative that see belonging as an identifying concept of culture.

Furthermore, under precarious transmigration conditions, belonging and language attitudes are not static phenomena because migrants are willing to change their notion of belonging as well as their language attitude in order to survive, since the majority of migrants comes from a suffering situation which also makes them strong global players. As global players, migrants belong to the part of the community that embrace change and are willing to sacrifice identity and language in order to survive. Migrants’ determination to sacrifice identity and language help them in terms of flexibility in creating new communities and global interconnectedness.

Global interconnectedness is the catalyst promoting transmigration, because globalization has the ability through technology revolution to bring socioeconomic opportunities from one part of the world to another, which gives transmigrants the opportunity to switch abode internationally or have multiple abodes in different geographical locations simultaneously. When migrants switch abodes, they entangle and create new cultures which reshape belonging and language attitudes in the context of precarious transmigration conditions. This heightens the fluidity of belonging and language attitude as conservative concepts. That is why the concept of belonging as an identifying concept of culture is at constant threat under precarious transmigration conditions due to the constant struggle of economic survival which place migrants at a position where they are forced to learn other languages or married outside their belonging as long as there is some form of economic advantages.

In the case of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria, my findings show that negotiating belonging through hometown associations is pluralized and changes quickly as migrants not only belong to one or two hometown associations permanently, but because migrants are constantly switching from one hometown association to another searching for financial assistance. Hence, under precarious transmigration conditions, hometown associations that are meant to be institutions of belonging are transactional because those with low financial implications are repulsive to migrants. Migrants constantly move out of hometown associations with low financial implication to hometown association with high financial implication because in Pretoria, negotiating belonging under precarious transmigration conditions is very pragmatic. It allows migrants to reaffirm multiple belonging to hometown associations, which increase their sense of “in between-ness” as they move from one hometown association to another. It is also important to state that, belonging to different hometown associations are inherently important for financial reasons and simultaneously highly individualistic. Therefore, to unpack the nuances that exist in understanding how transmigration influences belonging of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria amidst other complex social factors, I posit that, not only physical relocations associated with transmigration prompt alterations of belonging, but also some pragmatic components that determines where to belong such as financial implication of hometown association, migrant’s ability to maintain an active membership through monthly financial contributions. These are the reasons why migrants keep switching from one hometown association to another. The pragmatic nature of belonging under precarious transmigration conditions shows the influence of

transmigration on negotiating belonging of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria, which also influence their language attitude in Pretoria because the main focus is on “the language that put food on the table.” Hence, language which is one of the salient forms of culture practice does not matter in Pretoria due to the precarious nature of transmigration. Migrants in Pretoria are ready to change their language as far as learning other languages such as Afrikaans as long as it can “put food on the table”. Belonging and language attitudes of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria are not conserved because the sedentary community (locals) in Pretoria who do not migrate often instigate xenophobia against African migrants which also directly affect Francophone Cameroonian migrants. Xenophobia threats in Pretoria has stretched migrants belonging. While in the context of international xenophobia, belonging seems completely overstated by the “new populist” movements.

Francophone Cameroonian migrants don’t see hometown associations as institutions of belonging because of the lack of language homogeneity in hometown associations, but rather as institutions of financial assistance. Outside hometown associations, migrants are more than willing to change their language to English completely in order to assimilate or integrate so as to be employable. The fact that Francophone Cameroonian migrants are willing to assimilate or integrate open them up for new languages that may appear even at the detriment of their indigenous languages or French which according to participants are not important for their survival in Pretoria.

The pragmatic nature of belonging under precarious transmigration conditions has made migrants to change their language attitude. Migrants no longer believe in the superiority of French language over English, they don’t see English speakers as uncivilized because they are investing a lot of time and money to acquire proficiency in English. Migrants don’t show any strong emotional attachment to French (here) in Pretoria because they are outside their locality of privilege. Even the two participants who mentioned their attachment to French has not changed, only did so because from their interviews they plan to relocate to France in the near future.

The reason why the language attitude of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria has changed is because of the pragmatic nature of belonging, the precarity of transmigration conditions and the influence of globalization which changes perceptions and language attitudes. Francophone Cameroonians migrants in Pretoria are in dire need of English as a desideratum for their economic

survival. Once migrants are able to communicate fluently in English, they immediately change their language attitude because as gathered from the interviews, one barrier to change of language attitudes is the inability to communicate fluently in English. Even if Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria speak French fluently, they would not uphold the language attitudes that see French as superior and English as inferior because of the environment which is English dominant. The ability to be fluent in English, certainly increase the possibility of getting jobs because migrants would be fluent in two important international languages - French and English. Having a job in Pretoria can present alternative options for migrants to negotiate belonging such as getting married to someone from their belonging instead of someone outside their belonging. Marrying someone of the same belonging is a less pragmatic way of negotiating belonging under precarious transmigration conditions.

Finally, it is important to mention that there are obvious limitations when seeking to understand the language attitude of people due to the complex relationship between peoples' attitude and behavior. People may inherit behavior whereas people do not inherit attitude. Attitudes such as language attitudes are learned predispositions that are relatively stable because they are affected experiences. People can learn different language attitudes through motivation, prestige, identity and language loyalty. This case study only attempts to understanding the current language attitudes of the participants I interviewed. In this regard, I therefore conclude that it is natural for Francophone Cameroonians to have language attitudes toward English in Cameroon due to the dominance and privilege that French enjoys over the years as shaped by historical, sociopolitical and economic factors. In Pretoria, under precarious transmigration conditions it would be a disadvantage for Francophone Cameroonian migrants to continue upholding the language attitudes from Cameroon. It is natural for their language attitudes to change.

6. REFERENCES

- Abongdia, J.F.A., and F. Willans. 2014. "The Position of English Globally and Nationally: A Comparison of Cameroon and Vanuatu." *Current Issues in Language Planning* 15(1): 57-74. Doi: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2013.801062>
- Abongdia, Jane-Francis Afungmeyu. 2009. "Language Ideologies and Attitudes of Francophone Learners towards English in Yaoundé, Cameroon." PhD diss., University of Western Cape.
- Alidou, H. 2006. "Use of African Languages and Literacy: Conditions, Factors and Processes (Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Tanzania and Zambia)". *Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA)*. Doi: http://www.adeanet.org/adea/biennial-2006/Alpha/vo/PDF/A3_3_hassana_en.pdf
- Alobwede, D.C. 1998. "Banning Pidgin English in Cameroon?" *English Today* 14(1): 54–60. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0266078400000742>
- Anchimbe, Eric. 2005. "Anglophonism and Francophonism: the stakes of (official) language identity in Cameroon." *Alizés* 25-26, 2005.
- Anchimbe, A.E. 2007. "Linguabridity: Redefining linguistic identities among children in urban areas." In *Linguistic Identity in Postcolonial Multilingual Spaces*, edited by Eric A. Anchimbe, 66–86. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Anthias, F. 2006. "Belonging in a Globalizing and Unequal World: Rethinking Translocations." In *the Situated Politics of Belonging*, edited by N. Yuval-Davis, K. Kannabiran and U. Vieten. London: Sage Publications
- Antonsich, M. 2010. "Searching for belonging — An analytical framework." *Geography Compass* 4(6): 644-659.
- Ardener E., S. Ardener and W.A. Warmington. 1960. *Plantation and village in the Cameroons*. London: Oxford University Press.

Ardener, Edwin. 1967. "The Nature of Reunification in Cameroon." In: *African Integration and Disintegration: Case Studies in Economic and Political Union*, edited by Arthur Hazelwood, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Argenti, N. 2006. Remembering the future: slavery, youth and masking in the Cameroon Grassfields. *Social Anthropology* 14(1): 49-69.

Ayafar, M. 2006. "Komtok (Pidgin) gaining ground in Cameroon." In *African linguistics and the development of African communities*, edited by Chia, N. E., 191-199. UK: Oxford University Press.

Awasom, N.F. 2000. "The reunification question in Cameroon history: was the bride an enthusiastic or a reluctant one?" *Africa Today* 91-119. Doi: https://www.dibussi.com/2006/10/the_reunificati.html

Baker, C. 1992. *Attitudes and Language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Bangbose, A. 2000. "Language and Exclusion: The Consequences of Language Policies in Africa." Hamburg and London: LIT VERLAG Münster.

Bayart, J-F. 1993. *The State in Africa: the politics of the belly*. New York NY: Longman.

bell hooks. 2009. *Belonging: A Culture of Place*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Bello, H.M. Forthcoming. "Problematic in Language Cohabitation: the case of French and Fulfude." MA diss., University of Ngaoundéré.

Benjamin, D. 1995. "Introduction." In *The home: words, interpretations, meanings, and environments*, edited by Benjamim, D., and Stea, D. Great Britain: Avebury.

Bitjaa, K., and D. Zachée. 2001a. "Emergence and Survival of National Languages in Cameroon." TRAOS. Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften. No. 11/2001. Retrieved 15 January 2004 from www.inst.at/trans/11Nr/kody11.htm.

Bitjaa, K., and D. Zachée. 2001. "Attitudes and Linguistic Representations in Yaoundé." *African Journal of Applied Linguistics* (2): 100-124.

- Blunt, A., and R. Dowling. 2006. *Home*. London: Routledge.
- Bobda, S.A. 1986. "Syllable-stress in Cameroon Standard English." *Annals of the Faculty of Letters and Social Sciences* 2(1): 179-187.
- Boeije, H. 2010. *Analysis in qualitative research*. London: Sage.
- Boone, C. 2003. *Political Topographies of the African State: territorial authority and institutional choice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Boyatzis, R.E. 1998. *Transforming qualitative information: thematic analysis and code development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Bot Ba Njock, H.M., F. Njougla, J.M. Essono and P. Lemb. 1974. "African languages and National Unity." In *African Languages: Factor of Development*, edited by Francois de Gastines, 125–140. Douala: College Libermann.
- Broch-Due, Vigdis, ed. 2005. *Violence and belonging. The quest for identity in post-colonial Africa*. London: Routledge.
- Brooks, R.E. 2005. "Failed states, or the state as failure." *U. Chi. L. Rev.*, (72): 1159.
- Budd, John M. 2015. "Lost in Translation: Language, Meaning, Disruption." *iConference 2015 Proceedings*.
- Bunfino, A. and L. Thomson. 2007. *Belonging in contemporary Britain*. London: Commission on Integration and Cohesion.
- Boutrais, J. 1995/96. *Hautes terres d'elevage au Cameroun*. Paris: ORSTOM
- Crabtree, Benjamin F., and William L. Miller, eds. 1999. *Doing qualitative research*. London: Sage.
- Calhoun, C. 2003. "'Belonging' in the cosmopolitan imaginary." *Ethnicities* 3(4): 531-553.
- Cameron, L. 2001. *Teaching languages to young learners*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cameroon. 1961. *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Cameroon*. Yaoundé: National Printing Press.

Cameroon. 1972. *The institutions and the constitution of the United Republic of Cameroon*. Yaoundé: Ministry of Information and Culture.

Carrillo Rowe, A. 2005. "Belonging: Toward a feminist politics of relation." *NWSA Journal* 17(2): 15—37.

Castles, S. 2009. "Development and migration – migration and development: What comes first?" Global perspective and African experiences." *Theories* 56(121): 1-31.

Castles, S., and A. Davidson. 2000. *Citizenship and Migration: Globalization and the Politics of Belonging*. New York: Routledge.

Chem-Langhëë, B. 1995. "The road to the unitary state of Cameroon 1959-1972." *Paideuma* 17-25. DOI: <http://www.mambila.info/Chilver/Paideuma/paideuma-Introdu.html>

Chumbow, Sammy. B. 1980. "Language and Language Policy in Cameroon." In *An African Experiment in Nation Building: The Bilingual Cameroon Republic Since Reunification*, edited by Ndiva Kofela-Kale, 281-311. Colorado: Westview Press Inc.

Chumbow, Sammy B. 1996. "The role of national languages within a Comprehensive Language Policy for Cameroon." Academic discourse presented at the University of Buea.

Chiswick, B.R., and C. Houseworth. 2008. "Ethnic Intermarriage among Immigrants: Human Capital and Assortative Mating." IZA–Institute for the Study of Labor, Bonn, Discussion Paper No. 3740, September 2008.

CIA. 2018. The World Factbook. https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/print_cm.html

Cieri, C., M. Maxwell, S. Strassel, and J. Tracey. 2016. "Selection criteria for low resource language programs." In *Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC)* 4543-4549. ELRA (2002).

Crush, Jonathan, ed. 1998. *Beyond Control: Immigration and Human Rights in a Democratic South Africa*. Cape Town: IDASA.

Crush, Jonathan, ed. 2000. *Losing our Minds: Skilled Migration and the South African Brain Drain*. Migration Policy Brief (18). Cape Town: SAMP.

Crush, Jonathan. 2003. South Africa: New Nation, New Migration Policy? Available: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?id=131> [25 June 2005].

