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**EXPLORING LANGUAGE AWARENESS IN
THE EDUCATIONAL SECTOR:
A GERMANO-CAMEROONIAN PERSPECTIVE**

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the PhD. degree in General and Applied Linguistics

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DEDICATION

To my father,

Rev. Zacharie KENGNE

And my mother,

Lucienne MASSO

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ABSTRACT

With two official languages, 279 national languages (Dieu et Renaud, 2002), lingua franca such as Pidgin English and Camfranglais as youth talk, Cameroon is a good illustration of a country where multilingualism remains a great challenge to face. Because of the massive arrival of migrants on its territory, Germany too has to cope with the same challenge. As a matter of fact, discrimination pertaining to people's backgrounds and origins is perceptible in the educational sector. Given that Language Awareness is a person's sensitivity to language and its use, the aim of this research is to elaborate appropriate teaching materials that will raise awareness of teachers and students on linguistic diversity.

The problem is to find out adequate mechanisms to tackle marginalization, bias and stereotypes result of multilingualism both in German and Cameroonian schools. To achieve this objective, qualitative and quantitative data were analysed. Consequently, interviews were initially administered to families with Cameroonian backgrounds whose children are attending schools in Berlin. Secondly, a little survey was also conducted among student-teachers in Cameroon, and 796 photographs depicting the Linguistic Landscape of Yaoundé were taken and analysed. Finally, recordings were made with young people speaking Camfranglais.

In terms of results, three teaching materials have been proposed for direct use in the classroom, namely: Lingi, Linguistic Landscape and Camfranglais-Exploration.

These materials are thus of great importance because they bring students and teachers to develop positive attitudes and representations towards marginalized varieties and henceforth, towards their speakers. As such, students could perform better at school for a better development of the country.

In Cameroon like in Germany, coping with multilingualism involves the collaboration of teachers, children, parents, and policy makers on the role of linguistic diversity in the empowerment of otherness and of the country. The adaptation of Lingi, Linguistic Landscape and Camfranglais-Exploration could surely be a way out.

RÉSUMÉ

Avec deux langues officielles, 279 langues nationales (Dieu et Renaud, 2002), le Pidgin English comme lingua franca et le camfranglais comme langue des jeunes, le Cameroun est l'illustration, à juste titre, d'un pays où le multilinguisme demeure un défi majeur à relever. Du fait de l'arrivée massive des immigrants sur son territoire, l'Allemagne aussi est confrontée à ce même défi. En fait, la discrimination relative aux divers horizons et aux origines des personnes est perceptible dans le secteur éducatif. L'éveil aux langues étant la sensibilité d'une personne à la langue et à son utilisation, ce travail se propose d'élaborer du matériel pédagogique approprié, pour sensibiliser les enseignants et les élèves à la diversité linguistique.

Le problème consiste à trouver des mécanismes adéquats pour lutter contre la marginalisation, les préjugés et les stéréotypes résultant du multilinguisme aussi bien dans les écoles allemandes que camerounaises. Pour atteindre cet objectif, des données qualitatives et quantitatives ont été analysées. Dans un premier temps, des entretiens ont été administrés auprès des familles d'origine camerounaise dont les enfants fréquentent des écoles à Berlin; deuxièmement, un petit sondage a été mené auprès des élèves-professeurs au Cameroun et 796 images reflétant le paysage linguistique de la ville de Yaoundé ont été prises et analysées. Enfin, des enregistrements ont été réalisés auprès de jeunes locuteurs du camfranglais.

En ce qui concerne les résultats, trois matériels pédagogiques ont été proposés pour usage direct en salle de classe, à savoir: Lingi, Linguistic Landscape et Camfranglais-Exploration.

Ces matériaux sont donc d'une grande importance dans la mesure où ils amènent élèves et enseignants à développer des attitudes et représentations positives face aux variétés marginalisées et par ricochet à leurs locuteurs. De cette manière, les élèves pourraient avoir de meilleures performances scolaires contribuant ainsi au développement du pays.

Au Cameroun tout comme en Allemagne, faire face au multilinguisme implique la collaboration des enseignants, des enfants, des parents et des décideurs politiques sur le rôle de la diversité linguistique dans l'épanouissement de l'altérité et du pays. L'adaptation de Lingi, de Linguistic Landscape et de Camfranglais-Exploration pourrait certainement s'avérer être une issue de sortie bénéfique.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
ABSTRACT	v
RÉSUMÉ	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
LIST OF TABLES.....	xii
LIST OF CHARTS	xii
ABBREVIATIONS	xii
GENERAL INTRODUCTION	1
Background of the study	10
Motivations	14
Research problem	15
Research hypothesis.....	16
Goal of the study.....	16
Relevance of the study.....	17
Research interests.....	20
Outline of the study.....	25
CHAPTER ONE: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF LANGUAGE AWARENESS.....	26
1.1. Historical background.....	28
1.2. Objectives of the approach.....	30
1.3. Foundations of the Language Awareness approach	31
1.4. Cognitive aspects of Language Awareness	32
1.4.1. Explicit and implicit learning	33
1.4.2. Consciousness/awareness, attention, and noticing.....	34
1.4.3. Summary of terms and definitions.....	35
1.5. Language Awareness and language teaching.....	36
1.6. Motivation and attitudes in Language Awareness	37
1.6.1. Definition of motivation and attitudes.....	37
1.6.2. Theories about motivation.....	38
1.7. Attitudes and social representations in social psychology	40
1.7.1. Attitudes.....	40
1.7.2. Representations.....	42
1.8. Language attitudes and representations in sociolinguistics	45
1.8.1. Language attitudes	45
1.8.3. Hypercorrection.....	47
1.8.4. Stereotype	47

1.8.5. Sociolinguistic representations	48
1.9. Main thrust of theoretical framework of LA as it applies to this work	49
1.9.1. Pupil activities	50
1.9.2. The teacher's role	50
1.9.3. Language Awareness and teaching methodology	50
1.9.4. LA approach to language teaching/learning	51
1.9.5. Teachers and learners	55
1.9.6. How to become aware?	59
1.10. Summary	60
CHAPTER TWO: PREVIOUS WORKS ON LANGUAGE AWARENESS.....	61
2.1. Definition of key words	62
2.1.1. Language Awareness	62
2.1.2. First language.....	64
2.1.3. Second language	65
2.1.4. Foreign language	66
2.1.5. Linguistic diversity	66
2.1.6. Cultural diversity.....	67
2.1.7. Multilingualism	68
2.1.8. Language contact.....	69
2.1.9. Majority language.....	72
2.1.10. Minority language.....	74
2.2. Eric Hawkins' project in Great Britain.....	74
2.3. Ja-ling project in Europe	75
2.3.2. Aims	76
2.3.3. Results.....	76
2.4. Evlang project in Europe.....	77
2.4.1. Context.....	77
2.4.2. Objectives	78
2.4.3. Outcomes	79
2.5. LEA project in Europe (Language Educator Awareness). Developing plurilingual and pluricultural awareness in language teacher education.....	80
2.5.1. Context.....	80
2.5.2. Aims and objectives	81
2.5.3. Outcomes	82
2.6. Eole project in Europe	83
2.6.1. Description.....	83
2.6.2. Objectives	83
2.7. ELODil project in Quebec (Canada).....	84
2.7.1. Context.....	84
2.7.2. Objectives of ÉLODIL in Quebec.....	85
2.7.3. ÉLODIL activities	85
2.8. Project T1: "Urban Language Variation in Teachers' Education" in Germany	86
2.8.1. Context.....	86
2.8.2. Negative attitudes towards language variation and nonstandard language in education	87
2.8.3. "The many sides of German": A programme for teachers' education.....	89
2.8.4. General features.....	89

2.8.5. Materials for secondary school teachers	91
2.8.6. Teaching teachers: first experiences with anti-bias materials.....	95
2.9. Literature review of Camfranglais	96
2.10. Literature review of Linguistic Landscape	97
2.11. Summary	98
CHAPTER THREE: LANGUAGE AWARENESS AND RELATED APPROACHES	99
3.1. Critical Language Awareness	100
3.2. Teachers' Language Awareness	107
3.3. Language and cultural awareness.....	109
3.3.1. Cultural knowledge	113
3.3.2. Cultural awareness	114
3.3.3. Cultural awareness approaches	115
3.4. Language attitude.....	117
3.4.1. Basic concepts in research on language attitudes	117
3.4.2. Measuring (language) attitudes	136
3.4.3. Criteria, problems and solutions.....	141
3.5. Bi/Multilingual education.....	143
3.6. Pluralistic approach to languages and cultures	148
3.6.1. The FREPA model.....	148
3.6.2. The Intercultural Speaker.....	153
3.6.3. Extensive trilingualism model	156
3.7. Translanguaging.....	157
3.7.1. Cen Williams and the Welsh origins of "translanguaging"	159
3.7.2. The advantages of translanguaging.....	161
3.7.3. Dual literacy and translanguaging	163
3.7.4. Translanguaging and Poststructuralism	164
3.8. Code-switching	168
3.8.1.Types of code-switching.....	169
3.8.2. Reasons for code-switching.....	170
3.8.3. Code-switching as a language interference	172
3.9. Summary.....	172
CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK & DATA ANALYSIS	173
4.1. Methods.....	174
4.2. Sample choice	174
4.3. Data collection.....	175
4.4. Interviews in Germany.....	175
4.5. Questionnaires for children	179
4.6. Questionnaires for parents.....	181
4.7. Photographs in Cameroon.....	182
4.7.1. Safari photos performed by the researcher	182
4.7.2. Safari photos performed by level 1 students of the Higher Teaching Training College of Yaoundé (ENS, Ydé 1).....	183
4.8. Young people interviews in Cameroon.....	184
4.9. Transcription and annotations of the recordings	185
4.10. Reading papers in library and on the Internet	186

4.11. Data elicitation and analysis	186
4.11.1. Multilingualism in German schools.....	186
4.11.2. Germany speaks many languages.....	187
4.11.3. Multilingualism as a connected system.....	188
4.12. Facing linguistic diversity in Germany: A qualitative analysis of the attitudes experienced by the Cameroonian diaspora	192
4.13. Camfranglais-Exploration	197
4.13.1. The rationale.....	199
4.13.2. The goal.....	199
4.13.3. The method	199
4.14. JAXE and CLAPOTY	200
4.14.1. Specificity of this work.....	200
4.14.2. Transcriptions of the recordings on Camfranglais	201
4.14.3. Annotations of the transcriptions with Jaxe.....	201
4.14.4. Literal translation and language segmentation	201
4.15. Analysis of the annotations with Jaxe	204
4.15.1. Blending.....	204
4.15.2. Interrogatives.....	205
4.15.3. Interro-declarative?.....	205
4.15.4. Results.....	208
4.16. Linguistic Landscape	216
4.16.1. Legislation on public and private signage in Cameroon.....	217
4.16.2. Analysis of the Linguistic Landscape of Yaoundé.....	218
4.17. Discussion	229
4.18. Linguistic Landscape and Language Awareness	231
4.19. Linguistic Landscape and national identity	233
4.20. Linguistic Landscape and translanguaging	234
4.21. Linguistic Landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality	234
4.22. Summary	238
CHAPTER FIVE: INSIGHTS FROM THE USE OF CAMEROONIAN LANGUAGES IN THE CAMEROONIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM	239
5.1. Relation between students and their mother tongue	240
5.2. Attitudes and representations towards the majority languages	241
5.3. Relation to linguistic diversity	242
5.4. Cameroonian Languages and Cultures at the primary level	243
5.4.1. Objectives	243
5.4.2. Curriculum	244
5.5. Cameroonian Languages and Cultures at the secondary level	246
5.5.1. Curriculum	246
5.5.2. Presentation of the module: linguistic diversity of Cameroon.....	248
5.6. Cameroonian Languages and Cultures at the Higher Teachers Training College	249
5.6. Summary	251
CHAPTER SIX: TOWARDS A BETTER PERCEPTION OF MULTILINGUALISM IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM OF CAMEROON	252
6.1. Lingi the stork (see. Appendices 1-6)	254

6.1.1. Discussions in the classroom.....	272
6.1.2. Lingi visits the children in East and Central Africa	272
6.1.3. Lingi visits the Ngɛmbà.....	275
6.1.4. Lingi visits the Ghɔmálá'	277
6.2. Linguistic Landscape (see. Appendices 7-8).....	279
6.3. Camfranglais-Exploration/KiezdeutschSprachForchung (see. Appendices 9-19).....	284
6.4. Summary.....	287
CONCLUSION.....	288
Perspectives	289
Gains of Bi/multilingualism.....	292
Drawbacks of Bi/multilingualism	301
Challenges	304
REFERENCES.....	315
APPENDICES	345
INDEX OF AUTHORS AND LEXICON.....	459

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Language interference	172
Figure 2: Group work during LL class, February 2016; ENS	184
Figure 3: Word segmentation and literal translation	202
Figure 4: Word for word translation and parts of speech indication.....	203
Figure 5: Clipping.....	204
Figure 6: Blending 1	204
Figure 7: Blending 2	205
Figure 8: Blending 3	205
Figure 9: Occurrences of interrogatives.....	205
Figure 10: The use of "wh/qu" in Camfranglais.....	206
Figure 11: The use of "non" in Camfranglais	207
Figure 12: The use of "que" in Camfranglais.....	208
Figure 13: Multilingual occurrences in the corpus	211
Figure 14: French only	219
Figure 15: English only	220
Figure 16: French-English 1	220
Figure 17: French - English 2	221
Figure 18: French-English 3	221
Figure 19: National language-French	222
Figure 20: French-National language	222
Figure 21: English-National language	222
Figure 22: Cameroon Colloquial-French	223
Figure 23: Cameroon Pidgin- English	223
Figure 24: French-Camfranglais.....	224
Figure 25: Camfranglais-French.....	224
Figure 26: French.....	225

Figure 27: English	225
Figure 28: Official bilingual.....	226
Figure 29: Official bilingual.....	226
Figure 30: German-French-English	227

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Overview of materials for secondary school teachers' education.....	91
Table 2: Description of the interviewees	176
Table 3: Description of the participants to the recordings on Camfranglais.....	185
Table 4: Corpus presentation	209
Table 5: Monolingual signs.....	227
Table 6: Bilingual signs.....	228
Table 7: Trilingual signs.....	229
Table 8: Percentages experienced and proposed for schedules	244
Table 9: PROPELCA program for primary education (with a focus on the first three years)	245
Table 10: Summary of the modules of the syllabus.....	248
Table 11: The module of Linguistic diversity of Cameroon	249
Table 12: Fundamental teaching units	250
Table 13: Complementary teaching unit.....	251

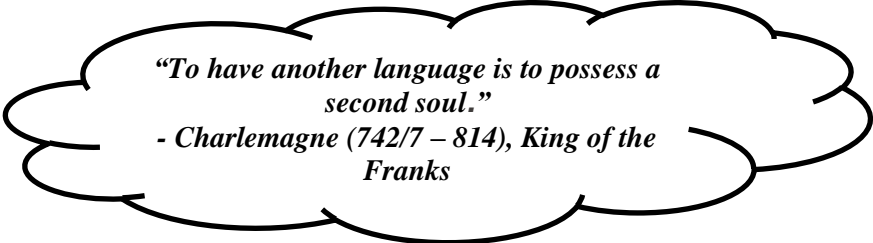
LIST OF CHARTS

Chart 1: Reasons for Code Switching	170
Chart 2: Language occurrences in the corpus	209
Chart 3: MUL occurrences in the corpus	210
Chart 4: MUL utterances in the corpus.....	210
Chart 5: Percentage of commercial language signs.....	230
Chart 6: Percentage of public language signs	231

ABBREVIATIONS

ALA: Association of Language Awareness
 ALCAM: Atlas Linguistique des Langues du Cameroun
 CLA: Critical Language Awareness

CEFR: Common European Framework of Reference
CS: Code Switching
ELODil: Éveil aux langues et à la diversité linguistique
Evlang: Éveil aux langues
FL: Foreign Language
JA-LING: Janua linguarum / The Gateway to Languages
L1: First Language/Mother tongue
L2: Second Language
LA: Language Awareness
Labex EFL: Laboratoire de l'Excellence of the Empirical Foundations of Linguistics
LEA: Language Educator Awareness
LL: Linguistic Landscape
MLA: Multilingual Language Awareness
MLE: Multilingual Education
NACALCO: National Association of Cameroonian language Committees
N.C.L.E: National Council of Language to Education
OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
P/C: Pidgin and Creole
PROPELCA: Programme de recherche opérationnelle pour l'enseignement des langues au Cameroun
SeDyL: Structure et Dynamique des Langues
TLA: Teachers' Language Awareness



“To have another language is to possess a second soul.”
- Charlemagne (742/7 – 814), King of the Franks

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

One of the most important identity markers partly determining the relationships established amongst different speakers is language. Historically, the Greeks used to call “Barbarians” people whose language was different from Greek and who spoke a language which sounded to them an unintelligible babble or simple onomatopoeia, (“bar-bar-bar”). The demarcation line between those belonging to the Greek civilization and others was the linguistic criteria. Thus, like Bourdieu (1982) says: Languages and dialects are not neutral instruments of communication in the society. Among the speakers, there are many representations, attitudes and perceptions more or less positive towards languages and dialects and towards those using them. In the globalization context, the concept of “linguistic market” emerges, in which languages may be devalued or, conversely, gain value (Bourdieu, 1977 and 1982; Calvet, 2002). In order to establish the prestige and recognition of a language in its various social functions, demographic, economic, political, and ideological factors play a decisive role. This is also applied to its speakers. The ranking of different languages is the result of social power relation allowing a group with an economic and cultural supremacy to impose its own language so that it becomes the legitimized language. Some mechanisms and institutions will support its actions, including schools systems, to maintain and establish itself as a so-called common and reference language over other languages and communities who speak them.

The history of humanity is highly characterized by migration processes. Christopher Columbus was the first European to discover America. Later on, his discovery led to the domination of the whole world. Slavery and colonization were powerful tools used by the Westerners to impose their hegemony. In the aftermaths of the independence movements, many countries adopted the languages brought by their colonial masters as official languages. This is the case of most African

countries where languages like English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese remain the languages of administration, education, justice, and public matters. The contact between European and African languages gave rise to linguistic changes, for instance the creation of new talks like creoles and Pidgin, but also to changes observable at all the levels of the linguistic analysis to such extent that the question of identity in Africa has become so controversial and has nursed many debates.

Just like Africa and other colonised countries, Europe too has to cope with the presence of many foreign languages either due to globalization or to migration. Monolingualism in Europe is of no relevance today because of the increasing number of individuals with various backgrounds. This situation also entails linguistic changes both at the level of the majority language or the minority languages of the country, as well as at the perception of “Other”.

Education appears to be the predilection field to valorise languages and their speakers and to maintain a kind of equilibrium aiming at empowering every language, avoiding stereotypes, bias and discrimination arising from linguistic and cultural diversity.

Widely spread in Europe since 1990, the concept of “Language Awareness” started in Great Britain with Eric Hawkins and was first intended for first and second language teaching. It will then be extended to foreign language teaching, hence bringing teachers and pupils to adopt positive attitudes towards other languages and dialects, and to perform better when acquiring their mother tongue.

Language Awareness is thus the foundation of language teaching in multilingual societies and has to be adapted in the African context in general and in the Cameroonian context in particular.

Also called Africa in miniature, (Siebetcheu, 2012) Cameroon is a real mosaic of languages and cultures with 285 languages according to Lewis (2015), 279 languages for Dieu et Renaud (2002) and 247 languages for Boum Ndongou and Sadembouo (1999).

First known as “Rio dos Camaroes” or river of shrimps, Cameroon takes its name from the Victoria River where the Portuguese navigator Fernando Po found a lot of shrimps in 1474. England traders were already settled in the coastal areas of Cameroon and in order to get in touch with the indigenous people, they were using a Pidgin, which later became a lingua franca known

as Pidgin English. The name Cameroon therefore comes from “Camaroes” by the Portuguese, “Kamerun” by the Germans, “Cameroon” by the English, and “Cameroun” by the French.

The country is located in Central Africa, in the Gulf of Guinea, between the 2nd and 13th degrees of North latitude and the 9th and 16th degrees East longitude. The country covers an area of 475,650 square kilometres. This is a mosaic of ethnicities and cultures, geographic and climatic varieties, all representative of the continent (Levine, 1964) and grouped on the same territory, which currently has ten administrative regions. From this point of view, there are four major linguistic and cultural areas in Cameroon: the Sudano Sahelian area that can be found in the Far North of the country, the Sawa area otherwise known as “coastal area”, the Beti-Fang area, whose people are also called Pahouing, and finally, there is the Grassfield area, which is located in the West and North West region of the country. In spite of migration and external movements, each linguistic area has preserved some distinctive features of identity.

The great diversity of Cameroon grants it a very special status, that of “Africa in miniature” because various features of the continent are represented, either from a geographical, linguistic or cultural point of view. This linguistic and cultural variety alters and enriches different linguistic usages and gives rise to new talks that characterise some groups claiming a certain identity. Thus, beside the 280 national languages, there are Cameroonian French, Cameroonian English, Pidgin English and Camfranglais.

As far as the language policy of Cameroon is concerned, the 18th century marked the advent of colonization in Africa. The Westerners making an unequal division of the continent, on the basis of ideological and political criteria, characterized this. Like other African countries, Cameroon was not exempted. Colonization brought many changes in various areas of the life of its colonies. Linguistically, colonizers introduced their own languages and implemented laws sometimes in favour or not of native languages.

In 1884, “Kamerun” became a German colony. Under the German rule, evangelical missionaries used some local languages in schools. After the First World War, Germany surrendered its colonies to France and Great Britain. Cameroon, now under the tutelage of the League of Nations (later UN) will be divided into two parts: The Eastern Cameroon administered by France and the West Cameroon administered by Britain. Each of these superpowers ruled their colonies in their

own way. While France was practising Direct Rule, Britain meanwhile was practising Indirect Rule.

After independence in 1961, the politico-linguistic footprints of the colonizing powers remain perceptible to various degrees.

Cameroon adopted English and French as official languages, when the federal republic came into existence in October 1961. In the area of education, two subsystems exist in Cameroon: the Anglophone system of education based on the Anglo-Saxon model and the Francophone system based on the French model. Although the two are used side by side, a bilingual system of education is also operational at the university level where studies are carried out in both English and French.

On one hand, we have official languages enjoying prestigious status and Cameroonian languages on the other hand that have been managing to acquire better status before and after independence. The status of a language refers to the place and function that language occupies within a nation. Also called national languages, Cameroonian languages refer to local languages, those used by the indigenous before the colonial period.

Following the 1884 Treaty signed by German Consul Nachtigal with the traditional chiefs in Douala, King Akwa and King Bell, Cameroon became a German protectorate. In 1910, the federal government legislated a decree stipulating that no other language should be taught apart from the particular vernacular of the village or German, and it was only with the permission of the governor that a related language could replace the local vernacular. Thus, the Protestant and Catholic missionaries could translate the Bible, teach and evangelize in local languages such as Duala, Bassa, Ewondo and Bulu. Meanwhile, Pidgin English remained the language of contact between populations.

Consequently, under German rule, some Cameroonian languages could be used as lingua franca and were also taught in missionary schools and found in the Christian literature.

After the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, four fifth of the Cameroonian territory was bequeathed to France, which later practised assimilation. It was strictly forbidden to teach Cameroonian languages throughout East Cameroon in favour of the French language. France therefore adopted

an exclusive francization policy to the pity of local languages, as indicated in the decree of the General Governor of French Equatorial Africa, V. Augagneur, signed on December 28, 1920 in Brazzaville: “No school will be allowed if the teaching is not given in French. The teaching of any other language is prohibited.”

West Cameroon occupied one fifth of the country and was administered by Great Britain who practised Indirect Rule. This policy was less detrimental to local languages, which were still taught by missionaries and which performed the functions of vehicular languages.

According to the CIA World Fact Book, there are ten administrative regions, two of which are English-speaking and eight French-speaking. French Cameroon became independent on 1st January 1960. Then on 11th February 1960, British Southern Cameroons voted union with French Cameroon through a referendum. This association between the two entities was consolidated on 1st October 1961 through the Reunification of Cameroon and creation of a federation made up of two states called West Cameroon and East Cameroon. The federation survived till 20 May 1972 when a unitary State made up of seven provinces was created. And later in 1984, the number of provinces was increased to ten through a Presidential decree.

French and English were adopted as official languages after independence. Other languages were assigned the status of “national languages” of equal value. However, there is no law in favour of national languages, as it is the case for English and French.