Ceuppens, B. and P. Geschiere. 2005. "Autochthony: local or global? New modes in the struggle over citizenship and belonging in Africa and Europe." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34:385-407.

Danso, R., and McDonald, D. A. 2001. "Writing xenophobia: Immigration and the print media in post-apartheid South Africa." *Africa today* 115-137.

Derbel, F. and A.R. Richards. 2007. "Infusing a Post-Colonial Component in English language Teacher Education Curricula for a Global Century." Doi: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/254619342_Infusing_a_Postcolonial_Component_into_English_Language_Teacher_Education_Curricula_for_a_Global_Century

De Haas, H. 2010b. "Migration and development: a theoretical perspective1." *International migration review* 44(1): 227-264.

Deprez-de Heredia, Christine and Gabrielle Varro. 1991. "Bilingualism in families." *Enfance* 44 (4): 297-304.

De Rosny, E. 2002. "L'Afrique des migrations: Les échappées de la jeunesse de Douala." *Études* 396 (5): 623–633.

Dieu, M and P. Renaud. 1983. The languages of Cameroon. Available at: www.ethnologue.com/country/CM [Accessed 4 March 2016].

Djimeli, S.R. Forthcoming. French and Plurilingualism in Cameroon. Unpublished MA diss., University of Yaoundé I.

- Echu, G. 1999. "Colonialism and Linguistic Dilemmas in Africa: Cameroon as a Paradigm (Revisited)." In *Quest, An African Journal of Philosophy* 13 (1–2): 19–26.
- Echu, G. 2003. Multilingualism as a resource: The lexical Appropriation of Cameroon Indigenous Languages by English and French. TRA0S. Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften. No. 13/2003. Retrieved 15 January 2004 from www.inst.at/trans/13Nr/echu13.htm.
- Echu, G. 2004. "The language question in Cameroon." Yaoundé: Bloomington. *Linguistik Online*. <https://bop.unibe.ch/linguistik-online/article/view/765/1309> (Accessed on 9 May 2010).
- Eggins, S., and D. Slade. 1997. *Analysing Casual Conversation*. Cassel: London.
- Elango, L.Z. 1985. "The Anglo-French Condominium in Cameroon: The Myth and the Reality." *International Journal of African Historical Studies* (184): 658-71.
- Englund, H. and F. B. Nyamnjoh, eds. 2004. *Rights and the Politics of Recognition in Africa*. London: Zed Books.
- Eriksen, T.H. 2010. *Ethnicity and Nationalism*. New York: Pluto Press.
- Extra, G. 2004. "Language Use and Identity Construction in a Multicultural European Context." [online] Available, www.tilburguniversity.nl/babylon, visited on 15/03/06.
- Eyoh, D. 1999. "Community, citizenship and the politics of ethnicity in postcolonial Africa." In *Sacred Places and Public Quarrels: African cultural and economic landscapes*, edited by P. Zeleza and E. Kalipeni. Trenton NJ: Africa World Press.
- Fanso, V.G. 1989. *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges, Vol. 1: From Prehistoric Times to the Nineteenth Century*. Hong Kong: Macmillan Education Ltd.
- Finegan, E. and N. Besnier. 1989. *Language: Its structure and use*. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Fleischer, A. 2007. "Family, obligations, and migration: The role of kinship in Cameroon." *Demographic Research* 16 (13): 413–440.

Fonchingong, C.C. 2005. "Exploring the politics of identity and ethnicity in state reconstruction in Cameroon." *Social Identities* 11 (4): 363-81.

Fonlon, B. 1963. "A Case for Early Bilingualism." *Abbia*, no.4.

Fonlon, B. 1969. "The language problem in Cameroon: an historical perspective." Doi: <http://www.jstor.org/view/03050068/sp030013/03x0446d/0> (Accessed on 5 May 2006).

Geschiere, P. and J. Gugler. 1998. "Introduction: The Urban-Rural Connection: Changing Issues of Belonging and Identification." *Africa* 68(3): 309-319.

Geschiere, P. 2005. "December. Autochthony and citizenship: new modes in the struggle over belonging and exclusion in Africa." In *Forum for Development Studies*, edited by Taylor and Francis Group 32(2): 371-384).

Gifford, P., and W.R. Louis. 1967. *Britain and Germany in Africa: Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Gifford, P., and W.R. Louis. 1971. *France and Britain in Africa: Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Gluckman, M. 1940. "Analysis of a social situation in modern Zululand." *Bantu studies*, 14(1): 1-30.

Gordon, R.G, ed. 2005. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. 15th ed. Dallas: SIL International.

Guba, E.G. and Y.S. Lincoln. 1989. *Fourth generation evaluation*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Gugler, J. 2002. "The son of a hawk does not remain abroad: the urban-rural connection in Africa." *African Studies Review* 45(1): 21-41.

Guthrie, M. 1971. *Comparative Bantu. An introduction to the comparative Linguistics of the Bantu Languages*, Vol 2. Farnborough, England: Gregg International.

Greenberg, Joseph H. 1963. "Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements." In: *Universals of language*, edited by Joseph Greenberg, 73-113. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Guba, E.G. and Y.S. Lincoln. 1989. *Fourth generation evaluation*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Hamel, J. 1992. Introduction: New Theoretical and Methodological Issues.

Hansegård, N.E. 1962. "Tornedalen - a Swedish village without language." *Contemporary and Future*, (4): 215-219.

Hartnell, H.E. 2006. "Belonging: Citizenship and migration in the European Union and in Germany." *Issues Legal Scholarship* 6(2006): i.

Hill, L.B. 1998. "International Migration and the Democratic Receiving State: South African Immigration Policy in the post-1994 period." MA diss., University of Stellenbosch.

Hiropoulos, A. 2017. "Migration and Detention in South Africa." Doi: <http://apcof.org/wp-content/uploads/018-migration-and-detention-in-south-africa-alexandra-hiropoulos.pdf>

Hsieh, H.F., and S.E. Shannon. 2005. "Three approaches to qualitative content analysis." *Qualitative Health Research* 15(9): 1277-1288.

Hopstock, N., and N. De Jager. 2011. "Locals Only: Understanding xenophobia in South Africa." *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*. <https://www.questia.com/library/journal/1G1-261318367/locals-only-understanding-xenophobia-in-south-africa> (Accessed on 5 September 2013).

Huzdik, K. 2014. "Migration potential and affecting factors in Hungary in the first decade of the 21st century." Retrieved from https://szie.hu/file/tti/archivum/Huzdik_Katalin_thesis.pdf.

Jacobson, D. 1996. *Rights across Borders: Immigration and the Decline of Citizenship*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Jayaweera H. and T. Choudhury. 2008. *Immigration, faith and cohesion*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

- Joseph, R.A. 1974. "Ruben um Nyobé and the 'Kamerun' Rebellion." *African Affairs* 73(293): 428-448.
- Jua, N. 2003. "Differential responses to disappearing transitional pathways." *African Studies Review* 46 (2): 13–36.
- Jua, N. and P. Konings. 2004. "Occupation of public space: Anglophone nationalism in Cameroon." *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 175: 609–634. Doi: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17449057.2013.844435?scroll=top&needAccess=true>
- Jua, N. 2005. "The mortuary sphere, privilege and the politics of belonging in contemporary Cameroon." *Africa* 75(3): 325-54.
- Kale, P.M. 1967. *Political Evolution in the Cameroons*. Buea: Government Printer.
- Kaburise, P. 2011. "Speech Act theory and communication: A UNIVEN study." Cambridge scholars publishing.
- Kembo-sure and V. Webb. 1999. "Languages in competition." In *African voices. An introduction to the languages and linguistics of Africa*, edited by V. Webb and Kembo-sure, 109-32. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Kouega, J.P. 1999. "Forty years of official bilingualism in Cameroon." *English Today* 60, 15 (4): 38-43.
- Kouega, J.P. 2003. "English in Francophone elementary grades in Cameroon." *Language and Education* 17(6): 408-419.
- Konings, P. and F.B. Nyamnjoh. 1997. "The anglophone problem in Cameroon." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 35(2): 207-229.
- Koehn, P. and J. Rosenau. 2002. "Transnational competence in an emergent epoch." *International Studies Perspectives* 3(2): 105–127.
- Kroskrity, Paul V. 1999. "Identity." *Journal of linguistic anthropology* 9(1-2): 111- 114.

Lado, L. 2005. "African Imagination of the West: Between Resentment and Seduction." *Etudes* 403 (7/8): 17-27.

Lather, P. 1992. "Critical frames in educational research: feminist and post-structural perspectives." *Theory into Practice* 31(2): 87-99.

Lazar, M. 2019. "Cameroon's Linguistic Divide Deepens to Rift on Questions of Democracy, Trust, National Identity."

Doi:http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Dispatches/ab_r7_dispatchno283_and_glo_francoophone_divisions_deepen_in_cameroon.pdf

LeVine, Victor T. 1964. *The Cameroons: From Mandate to Independence*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press.

LeVine, 1976. "Political Integration and the United republic of Cameroon." In *the Search for National Integration in Africa*, edited by David R. Smock /and Kwamena Bentsi-Enchill. London, England: Macmillan.

Lofland, J., and L. Lofland. 1996. "Analyzing social settings." 3rd ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 183-203.

Lovell, Nadia. 1998a. "Introduction." In *Locality and Belonging*, edited by Nadia Lovell, 1-24. London: Routledge.

Madue, S.M. 2015. "South Africa's foreign and migration policies missteps: fuels of xenophobic eruptions?" *TD: The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa* 11(4): 60-70.

Makoni, S., and U.H. Meinhof. 2003. "Introducing applied linguistics in Africa." *AILA review* 16(1): 1-12.

Massey, D., A. Ignacio, H. Graeme, A. Kouaouci, A. Pellegrino and E. Taylor. 1998. *Worlds in motion: Understanding International Migration at the end of the millennium*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Mayring, P. 2000. "Qualitative Content Analysis." *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 1(2): 20. Doi: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1089/2385> (Accessed on 31 Aug 2015).
- Marshall, C., and G.B. Rossman. 1999. "Designing qualitative research." 3rd ed. London: Sage.
- Marschall, S. 2018. "African immigrants as tourists? The temporary home visits of transnational migrants in South Africa." *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 96(1): 25-47.
- Matuku, S., and E. Kaseke. 2014. "The role of stokvels in improving people's lives: The case in orange farm Johannesburg, South Africa." *Social work* 50(4): 504-515.
- Mazzucato, V., M. Kabki and L. Smith. 2006. Transnational migration and the economy of funerals: Changing practices in Ghana. *Development and change* 37(5): 1047-1072.
- Mbah, G. 2009. "Languages and Language Management in Cameroon." In *State of Cameroon 2008*, edited by Eboussi Boulaga, 551-569. Yaoundé: Cameroon.
- Milushiva, S. 2012. "Hometown Associations. International Diaspora Engagement Alliance." Doi: <http://www.diasporaalliance.org/hometown-associations/>
- Mbembe, J.A. 1989. *Reubem Um Nyobe: Writings under Maquis*. Paris: Harmattan.
- Mbembe, J.A. 2016. "Decolonizing the university: New directions." *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education*, 15(1): 29-45.
- Mbuagbo, O.T. and R.M. Akoko. 2004. "Motions of support and ethno- regional politics in Cameroon". *Journal of Third World Studies* 21 (1):241-60.
- Melander, L. 2003. "Language attitudes: Evaluational reactions to spoken language."
- Mforteh, S.A. 2006. "Cultural innovations in Cameroon's linguistic Tower of Babel." In *TRANS. Internet-zeitschrift für kulturwissenschaften*, 16:2005. Doi: http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/03_2/mforteh16htm (Accessed on 25 March 2009).

Miller, L. 2003. "Belonging to country – A philosophical anthropology." *Journal of Australian Studies* 27(76): 215-223.

Milevsky, M.A. 2015. *King William's Tontine: why the retirement annuity of the future should resemble its past*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Migge, B., and I. Léglise. 2008. "Language and colonialism: Applied linguistics in the context of creole communities." In *Handbook of Language and Communication: Diversity and Change*, edited by Hellinger, A. and P. Pauwels. De Gruyter.

Mitchell, K.R., ed. 1969. "The changing concept of rehabilitation Introduction to special section: Rehabilitation." *Australian Journal of Social Issues, The*, 4(2): 7.

Momo, G.T.N. 1997. *Yemba: History of a written language in Menoua*. Dschang: CELY.

Mohanlal, S., B.A. Sharada and A.R. Fatihi. 2005. "Language Attitudes of the Oriya Migrant Population in Kolkata."

Moya, J.C. 2005. "Immigrants and associations: a global and historical perspective." *Journal of ethnic and migration studies* 31(5): 833-864.

Morgan, B., and R.H. Sklar. 2012. "Sampling and research paradigms." In *Complete your thesis or dissertation successfully: Practical guidelines*, edited by J.G. Maree, 72-80. Cape Town: Juta.

Muthwii, J.M., and A.N. Kioko. 2004. "A Fresh Quest for New Language Bearings in Africa." In *New Language bearings in Africa: A Fresh Quest*, edited by M.J. Muthwii and A.N. Kioko. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Myers-Scotton, C. 2006. *Multiple voices: an introduction to bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Nagel, C., and L. Staeheli. 2008. "Integration and the Negotiation of 'Here' and 'There': The Case of British Arab Activists." *Social and Cultural Geography* 9(4): 415-430
[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/49518692 Integration and the Negotiation of 'Here' and 'There' The Case of British Arab Activists](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/49518692_Integration_and_the_Negotiation_of_'Here'_and_'There'_The_Case_of_British_Arab_Activists)

- Ndille, R. 2016. "English and French as official languages in Cameroon: The Intentionality of Colonial Representations and the Failure of a Cameroon-centric Identity; 1884 and after." *European Journal of Language Studies* 3(2): 17-34.
- Ngefacs, A. 2010. "Linguistic choices in postcolonial multilingual Cameroon." *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 19(3): 149-164.
- Ngoh, V.J. 1979. "The political evolution of Cameroon, 1884-1961."
- Ngoh, V.J. 1987. *Cameroon 1884-1985: a hundred years of history*. Yaoundé: CEPER.
- Ngoh V.J. 2001. "Southern Cameroons, 1922-1961: A Constitutional History." Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate.
- Ngoh V.J. 2004. *Cameroon from Federal to Unitary State: A Critical Study*. Limbe: Design House.
- Ngugi, wa Thiong'o. 1985. "The Commitment of the Intellectual." *Review of African Political Economy* 32: 18-24.
- Ngugi, wa Thiong'o. 2005. "Europhone or African Memory: The Challenge of the Pan-Africanist Intellectual in the Era of Globalization." In *African Intellectuals: Rethinking Politics, Language, Gender and Development*, edited by Thandika Mkandawire. Dakar: Codesria Books.
- Niba, F.N. 2007. "New language for divided Cameroon." BBC News, February 20. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/low/world/africa/6376389.stm> (accessed March 24, 2009).
- Nieuwenhuis, J. 2016. "Introducing qualitative research." In *First steps in research 2nd ed.*, edited by K. Maree. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Njika, J. 2006. "Linguistic Attitudes and Socio-Cultural Integration of the Yaoundé Based Anglophones in Cameroon". In Mbangwana, P. N. et al. eds. 200-209.
- Nyamnjoh, F.B. 1999. "Cameroon: a country united by ethnic ambition and difference." *African Affairs* 98 (390): 101-18.

Nyamnjoh, Francis B. and B. Page. 2002. "Whiteman Kontri and the Enduring Allure of Modernity Among Cameroonian Youth." *African Affairs* 101(405): 607-634.

Nyamnjoh, F.B. 2005. *Africa's media: Democracy and the politics of belonging*. London: Zed Books.

Obiol, M.S. 2002. "The Matched Guise Technique: A Critical Approximation to a Classic Test for Formal Measurement of Language Attitudes." Online. Internet. 5 February 2003. Available <http://cultura.gencat.net/Iengcat.noves>.

Okyere, D. 2018. Economic and social survival strategies of migrants in Southern Africa: a case study of Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa.

Ojong, V.B., M. Otu, M. 2014. "Migration (Bush-falling) as a form of insurance for Cameroonians." *Migration and Mobility* 29(2): 49.

Page, B. 2007. "Slow going: the mortuary, modernity and the hometown association in Bali-Nyong'a, Cameroon." *Africa* 11 (3): 419.

Palys, T. 2008. "Purposive sampling." In *the Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, edited by L. M. Given, 2: 697-698. Los Angeles: Sage.

Palmary, I., and L. Landau. 2011. "Citizenship, human rights, empowerment and inclusion, and the implications for social protection and social security harmonization /coordination policies in SADC." In *Access to social services for non-citizens and the portability of social benefits within the Southern African Development Community*, edited by L.G. Mpedi and N. Smit. Johannesburg: Sun Press.

Peberdy, S. 2001. "Imagining immigration: inclusive identities and exclusive policies in post-1994 South Africa." *Africa Today* 15-32.

Pelican, M. and Tatah, P. 2009. Migration to the Gulf States and China: local perspectives from Cameroon. *African Diaspora* 2(2): 229–45.

- Peter, M.Z., P.F.J. Peter and A.H. Catapan. 2015. "Belonging: Concept, Meaning, and Commitment." *US-China Education Review* 5(2): 95-101.
- Pillay, Suren, V. Barolsky, V. Naidoo, N. Mohlakoana, and A. Hadland. 2008. "Citizenship, violence and xenophobia in South Africa: Perceptions from South African communities." Cape Town, HSRC Press.
- Pieterse, J. 1994. Globalisation as hybridisation, *International Sociology* 9(2): 161–184.
- Plonski, P. and A. Teferra. 2013. "Why are more African countries adopting English as an official language?" Paper presented at the *ASA 2013 Annual Meeting*. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2237121> (Accessed on 23 November 2013).
- Posel, D. 2004. "Have migration patterns in post-apartheid South Africa changed?" *Journal of Interdisciplinary Economics* 15(3-4): 277-292.
- Posel, D. and D. Casale. 2006. "Internal migration and household poverty in post-apartheid South Africa". In *Poverty and Policy in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, edited by R. Kanbur and H. Borhat, 351 – 365. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council Press.
- Republic of Cameroon. 1998a. Decree No 98/003: organizing the Ministry of Culture. Cameroon Tribune no 6517 of 13 January 1998.
- Raper, A.B. 1955. "Malaria and the Sickling Trait." *British Medical Journal*, 2 (1955): 1186-1189.
- Relph, E. 1976. *Place and placelessness* London: Pion.
- Ryan, E.B., and H. Giles. 1982. "Attitudes towards language variation." London: Edward Arnold.
- Röschenthaler, U.M. 2006. "Translocal cultures: The slave trade and cultural transfer in the Cross-River region." *Social Anthropology* 14(1): 71-91.
- Rodney, W. 1975. "*How Europe underdeveloped Africa*." Verso Trade.

- Rosen, J.S. 2007. *Remittances, Investment, and Portfolio Allocations: An Analysis of Remittance Usage and Risk-Tolerance*. Ohio: The Ohio State University.
- SAHRC. 2006. Report: Open Hearings on Xenophobia and Problems Related to it. National Assembly. Portfolio Committee on Foreign Affairs.
- Shack, W.A. 1979. "Introduction." In *Strangers in African Societies*, edited by W.A. Shack and E. P. Skinner. Berkeley CA: University of California Press.
- Schiller, N.G., L. Basch, L. and C. Blanc-Szanton. 1992. Transnationalism: a new analytic framework for understanding migration. *Annals of the New York academy of sciences* 645(1):1-24.
- Schiller, G.N., L. Basch and C. Szanton-Blanc. 1994. *Nations Unbound. Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach Publishers.
- Schipper, M. 1999. *Imagining Insiders: Africa and the question of belonging*. London: Cassell
- Seidman I. 1998. *Interviewing as a qualitative Research: a guide for researchers in Education and social Sciences*. Amsterdam: Publishing Teachers College Press.
- Sibanda, D. 2012 *Education Rights of Migrant Learners: Limpopo Provincial Report*. Centre for Education Rights and Transformation, University of Johannesburg.
- Strydom, A. and R.M. Bezuidenhout. 2014. Research Matters, Qualitative Data collection. Cape Town: Juta, 173-194.
- Swigart, L. 2000. "The limits of legitimacy: Language ideology and shift in contemporary Senegal." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 10(1): 90-130.
- Tadadjeu, M. 1975. "Language planning in Cameroon: Toward a trilingual education system." In *Patterns in Language, Culture, and Society: Sub-Saharan Africa*, edited by Robert K. Herbert, 19: 53-75. Columbus Ohio: Ohio State University.

- Tamba, T.P. 2017. "Motivation in Language Learning: The Case of Francophone Cameroonian Learners of English." *The English Teacher*, 6.
- Tenjoh-Okwen, T. 1985. "An Analysis of some Aspects of the Interlanguage of Francophone Cameroonian learners of English." PhD. diss., University of Ibadan.
- Tsilimpounidi, M. 2016. *Sociology of crisis: visualizing urban austerity*. Routledge.
- Torrent, M. 2012. *Diplomacy and Nation-Building in Africa: Franco – British relations and Cameroon at the End of the Empire*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Truong, N. 2012. "Language of Instruction: Unlocking effectiveness of education and sustainable development in sub-Saharan Africa." *International Education* 42(1): 6-21.
- United Nations. 2016a. International Migration. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/theme/international-migration/>
- United Nations. 2016b. International Migration Report 2015: Highlights. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationReport2015_Highlights.pdf
- Van Hear, N., O. Bakewell and K. Long. 2012. Drivers of migration. *Migrating out of Poverty* RPC Working Paper 1.
- Van Hear, N. 2010 "Theories of Migration and Social Change". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(10): 1531-1536.
- Vigouroux, C. 2005. "There are no whites in South Africa: Territoriality, Language and Identity Among Francophone Africans in Cape Town". *Language and Communication* (25): 237-255.
- Wardhaugh, R. 1987. *Languages in competition*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Warnier, J-P. 1993. "The King as a Container in the Cameroon Grassfields." *Paideuma* 39: 303-319.

Wilson, K. and Peters, E.J. 2005. “You can make place for it’ Remapping Urban First Nations Space of Identity.” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 23: 395-413.

Yin, R.K. 2009. “Case study research: design and methods.” *The Canadian Journal of Action Research* 14(1): 69-71.

Yuval-Davis, N., F. Anthias and E. Kofman. 2005. “Secure borders and safe haven and the gendered politics of belonging: beyond social cohesion.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28(3): 513–35.

Yuval-Davis, N. 2006. “Belonging and the politics of belonging.” *Patterns of prejudice* 40(3): 197-214.

7. APPENDIX

1. Ethical Clearance



Faculty of Humanities
Research Ethics Committee

12 December 2018

Dear Mr Atabongwoung

Project: Negotiating belonging and language attitudes of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria: A case study
Researcher: GA Atabongwoung
Supervisor: Prof S Mühr
Department: Anthropology and Archaeology
Reference number: 15402071 (GW20181119HS)

Thank you for your response to the Committee's correspondence.

The application was **approved** by the **Research Ethics Committee** on 12 December 2018. Data collection may therefore commence.

Please note that this approval is based on the assumption that the research will be carried out along the lines laid out in the proposal. Should the actual research depart significantly from the proposed research, it will be necessary to apply for a new research approval and ethical clearance.

We wish you success with the project.

Sincerely



Prof Maxi Schoeman
Deputy Dean: Postgraduate and Research Ethics
Faculty of Humanities
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
e-mail: PGHumanities@up.ac.za

cc: Prof S Mühr (Supervisor)

Prof R Tirvasen (HoD)

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Boinatho

Research Ethics Committee Members: Prof MME Schoeman (Deputy Dean); Prof KL Harris; Mr A Bizos; Dr L Blok and; Dr K Booyens; Dr A-M de Beer; Ms A dos Santos; Dr R Fassell; Ms KT Govinde* Andraw; Dr E Johnson; Dr W Kelleher; Mr A Mohamed; Dr C Puttergill; Dr D Reyburn; Dr M Soer; Prof E Tallard; Prof V Thebe; Ms B Tsebe; Ms D Mokalapa

2 Letter of Informed Consent



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Pretoria, 0002 Republic of South Africa
<http://www.up.ac.za>
 Tel 012-420-2323
 Faculty of Humanities
 Department of Ancient and Modern
 Languages and Cultures
Date: 2018-12-03

Letter of Informed Consent

I Gallous Asong Atabongwoung, Student Number u15402071, am currently enrolled for a Masters in African and European Culture Relations in the Department of Ancient and Modern Languages and Culture at the University of Pretoria. I am doing a thesis entitled: “Negotiating belonging and language attitudes of Francophone Cameroonian migrants in Pretoria: A case study” . For the purposes of this study I need to complete certain field research which will take the form of open-ended interviews with individuals with first-hand knowledge of events relevant to my thesis. This will form part of my primary research as oral evidence and complies with the accepted standards within the discipline of African and European Culture Relations (Course work). I hereby wish to obtain permission to interview you.

Your input will be acknowledged according to the footnoting system prescribed by the Department of Ancient and Modern Languages and Cultures. If specifically requested, participants may request to remain anonymous. Your interview will be recorded with a tape recorder and will be stored in electronic format for a period of 15 years in compliance with the policy of the University Faculty of Humanities. This material may also be used for other research by the candidate. Your participation is entirely voluntary and you may choose to withdraw from the interview at any stage.

I would also like your permission to use this information for possible further research in the future.

Yours sincerely,

I _____ (the undersigned) agree to participate in the Masters research project of Mr. Gallous Asong Atabongwoung, (Student Number **u15402071**) at the University of Pretoria.

I have read this letter of introduction and agree that my information may be acknowledged according to the prescribed Departmental footnote reference system.