It was only in the aftermath of the 1996 new constitution (approved by the National Assembly in that year) that various laws and decrees regulating the official language policy were adopted:

The Constitution: Law no. 96-06 of 18 January 1996 / re-edited February 1996

Law no. 98/004 of 14 April 1998, Ministry of Education

Decree no. 2002/004 of January 2002, Structure of Ministry of ^[1]_[SEP]National Education

Decree no. 98/003 of 8 January 1998, Ministry of Culture

General instruction No. 2 of 4 June 1998, Organisation of the work ^[1]_[SEP]of the Government

For the first time in Cameroonian history, the national languages were accounted for in 1996 in Law no. 005 of 16 April 2001 on secondary education. ^[1]_[SEP]The Constitution stipulates the official

status of French and English in Cameroon, but adds: “The State shall endeavour to protect and promote national languages” (Republic of Cameroon 1996: Part 1, art. 1, paragraph 3). This document also guarantees, inter alia, the protection of minorities and indigenous people’s rights and the ratification of numerous human rights conventions. In addition, it states that Cameroon is a decentralised state which recognises traditional values (article 1, paragraph 2). ^[1]The law on Education passed by the National Assembly in April 1998 gives the guidelines for education in Cameroon. This law states that the “general purpose of education shall be to train children for their intellectual, physical, civic and moral development and their smooth integration into society bearing in mind prevailing economic, socio-cultural, political and moral factors” (Republic of Cameroon 1998a: Part 1, section 4). ^[2]In part 1 (general provisions, section 5), article 4 states that one of the objectives of education is to “promote national languages”. The major part of the law is concerned with the organization of the bilingual education through the two sub-systems: The English-speaking and the French- speaking sub-system, thus “reaffirming the national option for biculturalism.” (Republic of Cameroon 1998a: Chapter 1, Section 15, 1).

The constitution of 1996 and the 1998 law on Education were supplemented in January 2002, when a decree on the structure of the Ministry of Education was issued. This decree directs the Provincial inspections of Pedagogy to be responsible for the national languages. The national languages are in this paragraph mentioned at the end after a long list of languages of foreign origin: English, French, Latin, Greek, German, Arabic, Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Italian and Portuguese. It states:

The Provincial Inspections of Pedagogy are distributed as follows: Provincial Inspection of Pedagogy in charge of the teaching of arts and letters, languages: French, English, Latin, Greek, German, Arabic, Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Italian, Portuguese, national languages (Republic of Cameroon 2002: Section II, Article 107, 3).

This is apparently the only document today, which deals with the national languages of Cameroon where implementation is taken into account.

The fourth decree listed above (No. 98/003) states that the Ministry of Culture is responsible for registration of organizations and institutions working with national languages. It also says that the Ministry of Culture is in charge of “The study of strategies for the promotion of national languages in schools and universities and through the media” (Republic of Cameroon 1998b: Part

VI, Chapter II, Article 25). Thus this ministry, through the national languages service, should work with practical promotion and cooperation with other institutions.

A General Alphabet of Cameroon Languages was adopted by linguists in the late 70s and has been taught in the Department of African Languages and Linguistics in universities up to now. At the same time, some schools were allowed to experiment the teaching of Cameroonian languages. There were 11 experimental schools in 1986. Gradually, this teaching spread in each of the 10 regions of Cameroon where one or two local languages were taught by PROPELCA and NACALCO. Another important development is that in 1998, the parliament passed a bill on the general orientation of education in Cameroon with special emphasis on the teaching of national languages, a bill that was subsequently promulgated into law No 98/004 of 14 April 1998 by the Head of State (Mba and Chiatoh, 2000: 5)

Though controversial, propositions of laws in favour of the formal insertion of Cameroonian languages in the education system were made.

In 2008, we finally witnessed the creation of a department and a laboratory of Cameroonian Languages and Cultures at the Higher Teachers Training College of Yaoundé by Order No. 08/0223 MINESUP / DDES of September 3, 2008, with the mission of training qualified teachers for teaching national linguistic and cultural heritage in high schools and colleges of secondary education. Since then, Cameroonian languages are taught in some high schools and colleges throughout the national territory and soon in nursery and primary schools.

On the question of the role and status of Cameroonian languages, it should be recalled that before independence, no special status was granted to Cameroonian languages that were considered “patois”. They mainly played the role of lingua franca. After independence, they were granted the status of national languages but their use had been very limited until 1996 when the government first enacted legislation to their promotion. Although present today in the educational system, their integration and expansion remains a major challenge. However, they are a vector of development through knowledge of traditional medicine and easier access to information. Talks such as Pidgin-English and Camfranglais certainly help to achieve this. At the world rendez-vous of giving and receiving, it is important for Cameroon in particular and Africa in general to bring out authentic heritage and not to be washed away by the overwhelming civilizations.

As earlier observed, the policy of official language bilingualism constitutes the main core of Cameroon's language policy. Article 1, paragraph 3 of the Constitution of 18 January 1996 is abundantly clear in this regard:

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

Although successive Constitutions of the country since independence have always reiterated the policy of official bilingualism, there is no well-defined language policy till date as to its implementation. In the first place, although English and French are considered equal in status as per the new constitution, French has a *de facto* dominance over English in the areas of administration, education and the media. In fact, it is not an exaggeration to say that French influence as expressed in language, culture and political policy prevails in all domains (Wolf 1997: 421). The domination of French is due to the demographic factor, the fact that Francophones have continued to occupy top ranking positions in government and the civil service, and also because there is no effective language policy that guarantees the rights of minorities.

This situation has created a sense of cultural identity among Anglophones, which arises from their using the same language (English becoming a symbol of in-group solidarity) in an environment perceived as hostile to them both linguistically and socio-politically (Wolf, 1997). The Anglophones have remained very jealous about maintaining their geographical territory within the Cameroon state. Thus rumours that arose in the 90s over the possible idea of creating regions that will witness the annexation of the Anglophone provinces into Francophone neighbouring provinces (South-West and Littoral; North-West and West) so as to form autonomous regions, were out-rightly rejected and fought against. This was perceived by Anglophones as a design on the part of the government to annex the Anglophone provinces and eventually eradicate the Anglophone culture. And so caught between the various alternatives that characterized the political landscape at the time the new constitution was being prepared in a process referred to as "grand débat", Anglophones generally preferred the mid way compromise of the country being partitioned into ten autonomous regions.

In order to promote the policy of official language bilingualism, bilingual education has been implemented in Cameroon since 1961. This entails the use of the two official languages in education, especially at the university level. In four of the six state universities, English and French are used as languages of instruction in lecture halls wherein Anglophones and Francophones sit side by side in the same classroom. Thus the professor employs the official language he masters better for his lecture. On their part, students take down notes and do tests and assignments in the language of their choice. However, the practice of bilingual education in the Cameroon university system is plagued by a number of problems. The first is that most of the lectures are delivered in French in view of the numerical advantage of Francophone professors, a situation that is deplored by the Anglophone minority who feel that they are cheated. Studies carried out by Tambi (1973) and Njeck (1992) are unanimous on the fact that at the University of Yaounde, 80% of lectures are delivered in French and only 20% in English. This state of affairs contributes to the disgruntled attitude of Anglophones vis-à-vis the policy of official language bilingualism. The second problem brought about by bilingual education is that the system of evaluation is deemed unreliable. It is not uncommon for students to blame failure in examinations to the fact that the professor concerned lacks the linguistic competence to properly understand students' examination scripts in his second official language (LO2). This only goes a long way to create a situation of frustration and mutual suspicion between Anglophones and Francophones. The third problem is that created by Bilingual Training classes designed to enable a better mastery of the students' LO2 (French for Anglophones and English for Francophones). These classes are not only poorly organised but equally lack the necessary infrastructure, facilities, and motivation on the part of the students to be really successful (Bilola 1999). The result is the encouragement of a system that does not promote excellence. While there is need to improve on the system of bilingual education as practised in the Cameroon University in the area of teaching methodology, it is necessary for professors to be equally proficient in the two official languages and for students to learn both languages. This will reduce suspicion of unfairness from the students at the level of evaluation, and the feeling from the Anglophone minority that they are marginalized.

It is also important to note that the presence of two official languages in Cameroon has imposed two distinct educational subsystems, a situation that poses problems that call for specific responses. In the Francophone subsystem, English is a compulsory subject up to the end of

secondary education. This is not the case with French in the Anglophone subsystem, where it is compulsory up to the GCE Ordinary Level. This means that the Francophone student is generally more prepared to affront bilingual education at the university than his Anglophone counterpart. In addition, the two subsystems practise two different methods of evaluation, an equally disturbing situation for educational experts. While in the Anglophone subsystem the student specialises early by choosing a certain number of subjects in which he will sit for the GCE Ordinary Level examination, in the Francophone subsystem all subjects are compulsory and success is based on scoring at least the average mark. In addition, as far as the teaching of foreign languages is concerned, the Francophone secondary school clearly offers more opportunities than the Anglophone school. In Francophone secondary schools, Spanish and German are taught as subjects throughout the secondary school cycle whereas in Anglophone secondary schools they are not. Consequently, Francophones have an edge over Anglophones in the mastery of foreign languages, Spanish and German being the main foreign languages taught in Cameroon. Such a situation may be another source of frustration for the Anglophone minority.

In all, the implementation of the policy of official language bilingualism betrays total absence of language planning. Very little is done in the domain of corpus planning and almost nothing is done in the area of language policy evaluation. In spite of the awareness that both English and French are fast growing to cope with the realities of a multilingual landscape, no serious attempts are made to develop these languages. Work on lexical standardization of Cameroon English and Cameroon French is seriously lagging behind due to lack of institutional support. Such support is obviously necessary for the promotion of the two official languages.

Background of the study

The background of this study is the challenge of multilingualism in Germany and in Cameroon. Migration is at the core of Europeans' topics today. Day after day, thousands of people with various backgrounds are arriving from diverse backgrounds. Europe and its school classes have become multilingual. It is no longer rare to come across ten languages or more in a class of twenty children. This is the case particularly in Western and Central Europe. Germany as a country at the centre of Europe with great linguistic diversity will first of all be considered as an illustration in this work.

Europe is becoming a melting pot of cultures mainly because of two reasons: on the one hand, cultural contacts are increasing through the use of new technologies and, on the other hand, communities become multicultural and multi-ethnic as a result of migration processes. The only real consequence of this situation is that the emerging social context may result in a greater cultural standardization or even enhance a “Western” perception of language and culture. Today’s schools are also characterized by the presence of a vast number of languages and cultures (Candelier, 1998), consequently, formal education can no longer aim at meeting the needs of a non-existing homogeneous group of monolingual students. Moreover, if we really believe one of the duties of schools is to educate students to become active citizens in a multicultural society, schools should benefit from the pros of this new social context and try to minimize the cons.

Advocates of these schemes all make the same point to begin with: various processes, such as migration, globalization and European integration, are making our societies increasingly multilingual and multicultural. This is a real challenge for schools, which are expected, not only to develop their pupils’ language abilities, but also to give them positive attitudes to otherness and difference, and teach them to cope with diversity.

The issue of linguistic diversity in multilingual and multicultural societies like Germany and Cameroon is always the source of various challenges. As a matter of fact, the educational situation of children from immigrant backgrounds residing in the big cities of Germany seems particularly precarious; they are significantly underrepresented among holders of secondary school diplomas or university degrees (Freitag, 2007). The international surveys of the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2000 and 2003 (OECD, 2004) have come to the result that those students are at a disadvantage. Thus, the problems of migrant children would be partly shared by all representatives of disadvantaged social classes, but migrant children would face more serious difficulties of special education, this being perhaps due to conflicts of identity, between family and school, and between culture of origin and culture of reception.

According to Byram, (2000) teaching foreign languages is not enough to guarantee either the development of a multilingual identity or other values such as tolerance, understanding of others and the desire for justice as is often proclaimed as a declaration of intent.

In 2008, 14414 Cameroonians were registered in Germany according to the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) GmbH. Most of them came for academic reasons, some were naturalized, and others were in irregular conditions. Their number has increased 6 times more in the last 15 years.

During the commemorative activities marking the German National Day in Cameroon on the 7th of October 2015, HE Holger Mahnicke, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Cameroon, talking about the relationships between Cameroon and Germany, said that some 25,000 Cameroonians are living in Germany.

Holger disclosed that there are currently 6,400 Cameroonians studying in Germany and that official statistics show that the largest numbers of African students in Germany are from Cameroon. The diplomat said Cameroonians in Germany are generally hardworking, intelligent and dynamic. To him, one of the criteria for admission to study in Germany is to have the basic knowledge of the German language; any Cameroonian who wants to study in Germany must pass the German language test conducted by the Goethe Institute of Yaoundé, before proceeding with admission.

Because of their language and origin and skin colour, some students are discriminated; teachers tend to exclusively focus on competences in formal, “standard” German, disregarding other linguistic resources, and this neglect can entail negative linguistic stereotyping: nonstandard language use is then often viewed as evidence for a lack of linguistic proficiency independently of the the language context, and as an obstacle for educational success; in fact the low status is sometimes associated academic potential (cf. Davies 2000; Wiese 2012).

This is true for traditional vernaculars and regional dialects as well as linguistic practices associated with multilingual contexts, such as code-switching or new multiethnic dialects like Kiezdeutsch “German neighbourhood” (cf. Wiese 2009, 2012).

In Cameroon, the coexistence of 279 national languages along with English and French as official languages remains a great challenge to face as far as attitudes and representations are concerned. Pidgin English is commonly used as the lingua franca and Camfranglais is the youth talk. Even though some people view Pidgin English as a tool of empowerment (Neba, Chibaka, &

Atindogbé, 2006), others still perceived it as a broken form of English that should be prohibited (Alobwede, 1998).

Multilingualism has a twofold facet for it can be both a source of enrichment and unity or a source of discrimination, bias, and division. The fact that Western languages enjoy a more prestigious status entails the stigmatization and the marginalization of local languages.

Having been prohibited for so long in schools during the colonial period and fought for many years, Cameroonian languages are gradually re-entering the educational system, acquiring thus a better status. Linguistic and cultural diversity often raises affinities to the detriment of national unity and integration. The constitution of 1996 endeavours the promotion of all national languages; yet discrimination due to students' background is still perceptible in schools.

From this situation, other problems arise:

For Echu, (2003), this peculiar heterogeneous language situation does not facilitate linguistic communication; on the contrary, it constitutes a major handicap to linguistic communication in view of the absence of a nation-wide lingua franca that serves as a common linguistic idiom. Moreover, the unequal distribution in the usage of English and French as official languages is also a cause for concern since it affects negatively the policy of official language bilingualism. Furthermore, the policy of official language bilingualism has created an Anglophone/Francophone divide in "Cameroon that is seen in recent years to constitute a serious problem for the State. Thus, while being a unifying force, official language bilingualism also constitutes a factor of disunity or conflict. In short, language policy in the country lacks clear-cut objectives and orientation: it does in no way sufficiently promote the indigenous languages and fails to guarantee the appropriate implementation of official language bilingualism. Hence the policy of official language bilingualism, originally aimed at guaranteeing political integration and unity of the Cameroon State, now seems to constitute a source of conflict and political disintegration.

Teacher training for educational change has become a major problem in many researches. For several authors, the highlight must be placed at the centre of teacher training, professional development as a review process, innovation and development of thought and action, where teachers really commit themselves. For this, they must take a questioning attitude and permanent

learning and to be able to build a dynamic project, based on reflection of the practices, the sharing of ideas and experiences and individual but also collaborative work to meet current educational challenges.

One of the most frequently asked questions to teachers and students of Cameroonian languages and cultures is the following: What do you learn/teach at school? This question, usually a tricky one, becomes annoying or even embarrassing because after an attempt to answer, the person seems to be more lost than ever before after the whole explanation. Why are French or English teachers for instance not coping with this question? The rationale is that the problem is not only at the level of the content of teaching materials on local languages, but also, at the level of representations. In their mind, People do not imagine their dialects commonly called “patois” taught the same way as French or English at school.

Motivations

Many factors have underpinned the choice of the topic “Language Awareness in the Education system: A Cameroonian perspective”. First of all, I teach Cameroonian languages and cultures, which are new subjects in the educational system; there are still many challenges to face, be it at the level of the availability of didactic materials or chiefly at the level of attitudes and representations towards these languages. Students barely have documents to work with; very few studies have been carried in that area. Since most of these languages have been only performed orally up to now, it is not easy to find appropriate documents and teaching strategies at their early introduction in the educational system.

In the course of the year 2014/2015, I went to Germany for a 6 months grant term where I worked with Project T1, which is part of the research centre of the department of Linguistics of the University of Potsdam. Its objective is to develop multimedia materials for new supplementary modules for initial and continuing education programs of social actors who play key roles in the education of children and adolescents and are important in shaping public opinion on language and language competences, namely teachers in primary schools, secondary schools and in the early education of public day-care facilities for young children.

Working with that project allowed me to acquire appropriate skills in the development of multimedia materials for a better teaching of languages in the educational system. My aim is also to show how languages could properly be taught in a multilingual context and to design appropriate language teaching materials and software with regard to the linguistic and cultural diversity.

In order to cope with multilingualism and bias in German schools, Project T1 has developed several teaching modules with materials that can be downloaded on their website: <http://www.deutsch-ist-vielseitig.de>

My first task with the project consisted in carrying some interviews towards families with Cameroonian backgrounds whose children are attending schools in Berlin, on their linguistic experiences in Germany.

The second part of my task in Germany consisted in adapting 3 of the materials designed by the project to the Cameroonian context, that are also available on their website: <http://www.deutsch-ist-vielseitig.de/en/other-countries>.

More interestingly, in the course of the elaboration of these materials, I discovered that in order to raise awareness on the linguistic diversity in Germany, special emphasis had been laid on a youth dialect in Germany called “Kiezdeutsch” which is a blending of Turkish and other neighbour German words. I therefore also decided to explore a youth talk called “Camfranglais” in Cameroon and to deepen my research under this field.

Research problem

The following problem arises then with respect to the issue of linguistic diversity in Germany and in Cameroon: What are the mechanisms that can be set up to tackle marginalization, bias and stereotypes result of multilingualism both in German and Cameroonian schools? In other words, what can we do to raise awareness on linguistic diversity and develop positive attitudes and representations towards minority dialects and varieties?

In order to solve this problem, these questions will drive the hypothesis:

- What are the language experiences of families with Cameroonian background whose children are attending school in Germany? Can the German experience be fruitfully applied to the Cameroonian context?
- What are the relationships between majority and minority languages?
- To what extent the educational system of Cameroon fosters linguistic diversity?

Research hypothesis

Appropriate teaching materials on Language Awareness can be very helpful to fight against stereotypes and discrimination result of multilingualism in and beyond German and Cameroonian schools.

- Families with Cameroonian background whose children are attending school in Germany face discrimination.
- There is a power relationship between majority languages vs minority languages that entails language conflict and marginalization in Germany and Cameroon.
- Cameroon educational system does not always take all the minority languages into account.

Goal of the study

The goal of this study is to elaborate appropriate teaching materials that will raise awareness of teachers and students on linguistic diversity so as to avoid stereotypes and misrepresentations of speakers of non-prestigious languages.

As Hawkins (1984) stated: The aim here is to stimulate students' interest and curiosity about language "to challenge pupils to ask questions about language" in order to develop understanding of and knowledge about language in general, including the foreign language, the mother tongue and, if appropriate and depending on the context, other languages. This would involve using metalanguage (the mother tongue or target language) for stating the aims of a lesson, for explaining the use of different classroom activities, for signposting the stages of a lesson, for giving classroom instructions, for describing language, for analysing language, for making comparisons to find similarities and differences between the L1 and L2, and for discovering

rules. The child will therefore develop positive attitudes towards students speaking different varieties

Specific objectives

These secondary objectives support the goal:

- Find out the language experiences of families with Cameroonian backgrounds whose children are attending school in Germany. (This is to compare and contrast the German and the Cameroonian experience of linguistic diversity, so as to bring out mutual solutions).
- Describe power relationship between languages in Cameroon
- Highlight the use of Cameroonian languages in the educational system so as to give more visibility to every language and variety.
- Propose three teaching materials namely: Lingi, Linguistic Landscape and Camfranglais-Exploration. This includes the description of some features of minority languages' grammar in relation to majority languages. This is to show that marginalized varieties, are neither the result of lack of language skills, but part of a larger repertoire, nor a linguistic last resort, but a conscious choice in some contexts.

Relevance of the study

Language Awareness is a methodological approach that develops attitudes of tolerance and openness to linguistic and cultural diversity. It strengthens the interest in languages by developing skills that can facilitate the learning of a foreign language. Specifically, it is to think about languages, their similarities and differences, based on audio and written materials.

LA also fosters the development of positive attitudes and representations not only of languages and their diversity, but also of people who speak these languages and their cultures. It appears appropriate to develop in students, through Language Awareness approaches, the curiosity, motivation, and desire to learn other languages. LA enhances the development of multilingual identities and promotes tolerance.

The Council of Europe and its Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe considers that LA contributes importantly to the component “education to plurilingualism” of multilingual education.

As part of a multilingual education - as defined by the Council of Europe - Language Awareness participates especially to education to plurilingualism, as it is one of the conditions for maintaining linguistic diversity, developing linguistic tolerance, awareness of the diversity of languages and forms for democratic citizenship.

More concretely, an educational standpoint, the objectives in the activities fall within three or four areas of traditional teaching: knowledge, know-how, self-esteem, (and know-to).

Teaching and learning through an additional language encourages understanding between cultures, improves students’ cognitive ability and prepares them for life beyond school.

If students’ language is sufficiently well developed and supported by the teacher, learning through an additional language can be cognitively stimulating. In contrast to many traditional language lessons, students are learning meaningful content through the language rather than simply learning the language itself. The language becomes a tool for critical thinking and communication and allows students access to authentic and relevant subject content and terminology.

The existence of more than one language in the brain leads to improved cognitive control. This has a positive effect on working memory, selective attention, processing information, and mental flexibility. Studies have demonstrated that bilingual children develop the ability to solve problems that contain conflicting or misleading clues at an earlier age than children who speak only one language (Bialystok, 2009).

The ability to use more than one language means we can communicate with people from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Knowledge of other languages encourages new ways of thinking and of perceiving the world. We live in an increasingly global world and language skills make travel easier, provide opportunities to study abroad, and improve career prospects.

Reflection on language helps pupils to achieve the linguistic objective of language learning, by internalizing the regularities and irregularities of the first and foreign language systems. It improves their mother tongue skills and facilitates the foreign language learning process by

raising their awareness of how language works. LA also teaches pupils how to use and develop their reasoning faculty as another means of learning how to communicate. The contrastive analysis shows that the foreign language can describe and organize reality just as well as their mother tongue, although in a different way.

LA helps pupils to achieve the cultural objective of language learning. They develop more open attitudes and cultural relativism. LA shows them that what is different is not to be systematically rejected, but on the contrary to be recognized as a source of personal enrichment and opening onto the world and its cultures. In a multiethnic society, the importance of LA is henceforth a means of developing better social and cultural understanding, and a means of social integration.

Language Awareness motivates pupils in their learning. It actively involves them into their own building of knowledge by taking into account their own knowledge, mother tongue and culture. Pupils are responsible for their own learning. They learn by doing, which is one of the most efficient ways of learning. Moving from the known to the unknown is both reassuring and motivating for children. It arouses their interest and curiosity and creates a positive attitude towards foreign language learning.

Language Awareness has an intellectual formative effect. Awareness of language teaches pupils to use and develop their reasoning and abstraction faculties and their observation and analysis skills. It encourages them to develop learning strategies, which are transferable to the learning of other subjects. This is of particular importance at primary school level. It also encourages pupil autonomy, which is one of the general objectives at secondary school level.

Perhaps a good start of understanding what arguably gives LA coherence as a field is to consider just a few of the questions it might pose: Can we become better language users or learners or teachers if we develop a better understanding of a given language? And can we gain other advantages, for example, in our relations with other people and/or cultures, and in our ability to see through language that manipulates or discriminates? The questions do not refer specifically to language learning and teaching contexts, but to all situations where language is used. For example, popular ideas about language, and their effect in society, such as in school or workplace, are important LA concerns. LA is thus seen as having an importance and a value in itself, whether or not it facilitates language learning.

The founder of the LA movement in the UK, Eric Hawkins (Hawkins 1981, 1984), recounts that ALA emerged both out of a concern about literacy levels in L1 and poor performance in the learning of foreign languages, and as a reaction to prejudice (Hawkins 1999). In United Kingdom, the critical dimension of LA was very much present at an early stage when LA proponents ideas were controversial, clashing with the political establishment and received “wisdom” about language learning and teaching (Hawkins 1999; James 1999).

Research interests

Language Awareness can be developed among language learners on a range of different levels. For example, it may focus on awareness of the language learning process itself i.e. how learners learn. Or it may be developed as awareness and understanding of language, the connections between languages and how a language system works; Language Awareness may also extend to awareness of language in cultural contexts.

At a cognitive level, this may be awareness of how an individual learner approaches the language-learning task, for example, does the learner learn more through listening tasks, reading, writing or speaking tasks? Adopting a proactive approach to language learning requires reflecting on how learners actually learn and which cognitive strategies they use to help the language learning process and make language learning more effective. For example, when trying to learn vocabulary a learner might try note-taking, brainstorming, spidergrams, association charts and become aware of which approach works best for them as an individual learner.

By developing awareness of the language system and how it operates, the learner can be assisted towards increased independence in problem solving. Learners are assisted to gradually develop the confidence to rely on themselves to approach and solve language problems, by maximising on LA and skills at their disposal in order to move towards a solution. At the metacognitive level, the development of Language Awareness in the learning process can help the learner to plan their learning, monitor progress and evaluate their language learning. For example, metacognitive strategies can help the learners monitor and analyse their written language by spotting mistakes in their written work and eventually having the knowledge to correct these mistakes themselves by becoming more aware of how the language system works. This requires an ability to engage in some “detective work” to understand the “mechanics” of the language, to “crack the code” of the

language system, in order to “decode” and solve the problem. An example of this is the learner simply asking some key questions such as: is the word masculine or feminine? Is this singular or plural? Is the text written in the present or the future?

Language Awareness also extends to the learner’s awareness of language in cultural contexts. Cultural awareness helps the learner-user to interpret and attempt to understand how language is used in different ways in the target language culture and in real life scenarios beyond the language classroom. This awareness operates beyond simply understanding the words and sentences presented or the accents encountered -it is an awareness, which enables deeper insight and understanding of the culture so that we can gain deeper access on a social and integrative level-. Ideally, both language and cultural awareness develop.

Language Awareness approaches have the following common characteristics: They are generally learning activities based on a plurality of languages (or dialects) not taught at school (language of students, languages present in the territory of other languages of the world). In other words, they are tailored for all languages, especially migration languages. Furthermore, working with a plurality of languages helps avoid the risk of a double (or even triple) monolingualism. LA approaches address diverse aspects of language and languages can be grouped into different areas: communication (discover the specificity of human language), diversity and the evolution of languages (language families, loans...), their functioning (rules, functions), their use (social varieties, geographical), spoken language and written language (and the different writing systems), learning languages...

They relate to both language skills (auditory and visual discrimination, tracking capabilities, analysis, comparison, etc.), attitudes towards languages (openness to linguistic and cultural diversity, motivation to learn languages) and knowledge about them (how many languages are there in the world, where do dialects come from...).

They are addressed to all students, those who have in their repertoire one (or more) language(s) other than the one(s) taught in school, by giving these languages a real status, and those who only know the school language and which will (thanks to the proposed activities) discover others and thereby “decenter” compared to their native language and be open to diversity.

They are not meant as a tool for mastering the language being worked on and are not intended as a substitute for language teaching, but represent a supplement to different teachings (L1, L2, L3...), a framework for their links in a process of integration and of giving meaning to learning.

Finally, LA is both a component of an integrated education, global languages and language, but even more: Language Awareness is the gate to languages.

James and Garrett (1992: 12) emphasize that LA should not be seen as an alternative to language learning. Rather, parallel to language learning, the benefits that are claimed for it may be seen along five domains: affective, social, power, cognitive, and performance.

The affective domain is the first means by which students may become more intensively, or holistically, involved as they establish a personal relationship to language. It is natural that motivation to learn is increased when the emotions are positive, when interest is aroused by intellectual curiosity or aesthetic admiration. To acquire new insights into language may be fun, and should be fun, especially as many people still seem to have strongly negative memories about how they were taught foreign languages (Lähteenmäki 1994). Cognition and emotion do go hand in hand in the learning process: learning occurs when a new stimulus arouses one's interest and challenges one to learn. Cognitive insights are thus accompanied by appropriate emotional states (Jacobs and Schumann 1992).

LA recognizes that learning is done with the heart as well as the head. One of the central goals of LA work is to stimulate curiosity about language (Hawkins, 1984: 45), thereby «... increasing receptivity to new linguistic experience» (Anderson 1992: 133).

LA activities take place at all levels within educational systems, from primary schools to universities, from private language schools to adult education centers, from young children to teachers and teacher trainees.

LA interests also extend beyond awareness of language to learners' awareness of themselves and their preferred strategies in the language learning process. Toncheva (1992), for example, has investigated the facilitative aspects of learners "Switching off" in language lessons, claiming that this is sometimes a strategy employed by learners when they sense a mismatch between their learning style and the teaching methodology. Holmes and Ramos (1992) constructed and issued a

checklist of strategies to learners on the basis of which learners recorded, contemplated, and discussed the strategies they used in particular classroom language tasks.

In addition, LA embraces the debate about the role of consciousness in language learning, about whether the explicit formulation of rules, for example, is facilitative (Rutherford, 1987) or an impediment (Krashen, 1981) in the process of learning a language. Is conscious knowledge more helpful for older learners, or for particular aspects of language? Is it all a question of person's individual learning style?

Fundamentally, then, LA is about reflection, talk, and knowledge about language and language learning. But why bother with this? After all, wasn't the Grammar Translation method criticized because students finished up knowing lots about language but still did not actually know the language itself: e.g., they could not speak it?

The social domain deals with how the student will perceive the relationship between language and society: How is language used? How do different groups use language? What norms exist? What attitudes are held? James and Garrett (1992) see this domain as being of special importance in multicultural settings in which increased tolerance and, consequently, better relations between ethnic groups are strived for.

This is a particularly strong motivation for LA work in multicultural contexts: social harmonization. LA work can be geared towards building "... better relations between all ethnic groups by arousing pupils' awareness of the origins and characteristics of their own language and dialect and their place in the wider map of language and dialects used in the world beyond" (Donmall, 1985: 8). "Deepening understanding, fostering tolerance" are two of the aims LA is generally held to pursue (Anderson, 1992: 133).

In the power domain, people who become aware also become alerted to hidden meanings, tacit assumptions and rhetorical traps laid by those in power. Being aware of the possibly manipulative and euphemistic uses of language makes one also more empowered. At first sight, the power domain may seem of little importance in second language teaching, but social values and attitudes -sometimes very implicit and worth exposing- are being held also there.

Is it not true, for example, that in every culture certain foreign languages, and certain communicative patterns are regarded as "better" than others (Dufva et al. 1989). Finns, for

example, tend to admire French as a language of civilization, or marvel at the American fluency at small talk, while condemning their own language and own traditional ways of talk and means of communication as inferior. Similarly, is there not linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992) present in the status that the English language holds, not only politically as a world language, but also within linguistics and within language learning/teaching research? And what about the “linguistic rights” of the language learner, who has always been unfavorably compared to the native speaker, linguistically and communicatively omnipotent? (The view has been criticized by Kachru 1986). When the myth of native competence is abandoned, it may be found that native speakers make mistakes as well (Dufva, 1992) and that their communicative skills and verbal abilities vary to a great extent. How can we aim at a native competence, if there is not any, just varying speakers, varying skills and varying situations?

Thus Language Awareness can, and indeed should, also imply a critical attitude, such as present in Critical Language Awareness (Fairclough, 1992). Language teaching is not an asocial venture: social values are present, however implicit they may be.

LA works can alert students to the ways in which language can be used as an instrument of manipulation. Thus it is possible to develop students’ linguistic sensitivity and vigilance, and to empower them in their own use of language. Of particular note in this domain is the work in Language Awareness of the Lancaster University group (Fairclough, 1989, 1992).

James and Garrett (1991) also suggest that an improvement is possible in the cognitive domain. When the learner is guided to perceive organizatory principles in language, to see units, categories, rules, patterns, and contrasts, he is shown at the same time new cognitive strategies and perhaps skills. Much research related to this area has been done on metalinguistic awareness, or on whether LA can develop “... awareness of pattern, contrast, system, units, categories, rules of language in use and the ability to reflect on them” (Donmall, 1985: 7). This does not entail a return to traditional grammar teaching, then, because here we are also looking at language in use, at functions, at genres, and also at language learning processes.

Whether students who participate to a Language Awareness activity really benefit from it in the performance domain seems to be still dubious. Does Language Awareness help people become better language learners? More fluent speakers? More skilfull communicators? Better persons?

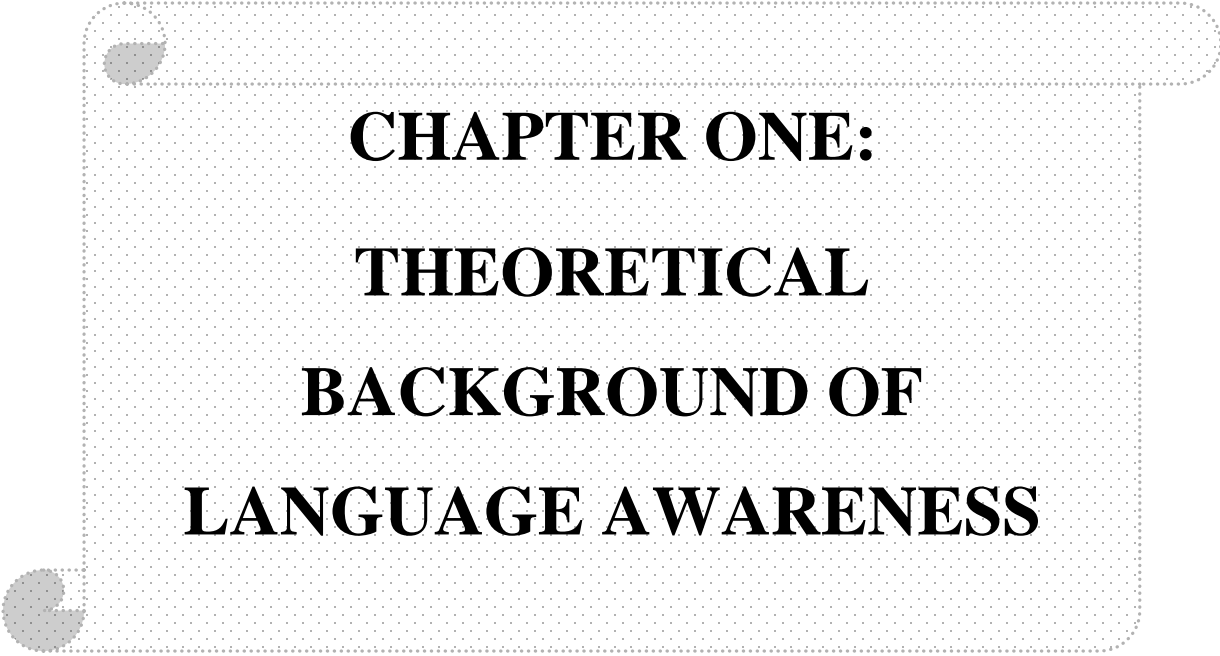
Opinions seem to be undetermined (James and Garrett, 1991). One way of giving an answer, however, is to ask what we mean by good, fluent and skillful in our societies. Is a good language learner a person who does not make mistakes and speaks without a foreign accent? Or is a good language learner a person who is a good conversationalist? A person who can write good prose? A person who learns quickly? There are no definite answers. Perhaps the questions themselves could be a critical awareness project in foreign language classroom?

Some would argue that LA needs no justification in terms of improved language proficiency; in the same way that the study of biology does not need to lead to increased crop production in order to justify itself. However, there are widely held beliefs or hopes (at best) that the analytical knowledge fostered by LA has a positive effect on language behavior. For example, to take Donmall (1985: 7) once more, «Heightened awareness may be expected to bring pupils to increase the language resources available to them and to foster their mastery of them».

He suggests that a good language learner is a person who has found his/her own voice. In this, language awareness is clearly helpful. Even if the voyage were not fast, the learner proceeds - at his or her own pace - towards the day when he or she has a mental textbook of his own: *Language: Owner's Handbook*. This is certainly worth the effort.

Outline of the study

This study comprises six chapters. After the introduction presenting the language situation of Cameroon in a nutshell as well as the rationale of this research, the first chapter aims at circumscribing the theoretical background of Language Awareness as it applies to this work. Always in line with the first chapter, the second chapter shows a set of previous LA projects as well as the literature review of Linguistic Landscape and Camfranglais. In the same vein, the third chapter presents some teaching approaches related to Language Awareness. The focus of the fourth chapter is to give the different methods used to attain the objectives. Data are also elicited and analysed. The fifth presents some insights from the use of Cameroonian languages in the educational system. At last, the sixth chapter proposes results as possible solutions for a better perception of multilingualism in the Cameroonian school system. The conclusion is about the perspectives, the gains and losses of linguistic diversity, as well as its various challenges.



**CHAPTER ONE:
THEORETICAL
BACKGROUND OF
LANGUAGE AWARENESS**

It is worth reminding that Language Awareness is a holistic concept. James & Garrett (1992:12) both lecturers in Linguistics at the University of Wales, emphasize that LA should not be seen as an alternative to language learning. Rather, parallel to language learning, the benefits that are claimed for it may be seen along five domains: affective, social, power, cognitive and performance.

Firstly, the affective domain, which also could be discerned from the definitions of ALA and N.C.L.E, deals with the relationship between the learner's feelings and mental thinking. From this perspective, the Language Awareness approach seeks to consider the learner's entire person by encouraging him/her to contribute experiences and personal relevance in the learning process. The affective domain also includes the feeling of knowing in language learning contexts.

Secondly, the social domain looks at the consequences of our globalising society where problems often arise from ethnic diversities, due to cultural and linguistic frictions. A way of tackling these problems, through a Language awareness Approach, is to see the cognitive and cultural benefits of multilingual classrooms. In the Power domain, James and Garrett (1991) look at the language as an instrument of manipulation and refer as such to the term sensitization, formulated by the social engineer Freire (1972). This term, quoted in James & Garrett (1991:14), " involves alerting people to the hidden meanings, tacit assumptions and rhetorical traps laid by those who traditionally have most access to the media for verbal communication". These may be governments, bureaucracies, the church, commerce, or, worst of all, unscrupulous individuals.

The Power domain of Language Awareness is usually called Critical Language Awareness (CLA), which normally is a term in literature and deals with, for example, the reader/writer relationship and interpersonal meanings. However, concerning Language Awareness and the abovementioned power domain, CLA underlines for example that communication performances in learning contexts could include discussions on how language attitudes and values are formed socially and politically and how minority languages and their speakers are represented. For example, in the classroom it could involve that pupils discuss what kinds of cultural representations are presented in the textbooks in order to see if and why there are any minority cultures that are excluded or majority cultures that are overrepresented.

As has previously been mentioned and given the account James & Garrett (1991), the cognitive domain deals with the relation between language and thought where metalinguistic awareness,

reflection and analysis are highlighted. James & Garrett (1991) also bring up the learner's reflection in his/her own learning process.

Finally, the performance domain deals with language in use, communication strategies and the activity of talking about language with a more or less formal metalanguage. What could be stated concerning James and Garrett's (1991) scope of Language Awareness is that all domains tend to intermingle with one another? Moreover, as James and Garrett point out, this division of LA is a way to clarify and to give a consensus to the meaning of the concept. From a teacher's perspective these domains could also serve to facilitate the LA work in the language classroom as the scope covers many relevant and important aspects of language that could be useful in arising pupils' awareness.

1.1. Historical background

Language Awareness emerged as a movement in the UK in the beginning of the 1980s, founded by the linguist Eric Hawkins, mainly as a reaction to dominant theories about language learning based on behaviourist principles of habit formation. The LA movement was also a reaction to mainstream researchers dealing with language learning who strongly favoured the Direct Hypothesis Theory (Krashen 1981), which means that they considered the language learning process exclusively to be an unconscious process through communication and input. Hawkins' idea was to underline explicit reflection on language and critical understanding and, as a step further he wanted to stimulate an understanding of language by implementing Language Awareness into the curriculum, through the perspective of the child. The chief aim was to challenge pupils to ask questions about language which so many take for granted and thus help them to overcome any difficulties that emerged in their school education, especially in the transition from primary to secondary school. "Language across the curriculum" (Hawkins, 1984:26) became a concept in this context where LA would strengthen coherence in the child's education by being considered both vertically and horizontally in the school programme.

Responding to the notorious lack of achievement in literacy and in foreign language learning in British schools, Hawkins (1981, 1984) argued for the introduction of programs of study about language. These, he argued, should begin in primary schools and continue into secondary schools, thus building a bridge between the teaching of the mother tongue (MT) and foreign

languages (FLs). LA (a program of study about language) would bridge the transition (at the age of 11) from primary to secondary education language work. It was also to provide a point of contact for all fields of language education (e.g., FLs, MT. UK community languages, such as Punjabi). Its content would be aimed at stimulating talk about language and linguistic diversity, and also at developing confidence in writing, reading, and listening. Typically, such programs would include coverage of stages of language acquisition and development and the processes involved, grammatical concepts, language varieties, comparison of structure, vocabulary, and writing systems in different languages. Methods would be oriented towards pair group work data collecting in order to generate discussion about language.

Hawkins (1984:4) writes in *Awareness of Language: An Introduction*: “Within such a program aims at offering an approach to language teaching that will bring teachers together across disciplines and school frontiers to plan and teach it, while helping all pupils, but especially the slower learners, to make sense of what is too often a fragmented and haphazard linguistic apprenticeship”. Hawkins meant that by offering a forum where language diversity could be discussed, the new curriculum element would challenge linguistic prejudice through open discussions and greater awareness in order to create a counterweight to the linguistic establishment that tended to represent parochial and prejudiced standpoints (Hawkins, 1984). Hawkins’ (1984:4) proposals of Language Awareness are very concrete and pragmatic in the outline and became an inspirational factor in the LA movement. His proposals, aimed at the ages of 11-14, include: facilitating the start of foreign language studies, assisting with “the explosion of concepts and language” introduced by new subjects at the secondary school, connecting different aspects of language education (English, modern languages, minority languages), challenging linguistic prejudice and parochialism through open discussion and greater awareness.

However, in today’s forum of LA, other perspectives are given as an explanation to the birth of the LA movement. Jessner (2006), quoted in Svalberg (2007), argues that the LA movement is due to social and economic developments, such as migration, globalization, international trade, and international conflict. This perspective is also represented in continental Europe where LA researchers are more concerned about sociolinguistic issues than with literacy skills. Research and practice deal more frequently with multilingualism, language attitudes, and citizenship

(Svalberg, 2007). However, it is important to mention the focus of LA in the fields of linguistics, applied linguistics, and language teaching. It is particularly essential to mention the focus of LA in connection with the cognitive processes involved in language learning.

Language Awareness is described and defined in various ways in the used sources and it is difficult to give the concept a clear definition, particularly due to its holistic application and the different dimensions it contributes to. Besides, in Language Awareness there is the cognitive connotation, which in itself opens up for various questions. Before treating the cognitive aspects of Language Awareness, the most frequent definitions of LA will be mentioned. The National Council in the UK for Language in Education (N.C.L.E) which supported research on Language Awareness in the beginning of the LA movement, gave the following definition in 1985, quoted in Malmberg (2001:141): “Language Awareness is a person’s sensitivity to and conscious awareness of the nature of language and its role in human life”. The Association of Language Awareness (ALA), founded in 1994 by for example Garrett and van Lier, is an organisation that aims at supporting and promoting activities and research on Language Awareness. ALA gives the following definition: “Language Awareness can be defined as explicit knowledge about language, and conscious perception and sensitivity in language learning, language teaching and language use” (ALA website). The above-mentioned definitions seek to cover a general meaning of Language Awareness. However, it is the terminology that represents the cognitive aspect of Language Awareness in relation to foreign language learning that will be highlighted through a closer examination. The cognitive terms in the abovementioned definitions are: conscious awareness and explicit knowledge, and these will be examined in relation to Schmidt’s (1994a) concept of consciousness.

1.2. Objectives of the approach

LA appeared in Britain in the early 1980 and was developed by Hawkins (1987) and his team. Its aims were to foster the development of positive attitudes and representations and openness to linguistic and cultural diversity, metalinguistic skills facilitating the passage of mother tongue to second language and knowledge of languages (including language status). In the 1990s, this was renamed Awakening approach to languages, then Language Awareness; it covers European

programs like Eulang (Candelier, 2003) and Eole (Perregaux et al., 2003). The main objective of educational activities implemented is to allow students to explore the linguistic diversity and to systematically prepare them to live in linguistically and culturally diverse societies.

1.3. Foundations of the Language Awareness approach

The approach is inspired by current sociolinguistics, speech and spelling ethnoscience to address the issue of the construction of representations in the language field among students and teachers. This concept of representation was used as a heuristic tool for analysing the speech of children in situations of multilingualism and who are forced to deal with several languages in schools. It helped describe how students position themselves in relation to others in their speech and identify their representations of languages, speakers of languages and language learning (see Moore 2001). This is to closely examine stereotypical representations conveyed in the children's speech and to explore how Language Awareness activities may be used to change these representations to allow students to be open to diversity and to build their identity properly.

Recent studies that focus on the study of the construction of this identity are also based on a poststructural theory (Pavlenko 2001) which considers that identity is dynamic and multiple and that learners use speech to negotiate their social position in the group (Dagenais, 2003; Heller, 2000; Norton, 2000). This research indicates how the position of the learner in the interactions allows access to social networks or his exclusion, according to the positive or negative representations attributed to his identity. The study of the relationship between language learning, linguistic diversity and the construction of identities is addressed by the critic examination of power relations between actors, their representations of themselves and others.

Thus, the Language Awareness approach aims at describing the language practices of children in particular with a focus on representations of bi-/multilingualism learning of languages, multilingual identities and relationships with linguistic diversity communities that build learners and their teachers.

Furthermore, researches in psycholinguistics and cognitive psychology provide the theoretical foundation with regard to the development of cognitive skills or metalinguistic skills of mother tongue. According to the French researcher Gombert (1992), the term metalinguistic skills is the ability of the subject to consider the different units of the language (phonemes, words, phrases,

texts) as objects of analysis and reflection on which it can exercise control during intentional manipulation. Within the LA programs, listening carefully to language corpora in different languages, reflection activities on linguistic borrowings between languages, comparison of ways to express negation in different languages are all activities, which enable the development of such metalinguistic skills. Thus, beyond the simple acquisition of linguistic knowledge, this is to bring the student to become an observer of the functioning of languages, or, in the words of Brédart and Rondal (1982), a “budding linguist”. Much research has shown that these metalinguistic skills ticks, especially in phonology and syntax, are linked to success in reading and writing in L1 and L2 and are crucial to enable educational and vocational success (Armand, 2000; Chiappe and Siegel, 1999; Gombert, 1992; and Armand Lefrancois, 2003).

1.4. Cognitive aspects of Language Awareness

Wolfram (1998:172) writes that a Language Awareness program may concentrate on a cognitive parameter, in which the focus is on the patterns of language, an affective parameter, in which the focus is on attitudes about language, or a social parameter, in which the focus is on the role of language in effective communication and interaction.

Language is the cognitive tool through which all learning takes place. Heightened Language Awareness is helpful for all learners engaged in language learning and literacy development. Given that literacy engagement is a strong predictor of academic success (Guthrie 2004), accordingly, all students can benefit from heightened Language Awareness, no matter how many varieties of language(s) they speak. Languages, whether used in academic learning situations or in the home, are powerful cognitive tools. Students who use a language at home other than the language of the education system in which they find themselves need to know that all their languages are recognised as legitimate tools for learning. If home languages and prior knowledge encoded in those home languages are ignored, students are likely to internalise a sense of inferiority, potentially affecting their self-esteem and academic aspirations (Cummins 2001). Systematic long-term language support programmes appear to lessen the academic achievement gap between immigrant and native students (OECD, 2006).

1.4.1. Explicit and implicit learning

To understand the role of awareness in learning, it is important to see the contrast between implicit and explicit learning and to realise that there are different opinions in the Language Awareness debate as to whether explicit learning has a positive influence or not on language acquisition. According to Norris & Ortega's (2000) analysis of 49 published studies on the matter, there is evidence that explicit learning is more effective than implicit learning (Svalberg, 2007). The position of Language Awareness in this debate is clearly for the value of explicit learning. However, as Svalberg (2007) points out, it is important to see what kind of explicit knowledge is most facilitative and also in relation to what kind of language features. For example, in a study carried out by Robinson (1995), learning seemed to occur with more success when the learners themselves had to realise and verbalise a certain grammatical rule (inductive method), instead of having it as part of an instruction from a teacher. In explicit learning the learner is aware of and actively involved in processing the input. The learning process is then distinguished from knowledge, regarded as a product of traditional facts. Explicit learning implies that the learner gets involved on a metacognitive level. Metacognition, according to the New Oxford Dictionary of English (1998:1162), is the "awareness and understanding of one's own thought process". A way of performing the understanding of one's own thought process involves the use of metalanguage. In this respect, explicit learning implies that the learner is capable of describing his/her thought process and talking about a particular characteristic of knowledge, with help from a more or less formal metalanguage. Implicit learning on the other hand is acquired without awareness, unavailable to conscious memory (even after acquisition), and put to use spontaneously without conscious control, for example through linguistic competence. As such, implicit learning is intuitive and not analysed and the learner is not capable of describing the acquired knowledge or talking about the language on a metacognitive level. Some researchers who are influenced by Krashen's theories on language acquisition argue that there is no interaction between explicit and implicit learning. The emphasis on learning as a process is developed from a constructivist view of knowledge. Language is regarded as a dynamic phenomenon and not as a static product of established knowledge, which implies that LA has its platform on the constructivist view of knowledge. Metalanguage involves either the use of formal terminology, or the informal way of talking about language. Researchers claim that

an interaction between both is possible in the learning process, which implies that there must be noticing (will be explained below) in the moment of learning (Schmidt, 1994a; Robinson, 1995). Schmidt (1995) states that all learning requires attention and that implicit learning is not possible without awareness. However, in today's debate on implicit and explicit learning the majority of researchers seem to take a more careful standpoint suggesting that explicit learning facilitates language learning without actually excluding the impact of implicit acquisition (Svalberg, 2007; Al-Hejin, 2004).