	I give permission for my name to be used in this research.
	I wish to remain anonymous in this research.

Signed _____

Date _____

3 Interview Questions



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Pretoria, 0002 Republic of South Africa

<http://www.up.ac.za>

Tel: 012-420-2323

Faculty of Humanities

Department of Ancient Languages and Cultures

Humanities Building,

Date: 2018-09-25

Interview Questions

Influence of transmigration on language attitudes and belonging

- (1) What language did you speak the most back in Cameroon? Why did you speak this language?
- (2) What language do you speak the most now that you are living in Pretoria? Why do you speak this language?
- (3) How important is French language to you as a Francophone Cameroonian living in Pretoria which is an English language dominated city? Are you comfortable speaking English? Yes/no and Why?
- (4) Do you meet with other Francophone Cameroonians in Pretoria? If yes, where do you meet them? What language do you speak when you meet? Why do you speak this language?

The role of indigenous languages in negotiating collective belonging

- (5) Why did you join a hometown association? Do you belong to multiple hometown associations? What is the name of your indigenous language? What is the language of communication in your hometown association? Is there a bi-law that says you must speak this particular language? If yes, what happens if you speak a different language?
- (6) Besides members of your hometown associations, do you meet with other Cameroonians in Pretoria who speak your indigenous language? How important is your indigenous language to you?

Current emotional attachment to French

- (7) Now that you are in Pretoria, if you were to choose between French, English and your indigenous language, what would you prefer? Why?
- (8) Do you regret living in Pretoria? If no/ yes, Why? Do you think you are losing in your French while living in Pretoria? Why?
- (9) What language does your family members speak? What language do you speak with your family members back home? Why?
- (10) Do you think your love for French language has changed? yes or no and why?

4 Sample Interview Transcriptions

Participant #1 [...]

What language did you speak the most back in Cameroon? French. Why did you speak French the most? It has been implemented in our system back home. We don't have a local language that we speak. So me as a French person I speak French. What language do you speak the most now that you are living in Pretoria? English...why? Because the environment force me to speak English. The people around me speak English. So how important is French language to you as a francophone Cameroonian living in Pretoria? I don't really see the importance of French language, not only here in Pretoria but even in Cameroon. i don't see the benefit of French. Now that you speak mostly English are you comfortable speaking English? Hmmm! actually English is the same thing with French. Wherever I find myself whether with those speaking English or French, I speak and switch to the two languages now. Remember the language, has some cultural connotation. Whether English or French, they don't benefit me. Do you meet other francophone Cameroonians? Yes. Where do you meet them? In various meetings even on the street. Most of the time if they are from my tribe I will speak the home language. If they are not from my tribe, I will speak French. What makes you speak your home language? Every language has a cultural connotation so when I see someone from my tribe I am so happy to speak my home language Bangoua. So when you meet a guy who is francophone and doesn't speak your home language what make you speak French with him? You know Cameroon has multiple languages, the man may not come from my tribe but if he is from my tribe I will speak my local language. So when you say you meet other francophone in meetings it means you belong to a home town association? Yes. What is the name of the association? Nde Pretoria. Why did you join that association? Because there the speak our language and we understand each other... so it is good for example if I greet you anchige! And you see you will answer afitso it makes I feel like I am in the village in South Africa. Do you belong to other different meetings apart from Nde? Yes but I am not that active there... so what is the name of your home language? Bangoua and Bangafoukam. What language do you speak in nde meeting? We speak the language of nde, because nde it is...I don't know how can I put it is a set of let's 50 or 52 villages that speak the same language. Tell me is there a law in your meeting that force you people to only speak Nde? No. there is no law. Because there are people from the

English part who also are members of the meeting. So when somebody has a say he say it in English and the home language. So besides the members of your home town association do you meet with other francophone who speak your home language? Yeah! But they are not in the meeting they are doing their business. So to you, how important is your home language to you? It makes the conversation...the home language creates such a secret. For example if you are one of my brother and I speak the language, a white person standing here or a black person not from my tribe they will not understand when I speak to my mom or siblings. They will not understand. For example if the house is on fire and I say it in my home language, you will not understand. We shall go and leave you here. So now that you are in Pretoria if you are given the opportunity to choose between French, English and your home language which of the languages will you prefer? None of them why because they are not my language. That is why in Cameroon it is difficult to choose a language among our home languages as a national language because everybody is proud of his language. For example they cannot tell me to bring English in my own home, I will prefer in my home language for example if I am in my village and want to open a private hospital, or school I will like those people working there to speak my home language. Am very serious. Now that you are in Pretoria, do you have any regret living in Pretoria? No. why? The only regret I have is that our government don't like our country. Here in Pretoria you can see the difference. What is that difference? The difference is that back home, our heads of state are thieves that is why I don't believe to anyone of them again. But here, you will tell that, this road is expired. But in Cameroon they won't tell you that, there is no such vocabulary. After a year or six month or two years this road need renovation etc. So now that you are in Pretoria, do you think you are losing your French language in anyway? Sir I told you, whether losing it or not losing it it doesn't add me anything. I even wish if there was a way to lose it, for English I will gladly do that. Instead I am losing my home language because I am not in contact with my people that are from my tribe. So anytime you meet members of family or people from your tribe do you only speak your home language? Yes. Do you think your love for French has changed? Yes. When the say love for for French, I don't even have any love about French. Whether French or English these guys must leave us. In our village there is a market day on the calendar, each and every village has a market day in their calendar where when they go there they express themselves in their home language. So I don't have any love. These languages have been imposed for us. Is it now that you live in Pretoria that you don't have love for it or it is when you were in Cameroon? It is when I became mature. When

you are a kids you just pick the language the people around you are speaking. But when you become mature, you can decide to withdraw yourself from certain things...

Participant #2

What language did you speak the most in Cameroon? French. Why did you speak French the most? Because I was born in the French side and I did French school and all my family and friends speak French and even at home. Now that you are living in Pretoria what language do you speak the most? English. Why? All my customers or most are South Africans so when they come to me they immediately speak English. So how important is French language to you now that you live in Pretoria? Yeah! I will say that it is very important to me because it is not easy to be born with a language and then do away with that language easily. So whenever I meet someone speaking French, I get excited because it remind me of where I come from. So any time you speak English are you comfortable speaking English? I will say because English is the language that make me eat in South Africa because when am trying to speak I feel like I am growing in the knowledge of English. Without English there is nothing I can do in South Africa. So I am happy to be able to speak two languages. Now that you are francophone, do you meet with other Francophone in Pretoria? Yes I do meet with them. Where do you meet them? At my work place. The majority of people who stay in my area are French speaking people. They are from Cameroon. Even those from Anglophone parts in Cameroon who live in my area also try to speak French because the zone that I am, is a French zone a lot of French people there. When you meet them, what language do you speak most of the time? I will say French because it is a family place and many of them are French people. Even when they come to me here they will speak French. So are you a member of any association? Yeah! What is the name? Haut Nkam basically people from Bafang – Bamileke. Do you belong to any other association apart from haut nkam? No. So when you go to association, what language do you speak there? In the meeting, every one speak any language because there are both Anglophone and francophone there. There are people who just arrive and cannot speak English. And people who arrive and also cannot speak French. So I feel comfortable with English and French because there we speak both languages. Everyone finds themselves there. We also speak the vernacular. There we speak our vernacular because when we say haut nkam, it means people from a particular area. But because of diversity, we speak English and French as well. But there is no law that imposes that you must only speak the vernacular? No. Remember

Cameroon is English and French and there are both Anglophone and francophone there. So we don't have any law. No if you are ask to choose between English, French and your home language, which one will come first to you? I will choose English for now because it is the language that is given me food. But if I am put out of this present circumstances, I will choose my vernacular language because I was born in it. Now that you are living in Pretoria do you have any regret? No. Why? I will say I have no regret because all my family is here. My brothers and sisters. For me am just looking for something to eat and God is blessing me. I just regret to be here because my parents are not here. But do you think now that you live in Pretoria you are losing your French language? I will say yes, because in Cameroon we never speak English in our area. What did you speak? French and our vernacular language. Even if someone speak English there it will be like a big deal. Now I can say, gradually while I am getting to know English, my French is going. Because even when I write now in French it is difficult to communicate and get stuff right in French. And my woman is South African as well, so I must speak English. When you speak with parents and members back in Cameroon? I have to speak in my vernacular. But my other siblings who live in town and cannot speak our vernacular I speak with them in French. When you were in Cameroon did it occur to you that you felt like you love French language? Yes, because at school in my area, you know when you don't go to an English school it is a big thing. So when you see someone speaking English it is a big thing like how the Anglophone see someone speaking French. So back home we neglected English only to realize that when you travel, it is something you should have learned to speak. But in Cameroon, I never had any regret for not speaking English because I never got to a place where English was important unlike in Pretoria where to survive, you must speak English. That is why back home I lived fully French life. My mother is from English side, my father is from French side. I went to the English side when I was very young. For me English was a small thing. But when you get there it is very important. But in school we didn't care because we always knew we can get more marks on other subjects to cover up for English. In Cameroon you know without French you can't live. Do you think your love for French has change now that you are in Pretoria? Yes. How is it? Just that I don't really speak from with people here. Even my partner is from South Africa. So I have to fight to know English every day. I don't I have the same level of French because if you don't have the same level you can't have the same love. Might be if I go back to Cameroon, I may get the love but for now everyone must eat where they are. So let me get the language that will make me eat.

Participant #3

What language did you speak the most in Cameroon/ In terms of percentage I will say 70% French and 30% English. I had the opportunity to live in a neighbourhood where there were some Anglophone. I spoke French most of the time because my education was in French school. English only came a little bit because of my surroundings and belief – where I usually go to church was dominantly English. What language do you speak the most now that you are living in Pretoria? I speak English. Why? Because the environment forces you to speak English. How important is French to you? French is still important because I had to work in many projects that requires a French speaking person who understands English. I had also met some people who needed training, and they needed someone who knows French to train them. Are you comfortable speaking English? Yes at times I am very comfortable. It also depends on the area because language is per area. There is financial language, economic language, business language and the common language. Do you meet with other francophone in Pretoria? Yes I do meet with them. Where do you usually meet with them? On campus, around where I live and at church. What language do you speak when you meet them? Generally we speak, little bit of French and sometimes we just flow in English. Is there a reason for this little bit of French? You know language creates intimacy. When you are in a place, away from your main language for long and you meet someone who speaks the same language, at least in for a short while you will be tempted naturally to speak your language. Do you belong to any hometown association? No. Why don't you belong to any? Right now I don't have that much time. In Cameroon what is your mother tongue – my father is from Mungo. My mom is from west – fonjumukwete. So how is your home language to you? Do you put so much importance to it? Yes especially when I want to speak to my dad or when I want to keep a secret from someone close to me. Do you meet other speakers of your vernacular here in Pretoria? Yes I have met with them. But on the mother side. Did you have an opportunity to speak with them? Yes. So now that you Pretoria, if you are asked to choose between French language and your mother tongue what would you choose? I will prefer right now am oblige it is obligatory to speak English. So I will prefer English. So now that you live in Pretoria, do you regret? No I don't regret. Do you think that living in Pretoria you are losing in your French connection? No. at times yes, I think so but when I get to that point when I have to speak French, it comes fluently because at least I studied it for a long time. Do you speak with other family members in the vernacular? No not all. So if you are asked to explain your love for French... I believe at some

point back in Cameroon you loved French language? No, I never loved French language that is why in secondary or primary school I was the best English student. Why is it that you never loved French? I don't know, all I know is I have had good acquaintance with English and my friends when growing up were mostly English people. And in the church friends in Sunday school were English. That's why I just love English. So you have always preferred English? Yes I have always preferred English above French.