1.4.2. Consciousness/awareness, attention, and noticing

In order to clarify the notion of consciousness and to understand the cognitive aspects of Language Awareness, it becomes relevant to mention Schmidt's (1994a) definition of consciousness, as it is one of the most cited in the literature about Language Awareness. Ellis (1994), quoted in Al-Hejin (2004:14), points out that "Schmidt is one of the few linguists who have adopted the conceptual and experimental rigours of experimental psychology in answering questions concerning the role of consciousness in L2 acquisition". Schmidt (1994a) distinguishes four common meanings of the word "consciousness" and these are: intention, attention, awareness and control. These notions are made explicit here.

1.4.2.1. Consciousness as intention and attention

In learning this highlights a contrast between intentional (on purpose) and incidental learning. For example, the acquisition of a first language is always incidental since we never choose to learn our mother tongue (Chomsky, 1975).

Attention includes such notions as noticing and focusing. Schmidt means that noticing is the necessary and sufficient condition for converting input into intake. This is called the Noticing Hypothesis.

1.4.2.2. Consciousness as awareness

In this sense, consciousness means "having knowledge of", either perceptually or metacognitively. In language learning it often refers to knowing rules, but it could also refer to noticing, which makes it hard to distinguish consciousness as attention (and hence noticing) from

consciousness as awareness. Concerning Schmidt's treatment of consciousness in learning, both L2 or SLA and foreign language learning are mentioned indistinctly (see Schmidt, 1994a). Intake refers to a process or structure through which something is taken in, whereas input refers to what is taken in.

1.4.2.3. Consciousness as control

This is the performance of routine tasks including language using what we do with a great deal of automaticity without much conscious effort. From Schmidt's distinctions, we see that attention and awareness actually come together in the notion of noticing and as such one could say that this is, from a cognitive point of view, the essence of Language Awareness, which also could be stated in Schmidt's (1994b: 179) definition of noticing: "noticing is the registration (detection) of the occurrence of a stimulus event in conscious awareness and subsequent storage in long term memory". According to Schmidt there are different levels of awareness that have to be considered. Schmidt (1995:29) says that a low level of awareness refers to noticing and a high level of awareness refers to understanding, which he defines as "recognition of a general principle, rule or pattern", that is to say the recognition of a deeper level of abstraction. Schmidt (1995) means that despite the different levels of awareness in the learning process, there is still attention and as such also awareness. Schmidt (1995:1) writes: "Several studies purporting to demonstrate learning without attention are shown to really have demonstrated only a low level of learning associated with a low level of attention".

1.4.3. Summary of terms and definitions

What we learn from Schmidt's distinctions of consciousness, is that the learning process is based on awareness, attention, and noticing. Furthermore, in Schmidt's distinctions of consciousness, it is emphasised that learning does require noticing and awareness and as such language learning cannot occur unconsciously. Considering the abovementioned discussion, LA could be summarised in the following brief definition: Language Awareness, from its cognitive perspective, is conscious language learning on a meta-cognitive level with a learner-centred approach. In this respect, LA is by definition interdependent with explicit learning, because in explicit learning the learner is aware and actively involved in processing the input, which is in

itself a demonstration of metacognition. As such, explicit learning and instruction become crucial in the classroom, because they stimulate Language Awareness and enhance language acquisition.

1.5. Language Awareness and language teaching

When Language Awareness emerged as a concept related to language teaching in the beginning of the 1980s, it was in a context of researchers starting to question the distinction between acquisition and learning in which acquisition involves unconscious learning through input and communication and learning involves conscious learning. However, the general sense of acquisition is the same as learning without the distinction. These terms will be applied here in their general sense.

Krashen gave rise to the traditional ideas and opinions of language teaching in order to improve language education. Eric Hawkins, who is regarded as the founder of the theory of Language Awareness, explains in *Awareness of Language: An Introduction* (1984:2) that the focus must be shifted from the teacher to “the child’s eye” and one of Hawkins’ aims in Language Awareness was that pupils in their foreign language learning should be stimulated to ask questions about language, how it functions and what role it plays in people’s lives; in other words, to have an explicit approach to different phenomena of language. In this respect, the scope of Language Awareness does not treat the cognitive aspects of language learning solely and therefore LA is regarded as very holistic.

In research on foreign language learning, Language Awareness is usually related to cognitive psychology and associated with the study of the thinking process in learning contexts, i.e. how knowledge is established and how thoughts are organised.

The study of knowledge about language or Language Awareness has focused both on the mother tongue and second and foreign languages and it is clearly interdisciplinary. Some of the work in this area is educational and addresses ways of improving the teaching of languages at school and other educational settings. Another perspective considers the psycholinguistic processes involved in second language acquisition and examines the role of explicit and implicit knowledge, noticing or “Focus on Form.” Other researchers have looked at the effect of bilingualism and multilingualism on the development of knowledge about language, in particular metalinguistic awareness.

The origins of LA can be traced back in the 1970s with concerns about poor standards of literacy and L2 learning in United Kingdom schools. It has since aroused interest among practitioners worldwide in various areas of language education, extending to issues such as the role of explicit learning and knowledge in language learning. It has established a substantial body of theory and research, and is particularly associated with inductive, discovery-based pedagogy.

LA approaches generally base-learning activities on a plurality of languages or dialects not taught in schools (language of students, languages present on the territory, other languages of the world).

□ They concern both linguistic skills, attitudes towards language and languages and knowledge about them. Language Awareness in the perspective of plurilingual education pays special attention to bias and attitudes towards languages, whatever they are.

They provide, in return, interesting and useful information on the functioning of the L1 (local language of schooling) and on processes involved in any language in L1 or in another language (comprehension strategies of a text, spelling strategies by searching words of the same family...). They target all students, while paying particular attention to students of migration, in order to legitimize - for them first - their knowledge in their language of origin.

They are not meant as a tool for mastering all languages and are not intended to substitute traditional language teaching; they rather represent a supplement to different teachings (L1, L2, L3, ... LO) and provide a framework for creating links in the minds of learners in the integration process into their new language communities

As seen, the LA approaches somehow compete with other approaches. They occupy an unexplored domain, since these other approaches do not necessarily care enough about these issues, prejudices towards languages, the meaning and the value of multilingualism, the already present multilingual skills as experimented in various degrees, for many students.

1.6. Motivation and attitudes in Language Awareness

1.6.1. Definition of motivation and attitudes

Following Deci and Ryan (1985), the study of motivation is the exploration of the energization and direction of behaviour. Motivation theories are built on a set of assumptions about the nature of people and about the factors that give impetus to action.

Motivation theory began with Freud's drive theory and since then a lot of research has been carried out. Kleinginna and Kleinginna (1981) collected more than ninety definitions of motivation, but all of them had something in common: motivation leads people to make an effort to attain a goal.

Bernaus (1992) defines motivation as an inner feeling, caused by internal and/or external drives, that makes somebody act or start an action in order to attain a goal. If we want to be successful when introducing Language Awareness in the curriculum, we should have in mind motivational factors. The tasks and materials used in the classroom should foster motivation among learners.

Brown (1987) defines attitude as the set of beliefs that the learner holds towards the members of the target language group and towards his own culture.

Gardner (1985) views attitude as an evaluative reaction towards a social object. Bernaus (1992) states that attitude is a personal way of feeling and viewing the inner and outside world that an individual has internalised throughout his life.

According to Candelier (2001), some attitudes are difficult to be changed or modified because they are part of people's personality and they are deeply internalised. Nevertheless, some attitudes may be modified through motivation. Many times students develop negative attitudes towards learning a subject because they lack motivation, but if some day they become motivated, for whatever reason, they may change the negative attitude into a positive one.

In the same way, somebody may have had a negative experience with speakers of a foreign language, but if he has the opportunity to visit the country and has positive experiences learning the language, he will probably change his attitude.

1.6.2. Theories about motivation

Atkinson (1964) uses an expectancy-value framework to define achievement motivation. He grounds the achievement motivation in two main variables: hope of success (need for

achievement) and fear of failure (anxiety). The degree of correlations between these two factors will develop in the individual high, intermediate, or low achievement motivation results.

According to Deci and Ryan (1985), intrinsic motivation is related to the task and the self and extrinsic motivation needs social recognition and external rewards. Both kinds of motivation are not mutually exclusive and they can be seen as a continuum. The characteristics of both motivations may be summarised in the following way:

Intrinsic motivation is preference for challenge, curiosity/interest, independent mastery, independent judgement, and internal criteria for success;

Extrinsic motivation is preference for easy work, pleasing teacher/getting grades, dependence on teacher in figuring out problems, reliance on teacher's judgement about what to do external criteria for success.

Gardner's (1985) socio-educational model measures attitudes, motivation, linguistic and non-linguistic outcomes. The Socrates-Lingua EVLANG Project uses some items of the AMTB1 to measure attitudes and motivation of the participants in the project. The model is based on empirical investigation and centres attention on four classes of variables: social milieu, individual differences, language acquisition contexts, and outcomes. It is concerned with the role of individual differences in second language acquisition but, in Candelier's opinion, the model may also be useful to analyse individual differences when Language Awareness is introduced into the curriculum.

1.6.2.1. Building on expectation for success

The tasks should be challenging and should offer pupils a realistic chance of success, taking into account their ability and previous learning. The teacher should monitor pupil's progress once the activity is underway, giving quick and supportive feedback when a pupil has encountered major difficulties. Teacher's help and expectations must convey confidence in the pupils, making them believe that with appropriate effort they will be successful.

1.6.2.2. Building on intrinsic motivation

The following activities contribute to build intrinsic motivation: Selecting topics that are likely to interest pupils, particularly if they relate to pupil's own experiences, offering choice, promoting active involvement and co-operation between pupils that also fosters enjoyment, using games that have much to offer, providing novelty and variety that lead to more stimulating experiences, providing pupils with regular feedback concerning how their skills and competence are developing, and drawing to their attention what they can do now as compared with the way they felt before the course began.

1.6.2.3. Building on extrinsic motivation

This can be achieved by giving esteem-related rewards, such as teacher praise related to the pupil's effort and attainment, and also by indicating the usefulness, relevance and importance of the topic or activity to the pupil's needs.

Finally, motivation or demotivation and positive or negative attitudes occur in interaction with the context, which includes the materials used to develop the language skills of students. In order to give rise to positive attitudes towards language learning, and be motivated for this and develop students' language skills, the following points should be considered: Accountability of the student allowing him to make choices, relevant activities on a personal and a social level, demanding activities cognitively, interdisciplinary activities, productive activities, challenging activities, interactive activities, activities taking place in a sufficient period of time.

1.7. Attitudes and social representations in social psychology

To the question "why study social representations?" " Serge Moscovici (1984: 12), who revived the concept of "social representation" in the field of social psychology, responds that it is "to explore the subjective side of what happens in the objective reality". It will become clear that although coming from social psychology, the concepts of representations and attitudes have gradually become key to the understanding of various phenomena in many fields, including education.

1.7.1. Attitudes

Since 1960, studies on perceptions of the speakers concerning languages and their uses have been processed through the concept of attitude. It is generally defined as “a disposition to react favorably or not to an object class” (Castellotti & Moore, 2002: 7).

As Katz (1960: 168) says, “The attitude is the predisposition of the individual to evaluate a symbol of an object or aspect of his world in a favorable or unfavorable way. The review is the verbal expression of an attitude, but attitudes can also be expressed in non-verbal behavior”.

In general, social psychology defines attitudes “toward a mindset of a value or a disposition towards a social object” (Leon H., 2008: 40).

The word “disposition” is the central element of these definitions, which emphasizes the potential nature of attitude. In social psychology, attitude is a sustainable internal arrangement underlying the individual's response to an object or class of objects of the social world.

These answers are reactions to internalized beliefs vis-à-vis an object, person or event and used to put these items on a scale of judgment from positive to negative. Furthermore, they may be motivated by objective, as they can rely on bias or stereotypes.

According to Leon MH (2008: 41), attitudes are a social product that has four functions:

- Knowledge: they play the role of reference for evaluations that individuals make in their environment; they are therefore knowledge.
- The instrumentation or usefulness: they are sources of behavior with respect to the objects approach (social or otherwise) positive, supportive, rewarding, but also source of avoidance behavior with respect to objects (social or otherwise) negative, demeaning;
- The way they allow individuals to express their core values and their individuality;
- Self-protection: they ensure personal safety function.

For Zanna and Rempel (1988), these features result in three distinct components of the attitude:

- Cognitive: the knowledge we possess about the object attitude.
- Affective: emotions, feelings, moods, states that the object arouses.
- Conative: (named “behavioral component”) is a disposition to act favorably or unfavorably vis-à-vis the object.

Thus, attitudes and behavior are closely related. The first cause of behavior is an intention to action, that is to say a decision to act in a certain way. The behavior depends on the value assigned to the perceived consequences of that behavior and subjective probability attached to its consequences. As for the lines, they are also related to perceived behavioral control by individuals, and determined by the belief (correct or illusory).

1.7.2. Representations

Each of the “events” of everyday life (talk coffee, work or family, when we listen to the radio or we watch television, when we vote...) involves representations of objects that constitute social reality. To express a point of view, an opinion or an opinion about a “thing”, we translate the representation that we have of this “thing” (Vallence. A, 2010: 6).

But if the reality of representations seems easily accessible, the concept is useless. Otherwise how to explain the differences of opinion or opinions? To what extent are the perceptions of the world shared and / or differentiated in a society and which factors do these perceptions arise in order for people to express themselves?

1.7.2.1. Individual / collective representations

Durkheim (1858-1917) is among the first authors to incorporate the concept of representation in the analysis of social facts. For him, a representation refers to a broad class of mental forms, on science, myths or religions, consisting of opinions and / or knowledge without distinction (Moscovici, 1989). All that may well say something of the reality is expressed through performances that are either collective or individual.

Individual representations arising from the conscience of each individual are seen as fleeting and fluctuating entities. In contrast, the collective representations stem from the company as a whole. When entered as process reflecting the experience of the real, they are hopelessly objective. They embody the standard of the group that ensures high stability in the transmission and reproduction across generations (A.Vallence, 2010: 15).

This Durkheimian analysis, which gives a strong interest in the community, is linked to traditional companies. Their features show that individuals are held together by the collective

consciousness and develop interdependencies, hence a certain lack of interest in the individual fact.

1.7.2.2. Social representations

Moscovici's work in 1961 will refresh the concept of social representations starting from Durkheim's theories. One of the criticisms Moscovici makes to these theories concerns the fixed view of the representations that he considered inadequate for contemporary societies.

He will consider the representations in a more dynamic and mobile forms with the idea that they are circulating continuously, showing their socializing functions. In this framework, the representations are created in interactions between groups and are built into the social conflict. This is not a negative vision, but a dynamic approach, which shows that the representations are inevitable signs and works of distinction and social heterogeneity.

As he proposed to substitute the concept of social representations to that of collective representations, he endeavored to present a Moscovici instance able to "articulate the cognitive processes to communication systems and sociability forms of intergroup relations" (Flament & Rouquette, 2003: 13) Social psychologists insist on three interrelated aspects of representations:

- Their development in and through communication
- Reconstruction of reality
- Control of the environment by its organization: "Analyzing a social representation is an attempt to understand and explain the nature of social ties between individuals, social practices they develop, as well as relations intra- and inter-group." (Bonardi & Roussiau 1999: 25).

Social representations are socially developed and shared. They are built from the experiences and information, knowledge, thought patterns, received and transmitted by socialization, family, school and culture. They have a central core containing significant elements of the theme of representation. For a social representation to evolve, change or turn, it is necessary that a part of its core is questioned (MH Léon, 2008: 81).

The concepts of social representations and attitudes will be examined both separately and together. The oldest, the notion of attitude, is commonly defined as "a mental and neurophysiological state, determined by experience, and which exerts a dynamic influence on the

individual in preparing to act in a particular way in a number of objects or events” (Allport, in Abric, 1999: 26). Though used frequently by social psychologists, this definition is far from a consensus, even today. Generally, as Candelier mentioned, attitudes are often explained by different paraphrases such as “predisposition”, “direction for” and they tend to suggest a link with the action (Candelier, 2003: 139).

As for the social representations, their notion is more diffuse and the vocabulary that is used to study them is very large. However, according to Denise Jodelet, researcher associated to Moscovici, the main idea is that we find “a way to interpret and think our daily reality, a form of social knowledge. And correspondingly, mental activity deployed by individuals and groups to secure their position in relation to situations, events, objects and communications that concern them” (Jodelet 1984: 360).

In light of these preliminary definitions, we can now dwell on some of their common characteristics, which make them a relevant study.

According to Moscovici (1961), social representations have three dimensions: a level of information held by the individual within his (or her) belonging group(s) and about a given object; a structural dimension, that is to say how the representations are organized; an attitudinal dimension, or, more precisely, an evaluative position with respect to the object of representation.

Moreover, social representations and attitudes are both products and processes. Construction, individual and collective, is worth of interest. It is considered a transformation of scientific knowledge into common knowledge. For Moscovici (1961), two processes form this transformation. Willem Doise, professor at the University of Geneva in Educational Sciences and the Faculty of Psychology, also known for his work on social representations explains that the first, objectification makes concrete what is abstract and changes the relationship of scientific knowledge in the image of a thing and the second, anchoring, consists of the incorporation of the strange familiar categories in a network (Doise 1989: 224).

Jodelet (1984) states that anchoring several functions includes anchoring as instrumentalization of knowledge for understanding how the elements of representation contribute to build social relationships (Jodelet 1984: 372-373) and anchoring as rooted in the thought system, which implements mechanisms such as the classification, categorization, labelling, designation, and explanations that follow a specific logic. As Jodelet says a “representation system provides

frameworks, benchmarks by which the anchor will be classified and explained in a familiar way. To endorse something new is as close to what we know, by calling it with the words of our language. But to name, compare, understand, classify always implies a judgment that reveals something of the theory that one has of the classified object” (Jodelet 1984: 276).

The latest features of representations and attitudes that make of them a relevant study is their ability to change, evolve (Baker 1992: 97) and that they are dependent on the position that individuals occupy in society (Jodelet 1984: 362). In this sense, it is possible to make the assumption that if the perception of the position of subjects within society or class changes, attitudes and representations are likely to change too.

Applying these concepts to Language Awareness, we can consider that this approach attempts to provide information on the languages and speakers of those languages, while creating a space where the process of objectification and anchoring takes place.

1.8. Language attitudes and representations in sociolinguistics

In schools, researches have proven that attitudes and representations forged by learners towards languages have a great impact on the desire and motivation to learn, and even on success or failure of learning.

That is why different teaching approaches and language education policies focus their thinking on the explanation and analysis of representations and images of languages in learners, putting them at the heart of the learning process, for use in order to bring some readjustments in teaching and learning more conducive to learning these languages.

1.8.1. Language attitudes

From the 1960s, studies on perceptions of the speakers towards languages and their uses were primarily problematized, through the concept of attitude, and this in several directions. They explored the languages of the images to explain linguistic behavior, by focusing on the subjective values given to languages and their varieties, and social assessments they arouse among speakers.

Sociolinguistics is associated with the term “attitude” of the linguistic community. The latter, whether this community is small or large, it will always have language towards the variety spoken by the majority of the community. To the extent that it corresponds to an assessment, an attitude can be positive, neutral or negative, conscious or unconscious.

From another point of view, language attitude is often the expression of subtle social struggles that are not always easy to justify. This is illustrated by some aspects of contemporary French, notably in the distinction between standard and non-standard varieties of Old French: non-standard forms of the past are the standard today. The pronunciation of /r/ is part of the standard variety in the US, while it is considered non-standard in the UK (Labov, 1994).

There is a whole set of attitudes and feelings of the speakers in relation to languages, language varieties and those that use them. These attitudes necessarily have repercussions on the language behavior (Labov, 1994). This is reflected in statements by two speakers where there is a sense of language insecurity in a situation of hypercorrection.

1.8.2. Language insecurity

We talk of language security when, for various social reasons, speakers do not feel challenged in their way of speaking. They consider their dialect as standard. Conversely, there is language insecurity when the speakers consider their speech as somewhat demeaning and have in mind a more prestigious model that they do not practice.

In high school, we noticed that some students do not feel able to express themselves and prefer to remain silent and not participate in any language activity; they experience language insecurity.

Boudreau and Dubois Entremont (2008) define two types of language insecurity: statutory and formal. The statutory language insecurity is linked to the feeling that one’s dialect is less prestigious than another one. For example, a speaker who views the French language as less “important” than English could live in a statutory insecurity. Formal insecurity is linked to the feeling of not being able to speak the other language well. A French-speaking speaker, but thinking he does not use the appropriate words or is simply “bad” in that language could live a formal insecurity.

William Labov (1976: 183) suggests that language insecurity is characterized by a wide linguistic variety of speakers, or deep fluctuations within a given context, and by a conscious effort of correction involving strongly negative reactions toward the way they have inherited their talk.

1.8.3. Hypercorrection

Hypercorrection is precisely the result of linguistic insecurity: It's because someone considers the way he speaks as unglamorous that he tries to imitate, exaggerate, prestigious forms. And this behavior can lead to others that are grafted on him.

LJ Calvet (1998: 56) notes that “hypercorrection can be seen as ridiculous by those who dominate the legitimate form and thus go back to judge how demeaning those who try to imitate a valued pronunciation. This interlocking can continue to infinity, and shows us the deep social roots of language attitudes.”

1.8.4. Stereotype

For Leyens, Yzerbyt and Schadron (1996), stereotypes are “shared beliefs concerning personal characteristics, [...] the personality traits [...] behavior of a group of people.”

Stereotypes are therefore a kind of mental image that an individual has of a group of individuals and of individuals belonging to this group. They have an important role in the cognitive process of language attitudes. It is “a specific form of verbalization of attitudes”, characterized by the agreement of members of a group around certain traits, which are adopted as valid and discriminating to describe another (foreign) in its difference (Tajfel 1981: 115).

Furthermore, LJ Calvet (1998: 46) points out that “stereotypes looming behind the notion of good use, the idea that there are ways to speak the language well and others that, by comparison, be condemned. Thus we find in all the speakers a kind of standard that makes them decide that such a form is to be avoided, another to admire: we do not say as we say like this, etc.”

These different ways of speaking a language can also involve feelings of linguistic insecurity, or even a blockage or a refusal to practice the language, hence a failure on their learning.

Stereotypes have long been close to representations as in the case of attitudes; these concepts are formed from our experiences and interactions in social life.

1.8.5. Sociolinguistic representations

Today the notion of representation is increasingly studied in the field of languages, in their appropriation and their transmission. The language is, above all, “a set of practices and representations”, says JL Calvet (1999: 165). This is the sociology of language, one of the areas of sociolinguistics, which handles and classifies attitudes and performances vis-à-vis the users of language practices (Messaoudi, 2003: 4).

Sociolinguistic representations are a category of social representations. Although the notion, in an epistemological perspective, operates autonomously in certain areas of language sciences, it is appropriate to situate the problem of representations by reference to its original disciplinary field: social psychology. (Boyer, 1990: 102).

As regards the sociolinguist, this is a vision or perception that users have of languages, and this form of knowledge may be false or not.

Many studies of sociolinguistics, like that of William Labov, is an attempt to identify these subjective aspects, articulate behaviors of speakers, even paradoxically, as expressed in an interview, the condensed statement of this particular teenager, “my tongue is Arabic, but I will not speak”.

Sociolinguistics, since its constitution as an autonomous discipline, gives particular importance to the study of the various epilinguistic phenomena. The latter constitute today, a tool of observation so effective that the study of the representations of the languages, which can be identified through the attitudes and opinions of the speakers, is essential in many sociolinguistic and social phenomena such as the evolution and the becoming of the speech.

In other words, language representations can provide information on the underlying reasons for the choice of codes. These same ideas that generate the language practices also generate attitudes vis-à-vis the languages involved, “there is behind each language a set of explicit representations or not, that explain the report to this language as attachment or repulsion” (JL Calvet, 1999: 82). These are assumptions about language and its speakers that make it to be valued and adopted or received and rejected.

In addition, Canut and Houdebine (1998: 23) point out that the analysis of representations and linguistic practices complement each other:

“The analysis of the linguistic imagination, imaginings, attitudes, representations, opinions, beliefs, etc. -all these terms have come from here and there, trying to define this field- aims first of all at discerning a part of causality from the linguistic and linguistic dynamics. Hence the need to study the behaviors and attitudes of the speakers, to observe the productions and not to simply collect the words of the subjects in order to extract their representations, which may vary according to the situations, the interactions...”

1.9. Main thrust of theoretical framework of LA as it applies to this work

Even if Language Awareness encompasses various fields of study as indicated at the beginning of this chapter, it is worth mentioning that the concept was first used within the various areas of language education, a field of applied linguistics, which is a sub-field of linguistics. The major concern of this work is thus to apply LA approach in school. Since we are dealing with multilingual context like Cameroon and Germany, the main thrust of LA as it appears in this study is to explore some of its domains as a contribution to L1, L2, LO and FL teaching and learning. Throughout this study, special attention will be paid on the cognitive, affective and social dimension of Language Awareness. Moreover, for its effective and efficient practice in the classrooms, the concept itself requires some other skills in the field of sociolinguistics and social psychology.

Working in LA is a metalinguistic activity, which precedes and/or goes along with the learning and teaching of the foreign language. It consists in making pupils explore their mother tongue and the target language in order to find out regularities based on their own knowledge. Such work can be applied to grammar, phonology, the lexicon, discourse, morphology, civilization and culture.

The classroom practice of Language Awareness methodology can be described as follows:

The teacher first makes the pupils reflect on what they already know on some point of interest in their mother tongue. The aims are on the one hand to make them aware that there are regularities in their first language system and that they apply them unconsciously when they speak, and on the other hand, to make them aware of the mental operations they bring into play automatically.

The teacher then makes the pupils reflect on the same point of interest in the foreign language. Here the difficulty lies in the fact that the pupils are not experienced foreign language users. The

aim is to make the pupils aware that, like their first language, the foreign language system is ruled by regularities, and that part of their learning will be to search for and find out these regularities.

1.9.1. Pupil activities

The methodology stresses active learner participation. Pupils are asked to act as researchers. They first build a corpus by giving the teacher examples on how language works on a particular point. This corpus is their basic data for research. They then sort out instances, put them into categories, make hypotheses on how language works, confirm or reject them after testing them, and finally state the rules of the system. After studying both their mother and foreign tongues, they are eventually able to make a contrastive analysis of the two language systems.

1.9.2. The teacher's role

The pupils' exploration of the foreign language system is a search from the known to the unknown, from concrete language in use to the abstract generalization and formulation of rules. The teacher is a guide who helps pupils deal with an unknown cognitive area. He helps them exploit their metalinguistic potential to build their own knowledge of the new language system. He is a facilitator. He can launch the pupils' reflection on language either at the beginning of the course, or at the end, to analyse the linguistic phenomenon they have observed and encountered.

What kind of metalanguage is to be used? Pupils should naturally be involved in talking about the language, discuss it analytically, share their beliefs, make suggestions to the teacher and express their conclusions. Most teachers resort to a reduced formal language in the pupils' mother tongue, especially at primary school level.

1.9.3. Language Awareness and teaching methodology

Though it is recognized that some learners are likely to benefit more than others from any given approach (Jones 1997), the point of departure for LA practitioners is that developing a better understanding of the language and of learning/teaching processes will generally enhance language learning/teaching and use. This section deals with what form such awareness raising might take and what assumptions it makes. I will first explore whether LA classroom practice has

particular characteristics, which might justify talking about an LA approach to language learning/teaching. Secondly, it will briefly review the practical impact of LA on skills teaching.

1.9.4. LA approach to language teaching/learning

One could perhaps argue that any approach to language instruction, which aims to raise conscious awareness of how linguistic systems work is an LA approach but in the literature, it tends to have certain more specific characteristics. In a discussion of LA in relation to teacher education, Borg (1994: 62, building on Wright & Bolitho 1993) outlines five main features of an LA methodology, summarized here:

- It involves an ongoing investigation of language as a dynamic phenomenon rather than awareness of a fixed body of established facts.
- It involves learners in talking analytically about language, often to each other.
- It considers essential the involvement of learners in exploration and discovery.
- It aims at developing not only the learners' knowledge about and understanding of language but also their learning skills, thus promoting learner independence.
- The aim is to involve learners on both a cognitive and an affective level.

While Wright & Bolitho's (1993) paper focuses more specifically on linguistic awareness, Borg (1994) emphasizes the broader educational aims of LA teacher education and LA methodology. Below I will expand on the LA methodology issues in relation to the five characteristics listed.

Borg's first feature implies a constructivist view of knowledge. From this follows a learner-rather than teacher-centred approach, involving and indeed relying on extended opportunities for learner-learner interaction (van Lier 1996; Swain & Lapkin 2002). Borg (1994) calls for learner investigation of language to take the form of exploration and discovery, which often entails alternative answers and perhaps ambiguity. The open-endedness of language as a salient characteristic of everyday interaction, conversation in particular, is addressed by van Lier's work on contingency, where he recommends allowing and creating opportunity for learners to experience and deal with the unplanned, unexpected nature of linguistic interaction (van Lier 1992, 1994, 1996). At this end of the spectrum, LA work is thus radically distinct from traditional explicit language instruction and can either clash with student and teacher expectations or be perceived as challenging in a positive way (Svalberg 2005).

Borg's (1994) second feature has been described by Svalberg (2006) as the talk-about element. It differentiates LA methodology from, for example, the strong version of communicative language teaching in which the emphasis is exclusively on meaning (Howatt 1984). As pointed out by Kramsch (1993: 246); "Talk about talk is what the classroom does best and yet this potential source of knowledge has not been sufficiently tapped, even in communicatively-oriented classrooms". From a constructivist perspective, Swain (2006) employs the term languaging for the "use of language to mediate cognitive activity", and posits that one of the ways of learning a second language is languaging about language (Swain 2000). In Tocalli-Beller & Swain's (2005: 8) view, "Metatalk mediates second language learning because it supports the process of appropriation".

Languaging naturally involves the use of metalanguage, either as formal terminology, or as informal ways of talking about language structure (Alderson, Clapham & Steele 1997; Berry 2005 special issue of Language Awareness on metalanguage). Hence, LA practitioners need to choose how much and what kind of linguistic terminology to use, and perhaps teach. There is a substantial body of studies on the metalinguistic knowledge and metalanguage of teachers (Mitchell & Hooper 1991; Andrews 2003; Berry 2004) and learners (Fortune & Thorpe 2001; Fortune 2005) but no solid evidence that knowledge of metalanguage as such facilitates language learning. Neither the quantitative study by Alderson et al. (1997) nor Robinson's qualitative investigation (Robinson 2005) was able to establish a relationship between linguistic ability and knowledge of metalanguage. If reflection scaffolded by verbalizing facilitates language learning, formal metalanguage may be a useful tool but informal metalanguage might do the job just as well.

The process of talking about and making explicit the workings of language requires learner interaction and engagement, the third feature in Borg's list. There is a body of LA research on the forms of learner-learner interaction and its learning effects (Fortune & Thorpe 2001; Storch 2002; Swain & Lapkin 2002) and also on teacher-learner interaction. In the curriculum outlined in van Lier (1996), awareness, autonomy, and authenticity are key notions, and learner engagement is central. Authenticity refers to a process of making interaction and text authentic for the participants, and may or may not involve the use of so-called authentic materials (see also Maun 2006 for a discussion of authenticity). Van Lier (1998: 128) states that "interactions with learners in classrooms should allow learners to be perceiving, thinking, acting, and interacting persons,

rather than passive receivers of knowledge”. Sarangi (1998) also emphasizes the importance of the social and interpersonal aspects of teacher-learner interaction, as do Kress, Ogborn & Martins (1998). Nassaji & Swain (2000) provide support for the effectiveness of consciousness raising feedback, negotiated between teacher and learner, and taking the learner’s stage of development into account.

In line with the ALA definition of LA, Borg (1994) emphasizes the desirability of also developing awareness of learning/teaching processes as a means of improving teaching and enhancing learner independence (the fourth characteristic). Ewald (2004) reports on a study in which learners explored their own beliefs and behaviours in group tasks, and how the resulting awareness led them to change behaviours, and potentially to improve learning skills and gain greater learner independence. The author stresses the importance of the learners’ insider perspective on language teaching methodology. Other authors (for example, Walsh 2003) discuss how teachers can develop their own awareness of interactions with students (see below).

Most of Borg’s (1994) LA features seem to leave open the precise implementation of an LA methodology but feature five, which emphasizes that learner engagement needs to be both cognitive and affective, seems more compatible with some pedagogies than others. In areas such as cross-cultural communication, affective issues such as those related to identity are naturally central but Borg implies that affective engagement is essential in all LA work, including grammar and skills work. Robinson (2005) recommends that teachers seek the pupils’ perspectives on how they approach writing, and that the affective dimension of writing awareness be taken into account. In a study into the use of authentic and adapted texts, Maun (2006) found that young adults perceived texts as more or less difficult, dense, inviting and so on depending on the visual impact created by formatting, layout and illustrations. Learner engagement in an ideal LA classroom clearly goes well beyond task enjoyment, as is evident also in van Lier’s (1996) discussion of an LA curriculum, where some of the key phrases are conscious engagement, depth of processing and commitment to learning.

In LA work, stimulating affective engagement tends to rely on communicative purpose and meaningfulness of tasks. Wright & Bolitho (1993) point out that among the properties LA aims to develop in learners is a sensitivity to meaning-form connections. It may be, as Thornbury (2001:

38) claims, “unless the learner notices the effect that grammatical choices have on meaning, . . . the noticing is not sufficient to have any long-term effects on restructuring”.

To sum up, Borg’s five features seem to identify the unifying characteristics of LA methodology, which might be reformulated as: description (not prescription), exploration, languaging, engagement, and reflection.

Methods and techniques more commonly associated with the LA classroom are, for example, input enhancement; discovery-type, inductive tasks; dictogloss and text reconstruction; and open-ended discussion tasks on authentic or adapted texts (Wright & Bolitho 1993; Thornbury 1997a, b, 2001). In general, approaches and techniques which make use of or engender conscious knowledge and which stimulate engagement with the language in a specific context, within a constructivist framework, are consistent with a LA pedagogy.

A term used to refer to some LA tasks is consciousness raising (Hopkins & Nettle 1994; Hedge 2000; R. Ellis 2002). As Ellis points out, it differs from most other language learning activities in that it does not involve learners in producing output for the purposes of practice (see Svalberg 2005 for examples and discussion). Instead, it denotes tasks which aim to focus learners’ attention on particular linguistic features and raise their awareness of how these features work (Thornbury 2001). Borg connects discovery-type, i.e., inductive tasks, with LA methodology and although a few authors consider that consciousness raising can be either inductive or deductive (Mohamed 2004), the inductive type is the most common (Wright 1991; Wright & Bolitho 1993; Thornbury 2001).

Specific techniques, such as dictogloss and other text reconstruction tasks, which have an inbuilt component of student interaction and encourage learners to arrive at and justify their own solutions, are frequently used in the LA classroom (for example, Lasagabaster 2002) and have been the subject of research. Pica (2005) discusses the rationale for task choice and shows samples of how students negotiate meaning and form, as in text reconstruction. Garcia Mayo (2003) compares the effect of multiple choice, dictogloss (involving full text oral input), text reconstruction (involving fragments of written input) and text editing tasks on the quantity and quality of Language Related Episodes (LREs) in pair interaction (see also Fortune & Thorpe 2001).

As already discussed, a starting point for languaging about language is noticing. Sharwood-Smith (1993) uses the term input enhancement for ways in which teachers or materials make particular language features salient in order to promote noticing. The term is sometimes used more specifically to refer to typographical enhancement, i.e., manipulation of fonts such as bolding and underlining. In a review of some of the research on input enhancement, Doughty & Williams (1998) classify it as the most unobtrusive of a range of form-focused instructional techniques. Research on its learning effects has, however, not produced clear-cut results. Neither Alanen (1995), nor White (1998) or Abu Radwan (2005) found any significant learning effect of typographical enhancement. On the other hand, Shook (1994, discussed in Gass et al. 2003) found it had a significant effect on present perfect and relative pronouns, and in Jourdenais et al.'s (1995) study enhancement seemed to produce both an increased quantity and greater accuracy of the target feature in immediate and delayed post-tests. Important factors may be the complexity of the target feature, as discussed above, and the research design. For example, in White (1998) the non-specific nature of the target feature (3rd person pronouns/determiners) is likely to have made enhancement less effective, and think-aloud protocols could have had a priming effect in the Jourdenais et al. (1995) study.

In the classroom, input enhancement is not normally used on its own but as one element in a more complex task design, for example, as a starting point for languaging. Learners may be provided with already enhanced input, but more frequently they are asked to carry out text enhancement themselves by, for example, underlining features they identify (see example tasks in Hall & Shepherd 1991; Thornbury 2001). One might argue that the effect of input enhancement should therefore be evaluated in that context.

1.9.5. Teachers and learners

Although Language Awareness may not be a theory of learning or a methodology of teaching as such, many people working with Language Awareness have emphasized the learner-centered views of language teaching (Holec 1980). In these approaches, language teaching is regarded as a process, in which the learner is put in the focus, and teaching is regarded from his/her point of view. You can consider questions like:

- What are the learner's goals? (e.g., wants to learn English to be able to work abroad)

- How well is he motivated? (e.g., is not really interested at all, attends only because it is obligatory)
- What are his own priorities? (e.g., wants to be able to write business letters in German, is not interested in learning to speak without a foreign accent)
- What kind of learning style or cognitive style does he have? (e.g., analytic vs. holistic)
- What does he know already? (e.g., knows a few words of French)
- Which aspects are OK, which need more work (e.g., grammar, reading skills, articulation...)
- How are better results achieved? (e.g., extra homework, focussed classroom activities, tailored tasks, notes, diaries...)
- What external resources are available (e.g., language lab, audiotapes, videotapes, dictionaries, computer-assisted programs, library, resource persons...)?

It is natural to emphasize methods, which offer learners a possibility to develop their skills in a way of their own (e.g., Smith 1984; Ellis and Sinclair 1989). When learners are made aware of their strengths and weaknesses and their goals are defined, they can be helped in finding the existing resources and strategies that could be useful in reaching the goals.

A learner-centered view, however, does not imply that the learner does all the work, or that the teacher is passive. On the contrary, it is possible that there is more work to do for the teacher, but the work is of a different kind. As a matter of fact, it could be suggested that the concept learner-centered itself is a bit biased as well. Learning and teaching could be considered in terms of a common enterprise, a system, or a dialogue. Dialogical thought, or dialogicism (for an introduction, see e.g., Markova and Foppa eds. 1990) emphasizes the fact that no action can be regarded in individual terms only, but that it is always interactive in nature. To take one example, it is easy to see that everyday talk is a system that consists of its participants (i.e., the speaker and the hearer) and their environment. More than that, however, language itself is a dialogical phenomenon, as was argued by Bakhtin. Language is grounded in interaction and therefore, it cannot exist acontextually at all (see e.g., Bakhtin 1986; Volosinov 1990). Thus we arrive at the idea that not only external behaviours (such as speaking, for example) are to be seen as interactions, but that all human knowledge is interactive in character as well.

This view creates also new demands on what is being taught and how it is being done. In dialogical thought, negotiation of meanings is a central concept. According to Rommetveit (1988), it is time to reject the myth of literal meanings. Meanings that are conveyed in communication are negotiable, not static. Meaning (of an utterance, for example) is ontologically vague -and the notion that in communication an idea (or proposition) is transferred from one mind to another has to be seen as false. Instead, it can be argued that meaning is something that is generated within a given situation, and results from co-operation between the participants. This coincides extremely well with the teaching ideal expressed by Paulo Freire: a teacher is not supposed to transfer his/her own meanings to his/her students, not to be “a simple bank depositor in the students' accounts” (see Freire 1972; Scott 1991). On the contrary, a teacher is supposed to help his/her students to their own meanings, to increase their own capital. It is thus as necessary for the teacher to be aware as it is for the learner- to reflect upon his/her own beliefs, knowledge system and how they affect what is being communicated in the classroom (Aalto 1994, forthcoming).

In a dialogical classroom (Nystrand 1992), roles and relationships of the classroom are more flexible than traditionally. The teacher and his/her students stand in a reciprocal relationship: what one does has an effect on the other, but both can vary their roles. In a dialogical frame, a teacher could assume any of the roles below:

1.9.5.1. Teacher as a (linguistic and cultural) informant

This means that a teacher is linguistically and culturally -to the extent needed in a given course- aware of the features typical for the target language/culture, and also able to function as a member of this linguistic and cultural community. Non-native teachers may find this role more difficult -but also they should remember that they can excel in other roles- those that do not require a native-like linguistic and cultural competence.

1.9.5.2. Teacher as an expert

The teacher is also a resource person who has specialized knowledge on both language learning and teaching. Thus, a teacher is able to formulate explicit rules of grammar when needed and offer expert knowledge on linguistic and cultural matters when required. In addition, a teacher

may have extra knowledge on some area of language study which s/he may share with his/her students, remembering, however, that “one great danger of acquiring a specialist knowledge about language is the possible desire to show learners that you have this knowledge” (Wright 1991:68-69).

1.9.5.3. Teacher as a negotiator

In addition, a teacher may have a negotiating role: s/he will summarize and explicate the ideas expressed by the learners, and point out how they may be developed. The teacher is certainly also allowed to express his/her own opinions, preferences and priorities. In many cases, however, it is not necessary to treat the teacher’s remarks as given norms, but as facts liable for negotiation. In practice, the negotiating role of the teacher would include such functions as a chairperson, go-between, referee, and authority when necessary.

1.9.5.4. Teacher as a learner.

Finally, a teacher is someone who is also supposed to learn. This is especially natural and spontaneous in a multilingual and multicultural classroom. When the teacher represents a different linguistic, cultural or ethnic group from his/her students, this allows a natural outlet for the “exchange of roles”. The teacher can learn from his/her pupils about their language and their culture. As a by-product, the students feel appreciated and accepted.

Also, a teacher often is imprisoned with his/her predilections of how things are best learned and therefore, how they should be taught. It is a fresh experience to try to see how things look when regarded from a beginner’s or a layman’s point of view. Why not ask which methods and strategies learners have used themselves in self-study and how they seem to work? And why not try some of these methods and activities in classroom as well? A teacher who reflects upon his/her role and looks at the world from the point of view of his/her students is a participant in a personal teacher-training program (see eg. Wright 1987; Aalto, forthcoming).

It is essential that language learners find the joys of language learning and their own strengths: an experiential relationship to the substance to be learnt and an optimistic approach how this substance is best learned. Such a worldview cannot be handed down by the teacher- it is

something the learner needs to find by him/herself. The teacher, however, can help to create an atmosphere in which this is possible.

1.9.6. How to become aware?

As the needs of teachers, learners and groups differ, there is hardly a set of common activities to increase awareness. Beginners are different from advanced students, children need different input than adults do, and, in addition, there are huge individual differences between learners. Some will learn by reading books, others will learn only by trying something themselves. Some are reflective observers by nature, while others like to act.

Also things to be taught and learned differ. The pupils need to assume both theoretical knowledge and pragmatic skills. They need passive recognition skills as well as active, well-rehearsed routines. They need to be able to articulate well enough, but also to write comprehensible sentences. Some of the things may be of crucial importance, while others might be trivial. Learning how to make a plural form may require a drastically different approach than learning how to articulate a sound foreign to one's mother tongue.

In the following, some general ideas for activities are listed which can be further specified and modified for the purposes of a given course.

1.9.6.1. Talk

To talk about something may seem too trivial to mention. Nevertheless, Socrates taught with talk, and to this day, the method works just as well. In addition, it is simple -and cheap. All you need is time. When you talk about something, you think about something- and you learn to compare your own patterns of thought and experiences to those of others. On the whole, talk, at best, is a process in which new approaches and unthought aspects may appear (see Bain 1991; Howe 1992). And, although a teacher may be a disciplinary authority, he should not be an omnipotent epistemological authority. Talk is dialogue, not interrogation. Talk is generated in group work, co-operative tasks, debates, and interviews, but also in small-talk (for activity types, see eg. Wingate, 1993).

1.9.6.2. Observation and introspection

Learners may also be asked to explicitly observe and/or to record various things: language use in a political debate, nonverbal behaviour of males vs. females, the progress of their own language learning, to take a couple of examples only. Observations can be done individually, as pair-work, or in groups. Depending on the situation and time, this could be done as naturalistic fieldwork and notes could be recorded in diaries, for example. It can also be pre-arranged by the teacher who will provide the pictures, newspaper clippings, ads, texts, tapes, or video-tapes to be observed. Data can be discussed and reported using blackboard, transparencies, newspaper clippings, drawings, posters, mini-articles etc. Introspection can be encouraged in using different techniques ranging from diaries to thinking aloud experiments.

1.9.6.3. Tasks

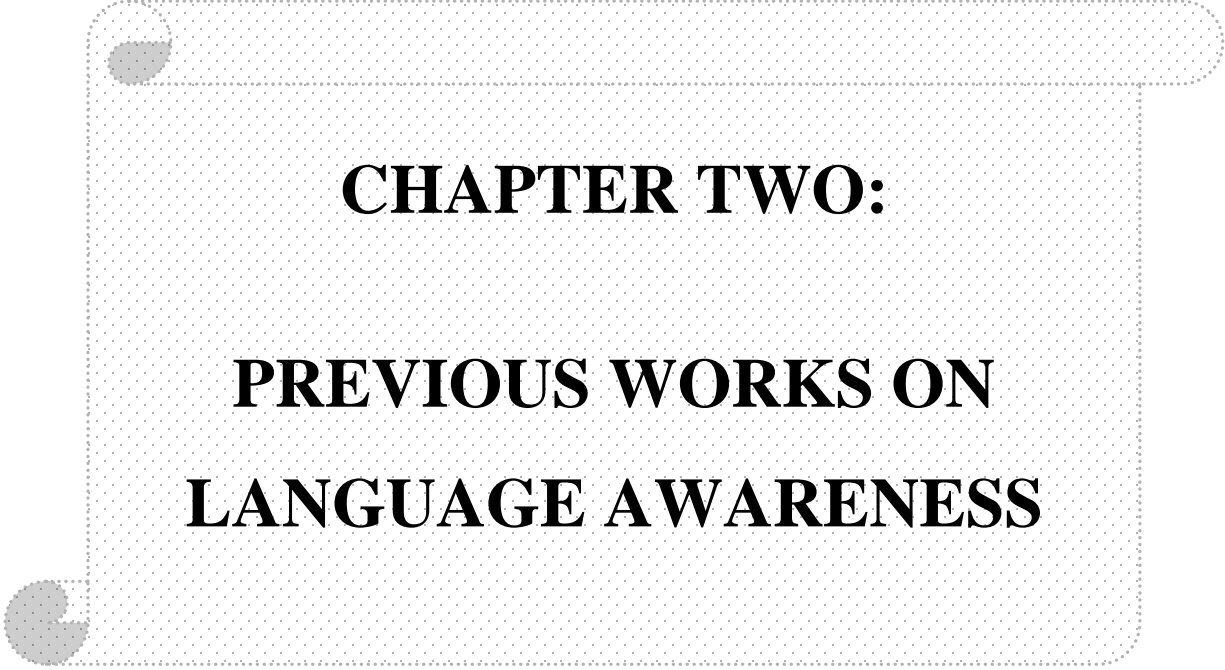
Possible tasks that increase awareness of language are many, ranging from trivial games to serious intellectual problems. The tasks that can be given to learners vary from group to group.

Children may love games, youngsters may feel comfortable with computer games, and adults may want to focus on text analysis or solving a difficult puzzle. Various activities suitable for Language Awareness classroom include rhyming, word play, tongue twisters, crossword puzzles, games, trivia, quizzes, role play, modified psycholinguistic experiments... The teacher is usually able to find various exercise types and activities not only in professional literature (for process writing, see eg. Linnakylä, Mattinen ja Olkinuora 1989; for role play and drama, see eg. Pasanen 1992), but also by adopting the practices of everyday life to the purpose of language teaching. Why not use commercial games, steal an idea from a television quiz show or adopt an exercise from a primary school text-book?

The activities above naturally intertwine. Doing a crossword puzzle may lead to talk, while talking may lead to closer observation of a particular point in language and behaviour.

1.10. Summary

The picture of LA pedagogy which emerges is one which aims to engender LA by learner engagement with the language, including the use of languaging, to construct knowledge about the language in any of its domains: affective, social, power, cognitive, and performance.



CHAPTER TWO:

**PREVIOUS WORKS ON
LANGUAGE AWARENESS**

Having given the main thrust of Language Awareness as it applies to this work, let's now have a look at what has been done so far in this domain. The literature review of this research mainly consists of a set of works and projects conducted in the domain of Language Awareness. There are pilot projects that gave rise to many other programmes in many countries of the world in relation to that specific framework. LA approach has been implemented in Europe by the EVLANG program (Candelier, 2003b), in Switzerland with the Eole program (Perregaux et al., 2003) and more recently in Canada, British Columbia and Quebec (Armand and Dagenais, 2005) with the ÉLODiL program (Language Awareness and openness to linguistic diversity). Each program provides a vast amount of documents and teaching materials (papers, journals, books, flyers...) available on its website.

Language Awareness as an approach to language education has not yet been really extended to African countries, apart from few studies in countries like South Africa, where Hanlie and Tammy (2011) taught some theories of the concept to schools teachers of the University of Pretoria. In Cameroon, very similar approaches were also conducted by PROPELCA and NACALCO before the formal insertion of national languages in the educational school system in 2008. Because Language Awareness in this work is an adaptation from the German context, most of the projects that will be presented under this heading are European projects. The Canadian project appearing here is just the extension of an existing European project.

Camfranglais and Linguistic Landscape being two major parts of this work, relevant papers and books in these subjects will also be mentioned besides these projects.

Some key words pertaining to Language Awareness are going to be defined so as facilitate their use and to make them more understandable throughout this study.

2.1. Definition of key words

2.1.1. Language Awareness

Language Awareness refers to “a person’s sensitivity to and conscious awareness of the nature of language and its role in human life”. (The National Congress on Languages in Education, 1984). Its purpose is to develop the ability to view language objectively, as a phenomenon, and to look at it critically and analytically as an object of study.

Language Awareness also refers to the development in learners of an enhanced consciousness of and sensitivity to the forms and functions of language. The approach has been developed in contexts of both second and foreign language learning, and in mother-tongue language education, where the term “knowledge about language” has sometimes been preferred.