Participant #4

What province do you come from in Cameroon? Am from littoral – French province. By origin you are a francophone? Yes I am a francophone boy. So back in Cameroon what language did you speak most of the time? Of course it is French because where I come from French is the most spoken language. And now that you are living in Pretoria what language do you speak the most? It is English. Why do you speak English? If you are in an English country you have to speak English or at least you must try to speak English. Now that you are francophone and you spoke mostly French in Cameroon. How important is French language to you? For me French language is a language which I grew up speaking. It is very important because it is the language I spoke when I was young and in school. SO when you now speak English are you comfortable? Right now I can say I am not 100% comfortable, I can say am 60% comfortable. Now that you live in Pretoria do you meet other francophone Cameroonians? Yes, Cameroonian francophone we speak French together. Where do you meet? Night club? Meetings? Most of the time we meet at meetings because during the week everyone is busy with their activities. What meeting is that? It is a meeting between friends who have like a stokvel (associations). When we meet us mostly speak French but sometimes we have some Cameroonians Anglophone also. So sometimes we speak English or French. We speak both languages easily. Why did you join this association? You know when you are living abroad, you need a family. This meeting is like a family to us. We help each other. When some has a financial problem or any kind of need you can find it there. That is why I say it is like a family. DO you belong to other associations or just this one? I belong to two associations. What is the name of your home language? Bassa. Do you meet speakers of BASSA? Yes there are some. When you meet them, do you guys just switch easily to speaking Bassa? Why do you think you immediately switch? You know it is not like...you don't mean often so when you meet that feeling of speaking the home language comes automatic. Do you think if you are too compare your home

language to French which is more important? I am a bassa man am sure it is bassa. Now that you are in Pretoria if you are to choose between French and English what will you choose? I will choose English because now that I am traveling, English will be more useful for me. Do you by chance living in Pretoria? Not at all. Why? Because Pretoria is a beautiful city. I don't say there is no crime but the rate of crime is low. Do you think now that you are in Pretoria unlike in Cameroon where you speak more French? Do you think you are losing your French? Yes because language is like any other activity. The more you speak the more you gain mastery, the less you speak the more you lose your tenses etc. I am already losing some tenses. So what language do you speak with your family members back home? Bassa? Why? Because I can't speak French to my mom she is more comfortable speaking bassa. Did it ever occur to you that you somehow love French language back in Cameroon? I love bassa but French was just useful to me because it helped me speak out of my home. Because out of home you may find other Cameroonians who don't speak bassa so I needed French to speak with them. French was just a tool of communication. There is no love between me and French. Also about history, we know much about history that France and Cameroon. It is like me from Bassa, you know what French government did to us when we were fighting for our independence? I really don't like French. So what did they do? So you don't know? Every Bassa know it. Even our Bamileke brothers know it. French people killed us because we were looking for a true independence. Not this independence by name. so it is this particular history that make you not to like France and therefore you never love French language? Yes.

Participant #5

What did you speak the most back in Cameroon? I am from the French speaking side of Cameroon. So that language I spoke the most is French. When you were in Cameroon did it occur to you that you love French? I never thought of language in that way. I just saw it as the language everyone is speaking. I only thought of language in this way at a later stage. You also know there are English people in Cameroon? Yes I know, I also studied English in school. It is one of the main subject. So while you studied English in school, how did you look at it? For me I am a scientist...the subject I love were mathematics, physics etc. English was like French, it was just a subject at school that I knew I had to pass it for me to continue. Did it ever occur at some point in your life in Cameroon to think that French is better than English because you are francophone? No, not all. For me I was more interested in science and mathematics, I didn't put emphasis in languages. I

spoke French at home since I was a child. It was easy for me I never thought it to be better than English. So when did you come to South Africa? It was when I passed my Matric. And that is when I discovered that English is actually better than French. What makes you realized that? Because I came to South Africa to study, and then here I realized that most of the documents in science, books are in English not French. So I realized if I had to go further, then I must perfect my French. And I also realized, English actually is more spoken than French. That is when I realized English is actually better than French. So when you realized, did it occur to you at some point to have a small regret that you neglected English at home? Yes, I have a big regret actually. I struggled a lot during my university years because of language and I regretted then why I didn't take my English seriously when I was back then in Cameroon. But I made up for it and I took it seriously because my life depended on it. SO NOW THAT YOU ARE IN South Africa do you belong to any hometown association? You Cameroonians everywhere they go they always have reunion as we called it. Something like stokvel. But here in South Africa it is not tribal. It is just Cameroonians. For example I belonged to an association of Cameroonians, we accept everybody. It is not just one tribe. Do you belong to multiple association or only that one? I belong to...ok I love soccer so I belong to an association of Cameroonian soccer players and I have the stokvel one. The stokvel one is when you have social or family issues. What is the name of the stokvel one? It is Haut nkam – upper nkam (bamileke) in Cameroon. What language do you speak most of the time at the haut nkam? English. Do you meet other francophone from Cameroon in Pretoria? Yes there are a lot of them. When you meet them what language do you guys usually speak? We speak French most of the time. Why do you speak French most of the time? It is just a way to not lose it because I think it is a plus to speak both languages. So being in South Africa for more than 10 years, you turn to forget your French. Because you speak mostly English – at school, at work. So when you speak French, it is a way of practicing your French so that it doesn't go. Do you feel like at some point you don't want to lose your French? Yes. For me it is a plus to speak both languages. Don't you think because you don't want to lose French it is because at some point you love French? No, it has nothing to do with loving French or English. Professionally, it is a big plus to know both languages. And to travel Africa, I love travelling, I travel a lot, I love meeting new people. Speaking both languages it is a plus. Do you have a home language? Yes it is called fe fe – Bafang. Do you meet speakers of fe fe in Pretoria? Yes I do. There are a lot of them. Do you speak fe fe with them? When am with them because I can't speak it properly, I always want them

to speak fe fe so that I can learn it also and the little I know I don't want to forget it. Why is it that you can't speak fe fe properly? I think it has to do with the place I grew up. I didn't grow in my hometown or tribal village. I grew up in Douala which is a city. My parents speak the local language. But since I was born, I have never been to a place where fe fe is dominant and that forces me to speak fe fe in order to interact with people. That is why French is like a local language to me. If you are ask to choose between your local languages, French and English what will you choose? It will be difficult for me to choose because, like now I am learning my local vernacular. Able to speak multiple languages is a big plus to me. So choosing one if I have to it will be English if I think professionally and the fact that it is the most spoken language in the world. And also going to different countries and English is commonly spoken in schools and work places. Now that you are in Pretoria, do you regret why you came to Pretoria? I tried to live my life without regret. I think everything happen for a reason. I never planned to come to South Africa, I never planned to come to Pretoria. It just happened. What made you never planned but you are here? Again it is life. When I was young, I wanted to go to Canada for further studies. It was the country I chose. I couldn't go there. You know the situation sometimes with the Visa issue. So South Africa was the next best option that is why I found myself here. So why did you think it was the next best because there is no French here? I was thinking more in terms of my studies. That is why when I passed my Matric, when I started applying to better universities, I realized English will take me further than French. So I already knew if I come to South Africa, although I don't speak English, it will be a big plus to my future plans and life. How often do you go to Cameroon? One's a year if I can. It is the only time I can have a big holiday. Because going there it is expensive and you have to buy gifts to family. You have to wait in December when you have a lot of time to be able to go. Do you have family members you remits? Yes you always must support. What language do you speak with family members back home? With my parents, I speak the local language. With my friends it is French. Why French? Because they are still at home and they are my childhood friends. Their English is not good. But there is another I speak English with because I also have Anglophone friends.

Participants #6

When you were in Cameroon what language did you speak the most? French. Why? Am on the French side. Now that you are in Pretoria what language do you speak the most? English? Why? Because Pretoria is an English city. My friends in school we only speak English. So how important is French language to you? It help me to communicate with French speakers. It is just a plus like every other language. Now that you say you speak English most of the time, are you comfortable speaking English? I guess so. I have been here for 4years. What made you say you are comfortable in speaking English? I did go to an English school upon arrival to South Africa. I did also study English at a higher level. So what was your reason to go to an English school? Well, my goal was to learn English in order to study. Do you meet other francophone Cameroonians in Pretoria? Yes not a lot/few, but am not so much friend with them. The few that you meet where do you meet them? Some I meet at the Gym, some school, it all depends. Am not friend with them. It's just casual base. So what language do you speak when you meet with them? We speak French. Why do you speak French? They understand I am a Cameroonians, so they just feel it's normal to speak in French. Sometimes the way you respond when people greet you just tell them you are French speaking. Do you belong to any hometown association? No. why? Because I don't have so many contacts with French side. Do you have an indigenous language? No. you don't have a native language in Cameroon? I do but I don't speak. Why don't you speak your home language? I never learned it. Now that you are in Pretoria, if you are asked to choose between French and English what will you choose? It all depends. In Pretoria I will choose to speak English because most people around me speak English. So if you were to go back to Cameroon now will you choose English or French? Like I said it depends. The people I know only speak French back home. But I do enjoy speaking English. It is a nice language. Do you regret living in Pretoria? No. why? In Pretoria there are more opportunities as compare to Cameroon. Pretoria is a big city/South Africa is a big country. At least in South Africa I have learned a new language. Now that you speak most time do you think in some way you are losing your French? It might happen with a few words. But I still have the basic. Do you always speak with your family members back in Cameroon? Yes we do have contact most time on WhatsApp. So what language do you speak with them? Sometimes French sometimes English but most of the time is French. Why is it that you speak French most of the time? It is because they are not good in English. They can hear the language but they can't understand so we prefer French most of the time. Has it occur to you at some point in time in your life that you feel like you love French language? Let me say I put English first. I love English, I

love English music. My goal was to learn English from the beginning. So there has never been a time you feel like you love French? No, let me put it this way, I do love English more than French.

Participant #7

I gather you are francophone from Cameroon? Yes. What part of Cameroon did you live? Douala. When you were in Cameroon what language did you speak the most? French obviously. Why did you speak French most of the time? I think it is because it is the basic language of Cameroon when it comes to the French side of Cameroon because I have to speak it. I was born into French are you saying every francophone speak French? Everyone born in the French side of Cameroon speak French. Now that you live in Pretoria, what language do you speak the most? English. Why? Because am in an English country. Do you meet other francophone from Cameroon in Pretoria? Yes I meet them every day. What language do you usually speak when you meet them? We generally speak French. But if we are among other nationalities like South Africans we speak English. But does it occur to you that when you meet other nationalities like South Africans you speak English? How important is French language to you while in Cameroon? It was very important because everything was in French. So I had to really speak French because I don't think in Cameroon you can really do anything if you don't speak French. So now that you are living in Pretoria, do you think French is that such important? No, here no. now that you speak English most of the time, are you comfortable in speaking English? In the beginning no. But now I am because anyway I don't have any choice. Why did you not feel comfortable in the beginning? Because, the fact that I was use to French from the beginning, it was very difficult for me. But with time I manage to get comfortable with it. Do you belong to a hometown association? No. why? I ones was part of one of them. Ok let me say that is a personal decision that I don't want to discuss. But I decided to just leave it. Do you have an indigenous language? Yes. What is the name? I speak bassa from my father's side and Baneng from my Mother's side. Do you meet people who speak Bassa and Baneng in Pretoria? Yes. And do you often speak the home language with them? Hmm! Not that often but, from time to time. Do you think your home language is so important to you? Hmm! Yeah definitely. What makes you think it is important? Yeah, you know it is part of our culture and we are supposed to preserve our culture. So if you are ask to choose between English and French, what will you choose? Ok, from... if I had a choice right now, I will

choose French because I am more comfortable with French. But the way the world is going, what I have noticed is that English is the most spoken language in the world. Ok after Chinese I will say. So I will choose English because I will need it somewhere. Now that you live in Pretoria, do you have any regret? No regret. Was Pretoria your first choice of destination? Definitely no, I think the black Africans coming from Cameroon, we always wish to travel out of Cameroon. Travel overseas like to the United States, England etc. But at the end of the day, the only option remaining for me was to be here. It is amazing how you talk about traveling overseas. You mentioned United States, England and you forget to mention France because in Cameroon a lot of francophone you will hear them saying “I am going to France, je vais en france”. Yes that is true but, for me personally France has never been a dream destination for me. Is it? Why? I really don’t know. What I know is that, where I wanted to be if everything went my way was in the United States. Ok now that your base language is French and you currently speak more English than French today. Do you think you are losing your French? No I don’t because I have been speaking French for more than 20years so I don’t think I will ever lose it. But at least don’t have any regret living in Pretoria? No I don’t have. So what language do you speak with your siblings back home in Cameroon? It depends on to whom I am speaking to. If I am speaking to my mother, it will be a mix of her mother tongue and French. But if I am speaking to any of my brother or sisters we generally speak in French. Since you were speaking more French in Cameroon might be at some point you felt like you love French? Yes definitely you know in Cameroon, or I can say in most African countries when you speak a foreign language like French you feel a bit proud. You feel like you are civilized and stuff like... you know. So but, now that you are hear you that same feeling of love in French is still there. Truly I don’t even think of that because now I focus more on trying to make myself better in English. Because I think I still have/need a room for improvement when it comes to speaking English. So do you think the time you become perfect in English do you think you will also feel like you ae civilized? No. I think I will feel like I can communicate with more people in the world.