LA is a term in language teaching and applied linguistics for the development of greater awareness among school children of the nature and purpose of LANGUAGE. Promoters of language awareness seek to apply the findings of linguistic research to education at large.

Language Awareness blends content about language, language skill, attitudinal education and metacognitive opportunities, which allow the student to reflect on the process of language acquisition, learning and language use. All four of these aspects of language awareness need to be integrated into the existing subject areas. A focus on Language Awareness is a key aspect of creating student-centered classrooms, and assists the teacher to present material accordingly to student readiness (Bilash and Tulasiewicz, 1995, p.49).

The concept of Language Awareness is not new. Van Essen (1997) points to a long tradition in several European countries. The approach was, however, associated in the 1980s with a reaction to those more prescriptive approaches to language learning, which were generally typified by atomistic analysis of language, and reinforced by narrowly formalistic methodologies, such as grammar translation, drills, and pattern practice. However, the language awareness movement also developed a parallel impetus in reaction to the relative neglect of attention to forms of language within some versions of communicative language teaching methodologies

Since the early 1990s, “Language Awareness” has been a prominent notion in applied linguistics and, more specifically, in the field of language education.

Internationally, the term “Language Awareness” seems at present to be regarded as a new concept of language pedagogy. A review of some of the earlier LA-related work in other European countries suggests, however, that the major ideas of present-day LA have been around for some time, e.g. under such labels as ‘conscience métalinguistique’, ‘Reflexion über Sprache’, ‘Sprachbewußtsein’, ‘taalverkenning’ and ‘taalgevoel’.

We mean an approach which brings every pupil into contact with a broad range of different statuses of languages, and links discovery activities with them. The aim is to give pupils a

positive attitude to language diversity (including minority, immigrant and regional languages) and help them to develop metalinguistic skills, which they can then apply to language learning (at school and outside). This approach, in which schools assign an educational function to languages they do not teach, is not really new. It was first advocated in Great Britain in the 1980s and has since, sometimes with adjustments and under different names (*éveil / ouverture aux langues / au(x) langage(s)*, Language Awareness, *Sprachaufmerksamkeit*), been the subject of experimental schemes on various scales, mainly in primary schools. This applies particularly to Switzerland (the EOLE programme), Germany (also in connection with the European Union Comenius programmes), and France.

2.1.2. First language

A first language (also native language, mother tongue, arterial language, or L1) is the language a person has learned from birth or within the critical period, or that a person speaks the best and which is often the basis for sociolinguistic identity. In some countries, the terms native language or mother tongue refer to the language of one's ethnic group rather than one's first language. Children brought up speaking more than one language can have more than one native language, and be bilingual.

(“Mother language” or also “native language”) is generally understood as the language in which a person was socialised from his birth on in the bosom of the family. If the word “mother tongue” relates to persons who are raised in a monolingual family, then it means almost the same as the word “first language”. In that case we can also assume that the mother tongue is the language that such a person is most proficient in, and which he uses most (at least in the family), that he identifies with and which he is identified with. It is different when the concept is related to persons who grow up or are raised in a multilingual environment. In those cases it is a question whether the mother tongue is the same as the language that someone acquired first, that he is most proficient in, and if it is that language he identifies with or which he is identified with. The impreciseness of the concept of “mother tongue” to describe individual and social languages in practice in a multilingual environment is the main reason why this concept has long been considered as suspect in the field of sociolinguistics and contact-linguistics.

2.1.3. Second language

A person's second language or L2 is a language that is not the native language of the speaker, but that is used in the region of that person. More informally, a second language can be said to be any language learned in addition to one's native language, especially in context of second language acquisition, (that is, learning a new foreign language)

In many countries of the world, children learn their second language at school. This is generally either another local language or an international language that is considered to be important in the country where the learner resides. The designation of a non-native language as a second language in a given country depends on the close historical, geographical, socio-economic ties that that country shares with the country of origin of the non-native language. When the country in which he resides determines the second language of a learner, he would often have the possibility to use that language in his own country. Nevertheless, in certain other cases, a learner's second language is not determined by the country in which he lives but by his immediate family and social entourage. In such a situation, his second language could be different from that of the country in which he resides: If the learner comes from a bi- or multilingual home or minority community in his native country (Ex. Tamils in Sri Lanka), or if the learner has immigrated to another country as a youngster speaking his own first language (Ex. Tamils in France), etc. he would learn as his second language the first language of the country's majority or, in the case of a vast country, that of his region. However, even in such cases, the learner would have a rather close relationship with his second language and would be in a position to use it in his day-to-day life. A second language is a language that a learner masters the second best, after his first language. It might or might not be, chronologically, the second language that he learnt after his first language but, it should be the language that he is most familiar with after his first language. Moreover, a second language usually has a functional value in the learner's family and/or his social circle.

A second language in its name sake only, might not always meet all these requirements; for example, if a learner in a monolingual country where students are not obliged to learn a second language decides, in an arbitrary manner, to learn any given language as his second language, that language, though is surely the 2nd language for him to learn, will not necessarily be his

second language; this shows how, unlike a first language or even a foreign language, a second language of a learner has a more socially marked existence than a personal one.

2.1.4. Foreign language

A foreign language is any language that is not native to a particular region or person. Obviously, this definition varies from region to region and by the individuals within a particular region. Many countries have more than one official language or contain significant populations that speak their own languages. Foreign language instruction is often required or strongly encouraged in primary and secondary education; there are also numerous methods of adult language instruction. Many people are bilingual or multilingual, that is, fluent in two or more languages; this is an asset in many professions.

What is termed a “foreign language” is a language which has generally no direct link with the person’s immediate social or personal environment. The selection of a target foreign language is thus largely a personal choice of the learner, except in cases where children and adults are compelled to learn foreign languages for academic or professional reasons.

Like first and second language education, foreign language education too is a heterogeneous notion composed of different forms of learning. The underlying criteria for such diversity are linked, once again, with specific features of the learner and teacher profiles, and the given learning context. For example, foreign language learners can belong to different age groups and can have different learner objectives and capacities; they may have as teachers, native or non-native speakers of their target language; they may learn in learning environments that are favourable or unfavourable to language acquisition, etc.

The connection of language with culture is also crucial. Studying a foreign language is key to understanding and communicating with the people of a foreign culture.

2.1.5. Linguistic diversity

Linguistic diversity is the reality of the existence of diverse and multiple languages in the world since the origins of humanity. Linguistic diversity is a feature of modern societies, which are multilingual, all shaped by this diversity, although the official language policy refuses to take this diversity into account.

This diversity has two main causes:

- The creation of Nation States by grouping (through conquests, annexations) of territories containing different language groups.
- These Nation States are impacted by immigration, as it changes the linguistics field of the society that welcomes it.

UNESCO has promoted linguistic diversity and multilingualism in all fields of its mandate, through an interdisciplinary approach involving all programme sectors: education, culture, science, communication and information, and social and human sciences.

Languages, with their complex implications for identity, communication, social integration, education, and development are of strategic importance for people and the planet. There is growing awareness that languages play a vital role in development, not only in ensuring cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue, but also in attaining quality education for all and strengthening cooperation, in building inclusive knowledge societies and preserving cultural heritage, and in mobilizing political will for applying the benefits of science and technology to sustainable development.

UNESCO is thus taking urgent action to encourage broad and international commitment to promoting multilingualism and linguistic diversity, including the safeguarding of endangered languages.

2.1.6. Cultural diversity

The definition of culture has long been a controversy and the term is used in a variety of ways. One commonly used definition is: “That complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by a human as a member of society.” (Tylor 1871) The term sub-culture is used to refer to minority cultures within a larger dominant culture. Cross-border population flows, such as migration, lead to increased diversity within societies. This diversity often refers to the co-existence of a difference in behaviour, traditions and customs, in short, a diversity of cultures.

UNESCO promotes the fruitful diversity of cultures since the creation of its Constitution in 1945. Its mandate was reaffirmed in the 2002 Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity. Cultural

diversity is stated “as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature” (Article 1). This principle should be understood not only in terms of economic growth but also as a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence (Article 3). It also implies a commitment to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedom, in particular those of Indigenous Peoples (article 4). To favour cultural diversity UNESCO has developed various standards that offer spaces to promote indigenous peoples’ cultural rights and foster direct engagement with them:

2.1.7. Multilingualism

Multilingualism is the use of two or more languages, either by an individual speaker or by a community of speakers. Multilingual speakers outnumber monolingual speakers in the world's population. Multilingualism is becoming a social phenomenon governed by the needs of globalization and cultural openness. Owing to the ease of access to information facilitated by the Internet, individuals’ exposure to multiple languages is becoming increasingly frequent, thereby promoting a need to acquire additional languages.

Multilingualism is a concept with an open meaning. With the word multilingualism, different realities can be described. In order to systemise these realities, the linguistic literature normally divides multilingualism into individual multilingualism, social multilingualism, and (occasionally also) institutional multilingualism.

2.1.7.1. Individual multilingualism

Individual multilingualism is related to the multilingualism of human beings. They are multilingual, once they are proficient in more than one language. The literature speaks of a “narrow” and a “broad” definition of “individual multilingualism.” In the “narrow” understanding, the person is only then multilingual when he acquired his languages in his early childhood and if he masters these languages perfectly (both orally and in written form). According to the “broad” definition a person is multilingual, when he uses two (or more) languages regularly in his daily life, at some point of his life. In the “broad” definition nothing is said about the time of language acquisition or language proficiency. Those aspects play a role (as are the way of acquisition, the cognitive organisation of language), once distinctions are made

between types of individual multilingualism, like for instance successive and simultaneous individual multilingualism related to the time of acquisition or the symmetrical and asymmetrical individual multilingualism that is related to the degree of language proficiency. (Kowar, Darquennes, Walde, Schenk, Péntzes 2014).

2.1.7.2. Social multilingualism

Social multilingualism refers to the coexistence of several languages in one society. Social multilingualism has a geographic-policy dimension and a social-psychological dimension. The geographic-policy dimension refers to the manifestation of multilingualism within a certain geographic area (a city, a region or a country) and to the policy arrangements for influencing the status, its institutionalisation and legitimisation of the languages that are spoken in a particular area. The social-psychological dimension refers to the distribution, the function, the status, vitality... of the individual languages in a multilingual society. For language minorities, people try to counteract or compensate the low status and the limited degree of institutionalisation and legitimisation of the minority language compared to the majority language, by enacting measures in the field of status planning.

2.1.7.3. Institutional multilingualism

Institutional multilingualism refers to the coexistence of several languages within institutions. In a narrow sense these institutions are public or private, local, regional, national or supranational administrations that offer their services in different languages. In a broad sense the concept of institutional multilingualism also encompasses schools and even families. In literature institutional multilingualism is often considered as a form of social multilingualism.

2.1.8. Language contact

The simplest definition of language contact is the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time (Thomason, 2001). This phenomenon does not require fluent multilingualism. Instead, it involves the communication between speakers of different languages. Moreover, it should be exactly two different languages, not different dialects of one language.

However, language contact does not require the direct communication between two or more people of different languages. It can also occur through reading, watching movies on a foreign language, listening to the music or the radio on another language, and so on (Thomason, 2001). The brightest example of the way one language influenced others is through sacred texts and spread of religions, such as Christianity (spread of Latin and Greek), Buddhism (the Pali language), Islam (Arabic), and so on.

Thus, the cycle of language contact begins when environment puts monolingual speakers in interaction that makes them think about learning another language (Scotton, 2002). In other words, the cycle begins with the emergence of bilingualism, which may further lead to the language shift and to the penetration of one language into another one.

Language contact may take place as a result of various circumstances. They include military invasion and subsequent colonisation, living in a border area, migration, education, spread of international languages, and ethnic awareness (Scotton, 2002). There can be other influential factors and events, but these ones are the most frequent causes, which took place many times throughout recorded time.

Whereas multilingualism can exist in separate enclaves, with speakers of different languages living on the same territory not being able to communicate in each other's language (for example, monolingual speakers of English and French in Cameroon), in situations of plurilingualism, where individuals are using more than one language in their lives, language contact is likely to occur. By language contact, we mean where groups, or individuals, are using different languages and their use of language is modified as a result. This can occur in several different ways. English, for example, has borrowed a great deal of vocabulary from French, Latin, Greek, and many other languages in the course of its history without speakers of the different languages having actual contact; book learning by teachers causes them to pass on the new vocabulary to other speakers via literature, religious texts, dictionaries, etc. But many other contact situations have led to language transfer of various types, often so extensive that new contact languages are created.

2.1.8.1. Results of language contact

2.1.8.1.1. Pidgins

A pidgin is a communicative code that allows people of different languages to talk to each other without having to go through the trouble of learning each other's languages. Some English-pidgins are Cameroon Pidgin English (Africa) and Chinese Pidgin English. A French-based one is Tay Boi, spoken in Vietnam. It is characterized by reduced syntax and vocabulary, no fixed order of words and used purely as a language of communication.

2.1.8.1.2. Creoles

A creole is a stable natural language developed from the mixing of parent languages; creoles differ from pidgins in that they have been adopted by children as their primary language, with the result that they have features of natural languages that are normally missing from pidgins. For example, whereas pidgins in their phonology might show cluster reduction (e.g. "dust" becoming "dus") and morphologically, pidgins do not mark different verbal forms (e.g. by dropping the s-agreement from verbs: "he goes" becoming "he go"), creoles do show such features. Some examples include Babalia Creole (based on Arabic and spoken in Chad), Negerhollands (Dutch-based and spoken in the U.S. Virgin Islands) and Krio (English based and spoken in Sierra Leone).

2.1.8.1.3. Code-switching and loan words

Code switching is the use of more than one language, or language variety, in conversation. Multilinguals sometimes use elements of different languages in conversing with each other. Thus, code switching is the use of more than one linguistic variety in a manner consistent with the syntax and phonology of each variety.

A loanword (or loan word) is a word borrowed from a donor language and incorporated into a recipient language. Donor language terms generally enter a recipient language as a technical term (in connection with exposure to foreign culture. The specific reference point may be to the foreign culture itself or to a field of activity where the foreign culture has a dominant role.

2.1.9. Majority language

A majority language is the language that is usually spoken by a majority of the population in a country or in a region of a country. In a multilingual society, the majority language is generally considered the high-status language or having a linguistic prestige. Majority language is also called the dominant language or killer language; it contrasts with minority language.

In sociolinguistics, linguistic prestige is the degree of esteem and social value attached by members of a speech community to certain languages, dialects, or features of a language variety.

“Social and linguistic prestige is interrelated,” notes Michael Pearce. “The language of powerful social groups usually carries linguistic prestige; and social prestige is often granted to speakers of prestige languages and varieties” (Routledge Dictionary of English Language Studies, 2007).

The concept of prestige in sociolinguistics provides one explanation for the phenomenon of variation in form, among speakers of a language or languages. Prestige varieties are those varieties which are generally considered by a society to be the most correct or otherwise superior variety. The prestige variety, in many cases, is the standard form of the language though there are exceptions, particularly in situations of covert prestige where a non-standard dialect is highly valued.

Sociolinguistic prestige is especially visible in situations where two or more distinct languages are in use, and in diverse, socially stratified urban areas, in which there are likely to be speakers of different languages and/or dialects interacting frequently.

The prevailing view among contemporary linguists is that regardless of perceptions that a particular dialect or language is “good/better” or “bad/worse” than its counterparts, when dialects and languages are assessed “on purely linguistic grounds, all languages (and all dialects) have equal merit.

2.1.9.1. Standard varieties and covert prestige

Prestige varieties are those that are regarded mostly highly within a society. As such the standard language, the form promoted by authorities and considered most correct or otherwise, is often the prestige variety. However, there are many exceptions to this rule, such as Arabic, in which Egyptian Arabic is widely used in mass media aimed at international audiences, while Literary

Arabic (also known as Standard Arabic) is a more prestigious form. Prestige varieties do not exhibit features, grammatically speaking, which prove them superior in terms of logic, efficacy or aesthetics. They are the language varieties of the prestigious social classes. Therefore, the prestige variety of a given language community or nation-state has symbolic significance and may act as an instrument of political power.

The notion of a (standard) language in a speech community is related to the prestige of the languages spoken in the community. In general, “greater prestige tends to be attached to the notion of the standard, since it can function in higher domains, and has a written form.” While there are some counterexamples, such as Arabic, “prestigious and standard varieties tend to coincide to the extent that the two terms can be used interchangeably.”

In countries like the United States, where citizens speak many different languages and come from a variety of national and ethnic groups, there is a “folk linguistic” belief that the most prestigious dialect is the single standard dialect of English that all people should speak. The Linguist Rosina Lippi-Green (2004) believes that this belief in a standard language justifies and rationalises the preservation of the social order, since it equates “nonstandard” or “substandard” language with “nonstandard or substandard human beings.” Linguists believe that no language, or variety of language, is inherently better than any other language, for every language serves its purpose of allowing its users to communicate.

The terms and conditions of prestige assigned to a language variety are subject to change depending on speaker, situation, and context. A dialect or variety, which is considered prestigious in one context, will not carry the same status in another. The relative status of language varieties according to audience, situation, and other contextual elements is highly local. Covert prestige refers to relatively high value placed on a non-standard form of language.

Different languages and dialects are accorded prestige based upon factors, which include “rich literary heritage, high degree of language modernization, considerable international standing, or the prestige of its speakers”. Having many of these attributes will likely mean the language is viewed as being of high prestige; likewise, a language or dialect with few or none of these attributes will be considered to be of low prestige.

Prestige influences whether a language variety is considered a language or a dialect. In discussing definitions of language, Dell Hymes (1971) wrote that “sometimes two communities are said to have the same, or different, languages on the grounds of mutual intelligibility, or lack thereof”, but alone, this definition is often insufficient.

2.1.10. Minority language

A minority language is a language that is spoken by the minority population in a geographic area or location. An area may have several minority languages, depending on the constitution or make up of the population. The key criterion here is the size of the speakers within a specific geographic context: A language may be a minority language in one region or State but a majority language in another.

According to Thornberry et al. (2004:141), in their report on minority languages in Europe, the term minority language refers to “languages that are traditionally used within a given territory of a state by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State’s population and which is different from the official language(s) of that state”.

Minority languages are occasionally marginalised within nations for a number of reasons. These include the small number of speakers, the decline in the number of speakers, and their occasional consideration as uncultured, primitive, or simple dialects when compared to the dominant language.

Immigrant minority languages are often also seen as a threat and as indicative of the non-integration of these communities, as perceived by the speakers of the majority language. This perceived threat is mostly felt in countries that have political systems that do not provide support to these languages with respect to their educational policy.

2.2. Eric Hawkins’ project in Great Britain

The Language Awareness curriculum is an approach to language education which goes beyond those topics usually covered in first or second language instruction in order to promote greater

understanding of the ways in which language functions in society. Language Awareness approaches emerged out of Britain, in part, as a response to government reports and other indications of dissatisfaction with English and foreign language education in public schooling (Hawkins, 1987). Donmall (1985, in Wolfram, 1998) defines Language Awareness as “a person's sensitivity to and conscious awareness of the nature of language and its role in human life”.

The idea of Language Awareness has grown to encompass language across the curriculum and brought about collaborations between teachers of English, ESL, and other languages (Cheshire and Edwards, 1998). Hawkins (1987) describes a curriculum in which students learn about basic principles of linguistics including sociolinguistic perspectives on language and topics such as language variation and change. Students practice skills such as learning to listen for particular language features and finding patterns in language. Understandings and approaches are intended to aid students in their acquisition of various registers of English (including the standard, academic variety) and also in learning other languages. The approach is also meant to combat linguistic parochialism and lead to the perception of the large number of immigrant speakers of languages other than English in public schools as a resource rather than a problem. Students engage in making explicit features of their knowledge of their mother tongues. Immigrant students learn from the explorations of native speakers and vice-versa.

2.3. Ja-ling project in Europe

2.3.1. Context

Ja-Ling Comenius 2001-2004 (Ja-Ling is short for Janua linguarum or the Gateway to Languages) is an international project on language and intercultural awareness. Twelve countries participate in this project, which aims at building metalinguistic competence, developing a positive attitude to language and cultural diversity (including lesser used and immigrant languages), helping Immigrant students to keep their mother tongue, and generally enhancing motivation for learning languages, mother tongue included.

Ja-Ling is access to the languages of the world and the world of languages. Janua Linguarum is the Gateway to Languages. And through that door enter the world of Ja-Ling to discover the diversity of languages, cultures, and people. By working with multiple languages simultaneously,

it reinforces the perception of differences at the spoken and written level and helps to learn languages, including French at school. It also helps to observe by comparing languages

-neighbouring languages to French, European languages, languages of the world-. It develops language proficiency and facilitates all learning in any field. Ja-Ling takes into account the interests and students' prior knowledge in languages other than the school and adds value to them. Children are encouraged to formulate their spontaneous remarks and authentic questions that enrich collective thinking. Ja-ling is the Gateway of Languages and the respect for differences and education for citizenship. Ja-Ling is a stone to build a world where diversity is not a source of conflict but of wealth.

How can education prepare individuals to face the cultural and linguistic diversity of the society they are living in? Learners experience this diversity since school, through the multiplicity of languages, which they face and learn, but also, more frequently through the diversity of their origins. It is in this context that a certain number of innovations have been started up in several countries, mainly in primary schools, under different titles (*éveil / ouverture aux langues*, Language Awareness, *Sprachaufmerksamkeit*). They have led recently to the Comenius and the Evlang (*Socrates / Lingua*) programs. The latter is still under way. In this approach, every pupil faces a considerable diversity of languages, of different status, in which he performs exploring activities.

2.3.2. Aims

The aims are to develop both a positive attitude towards linguistic diversity (including lesser-used languages, migrant and regional languages), and to build metalinguistic skills, which will be used again when learning other languages (foreign languages and languages at school). The project, which was set up with the support of the ECML, Graz, aimed at more widespread dissemination and curricular insertion of Language Awareness (from which the name: *DifCurEv* is derived). It would start in the kindergarten and run through the lower secondary school years. The main aim is to create synergy between linguistic learning, within the framework of the teaching both of more languages and more diversified languages.

2.3.3. Results

The expected results at the end of the project were as follow:

- A combination of tested and validated curricular plans concerning the introduction of the “Language Awareness” approach in some education areas, from kindergarten to the end of secondary school:
- A combination of teaching resources (teaching and learning material) in order to establish these plans and future developments and adaptations;
- A combination of knowledge concerning how (learning process, types of teaching intervention) to use it in a general language course and how to make the most of the learner’s abilities (knowledge, know how, behaviour) in the framework of the language awareness activities...
- 2-3 booklets and a multimedia product in order to disseminate the results described under the above-mentioned points
- The development of a know-how by the teachers, persons responsible for the education and researchers taking part in the project, which could be the starting point of a wider dissemination and of subsequent development of the project.

Some of the topics covered by Ja-ling activities:

- Words from elsewhere
- The origin of language
- Language families
- Language sounds
- Language operation
- Languages, cultures and countries of Europe and the world

2.4. Eulang project in Europe

2.4.1. Context

The Socrates/Lingua project number 42137-CP-1-97-FR-Lingua-LD, referred to as l’Éveil aux Langues dans l’école primaire (EVLANG, from now onwards), took up the challenge of designing, implementing and experimenting school materials that students would face with a vast

amount of languages in an attempt to help them realise how languages work and how they structure culturally-bound human experiences. It was believed that if students had a broader view on linguistic diversity, they would develop positive attitudes towards language and language learning, which in turn would enable them to build up the learning skills they need to improve their language aptitudes. In addition, as Noguero (2000) states, the kind of learning EVLANG tasks promote is not only restricted to their activities; instead, such tasks constitute an open door to a better acceptance of the other as a per se. The EVLANG Project was co-ordinated by professor Michel Candelier, who has been working at the Université du Maine (France), and was possible thanks to the participation of primary, secondary, and university teachers from a few European countries, namely, Austria (Graz), France (Paris, Grenoble & Reunion Island), Italy (Naples), Spain (Barcelona), and Switzerland (Genève & Neuchâtel). It ran for three years and its results are about to be published. Nevertheless, the project has not come to a standstill because the experience was worthwhile and the institutions that took part in it have decided to apply for a new Socrates programme this forthcoming year. The new Project, which has already been named after the title of one of Copernicus' books *JANUA LINGUARUM RESERATA* -an open door to languages-, will embrace twenty more countries including, among others, Bulgaria, Iceland, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, The Czech Republic, The Netherlands, Russia, and Sweden. At the moment, all the institutions that will take part in that potential Socrates programme are already working together through the 1-2000 language workshop of Graz. The EVLANG tasks were only addressed to fifth and sixth graders (children aged 10-12) because the research group felt the need to limit the number of classes that were going to implement the tasks and the amount of data to be analysed. Even so, 150 classrooms of the participating communities experimented the 30 tasks designed by the research group, each of which contained a number of lessons ranging from 2 to 5 and included audio-recorded documents which presented, in total, more than 40 languages.

2.4.2. Objectives

Since 1997, the EVLANG programme, supported by Socrates/Lingua, has brought together schools in five European countries. Some five hundred classes are involved, and the aim is to assess the skills acquired by pupils after a one-year or eighteen-month course. Advocates of these schemes all make the same point at starting: various processes, such as migration, globalisation

and European integration, are making our societies increasingly multilingual and multicultural. This is a real challenge for schools, which are expected, not only to develop their pupils' language abilities, but also to give them positive attitudes to otherness and difference, and teach them to cope with diversity. In spite of some recent positive developments, these pioneers also agree that current approaches to language teaching do not allow schools to do these things effectively, although many pupils -because of their wide-ranging origins- experience diversity as soon as they start school

They feel that the multilingual approach, which they recommend and practise, helps to prepare children better for life in linguistically and culturally diverse communities. The aim is to take diversity of languages, including languages represented in the classroom and normally ignored or even concealed, as a datum and work on it. Language diversity becomes the focus of learning activities, which helps pupils to develop the skills we mentioned earlier. At this stage in its development, they felt the time had come to publicise this approach more widely and try to give Language Awareness a bigger place in the curriculum (hence the project's provisional title: DifCurEv), from kindergarten to the end of secondary education. In principle, all the traditional school subjects are covered, though a special effort is made to generate synergies between language learning activities, in the hope that this will increase their effectiveness and diversity

The objectives of the Eulang approach aimed at developing performances and positive attitudes towards linguistic diversity, motivation to learn languages, in order to learn metalinguistic skills as well as the acquisition of knowledge on languages, a language culture (Candelier, 2003b, p. 23).

2.4.3. Outcomes

The results of the implementation of the Eulang program show that this program facilitates the emergence of positive representations of language diversity among teachers and students and favours long term acquisition of metalinguistic skills (most particularly among students with poorest results), as far as memorization and auditory discrimination in unfamiliar languages are concerned (Candelier, 2003b; Sabatier, 2002, 2004).

2.5. LEA project in Europe (Language Educator Awareness). Developing plurilingual and pluricultural awareness in language teacher education

2.5.1. Context

Language teacher education has traditionally been focused on the didactic procedures for teaching particular languages. However, developments in contemporary society oblige educational institutions to face up to the challenges of plurilingualism and pluriculturalism. Consequently, it is necessary to enrich language teacher education by including the competences needed to promote linguistic and cultural diversity for the construction of “democratic citizenship, social cohesion, mutual understanding and respect”.

Language and culture awareness help to promote these aims. The recognition and acceptance of diversity leads to the development of positive attitudes, which impel the individual to value diversity and to act in consequence. Such a programme would enable teachers to become key social actors with a major role to play both locally as well as globally.

The materials and activities proposed for the language teacher training kit in this project will take into account the plurilingual approach presented in the *Common European Framework for Languages* that “emphasizes the fact that an individual person’s experience of language in its cultural contexts expands, from the language of the home to that of society at large and then to the languages of other peoples”. (LEA, 2004:1)

Following the *Common European Framework for Languages*, one of the aims of the materials that will be produced throughout this project will be to develop a linguistic repertory, in which all linguistic abilities have a place. Furthermore, the materials will present a pluricultural approach to promoting what the Framework defined as “the favourable development of the learner’s whole personality and sense of identity in response to the enriching experience of otherness in language and culture”.

A rationale and activities to promote democratic citizenship, social cohesion, mutual understanding and respect, will be one of the main objectives of the kit for language teacher trainers. The project’s main objectives are to develop social cohesion through language teaching/learning among teachers and consequently among their students. This project has two main orientations: training and awareness raising. That is to say, by means of training language

teacher trainers, the team members' main purpose is to develop plurilingual and pluricultural competences among language teachers and consequently among students at all levels.

This project will build on previous work done under one of the major focuses of the first medium term programme: *Language Awareness, Intercultural Competence, Multilingual Matters*. Particularly, it will be a follow-up, extension and development of the Ja-ling project (*ECML and Socrates Ja-ling Comenius 95040-CP-1-2001-1-DE-COMENIUS-C21*).

The present project is a clear step forward. The previous Ja-Ling project aimed at learners as the final target group; logically, the following phase had to be intended for language teacher educators. Thus, dissemination of the basic assumptions of the Ja-Ling approach is guaranteed to be larger and deeper.

2.5.2. Aims and objectives

2.5.2.1. General aims

- To raise awareness of diversity as a key element of society
- To develop positive attitudes among language teachers & trainees towards all other languages as well as their speakers
- To enrich language teacher education with the potential to exploit linguistic and cultural diversity at individual and social levels
- To facilitate curricular changes aimed at incorporating a plurilingual and pluricultural dimension into language classes.

2.5.2.2. Specific objectives

- Elaborate a questionnaire to analyse the assertions and beliefs that language teachers/trainees have with regard to plurilingualism and pluriculturalism. The questionnaire will be on the LEA web page.
- Elaborate a basic kit for language teacher educators, taking advantage of the experience gathered during the Ja-Ling project.

The kit will contain:

- A rationale
 - Procedures for motivating language teachers & trainees to work with language and culture diversity.
 - Activities and materials designed to train language teachers and trainees in language and culture awareness.
 - Sample activities and materials, which language teachers and trainees can use in their language classes, especially materials aimed at incorporating a plurilingual and pluricultural dimension into the learning of some particular languages.
- To train participants in the use of the kit.
 - To get participants to experiment the kit in their own teaching environment.
 - To get feedback from the network members in order to improve the basic kit.
 - To train other language teacher trainers in the use of the kit at national level
 - To evaluate on-going processes stimulated by the project.
 - To publish the final improved version of the training kit, as well as other outcomes of the project. The publication will be produced in electronic and paper form.

2.5.3. Outcomes

This project is expected:

- To promote awareness for plurilingualism and pluriculturalism among the participants.
- To provide them with instruments to introduce plurilingualism and pluriculturalism among language teachers and learners.

These processes will be measured, respectively, by the contribution of the participants to the improvement of the basic kit and by a piloted questionnaire delivered to the participants and other language teacher trainers who will take part in the project at national level.

The end product developed in this project will be the above-mentioned improved kit, which will help to develop plurilingualism and pluriculturalism competences among language teachers and trainees

2.6. Eole project in Europe

Education and openness to languages at school (EOLE) aims at developing students opening attitudes to linguistic and cultural diversity present both inside and outside the classroom. It intends to promote the construction of observation and analysis useful for language learning.

Eole activities are based on the existing language knowledge of students and lead them regularly to use their language resources (the “already there”), through didactic situations inserted in the daily school activities and centered on observation and comparison between different languages.

Once the look, sound and spirit of observation of the students are trained, they are more easily aware of the peculiarities of each language and can build on what they know in a language to better understand another, taking advantage of a synergy between different language learning.

2.6.1. Description

EOLE teaching resources include two volumes: the first is aimed at pupils in the first four years of schooling (4-8 years); the second is for students in grades 5 to 8 years (9-12 years approx.).

Each volume includes:

- A teacher's book (including methodological notes, a detailed presentation of activities, documentary appendices and references)
- A set of reproducible activity sheets, and two audio CDs including recordings (in fifty languages) for the activities.
- A brochure including a multilingual glossary (presenting the 69 languages present in these teaching resources) and multilingual lexicon, completes the two volumes.

Between 2000 and 2001, a working group analyzed the relevance and feasibility of proposing EOLE activities as secondary degree.

2.6.2. Objectives

All the EOLE activities have the common characteristic of students to work in several languages (including local language(s) or other(s) language(s) taught in school, languages spoken by students, etc.)

The purpose is to:

- Develop students' performances and positive attitudes of openness to linguistic and cultural diversity;
- Develop their skills of observation, analysis and reflection about language and languages;
- Expand their knowledge about language, registering in the multilingual context of today's world;
- Increase their motivation to learn languages;
- Increase -for students who speak them and for others- the legitimacy of languages from migration through their inclusion in activities and in doing so, have their value (cognitive, and social identity) recognized by school.
- Develop their curiosity towards the functioning of language and languages;
- Mobilize their partial knowledge in these languages and the habit of operating synergies between them, to learn languages with greater ease and fun
- Discuss confident understanding of a text written in a language unknown to them.
- Search the main messages through a listening activity before being able to understand all the words, verbal expressions, and structures
- Know that there is a wide variety of languages, which can be grouped into families with common roots and presenting similarities and differences interesting to analyze
- Understand that, in a given society, all languages do not have the same status
- Develop positive representations with respect to languages they know and those they learn, and acquire a multi-linguistic and multicultural sensitivity
- Adopt a favorable position towards other languages and cultures on which they are likely to build negative stereotypes
- Recognize and value the language skills of all their classmates, regardless of the language
- Own a real multilingual and multicultural culture.

2.7. ELODil project in Quebec (Canada)

2.7.1. Context.

The ELODil project in Quebec is an adaptation of the Evlang project in Europe. In line with the policy of school integration and intercultural education of the Ministry of Education of Quebec (1998) and in connection with the training program of the Quebec School (2001), it is about fostering in learners, whether they are ethnic environment or not, the “know-live together in a francophone, democratic and pluralistic society” (Ministry of Education of Quebec, 1998: 26) by making linguistic diversity a key component of intercultural education and Education for citizenship.

1.7.2. Objectives of ÉLODIL in Quebec

- Develop positive attitudes to linguistic and cultural diversity.
- Allow in terms of linguistic structure, the development of thinking skills in the language (meta-linguistic abilities).
- Facilitate ethnic environment, recognition and legitimization of heritage languages of immigrant allophone children - children speaking different language(s) than the official language(s) of the country in which they live -.
- Facilitating learning of French and awareness of social identity and role of the French common language.

2.7.3. ÉLODIL activities

Through the implementation of various activities available online on the website, the preschool students, elementary and secondary, are brought to contact linguistic diversity.

Several languages are available in the activities: some are unknown to all children; others are the languages of one or more children in the class.

These activities serve as a “trigger” for some allophone students of immigrant origin who feel entitled, according to their desire or not to do so, to evoke their native language or any language of their family.

It is indeed “not to impose but propose” to respect the rhythm of the child in length, as appropriate, language with his personal history, his migratory journey, family choices, etc.

In the same way that intercultural education by its shift to citizenship education has sought to counter bias and ghettoisation folklore, these include not imposing, during LA activities a unique linguistic identity to an allophone student, based on his sole original language at the expense of recognition of multiple identities based, inter alia, a multilingual competence, including French.

The positive outlook on this plurilingual competence can legitimize and authorize the use of different language resources available in learners, to facilitate the emergence of positive transfer between the languages involved in the specific language skills to learner, facilitate the sharing of diverse knowledge and the emergence of an openness to linguistic and cultural diversity in the classroom.

2.8. Project T1: “Urban Language Variation in Teachers’ Education” in Germany

The work presented here was conducted within the Special Research Area SFB 632; project T1 (Modules on Language Variation for Teachers’ Education, Project investigator: Heike Wiese), funded by the German Research Foundation.

According to Wiese, (2011), the project targets social and linguistic biases at school and kindergarten towards linguistic variation, nonstandard language use, and speakers of low-prestige dialects and heritage languages in Germany. The programme offers a comprehensive package for trainers in teachers’ continuing education, with materials that draw on antibias and antiracism pedagogics. For illustration, Heike describes some of the materials directed at secondary school teachers and report first experiences from their application in teachers’ workshops in Berlin and Brandenburg, Germany.

2.8.1. Context

Modern Europe is characterised by linguistically highly diverse communities that support new linguistic repertoires, a wealth of different multilingual competences, and new variants of the majority language. In the classroom, this leads to an increased linguistic diversity, with a large range of formal and informal styles and registers, associated with majority and minority languages in different situations, social contexts, and communities, including, among others, new ways of speaking in multilingual neighbourhoods, diverse speech styles influenced by youth culture, and different variants of traditional regional dialects. In their linguistic behaviour, pupils

accordingly draw on a large range of different resources making up complex linguistic repertoires.

Curricular framework specifications for schools in Germany do acknowledge multiple repertoires, and take into account different communicative choices including nonstandard language use. However, this does not necessarily translate into a classroom reality where competences in variants other than an idealised monolingual “standard German” are acknowledged and appreciated.

In what follows, Heike first describes the kind of negative attitudes that can be found at schools (section 2). Against this background, the author presents an antibias programme for teachers’ education that targets the linguistic realm (section 3), and reports first experiences from applications in Berlin and Brandenburg (section 4).

2.8.2. Negative attitudes towards language variation and nonstandard language in education

Linguistic attitudes and language-related interactions in classrooms in Germany are embedded in a general context of negative attitudes towards nonstandard linguistic variants and their speakers, prevalent in public discourse. We can identify three main underlying processes: (1) public discourse in Germany is dominated by a standard language ideology (Milroy & Milroy 1999) that seems to be particularly strong here (Davies 2012); (2) it is characterised by a monolingual bias (Gogolin 1994) leading, e.g., to widespread beliefs in “double semilingualism” for speakers with heritage languages of low social prestige (Wiese 2011) and a strong association of “migration background” and “in need of special language support” (cf. Scarvaglieri & Zech 2013); and (3) this is further augmented by a pervasive “us”/ “them”-dichotomy targeting social class and “ethnicity” (Wiese *subm.*).

Against this background, it is not surprising to find that educational institutions are often ill-equipped to handle linguistic (and social) diversity in the classroom. Rather than acknowledging the breadth of speakers’ repertoires, formal education overwhelmingly relies on testing instruments that measure only part of their language competence (cf. also Blommaert & Backus 2011). Teachers tend to exclusively focus on competences in formal, “standard” German, disregarding other linguistic resources, and this neglect can lead to negative linguistic

stereotyping: nonstandard language use is then often regarded as evidence for a lack of linguistic proficiency independently of the speech situation, and as an obstacle for educational success; it is perceived as an indication of low social class and, associated with this, to a lesser academic potential (cf. Davies 2000; Wiese 2012).

This is true for traditional vernaculars and regional dialects as well as linguistic practices associated with multilingual contexts, such as code-switching or new multiethnic dialects like Kiezdeutsch “German neighbourhood” (cf. Wiese 2009, 2012). In the case of multilingual pupils with heritage languages of low social prestige, however, negative class prejudices can be further supplemented by the construction of alloethnic, non-German outgroups. For instance, it is not unusual for school and kindergarten teachers to call only children with a monolingual, non-migrant background “German”, while bilingual children will be labelled “Turkish”, “Arabic” etc., even if they have been living in Germany all their lives, as frequently their parents have as well. In our work at different schools, teachers told us, for instance, that they asked their bilingual pupils whether they had “any German friends”, or requested them to fill in a questionnaire where they had to indicate whether the language they spoke at home was either “German” or their “mother language”, thus precluding both the possibility that pupils who are grown up in Germany could regard German as their mother language (or one of two mother languages), and that people could speak more than one language at home.

Statements of emails sent by teachers in connection with the public debate on Kiezdeutsch since 2009:

- My experiences show a steady decrease of pupils’ linguistic competence in written as well as in oral domains. Causes: Hardly any book reading anymore. Writing primarily in SMS style. Sociolect, youth language, or whatever one wants to call it, as an expansion of one’s language skills.

- Fine! For my pupils, it is not an expansion, but their core competence, if one can call it that.

[1] [SEP] KiDKo/E, Email, 19/06/2011

- Kiezdeutsch is [...] an amalgam of new vocabulary (lol) from other cultures with the economical syntax of all those who are not up to using the genitive. [...] But why do young Germans, in conversations with Germans of the same age, speak Kiez language? [1] [SEP] KiDKo/E, Email, 15/03/2012.

2.8.3. “The many sides of German”: A programme for teachers’ education

In order to target the social and linguistic biases that are evident in such statements and naming practices, the project developed a language-directed anti-bias programme, “The many sides of German”. Crucially, this programme complements conventional approaches to language training and language diagnostics by focussing on the social dimension of linguistic evaluations and addressing social impediments to an objective appraisal of the linguistic competences of children and adolescents from underprivileged social groups.

In our work, we can build on some existing intervention programmes with similar objectives that have been developed for other countries. Unlike the one described here, however, these are mainly based on classroom materials for implementation in school -for instance, in the form of contrastive linguistic training (e.g., Wheeler & Swords 2006; 2010 for the US), dialect awareness programs (e.g., Wolfram 1993; Reaser & Wolfram 2006; Reaser 2006 for the US), linguistic landscape explorations for pupils and students (e.g., Dagenais et al. 2009 for Canada; Hancock 2012 for the UK), and programs promoting the integration of home languages and dialects into the classroom (e.g., Malcolm & Truscott 2012 for Australia).

The program Heike presents includes classroom materials, too. However, these are only an additional service package for teachers, whereas the main focus of our applications is teachers’ continuing education classes: we target teachers’ attitudes, in a training that, while sharing a thematic focus with Language Awareness programs, draws on methods from antibias and antiracism pedagogics.

2.8.4. General features

The programme offers training materials for three different target groups: kindergarten teachers, primary school teachers, and secondary school teachers. Thematically, materials are organised into three domains D1-D3 with the following titles:

- D1, Language Perception: I hear who you are. Attitudes towards different ways of speaking and speech communities.

- D2, Language Use: Who speaks what? The repertoire of speakers.

- D3, Language System, Development, and Change: What is German? The gamut of a

language.

Within these domains, materials cover such topics as spoken vs. written language, traditional dialects, vernaculars, urban language, youth culture, language change, multilingualism, language repertoires, standard language ideologies, linguistic stereotyping, and social prejudices. Materials are differentiated for two teaching phases, “Motivation and Introduction” (I), and “Development and Expansion” (II). In addition, there is material for a warming-up block at the beginning, a transition period between Phases I and II, and a wrapping-up block at the end. The programme has a modular structure that enables trainers to pick and choose and combine different materials depending on thematic focus, target group, and training length, for half-day, full-day, and several-day workshops. It offers a comprehensive package, with a trainer handbook including detailed workflow schedules in a format that potential trainers (who are usually school teachers themselves) are familiar with from school; concrete materials with slides, work sheets, exercises, audios, videos, and summary leaflets with take-home messages. For each unit, there is also material for classroom applications, as a service package for teachers to use in their own teaching at school.

In what follows, materials for secondary schools and report on first experiences with their application in teachers’ workshops in Berlin and the neighbouring state of Brandenburg, Germany are described. Below is an overview of some of the materials, rather than providing a detailed exposition (also leaving out the school applications). The full programme with all the materials developed so far (in German, but with English descriptions) is available on a service website aimed at teachers and trainers for teachers’ continuing education: www.deutsch-ist-vielseitig.de.

2.8.5. Materials for secondary school teachers

Table 1 shows the organisation of the materials for secondary schools teachers into domains and phases. The units that will be described for illustration are marked in grey.

Table 1: Overview of materials for secondary school teachers' education

	D1 (Language perception)	D2 (Language use)	D3 (Language structure)
Warming-up	How do you speak? What do people associate with your name? Discussion of languages, dialects, and names in the group		
Phase I	Ball Contacts 1-3 (Stereotype Memory)	Language Situations	Dialect Test
...	Stereotype Recognition		..
	A New School		News Speech Analysis
Transition	Myths About Language		
Phase II	Ball Contacts 1 (Speaker Evaluation)	Ball Contacts 1+4 (Linguistic Analysis)	Kiezdeutsch Explorers
...	Ball Contacts 4 (Speaker Interviews)	Whisper down the Lane	Lexicon in Change
	Roleplay		
Wrapping-up	Case Studies		

“Ball Contacts” offers materials associated with several domains (D1 and D2) and phases (I and

II). It is based on a video consisting of four parts that show young people in informal conversations before a football game (Ball Contacts 1), in a history test at school (Ball Contacts 2), with the test graded by a teacher (Ball Contacts 3), and in metalinguistic interviews (Ball Contacts 4). The football conversations show three young men talking to their respective friends, using Turkish-German code-switching, standard-close informal German, and similarly informal German, but with a palatalisation of [ç] that has become a shibboleth (“isch”) marking young people with a Middle Eastern background in Germany.

In the first application (Ball Contacts 1-3, D1 / Phase I), teachers see the conversations, the history test, and its grading. After an interruption (for instance, a break or another teaching unit), they are asked to recall the grades that speakers scored in the history test. We know from social psychology (e.g., Oliver 1999), that stereotypes can influence memory in such recollection tasks. In our case, people tend to falsely remember a more positive grade for the speaker of standard-close German, and worse grades for the speakers with code switching and “isch”-shibboleth. This material allows teachers to experience the workings of linguistic stereotypes first-hand, which is then reviewed in a plenary discussion.

In a second variant (Ball Contacts 1 / D1, Phase II), teachers see only the football conversations and discuss their impressions of speakers, with a focus on linguistic and social stereotypes.

In a third unit based on this material (Ball Contacts 4, D1 / Phase II), teachers watch and discuss the interviews, where the young speakers talk about their language use in different situations, their experiences with multilingualism and with linguistic discrimination in their every-day lives and in the classroom. This allows teachers to learn about pupils’ perspective on language and discrimination and to reflect on their classroom experiences. Since unlike in the football conversations, all speakers use standard-close German in the more formal set-up of these interviews, teachers also get an impression of the broader repertoire of young speakers with a migrant background.

In the fourth application (Ball Contacts 1+4, D2 / Phase II), teachers analyse the different linguistic characteristics of the football conversations and the interviews, discussing structural and pragmatic features of code-switching (helped by a summary leaflet on code-switching and one on Turkish grammar), and informal vs. more formal speech. This application focuses on the repertoire of speakers and on systematic patterns (vs. random “errors”) in language use out of

monolingual standard German.

In the unit “A New School” (D1 / Phase I), teachers hear audio recordings of adults talking at a bus stop and are told that these are parents who would like their children to be accepted at a neighbouring school that has only a few free places left. They discuss (first in small groups and then in a plenary discussion) the respective pupils’ prospects, and the reasons they have for their prediction, thus exploring the social and linguistic prejudices that can influence one’s view of pupils. The unit provides recordings with different regional dialects, more standard-close and more vernacular speech styles, code switching, and learner stages of German as a foreign language for high- and low-prestige first languages, including several matched guises. Trainer can choose a subset suitable for the regional, social, and linguistic context of the school(s) at which the participants teach.

“Language Situations” (D2 / Phase I) focuses on linguistic repertoires, using linguistic productions of young people in 2 x 2 informal vs. formal, spoken vs. written language, who were asked to describe a fictional traffic accident in a phone call and a text message to a friend, in an interview with a police officer, and in a written witness report for the police, as illustrated by the data in (1) and (2) above. Teachers are first asked to match different quotes with situations, then to compose an SMS themselves and transcribe a (fictive) phone call they would have with a friend, and subsequently analyse their productions linguistically. This provides them with practical experiences and linguistic knowledge of different text sorts, in particular the kind of informal, vernacular writing and speaking that tends to be neglected at school, supporting an awareness of the breadth of speakers’ linguistic repertoires and the different, contextually appropriated choices they offer.

The “Multilingualism Circle” (D2 / Phase II) provides metalinguistic statements of multilingual speakers (authors, journalists, a businessman, a lawyer, a teacher, a comedian, an imam) reflecting different attitudes and experiences with language use and linguistic stereotypes. Teachers discuss these statements in small groups, further aided by cards with different selected quotes from linguistic and pedagogical associations summarising research results on multilingualism and nonstandard language use. In a plenary discussion, the groups present and compare their results.

In the “Dialect Test” (D3 / Phase I), teachers work individually or in groups with exercise cards

that identify a communicative context and offer minimal pairs of statements that differ in a particular grammatical, lexical, or pragmatic aspect. Participants have to tell which variant fits better into the context and get feedback on their responses, including linguistic explanations for the correct answer, on the card. All linguistic examples – good and bad fits alike – are from nonstandard language (different regional dialects, traditional and multiethnolectal vernaculars). This aids a hands-on understanding of complex and systematic patterns outside the monolingual “standard”, and emphasises that “correct” and “wrong” do not distinguish standard language from other dialects and vernaculars.

Different adaptations of this unit have also been used in educational exhibitions (Humboldt-Box Berlin; Berlin Museum for Communication; Long Night of Sciences Berlin/Potsdam), and as part of culture festivals and pub events.

In “News Speech Analysis” (D3 / Phase I), teachers analyse the language of a news presenter on public TV and discuss deviations from written standard German here and in other contexts. This unit targets a common misconception that “good” language is the same in writing and speaking, by showing that cliticisations, reductions are systematic features of speech, including language in such a strongly controlled, formal setting as public TV news.

“Kiezdeutsch Explorers” (D3 / Phase II) targets the perception of Kiezdeutsch, a dialect used in multiethnic and multilingual peer-groups, which teachers will often regard as faulty German. Materials include authentic material from informal conversations among young people, and complementary quotes from other sociolinguistic settings with comparable data. After a brief introduction of Kiezdeutsch as a variant of spoken German, teachers analyse, in small groups, different morphosyntactic characteristics in Kiezdeutsch and compare them to similar or identical phenomena in other variants of German including formal ones associated with educated speech. Results are presented to the whole class. The unit thus helps teachers understand the complex patterns underlying Kiezdeutsch, and recognise its non-exotic status and its grammatical integration into German.

“Case Studies” offers materials for the final wrap-up stage of a workshop. It summarises results on common traps of linguistic and social stereotyping at school and provides slides with quotes and audios illustrating real-life cases of experiences with sociolinguistic biases. These can be used to expand and strengthen different themes from the workshop in a final discussion, which

should also include additional cases contributed by the participants from both their educational praxis and their daily lives.