Participant #8

Well English gave me the opportunity to get a job easily because South Africans came to Cameroon, fortunately I know how to speak English and I could speak with them. So after that,

they requested me to come work in South Africa. Because I could speak English. My other colleague was intelligent but his English was not so good. He couldn't understand English, so he stayed back home. So English was an advantage for you? Yes English was an advantage because with English I was able to communicate with South Africans, I did training with them, so it was an open door for me. That helped me arrive at where I am today because with English language, when I travel out of Cameroon, realized English is an important language because if you speak English, it can open you so many doors of opportunities. To be able to communicate with other people. But if you know how to speak only French, the countries when French is dominant are not many as compare to English dominating countries. In terms of job opportunities because even regarding books and documents in Cameroon schools, those in English were less expensive than those in French. What is the reason? The reason is when I was in Cameroon at Technicon, you will find a book in my field of study, the French version will cost about R1000 but the English version will cost about R200. So I decided to buy the English version and study with it. In addition, in terms of technicality, it is easier to communicate with the rest of the world in English than in French. With all the explanations, if you are asked to choose between English and French and your home language what will you choose? English? Why? Because we find many opportunities in French than English if for example to make a new machine in China today, the Manual will first be translated in English even if it will be translated into French you will realize the French version will be scarce. Except in francophone countries but in other countries no matter the language spoken there, there is always a version in English. So you think the dominance of English in the world is on the economic sense? Yes in the economic sense, English language takes precedence for example I was in China, Chinese learned English more than they learn to speak any other language outside Mandarin. They know a lot of people enter China to buy, hence they know most of them speak English. So with French you can only be lucky that somewhere might be in Europe you will find it but out of there it is difficult. But English in economic terms it is high. Do you have a native language? Yes I have a native language. But with that, I will communicate only with my parents and siblings because apart from that, my native language doesn't tell me great things. I only use it with siblings and which I don't speak it. What is the name of the native language in question? It is called Bafoussam. Do you meet other people speaking the language here in Pretoria? I have not met any. I only met one person but it was someone I grew up with in Bamenda but a part of that, I have not met anyone. Do you belong to any home town association? Because

it looks like there are many tribal associations here in Pretoria? Yes there are associations but I don't belong to any. It is a personal reason for me. There are things happening inside these associations that I personally I don't want. What are these things? There are things that, there are a lot of dishonesty/ fraud in the sense that, I don't bear such. What do you mean by dishonesty? Well, there are people who join the associations and don't tell the truths. They tell a lot of lies. They are not honest in the things they say. Can you give me an example? When a simply example is that, we can contribute money and save it aside for a particular goal/objective, there are people who will collect the money fraudulently from behind and will not do what the money was contributed or meant for. So this is something I can't tolerate. So when I will speak, I will make people uneasy. That is why I prefer to stay away. Do you think somehow in Cameroon you love French? In Cameroon, it felt like because it was the lens in which we look at things. But when you travel, so see it differently. That is why I left French to study English. Because French language has limited a lot of francophone Cameroonians because for them the only place they think to go is France. Whereas to me it doesn't make sense. There are many countries in which you can go a get a good life easily but the great challenge is that French has been a great barrier for them. In all you are saying, can you say you love French? French! No. I just speak French because I grew up speaking it. I only speak because yeah it is a language I know. Do you have regrets living in Pretoria? No I have no regret living in Pretoria. Why? Well life for me is favourable, it is true there are always challenges in life. But when we are able to sort out few challenges and gain a stability it is good. Because it is about 12 years since I live here, I have stability with my family, I have a job, I can't complain much. In fact I had visited Australia, Europe, United States, but, South Africa I find it favourable, I can't not migrate out of South Africa to any other country. Was South Africa your first destination of choice? Yes from Cameroon, South Africa was my first destination. Although it is true that I wouldn't have wished to make it my first choice, because I was offered a job right from Cameroon, I came here for an interview and went back. And then later came back. It is true that from the beginning, I had many challenges regarding the contract I was offered. But all that was solved and then after that, my wife is even a high school English and French teacher. That means she is my colleague. What college did she teach? She was posted to the village of the minister of education Louis Mbappes. She also faced difficulties to get a job until I had the permanent residence. But now she is working. She works for Red Cross now. They use her for francophone zone.

Participant #9

Are you saying that you are a francophone from Cameroon? Yes I am a francophone from Cameroon. I am from a place in west region of Cameroon called haut-nkam (Upper Nkam). What language did you speak most of the time in Cameroon? I was in the French side so normally I was supposed to speak French. You supposed to speak French is it because you went to French school or it is because of your family background? I can say both because I went to a French school and all around was only French. Now that you are in Pretoria, what language do you speak most of the time? It is English. And why do you speak English most of the time? It is because I am in an English speaking country. So I have the obligation to speak English. So how important is French language to you? French is important because it is the language I speak the most very well. SO now that you are in Pretoria, do you think you are comfortable speaking English? Yes I am very comfortable because I have to adapt and there is nothing I can do but try to speak English. Do you meet with other francophone from Cameroon in Pretoria? Yes, where do you meet them? I meet them everywhere because we have our health club on most of the Sundays so we meet. And also there is a popular francophone suburb in Pretoria called Sunnyside where you will find people speaking only French in particular areas. So what language do you speak with them when you meet them? French. Why do you speak mostly French? Because it reminds us of where we come from- Cameroon. And also because we feel comfortable when you speak French with French speakers. Do you belong to a hometown association? Yes I belong to haut nkam because it is my division of origin in Cameroon. Do you have an indigenous language? Yes, in haut nkam we have many. But mine is called banja. Do you meet with others who speak banja in Pretoria? Yes. Do you usually speak banja with them? Myself I don't speak well because I was born in a family where my father is coming from Banja and my mother is from the centre part of Cameroon called Yaoundé. But I am trying to speak. Do you think your home language is important? It is very important because, when I phone back home, my siblings used banja to communicate which I have to mixed most at times with French because of my inability to be 100% fluent in French. If you are asked to choose between French, English language and your home language. What would you choose? I will prefer my home language because, I like it even its phonetic, and the fact that I use it to communicate the most with my mother, uncles, aunts etc. because they always like to speak

in the home language. Sometimes you feel like wow! I didn't get it. Repeat it again... so when you still don't get it then you ask her to repeat it in French. So if you are now ask to choose between English and French which one would you choose? English. Why? English as we know and always say is a business language. And in English speaking countries there are more opportunities than French. Do you regret living in Pretoria? No. Has Pretoria always been your first destination? Meaning while you were in Cameroon you had chosen Pretoria is your principal destination. No. what did you have in mind? Normally, while in Cameroon, I tried to join Germany, I didn't succeed twice and I decided to change my destination. So do you think now that, you in Pretoria you are losing your French language? No, because like I said before, there is a city in Pretoria called Sunnyside where everyone speak French. All the Cameroonians there speak French. Do you think you have also lost your love for French? Yes. Why? Because living in an English speaking country, I came to realized how important English is in terms of Job opportunity, travels and many things that can help you as a man in your future. French to me is just a speaking language.

Participant #10

What part of Cameroon do you come from? From the Western region. Most times in Cameroon you spoke French? No I grew up learning English. I was in a bilingual school, I do speak both French and English. Since you attended a bilingual school, what language did you speak most of the time between French and English? Hmmm! I find myself speaking French because at home I spoke French and with friends. So now that you are in Pretoria what language do you speak most of the times? English. Why do you speak English most of the time? I think as a foreigner in South Africa, English is the appropriate language to speak around with South Africans or with people. While you were in Cameroon do you think you loved French somehow? For me like growing up, I had parents and relatives who always encouraged me that it was better to speak both languages – French and English or even many other languages especially if you hope to travel out of Cameroon one day. So do you meet with other francophone Cameroonians in Pretoria? Yes of course. Where do you usually meet them? We meet either at school or during a soccer match. What language do you usually speak most times when you meet them? French. Do you belong to any hometown association? Yes I do. What is the name of the hometown association? Nde. Nde is a village in the Western Region where I come from. We do have meetings may be twice a month.

When you go to this meeting, what language do you speak? We speak the home language and French. Why do you speak the home language and French instead of English? Because we find that within us we are all from the same area so we speak only Nde and French. Is there a bi-law in the association that permits you to speak only French and Nde? There is no law but it is just for us not to forget where we come from. We will like to speak our home language and French. So, now that you live in Pretoria, if you are asked to choose between your home language, English and French. What would you choose? English. Why will you choose English? I will choose English because it is the language that is mostly spoken in Pretoria. With English for example you can get a job, you can familiarize yourself with other South Africans and foreigners easily. How can you compare your love for English and French? For me it is fifty fifty. Do you regret living in Pretoria? No, not at all. Was Pretoria your first destination of choice? Yes it was my first destination of choice. Do you think you are losing your French in some ways? Yes, definitely. I am losing it gradually because I don't speak it every day. Not speaking French every day you might find yourself losing on one of two things. What language do you speak with your family members back home? French. Do you think your love for French language has changed? No. It hasn't change. I still love French. But personally, I wish I could have my own language to speak because like French, is not our language here in Africa. So I wish we could have our own language that we speak without people from France for example understand what we are talking about. But you have this nde language? Yes, we do have but it is just for my community. I wished like back home we could have a language for the whole country or even the whole of Africa can have one language. What is your reason for such a wish? Well, it is just part of the reason to say let us all as African live as one. Or may be us as Cameroonians unite through one language because when we unite, we can do many things. Not having line many different languages which creates barriers.

Participant #11

I gathered you are francophone from Cameroon? Yes exactly. Tell me a bit about you and your origin as a francophone? You mean where I come from? Yes. I come from Centre part of Cameroon. The part that we speak on French. So what tribe do you come from in the Centre Province? When you say tribe what do you mean? Let me put the question differently, were you born in Yaoundé? Or do you come from a village outside Yaoundé? My mom is from the central

part of Yaoundé and my dad is from the part called Mbam. In the South? Yes. Ok that makes you a good candidate for the interview. So in Cameroon what language did you speak the most? French. Why? Because at home my mom and dad were like, only speaking French. My parents never had time to teach us another language because they were busy. So now that you live in Pretoria, what language do you speak the most? I don't have a choice, I have to speak English. So why do you speak mostly English? Is it because you don't have a choice? Basically it is because most people around me speak English. Do you think French language at some point was more important to you? Well, it was very important but it also depended on the area where one lives. Like, from Cameroon obviously I have to speak French. So does that mean that some point speaking French back in Cameroon made you to really love French? Yes. Why did you love it? Is it because you speak it or there is something inside? First of all, like I told you, I was born in a family where we speak only French and everything around us like movies was French. The life style is French etc. so now that you are in Pretoria do you feel comfortable speaking English? I will say yes. Because since I was a kid, I use to love English. I always told myself I will learn English. So it means you are comfortable? 70% comfortable. So do you meet other francophone guys in Pretoria from Cameroon? A lot. What language do you speak when you meet them? Obviously, we speak French. Why do you speak French? Because it is very easy and simple to understand each other. We hear there are a lot of hometown associations like cultural associations all over Pretoria. Do you belong to any of them? Actually no. Why? Because I like to be a lone. Here outside, you have to focus on your own things. Since the moment that nobody can help you here, you have to be on your own. It doesn't mean that you cannot associate, but with reserve. Do you have a home language that you speak? Yes. What is the name of the language? Yambassa. Have you met people who speak Yambassa? Yes, just few. Did you speak Yambassa with them? No. why? Because on myself, there is no benefit. Why do you say so? I say that because most people I meet we only talk about business or other stuff. There is no time to speak our language. Do you think your home language is important to you? Yes it is really important. Why? Because sometimes there are things you want to say to someone and you don't want other people around you to know. So now that you live in Pretoria, if you are to choose between English, French and Yambassa. What will you choose? French. Why? I will choose French because I was born in French, I did everything in French. Do you regret living in Pretoria? Never. Was Pretoria your first destination? Actually am a traveller. What do you mean? I am a soccer player so I travel from one country to another. Do you therefore

live in different countries at the same time? When I came from Cameroon I spent a year in Zambia and now 3 years in SA. So amidst all these, do you think you are losing your French language? No, I cannot lose it because I really love it. Why do you love French so much? There is a kind of love you cannot find in...I don't know. The way to express or define my love for French in words. When you speak with family members what language do you speak? French. Why do you speak French? Because I told you and I will say it again, I am born in French, my mother and my father only speak French to us. Even for me to speak my home language, I had to go to my village to learn it. What will you tell me about your deep love for French? Has it changed now that you live in Pretoria? Never, it will never change. What really makes you to love French so much? There is something but even myself I don't know that thing.

Participant #12

I gathered you are a francophone from Cameroon? Yes I am francophone from Cameroon. Tell me a bit about your origin in Cameroon. Where are you from? I am from the centre region of Cameroon. I am originally Eton. I was born in Yaoundé, I grew up in Yaoundé so I am originally francophone. When you were in Cameroon what language did you speak most of the time? I spoke French. Why did you speak French? You know from the beginning, there was no effort to teach us English. The only language that was important to us was French. We studied in French, and grew up meeting mostly French speaking people. I spoke only French and when I came to South Africa it was difficult for me to speak English. Now that you are in Pretoria, do you speak more French or English? Actually I prefer English more than French. Because like where I am staying you cannot find a French speaking foreigner like me there. Hence I only speak English most of the time. But when you speak English, are you comfortable? No, English is not my language of origin as I may put it. But whatever you want to do, you have to put more effort. I know with time I will be better and apt to speak English. I will even like to speak more English than French because when I was in Cameroon, seldom did I know that English is something that we ought to consider more than French because almost everywhere in the world English is spoken. So if you know how to speak English, the more people you can speak to in the world. So you are saying that you want to speak more English? Yes. Because English has more advantage than French, English can take me far. What do you mean English has more advantage than French? You know English is the dominant language in the world. Only a few countries speak French. So when you speak English,

you have advantage in a lot of things that can be done. From education to jobs etc. do you meet other francophone Cameroonians in Pretoria? Yes I do. What about people who speak Eton? I do meet may be two or 3 people who speak Eton. There are not many in Pretoria. What do you speak when you meet Eton speakers? Sometimes we speak just for one or two minutes to remember our original language. Just to remember the village. Not that that we speak for a long time. It is usually for a short time. Sometimes a few seconds. Do you belong to any association? Is there an Eton association? It is not an Eton association but a Beti association that I belonged to. But we are mixed all together. You can find people from Bafia, Eton, ewondo etc. In that association we only speak French. When we are among us we only speak French because we normally speak English with people who don't understand French. Is there a law in the association that says you must speak only French? No law. You can speak any language you want to speak. It just that when we have no foreigner wrong us, we speak French. We speak any language it depends. Sometimes we speak Beti because there is one of us who are from eton like me. Do you enjoy speaking eton? For the moment, I cannot say I enjoy it because it is not in my mind anymore now that I am living in South Africa. And here I am even lucky to have two or three brothers who speak eton with me. Otherwise there is no way I would have spoken eton here. Eton is my original language, I cannot reject it. When it is possible to have someone who speaks the language I do speak with the person. Can you confirm in public that eton is important to you? I can say it is important because God allowed me to be born of eton family. But it doesn't mean it is important to me because eton is not taking me anywhere. What is taking me somewhere now is English because sometimes when I speak English even with people back at home, they put me on loud speaker and they complement me by saying now I speak like an American. So what you are saying is that if they put English, French and eton, what will you prefer? I will choose English obviously because, I know from today I can live anywhere in the world. I don't have problem to discuss with people because wherever you go, the first thing is to be able to communicate with people because when you are in need of something, then you have to ask people in a language they understand. Today for example, everywhere in the world, English is spoken. I don't know. Hence 100% I will choose English because I know I will be better. Now I am in South Africa for example, may be tomorrow I can find myself elsewhere. Where I might not even find someone speaking French or Eton. Do you regret living in Pretoria? No I cannot. But South Africa I cannot say at the same time because I have too much money or less, I know Pretoria will be of great benefit to me than Cameroon in my future life. Do you think

since you spoke more French in Cameroon than English, and now in Pretoria you speak more English than French? Do you think you are losing your French? No, but losing French for me cannot be a regret. French is something that I already, it is my language from birth, even to study English I run away from lectures. Because I thought I would not need English. But today, there is no way I can regret speaking English. How would you describe the time you walked out of class and tell the teacher you don't know what you will do with English? Remember when you are young, you sometimes don't know what you will become in life, you don't know where life will take you to, or found yourself. That is how life is. I cannot say I didn't know what I was saying. But it is only now that I grow up in South Africa that I know the important. Now my mind is I want to go further with English. What language do you speak with your family members? In my family, there is only one of my sister's son who studied in the Anglophone region who can speak English a bit. So with the rest I speak French or Eton. Did it occur to you any time in Cameroon to feel you love French language? No, that was before. As I said, like a child what you don't know you don't know. Today I know, I cannot say that I was loving French. I was loving French because I didn't know that there is normally a language that I must take it seriously in order to be everything in life. If you can speak English nicely you are sorted everywhere you go. If I ask you a simple question do you love French language what can you say? I cannot say I love French language. I speak French because I grew up with. I cannot at same time reject it. But what I love now is English. My English is not fine but I love English.

Participant #13

Tell me a bit about your origin in Cameroon? I am from Cameroon, from Yaoundé – the Francophone side. Your village or home language? In Cameroon we have more than 200 tribes. My home village is Sarr in Cameroon. What language do they people of Essah speak? Eton. So when you were in Cameroon, what language did you speak most time? French. Why did you speak French most of the time? I spoke French because I can say Cameroon has ten province (regions), eight regions speak French and only two speak English. Before, there was hardly English unlike now our days where English is being introduced in most schools. Before when I was in Cameroon, French was dominant everywhere. That is why it was very difficult for us francophone to speak English. So that is what made me speak French the most. Now that you are in Pretoria which is an English dominant city, what language do you speak the most? I also speak French because I get

influence by the people of my community as I am always with French speaking Cameroonians. Also you can also noticed in my English though I am not perfect. You can see that I am trying to speak. I didn't attend go to any language school to learn English. I learned English from the street. So is French language important to you? Yes, it was important before but I have realized that, I must speak English. Though I can also say French is important, but English is what I want to learn now because with French I can speak it any time anywhere. Are you comfortable speaking English? I am not comfortable but I am happy to speak English though I am still learning. Do you meet other francophone from Cameroon in Pretoria? Yes there ae many. Like I said, I am influenced by a lot of francophone Cameroonians. There is a strong presence of francophone Cameroon community here in Pretoria. We also have Anglophone Cameroonians on one side. But the issue of divide is brought here. You see Anglophone on one side and francophone on the other side. Where do you meet other francophone? We have our community, we got days where we meet. Besides I am a business man, most of them come to my shop and we speak in French or sometimes we meet on Sunday and Monday we have meeting around 3pm and 7pm respectively. Do you belong to any association? Yes we have many francophone associations here in Pretoria. Do you belong to any of them? Yes I belong to 3 associations. Which are these associations? I belong to Haut Nkam, which originally is from West Cameroon, I belong to AMICALE SANS FROENTIERE which is a francophone association, and lastly a Yaoundé Association which is strictly for people originally from Yaoundé – the centre region. What make you join these 3 associations? What made me join these associations is because, for us it is something like and insurance/assurance. When you join an association, for example if you are sick, you will be assisted, if you die, there will take your body home, if your father or siblings or child dies back at home, you will be assisted financially. That is why I join associations. It is my insurance. What language do you speak in some of these associations? French. Only French? Yes. But sometimes we mix with other non-French speaking people. But the majority of time we speak French. Well everyone is free to speak any language because as we know Cameroon is a bilingual country. During meetings you speak in any language of your comfort. How often do you speak Eton? Only when I am with people from Yaoundé, my Eton friends. You don't' speak any other language except Eton when you are with them? No. why do you only speak Eton? You know when you meet people from your home language, it is as great as it is not easy to meet them in Pretoria. So when I see the few of them I am so happy to speak Eton because I am close to forgetting how to speak

Eton very well. That is why when I see a speaker I make sure I speak Eton. Now that you are in Pretoria, if you are asked to choose between French, English or Eton. What will you choose? Obviously I will choose English because I don't have a choice since English is the dominant language use in Pretoria. If I am asked in Cameroon to choose a language then it will be my home language. Do you regret living in Pretoria? One thing I have learnt is never t regret anything. I am in Pretoria looking for a better life so I cannot regret. I am happy to be in Pretoria. Now that you speak more English in Pretoria do you think you are losing your French in some way? I am not losing my French. Because most times I can't spend up to 3 hours without speaking French. English doesn't affect my French in anyway. When you call family members what language do you speak together? I speak in my home language. Why do you speak your home language? I just love to speak in the home language. It is true sometimes I may forget something, or encounter any difficulty speaking my home language, my mother would always laugh and ask me to continue in French. She will always say she can see the home language is a bit difficult for me now. She will ask me to speak in French she will understand. So when you were in Cameroon do you think at some point you love French language? Before, I loved French but if I go back home now, I will regret. I surely will tell my siblings and nephews to learn how to speak English and French as an obligation. Why do you think you will encourage them to speak English and French? I don't think I want to encourage them because the government in Cameroon now is forcing everyone to speak English. English is introduced in schools. When I speak now to my nephews and cousins, some of them I am surprised to read the messages they send to me in English. I am very grateful about what the government is doing in Cameroon by forcing francophone to speak English.

Participant #14

Tell me a bit about you. You say you are a francophone from Cameroon? Yes I am a francophone from Cameroon. When you were in Cameroon what language did you speak most of the time? I spoke French most of the time because I grew up in the French side. Even my mother tongue I was not able to speak it because I spoke French most of the time. Where you speaking French only in school or even at home? I spoke French in school and at home. What language do you speak the most now that you live in Pretoria? I still speak French because I live in French speaking community and am surrounded by French speakers. So why do you speak mostly French in Pretoria instead of English? It is only because I am surrounded as I said with French speaking people. I

only speak English at work but outside work and on weekends I speak on French. Do you think French language is very important to you? No, not that it is very important to me, it is just that I speak English when I meet someone speaking English. But most of the times I meet with people speaking French. But it occurs to you that you speak less English than French when you are in Pretoria? Not really, during the week (seven days) I speak French twice a day and the rest of the time is English. Are you comfortable speaking English? Yes because I have been living in South Africa for many years. But regarding French, now I can speak but writing is becoming more and more difficult because I stopped writing in French for many years now. Do you meet other francophone from Cameroon in Pretoria? Yes. Where do you meet them? We have some community meeting we do every Sunday. Is it like an association? Yes. How do you call it? It is called sympathizers of West Cameroon. What do you mean when you say west Cameroon? It is one community of the whole Cameroon. In Cameroon we have different communities. Lest say there is community of people from east, people from South etc. So West Cameroon is people from west part of Cameroon. So what region or province is this association from? It originated from the West region of Cameroon. So when you say west Cameroon, you are talking about the west province? Yes. When you meet francophone what language do you usually speak? We mostly speak French and slight English. Do you have a bi-law that says you must only speak French? No, in the association there are also South Africans there. But because the majority are from Cameroon it is easier for us to switch to speaking French. Do you belong to a hometown association? Yes that is the hometown association. Do you belong to other hometown associations? No just that one. Coming from West Cameroon, do you have a native language? Yes we do have. What is the name? My home language is called Ngemba. Do you speak ngemba in the hometown association? No we don't because there are other non-ngemba speakers there. There are people who speak fehfeh etc. So how important is your home language to you? It is very important but unfortunately I don't know how to speak it properly. And also I don't meet Ngemba speaking people in Pretoria. So why don't you speak it properly? It is because I was not properly exposed to learning it when I was back in Cameroon. Or is it because you mostly spoke French that you never had time for your home language? Yes because I learned French all my life and never had the opportunity to be exposed to the home language. Now that you are in Pretoria, if you have to choose between French, English and your home language what would you choose? I will choose English because French I know it already. French cannot disappear but as for English, I need to improve on it better. Do

you regret living in Pretoria? No I don't regret. Why? Because Pretoria is a friendly place and am already socialized with people around me. So it is not easy for me to move to any other city. Now that you are in Pretoria, do you think you are losing your French? I can say yes because the frequency of speaking French is not often like when I was back in Cameroon. Because back in Cameroon I never spoke English but only French. What do you mean when you were back home you didn't speak English but French? The education system was not well structured at some point. I only learned English in 2012 when I was in school. Even then I never had much interest in learning it because, it seemed like French was the only important language back then in Cameroon. So you thought English is not important. Yes. So now that you are in Pretoria would you say English is important? Yes English is very important. When I arrived here it was difficult for me to integrate because I could not speak English. What do you speak with family members back home? French. Why? Most of them only speak French. Did it occur to you in Cameroon that you love French? No, it was only because it was the language we were able to learn. In some schools it was even very difficult to get English language teacher. So you learn French easily and speak it easily. Can you say you love French? As an issue of background, I can say I love it, because it is in me. But with the evolution of things, I can see I can learn other language than French. Are you saying you don't think you love French now? Yes, the fact that I speak another language which has more value than French, I can say I don't love French. What makes you think English is more valuable than French? The opportunities English offers as compare to that of French. What do you mean opportunities that it offers? With English it is simpler to write and speak. And also traveling in the world it is easy to integrate when you speak English. Was Pretoria your primary destination? No. what was your first destination of choice? Previously I wanted to go to Paris because it is dominantly French. And because French is like a home language to me, it would have been easier for me to integrate. But with condition of things, I was forced to move to South Africa. But do you have plans to move out of South Africa? Yes but only to move to an English speaking country and not a French speaking country? Why this change of choice? Because I understand that English has become the principal language than French.

Participant #15

Tell me a bit about your origin in Cameroon. I am coming from the Francophone side. Which part? Douala. What is your tribe/ normally am from the centre province, - Yaoundé but I lived in Douala. So your village or tribe is? I am a Nyokon boy from Makenene. What language did you speak the most when you were in Cameroon? I spoke mostly French. Why did you speak mostly French? It was because I am from the French side, the side colonized by the French that is why I spoke mostly French. Now that you are in Pretoria what language do you speak the most? Normally I speak English the most now. Why? Because the country is an English speaking country. How important is French language to you? I think right now I don't see the importance of French because I am in an English country and I must learn to speak English. Did it occur to you in Cameroon that you feel like you love French? I think that is a big problem common to us francophone. We need to learn English, because English is the most spoken world language and I think we really missed it in the francophone part of Cameroon. In order word are you comfortable speaking English? I am comfortable speaking both. Why? Comfortable because it helps me learn more on both languages, should in case I find myself in a French country, I will like to speak French and if I find myself in an English country, I will like to speak English. Do you meet other francophone in Pretoria? Yes I do. Where do you usually meet with them? Normally we use to play soccer on Saturday morning. What language do you speak with them? Normally we speak French. Why do you just speak French? Because we come from the same country. Do you belong to a home town association? No. why? It depends on the time. I want to be there but am very far. What do you mean you are very far? Because the associations are always in Pretoria. The nature of my work doesn't allow me to be stable. I am here and there constantly traveling. What is the name of your home language? My home language is Nyokon from Makenene. Do you meet Nyokon speakers in Pretoria or Gauteng? I think I met just two in Cape Town six months ago. When you met them did you flow in the home language? No we spoke only French and a bit of English. You never spoke your home language? No we didn't speak. Why? Because most of the time people always say they have forgotten their home language when they are outside the place of origin. Do you think your home language is important? Outside the country I don't think it is important. If you are to choose between your home language, French and English, what would you choose? I think I will choose English. Why? I think in most business and almost in every situation English is the language widely used. Do you regret living in Pretoria? Never. Why? I think Pretoria is a great place for me. Am talking about myself. Do you think you are losing your French now

that you speak more English? No, I don't think so. Why? Because normally it is a privilege for me because where I come from, my country is a bilingual country where we speak English and French. It is also important for me to have the opportunity to learn English. I am happy for this because back in Cameroon I couldn't speak English – I can't lie. And right now am trying my best which makes me very happy by the way. So what made you not to speak English back in Cameroon? Because, normally back in Cameroon English is taken very lightly, francophone Cameroonians don't see the need which is very dangerous. Why do you think they take English very lightly? Because for them they think French is the language that everyone speaks in the world. Which is a great mistake. I think they must travel so that they can realized around the world, most people speak English. What do you speak with your family members when you call them? Sometimes we speak home language and French. Why? Sometimes they want to test you when you are out of the country to see if you can still speak the home language and French (fluency). Do you think you still love French language? Yes I do. Why do you still love French even though you speak more English today? I was born in the French side, French is not something that I have to throw away. Thank you for the French and thank you for the English. That's all I can say.

Participant #16

What language did you speak the most in Cameroon? I spoke French. Why? I come from the French side of Cameroon. What particular side from the French side? Douala. So what is your native language? My native language is Beti but because we have so many native languages in Cameroon and two officially languages English and French. Coming from the French part I mostly spoke French. So between beti and French which one did you speak the most? French. Why? Because I didn't really know how to speak my home language. What language do you speak the most now in Pretoria? English. Why? Because English is the most spoken language in Pretoria. How is French language important to you? It is important because, it is an international language. It permits me to communicate better with my peers from Cameroon. Are you comfortable whenever you speak English? Yes, both of them French and English. What make you comfortable when you speak English? Probably because I went to school to learn how to speak English. Do you meet other francophone in Pretoria? Yes. What language do you speak with them? Mostly French. Why? Because we feel more comfortable speaking French. Do you belong to any home

town association? Yes. What is the name of the home town association? CECECAP. WHAT make you join the hometown association? Everyone has a sense of belonging. When am in that association I feel like I belong to one area, to something. So what language do you speak in that association? French. Why do you speak French? Because most of us come from the same region- the centre region of Cameroon, we might not come from the same area-tribe. In the association to be more specific, we have different home languages so just like in Cameroon, what would be comfortable is French so that, we can have a common language. Do you think your home language is important to you? Yes very important. What makes you think it is important? It defines who I am, it defines my culture, it defines my origin etc. so it is very important. So if you are to choose between English, French and your home language. What would you choose? I think all of them are important. I wouldn't choose one above the other. Do you think for example your native language is important now that you are in Pretoria? Yes, in some way. It depends on the context in which I find myself in. if may be I find myself with my folks, then my native language will be important because sometimes we need a sense of privacy. We want to talk privately etc. do you regret living in Pretoria? No. why? It is a good city, a good country with many opportunities. Instead of regretting I would have left. So what do you mean by opportunities? Pretoria is open, people are open minded, it depends just on the type of person you are. Now that you are in Pretoria do you think you are losing French a bit in anyway? Yes, definitely. How can you describe that? Some words, sometimes when you are speaking French, you find yourself unknowing using some words in English. It is because I don't practice French as often as I use to do. What language do you speak with your family members? French. Why do you speak French? Because I can't speak properly my native language so French is the language I can best express myself in. Do you think you loved French when you were in Cameroon? It is not about loving French. It is about me finding myself speaking French more than my home language. There is nothing about preference. It was just the context in which I found myself. So you cannot describe that context to be love of French? No, it is not about love of French. It was just an issue of being born francophone.

Participant # 17

What language do you speak the most when you were in Cameroon?

French. Why? I was born in the francophone region. All my family is speaking French so I grew up speaking French as well.

How important is the French language to you now that you are living in Pretoria, which is an English dominated city? French is not so important to me now in Pretoria. Do you love French? I will not say I love French Why? French is just a medium of communication to me. I grew up speaking French because there was no alternative language presented to me. There was no English language in my school in the far north region. Would you say you love for French has change? I cannot say my love for French has changed because I don't have any particular love for French because to me, French is just a means of communication. Why? Love for anything is either demonstrated or seen on something. I can't demonstrate any love for French.

Are you comfortable speaking English? I am not comfortable speaking English but am force to. Why? Something tells me that my grammar in English is not perfect. So, it kind of make me shy. It also depend on who am speaking to. If I am speaking to a friend informally, I don't mind am comfortable. But if I am speaking on a job interview, I am usually not comfortable knowing that there is grammar errors committed.

Do you meet with other Francophone Cameroonians in Pretoria? Yes I do. If yes, what language do you speak when you meet them? We usually speak French. Why do you speak this language and not the other language with them? It only occur to us to speak French naturally. We don't have any particular reason to say we speak French. It is just the fact that, we are not ashamed of our origin.

What is your indigenous language? My indigenous language is Fulfulde. Do you meet other Cameroonians in Pretoria who speak the same indigenous language as you? No, I haven't met anyone yet. Where else do you speak your indigenous language? Only when I call my family members. How important is your indigenous language to you? My indigenous language is not so important because I can't use it for anything apart of speaking to my family members.

Do you belong to any hometown association? Yes, I belong to an association. Not sure if I can call it a hometown association. Why did you join or did not join a hometown association? I join the association because when I came to South Africa, I was feeling very lonely. South Africa is

different from Cameroon. People in South Africa are not so friendly with foreigners. At some point I needed to belong to an association or to a family or to anything that could make me feel at home.

What language do you speak in the hometown association? There is no particular home language that we speak in the association. People speak different languages to different people that can understand them. Sometimes, camfranglais is most often used.

If you were to ask today to choose between French and English, what will you choose? I will choose English Why? Because English guarantees my survival in Pretoria. English is needed in most of the cases.

Do you regret living in Pretoria? No, I don't regret. Why? Because Pretoria offers more in terms of human development than Cameroon. Do you think you are losing anything? I am not losing anything. My culture is still practice. I still have culture attires. I still speak home language with people back home. I still cook home food etc.

What language do you speak with your family members back home? I speak French or Fulfulde to them. Why? None of them speak English so we as often switch from French to home language.

Participant # 18

What language did you speak the most in Cameroon? French. Why? I was born by French speaking parents in a French speaking village. There was no one speaking any other language than French.

Do you think you loved French at some point? Not really. Why? Well French language has been a language of communication to me. There is no way I can demonstrate whether I like French or not. But if I look at the colonial history of France, what French government did to my people during liberation struggle, there is no way I can love French.

What language do you speak the most now that you are in Pretoria? English. Why? I speak English because everything around me both formal and informal interaction is mostly with people who speak English.

Do you meet with other francophone in Pretoria? Yes I meet with a lot of them. What language do you speak with them when you meet them? We mostly speak in French. Why? I think it is because

it is a language we are most comfortable speaking. You know one of the reason you get comfortable with a language is when you speak it without errors.

Can you say you are comfortable speaking English? No, I can't say I am comfortable. Why? Because something tells me my grammar in English has a lot of error. It also depend on whom am speaking with and for what reason. If I am speaking with my peers, I am comfortable because all of them also can't speak well. But if I am speaking during a job interview, I am very uncomfortable because among other things, I always feel they won't understand me perfectly in what am trying to say. Sometimes if I don't get the job, I will say they didn't understand me.

What home language do you speak? My home language is Ngoumba from Southern region. Do you meet other Ngoumba speakers in Pretoria? No, I haven't met any. How important is your home language? I don't think it has any importance apart from keeping secret when you are speaking to someone from your tribe and you don't want a non-speaker to understand what you are saying.

If you were ask to choose between English, French and your home language what would you choose? I will choose English while in Pretoria and French in Cameroon. Why? Because in Pretoria, I need more English to survive than French. While back in Cameroon you can survive without English.

Do you belong to any home town association? Yes, I belong to one Bamileke hometown association. Why did you join a home town association? My wife is from that tribe so I only joined it to please her. Would you have joined a hometown association if not married? No I don't think I would have joined. Why? I believe this places brings in a lot of competition and gossiping which am not ready for that.

What do language do you speak with you family in Cameroon? I only speak the home language to them. Most at times it is because I say things I don't want my wife to understand. You know, when you are in a foreign land, it is not like you are home. A woman can leave you any time.

Do you regret living in Pretoria? Not at all. Why? Pretoria far better than Cameroon. In terms of what? In terms of beauty of the place, the opportunities etc.

Participant #19

What language did you speak the most in Cameroon? I spoke French the most. Why? I am born in the French region. Everything around me was French. There was no English school or people speaking English. Where were you born? I was born in North Region. What is your home language? My home language is Hausa.

Do you think you loved French at some point? No, I never love French. In fact I love Hausa more than French. Why? Hausa was the language I spoke most of the time in Garoua. Why? I didn't attend secondary school. Only in secondary schools you can learn more French and English. In Primary school, you learn in French and in Hausa.

What language do you speak the most now that you are in Pretoria? I speak mostly English. Why? Because I want to perfect my English so that I can travel to the United States.

Do you meet with other francophone in Pretoria? Yes I meet them. Where? We usually meet in reunions/meetings, church shop etc. what language do you speak when you meet them? We speak French. Why? When we just meet each other as francophone, we immediately speak French. Why? Not sure but it looks like we are re-affirming our identity.

Can you say you are comfortable speaking English? Yes now, I am comfortable speaking English because people can understand me perfectly well unlike when I just arrived SA. No one knew what I was saying in English. The tenses were wrong and sometimes when I struggle with a word in English I will say it in French that made it worse. But now, my English is fluent.

How important is your home language? It is very important because it shows who I am. A Hausa guy from Garoua.

If you were ask to choose between English, French and your home language what would you choose? For now, I will choose English. But if I had my way I will only speak Hausa till I die. Why? English I need it to access opportunities. I work as a chef in white restaurants. I need English more than anything. Do you meet speakers of Hausa here? No

Do you belong to any home town association? Yes I belong to a home town association. What is the name? Why did you join a hometown association? My friends joined in and told me it is a good way of meeting people who have been here before. Does joining a hometown association helped

you in anyway? Yes it did when I arrived SA. I had people who gave me accommodation and food until I got my feet on the ground.

What do language do you speak with you family in Cameroon? I only speak Hausa to them. Why? Because I don't want to forget it.

Do you think you are losing your French as well? I don't think so. Why? I always do things also in French like watching French TV Programmes etc.

Participant #20

What language did you speak the most in Cameroon? I spoke French the most. Why? I am born in the French region. Everything around me was French.

Do you think you loved French at some point? Know it never occurred to me that I loved French more than any other language. I just preferred it over English because as French speaker, you had to do a course in English in school. I always failed the cause and it reduced my marks. Hence, I didn't like English just because of that reason.

What language do you speak the most now that you are in Pretoria? I speak English. Why? It is the dominant language.

Do you meet with other francophone in Pretoria? Yes I do meet them every day. Where do you meet them? We have popular spots that we meet together. In meetings, in Cameroon restaurants, football fields etc.

Can you say you are comfortable speaking English? Yes I am comfortable. Why? I think I like English. I listen to a lot of R and B so it give me much love for English.

What home language do you speak? I speak fang.

How important is your home language? It is only important when you go to my village. Out of my village it is not so important because you can only speak it when you meet another person from my village unlike English that you can speak with anybody you see on the road.

If you were ask to choose between English, French and your home language what would you choose? I will choose English. Why? English offers more opportunities than French. And also my love for Afro American music like rap etc.

Do you belong to any home town association? Yes I belong to a home town association. Why did you join a home town association? I join it because there we help each other. What do you mean we help each other? When you lost a family member, you get assisted financially. Also it is a place you can easily eat good Cameroon food.

What do language do you speak with you family in Cameroon? I speak only speak French to them. Why? I don't know how to speak fang? Why don't you know? Because, though I am fang, I was not born in my native village. I was born outside my native land. I also never visited the village. Why? There were a lot of witchcraft there so my parents never allowed us to go there.