2.8.6. Teaching teachers: first experiences with anti-bias materials

First experiences from applying the materials in workshops for secondary school teachers in Berlin and Brandenburg were largely positive, while also pointing to some challenges. Feedback so far indicates that participants appreciate that the programme relates to teachers' own biographies and possible discrimination experiences, that it allows hands-on work with a large range of nonstandard language, and that it uses authentic language material. Judging from our experiences, it also seems important that the programme targets attitudes indirectly, drawing on antibias methods from nonlinguistic domains. An important component for teachers is the classroom materials for applications at school they receive with each unit.

Trainers welcome the comprehensive nature of the workshop packages, and are particularly interested in using the programme for workshops tapping into “language support” demands that public education must meet.

Some challenges are, for one, teachers' reduced view of pupils' linguistic competences that is sometimes hard to overcome, making it difficult to sell the transferability of the data to their own classes: teachers frequently voice the opinion that “My pupils cannot switch like that” when discussing data from informal vs. formal language use by the same speakers – in one case, this happened even at a school where the linguistic samples we used in our materials were in fact from pupils from that same school (from an earlier project with the school). A second major challenge, which, however, is to be expected in an anti-bias programme, is a potential clash of messages in the workshop with teachers' self-images. We tried to take this into account by starting with scenarios that do not “hit too close to home”, e.g., in “A New School” asking teachers to speculate what the chances for those pupils would be to get a place at a neighbouring school, rather than at their own school.

Complementing these first experiences from application, we are conducting a systematic evaluation that measures possible changes in attitudes in different linguistic and social domains of nonstandard language use and speakers. The evaluation works with scalar (dis-)agreements to given statements reflecting linguistic attitudes, and with closed and open questions on the

materials and possible changes in participants' professional practice. It consists of three sets, filled in by workshop participants before the workshop, directly afterwards, and again after a period of several months, and also twice (at the time of the workshop and after several months) by a control group of teachers who do not attend the workshop.

After conducting the evaluation, analysing its results, and implementing them in the materials, we will disseminate the programme for use in teachers' continuing education throughout Germany. Dissemination will be supported by a campaign publicising the website, and a launch workshop to train trainers that will bring together teachers from the different German states who will act as future trainers and expand it in their respective regions.

A number of in-school LA projects have been run, and are still being implemented under the auspices of the Council of Europe through the "Centre Européen pour les Langues Vivantes" (CELV) in Graz, Austria. Another current CELV project is "Linguistic diversity and literacy in a global perspective, an intercultural exchange with African countries" (2004-2007) in collaboration with UNESCO and others (see UNESCO website).

That there is a need for multi-cultural and multilingual LA work not only in Europe is highlighted by the statement on the UNESCO website that: "Today there is a serious lack of adequate teaching resources in Africa and in Europe, especially in regards to languages of small migrant communities, non- State languages and non-territorial languages".

2.9. Literature review of Camfranglais

Although the origins of the Camfranglais go back to the 1980s (Kouega, 2013), it is only from the 2000s that its literature became really significant, as several researchers started getting interested in that question. At first, most of the works on Camfranglais were focused on the attitudes and representations of Camfranglais. This is the case of the study by Valentin Fossi (2012) that analyzes French as a socio-identity construction of the young Francophone in Cameroon from Douala and Yaoundé. Concerning Kouega (2013), he sees this talk as a form of slang.

In the same vein, the works of Harter (2005), De Feral, (2007b), Ngo Ngok (2006), and Telep (2012) always oscillate around the representations of this youth talk.

Gradually, the fields of exploration and linguistic analysis of this mixed talk begin to diversify both lexically, stylistically, semantically and grammatically.

At the semantic level, Hector Kamdem and Valery Ndongo (2015) each set up a dictionary of Camfranglais, trying to give the meaning and origin of each word

At the stylistic level, Christelle Talla (2015) analyzes the interrogatives of this talk from a socio-pragmatic point of view. In addition, Emmanuel Ebongue and Paul Fonkoua (2010) study the different registers of Camfranglais.

At the lexical level, the work of Ngo Nlend (2006) focuses on the lexical creativity of Camfranglais.

At the grammatical level, the work of Ntsobe, Biloa and Echu (2008) attempt to analyze this “parlure”. Finally, De Feral (2007a) also describes this talk as part of a study on French in Africa.

2.10. Literature review of Linguistic Landscape

Just like Camfranglais, LL is a relatively new concept that is emerging in various domains of research such as ecology, literacy research, sociocultural studies, urban sociology, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and linguistic anthropology.

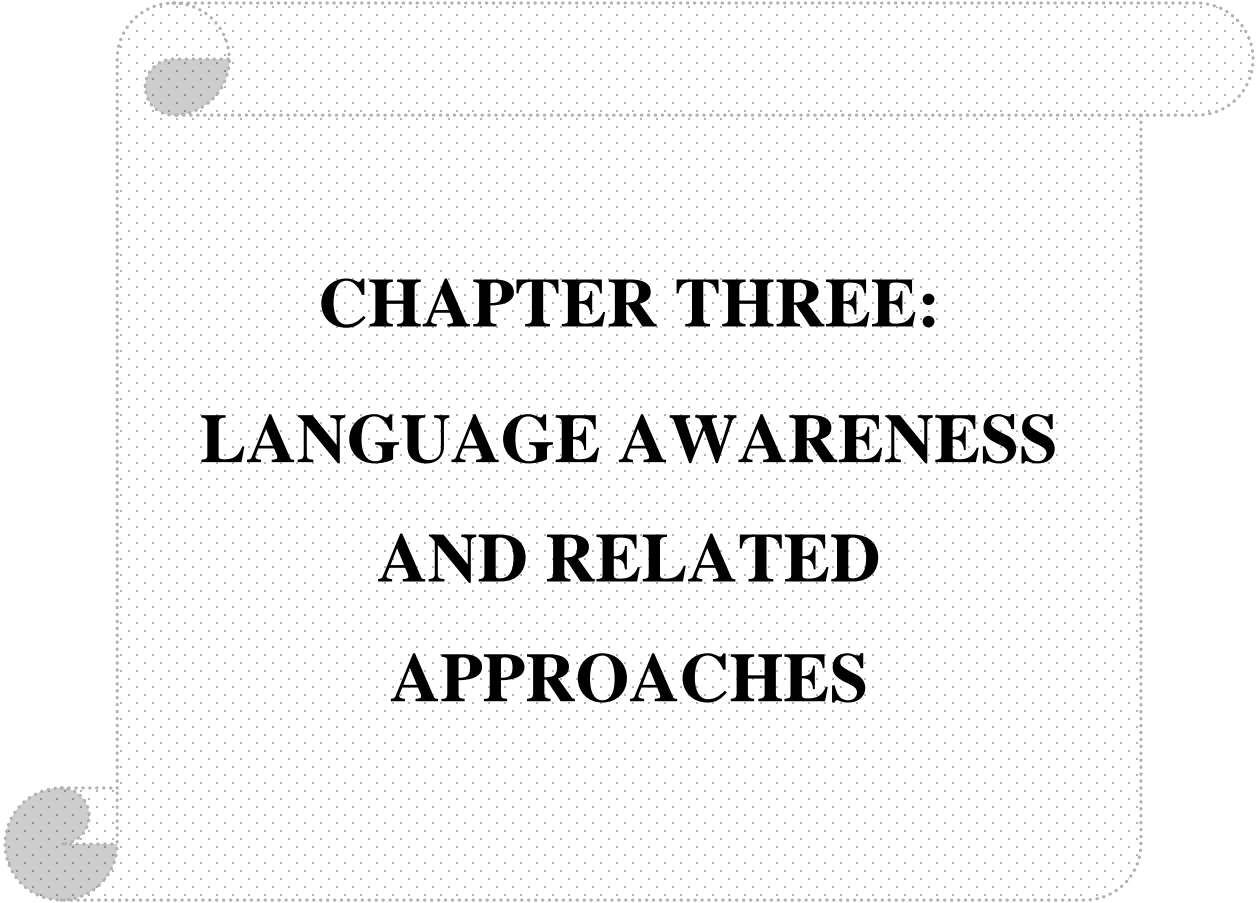
The concept was first drawn by Landry and Bourhis (1997) in their seminal work on ethnolinguistic vitality and signage in Canada as visibility of languages on objects that mark the public space in a given territory. Linguistic Landscape is seen as the scene where the public space is symbolically constructed (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Shohamy & Gorter, 2009).

The languages used in public signs indicate what languages are locally relevant, or give evidence of what languages are becoming locally relevant (Shohamy 2010; Kasanga 2012). Scollon and Scollon (2003) interpret the power domain of language through discourses in place.

In an educational perspective, Dagenais, Moore, Sabatier, Lamarre, and Armand (2009), analyse the Linguistic Landscape (in relation to Language Awareness) of the city of Vancouver with primary school children. Gorter, & Cenoz, (2008), also try to decipher Knowledge About Language in relation to Linguistic Landscape as an additional source of input in second language acquisition.

2.11. Summary

In a nutshell, the previous studies on LA encompass various domains such as: Linguistic diversity, attitudes and representations, Camfranglais, as well as Linguistic landscape. Most parts of the works on LA were projects conducted in Europe like the Eulang project, and Project T1 in Germany. As far as Linguistic Landscape is concerned, Landry and Bourhis (1997) are the forerunners of this concept. In Cameroon, Harter (2005), Ngo Nlend (2006), De Feral (2007), Ntsoke, Biloa and Echu (2008) attempt to analyze this parlure.



**CHAPTER THREE:
LANGUAGE AWARENESS
AND RELATED
APPROACHES**

In order to better grasp the holistic concept of Language Awareness, this chapter will explore some other domains and theories similar to Language Awareness. Thus, the power domain of LA will be explained through “Critical Language Awareness”. Concepts such as: teacher’s LA, cultural LA, and language attitude shall also be discussed. Some pluralistic approaches to language and cultures will then be examined, with a focus on code-switching and translanguaging.

3.1. Critical Language Awareness

Language is a very powerful device for achieving our day-to-day targets, transmitting information, philosophies, feelings, and emotions. Language enables us to illuminate our plans.

Fairclough (1996: 2) states that CLA “presupposes and builds upon what is variously called critical language study, critical linguistics, or critical discourse analysis” It is important to note that in this context the word “critical” means “careful” or “thoughtful” and hence refers to the language user’s ability to thoroughly approach and analyze language, its use and usage, as well as its role.

If critical linguistics is defined as “an approach to the analysis of language and of language use that focuses on the role that language plays in assigning power to particular groups within society” (Richards and Schmidt 2010: 145), it is hardly surprising that CLA stresses the importance of language within social changes (Fairclough 1996). These may include changes in the execution of power and social control as well as in the way language is practiced or used in different relationships or contexts.

CLA resembles the power domain introduced and described by James and Garrett (1991). In other words, CLA, by recognizing the communicative role of language, acknowledges intent in any message. When communicating, people make purposeful choices in terms of the grammatical structures, lexis, register and type of discourse they use. The aim of these choices may be, for instance, to encourage, manipulate, control, or praise.

The main difference between CLA and LA lies in the assumptions about what Language Awareness can do for problems related to social aspects of educational failure, parents’ lack of understanding of language, and the treatment of minority languages and non-standard varieties (Fairclough 1995). In practice this means that within LA these aforementioned problems are

resolved in schools, whereas proponents of CLA argue in favor of a more multifaceted approach. Fairclough (1995: 223) posits that the Language Awareness approach can “have unforeseen detrimental social consequences” for a variety of reasons. Among them are: the capacity of schools for social engineering may be overestimated, class systems are reproduced not only in education, LA calls for differentiating between varieties of a language in terms of appropriateness, which may reinforce feelings of inequality and thus be counterproductive, and “elevating the standard means demoting other varieties” (Fairclough 1995: 225). Recapitulating, the underpinning idea behind CLA proposes that language use is ideological in nature and that language learners need to be made aware of both, that is how to use language and that the relation between language form and function is not arbitrary.

The ideology of Critical Language Awareness is an integral part of any successful language education system. This area of specialization has played an important role in the development of sociolinguistics study. CLA expands substantially over a wide range of factors including language acquisition and variety, as well as human identity factors. Before diving into critical language awareness studies and its wide practices, the definition of CLA, according to Fairclough, includes “how language conventions and language practices are invested with power relations and ideological process which people are often unaware of” (Faircough 1995). That is, language is not only a means of communication. Rather, it is always associated with other factors people are not usually aware of such as power, class, gender, race, and sexuality.

People may wonder about the need to raise awareness on the importance of CLA as an essential component of any successful second language education system. Its importance arises from the need to develop an understanding and respect of the diversity in language use, patterns, and dialects across cultures, ethnic groups... It is also critical to expose teachers and educators to these kinds of varieties because they are the “agents of change.” Language educators who are armed with CLA knowledge are capable to change the conventional ideology that proposes the superiority of one language over another for any reason. Thus, the role of the Critical Language Awareness ideology in terms of dialects and language variation will be examined.

In the book *Sociolinguistic and Language Education*, the author discusses the language of those who are in power that “tends to be labeled as standard, official, appropriate, normal and so on”. Because language is part of one’s identity, such biased classification of languages may have a

negative impact on other languages, cultures, and identities. This form of prejudice can lead to discrimination against those who speak another variety of the language. A good example of these language varieties is pidgins and creoles, which developed from the direct contact between people who speak different languages and who need to communicate with each other. P/Cs are usually used in informal contexts; they also emerged from the colonial language that has been chosen as the official language even after independence. The common misconception about P/C is that they are corrupted forms from the lexifiers, the official languages being spoken. P/C speakers are stigmatized as uneducated people speaking a language that doesn't have an official writing system or a rich literary history and so on.

Critical language awareness, which promotes mutual understanding and respect among language varieties, plays a critical role in standardizing such language variety and regional dialects. In the past, students who spoke a dialect or a language variety were not allowed to express themselves in class with their own identity, their native dialect. Rather, they were forced to speak the “legitimate” language(s) of their particular country. With the Language Awareness programs students' P/Cs “are seen as a resource to be used for learning the standard, rather than an impediment”. These awareness programs and pedagogies promoted the idea of embracing ones' identities and our distinct language varieties. In other words, after the application of such awareness programs, P/C speakers started learning about their dialects' history and politics, the differences and similarities between the P/Cs and the official language, and the features of each language. Eventually, the perception of P/Cs as a defect that cannot be used in education is no longer adopted. Most importantly, bilingual/multilingual students are able to freely express themselves as equal social entities that have a good grasp of their own standard language and a high level of linguistic self-respect.

Because students learn best when their own identity and language are valued, critical language awareness ideology is better employed in second language educational programs. The book discusses some vital insights on how to achieve CLA in any ESL curriculum, one of which includes “engaging students in critical language research relating to popular culture” which will “connect meaningfully with local contexts by viewing local cultures and language practices as powerful resources for learning”.

The exploratory approach in which language is “a dynamic phenomenon rather than . . . a fixed body of established facts” (Borg 1994: 62) is fully exploited in CLA, which deals with language as discourse, i.e., with verbal interaction as social practice. Clark & Ivanic (1991) consider discourse from three perspectives: social context (situation - institution - society), sociocognitive processes (production - interpretation) and text (spoken - written). Rather than simple conscious knowledge, the awareness that CLA seeks to engender is the socially situated process, which Freire (1982, cited in Clark et al. 1991) called conscientisation (Freire 1985).

Hence, just as the subject matter of CLA is wider than more linguistically oriented LA, so are its aims and objectives. Other LA approaches are criticized by CLA proponents for presenting the existing sociolinguistic situation and ideologies embedded in the discourse as natural, thereby contributing to their perpetuation rather than, as CLA aims to do, to social change (Clark & Ivanic 1991; Fairclough 1992). A particular focus of interest and analysis is how power relationships construct, and are constructed by, discourses. For example, Corson (1997) discusses the ideology of correctness prevalent in schools, which helps to maintain dominant/non-dominant social structures. The notion of appropriateness might seem more socially aware than correctness but is nevertheless rejected by Fairclough (1992a), who claims that rather than providing learners with opportunities, appropriateness cements the hegemony of a particular variety. The model is said to mask the complexity of how, when and why varieties are used and the fact that individuals and groups constantly contest conventions. In contrast, CLA aims to empower learners to make meaningful choices, including ones that introduce change.

The social change and emancipation sought by CLA practitioners is towards greater equality and democracy. The wide remit of CLA is evident in the Norton & Toohey (2004) edited volume, which includes papers on language and gender (Pavlenko 2004), language testing (Shohamy 2004) and the teaching of form (Morgan 2004) from a critical perspective. Another important source for understanding CLA aims is Fairclough’s edited volume (1992). In it, the editor himself argues that the nature of contemporary society makes CLA more necessary than ever in order to create citizens for an effective democracy. It is seen, by Janks & Ivanic (1992: 305), as contributing to emancipatory discourse, i.e., “using language, along with other aspects of social practice, in a way which works towards greater freedom and respect for all people, including ourselves”. In the political arena, Fairclough (1999) identifies a narrowing down of political discourse as party political agendas become less and less diverse. In a healthy democracy, access

and input to political discourse, and some control of where it goes, needs to be as broad as possible; effective participation, he argues, requires critical awareness of the discourses involved.

Wallace (1997: 242) calls CLA “the pedagogical arm of critical discourse analysis”, situating it within a framework of Critical Pedagogy (Wallace 1999) which, as she points out, draws both on educational and social theory (writers such as Apple, Bernstein, Freire, Foucault, Giroux and Habermas), and on linguistics (for example, Clark, Halliday, Fairclough, Fowler and Kress) (Wallace 1997: 305; see also Phipps & Guilherme 2004). CLA practitioners clearly consider that it is both important and possible to carry out their potentially subversive work from within mainstream education. Fairclough (1999) is highly critical of the focus in Higher Education on the transmission of skills, such as communication skills, in the narrow service of economic needs. In a similar vein, Sealey (1999) critiques National Literacy Strategy documents for English primary schools for their lack of acknowledgement of the social and political nature of language and discourse, which a CLA approach could provide. In a *Language Awareness* special issue on CLA (Clark & Ivanic 1999), Fairclough (1999: 78) addresses the challenges and opportunities of the ‘new global capitalism’ with its inherent discourse of flexibility, and argues that a critical awareness of the role of discourse in social practice is required in such a society, not only for personal success but also in order to drive social change; it is the role of language education to foster such awareness.

An example of how discourse can simultaneously engage and marginalize learners in a culturally diverse classroom is found in Duff (2004), who emphasizes the need for greater awareness of such issues among teachers and learners. Another recurring theme in CLA is the importance of a historical perspective (Janks & Ivanic 1992). Bhatt & Martin-Jones (1992) point out the dangers of well-intentioned but uncritical awareness work in multilingual classes and stress that unless they are given a historical and social dimension some activities risk presenting minority languages as exotic. They recommend that discussions include how language attitudes and values are formed socially and politically, and how minority languages and their speakers are represented.

Similar issues are raised by research on dialect awareness, including social and geographical varieties. Central is the dominance of English over other languages, or Standard English over less privileged varieties. Corson (1997) discusses the effect of using different sociocultural and

geographical varieties of English, particularly in school settings, and calls for more explicit discussions of power and social justice issues in teacher education. Children should be empowered to make choices based on an understanding of social contexts. Some modest progress in the fostering of CLA by schools is suggested by Smitherman (2004) who claims that attitudes towards African American Language have become more positive. The Afro-Caribbean Language and Literacy Project (ILEA 1990) produced materials for multilingual classrooms, which aimed both to raise awareness about power issues and language, and to help students achieve their best in written Standard English. The material has been published (ILEA 1990) and an informative review is available on the web (Harris 2004). An American perspective is presented by contributors to Villanueva & Smitherman (2003), an edited volume which emerged from a Language Knowledge and Awareness Survey research project.

Discourse, the subject of inquiry, is constructed by and serves to construct social relationships and identities, and so CLA is inherently constructivist (Norton & Toohey 2004: 1). This is reflected in an emphasis on students' own experiences, social settings, and perceptions. Clark et al. (1991) suggest that in the classroom, descriptive language knowledge and skills and critical awareness of social relationships and power, need to be brought together in purposeful discourse. In an example of activity, children discuss what kinds of people are or are not included in history books, such as people they know, which lead into writing a family history. Interesting examples of CLA pedagogy, which include purposeful discourse (though the term is not used) are Janks (1991) on a CLA approach to teaching grammar in South Africa, and Morgan's (2004) account of teaching modality to recent Chinese immigrants in Canada. Morgan considers the grammar lesson a site where identity is not only represented but also constructed, and at the same time manages to demonstrate the place the teaching of form might take in CLA (see also Carter, Hughes & McCarthy 2000; Goatly 2000; Wallace 2003: 39).

Classroom practitioners of critical pedagogy face the dilemma, as explained by Peyton Young (2000), that text production and interpretation can never be neutral as they are mediated by the unequal power and resource distributions of societies. This of course applies not only to the discourses which are the target of CLA work, but equally to the critical researcher's, teacher's and learner's discourses. Hence any representation of language (e.g., descriptions of grammar) is suspect. Morgan (2004: 173) concludes, however, that avoiding representation would do a disservice to students for whom they are "important resources with which to shape counter-

discursive practices in ESL classrooms”.

Much published work on CLA relates to academic reading and writing, and builds on Fairclough’s model, which includes ideational and interpersonal meanings, reader/writer relationships and thoughts, and their views and assumptions about the discourse (Fairclough 1989). Clark & Ivanić (1991:170) set out three principles for LA work in this critical framework, one of which is that “LA work should focus on the way text, socio-cognitive processes, and socio-cultural context are interrelated”. This interrelatedness is evident in Pittard & Martlew’s (2000) ethnographic study of a writer’s engagement with different writing tasks. They conclude that social aspects of writing could not be separated from cognitive aspects; individual and social dimensions of meaning making were equally important. In Allwright, Clark & Marshall-Lee’s (1996) discussion of teaching EAP (English for Academic Purposes) to university students, the academic discourse community is referred to as a site of struggle. The writer can choose to comply or resist conventions related to who they are allowed to be, what they express and how. In order to exercise this choice, they need to become aware of the options and the likely effects and consequences. Adopting a similar approach, Hyland (2002) discusses the common misconception that first person pronouns should not be used and recommends awareness-raising activities on real academic text in the students’ subject discipline as a means of helping them express their own voice. This focus on discourse as the outcome of choice, with purpose and audience in mind, is evident also in Rowley-Jovliet & Carter-Thomas’s (2003) study of genre awareness and rhetorical appropriacy. From their analysis of NS and NNS scientists’ use in English of syntactic resources to manipulate information structure they conclude that the NS are more sensitive to context and genre, and more skilled in adapting to either spoken or written delivery. Consciousness raising of these issues in oral and written language is recommended for both L2 learners and EAP/ESP (English for Specific Purposes) instructors.

Many CLA practitioners might agree with Janks & Ivanić (1992: 320) that “CLA should underlie all language teaching and learning” but its uptake could be limited by its confrontational nature. This concerns Wallace (1999: 104), who is critical of the three principles around which she claims critical pedagogy is usually constructed: teaching as emancipatory, difference-oriented and oppositional, on the grounds that they overstate the importance of a confrontational stance to establishment discourse. She suggests that critical pedagogy should value commonality and resistance rather than difference and opposition, and should foster “an understanding of the

nature of disadvantage and injustice beyond that personally experienced” (Wallace 1999: 104). Such an approach might make CLA more widely applicable in mainstream education.

From this reviewer’s perspective, criticality in LA work can perhaps best be seen as a matter of degree and focus, rather than as either present or absent. Outside CLA circles, but largely due to their influence, a critical approach might in that sense already be more common than is immediately apparent. A field usually associated with a degree of criticality is inter/cross-cultural awareness.

3.2. Teachers’ Language Awareness

Teachers’ LA is said to be “the knowledge that teachers have of the underlying systems of language that enables them to teach effectively” (Thornbury 1997). According to such a view, TLA is essentially concerned with subject-matter knowledge and its impact upon teaching.

This indicates that whatever the teaching approach, teachers’ LA is different from that of other expert language users; they need not only to know about the language, but also to reflect on their knowledge and on underlying systems (Andrews 2001, 2006). Regarding the extent of teachers’ LA, teachers thus take on three roles in regard to language, those of user, analyst, and teacher (Edge 1988, cited in Cots & Arno 2005). Hence, they require a high level of language proficiency, plus linguistic and pedagogic knowledge (Wright 1991, 2002). Andrews & McNeill (2005), in a study of three good language teachers, in Hong Kong and the UK, attempt to identify what characterizes such teachers’ LA. The good language teachers in the study had a willingness to engage with language content, a desire for self-development, an intuitive understanding of the importance of noticing and the use of input enhancement, and an understanding of learners’ difficulties helped by their confidence in their own LA, and paired with an awareness of their limitations in this regard (see also Hislam & Cajkler 2005).

The trend towards a sociocultural and discourse perspective on language has added to the complexity of content knowledge that language teacher education wishes to achieve. Contributors to the volume edited by Trappes-Lomax & Ferguson (2002) suggest that teachers need heightened LA about the nature and value of languaging; the social dimensions of language (for example, varieties or identity); language as (pedagogic) subject and as object; the reflexivity of learner language; and what discourse provides the best learning opportunities (Hawkins 2004).

For teachers to make informed choices regarding the teaching/learning of pragmatics, Kasper (1997) suggests that they need to be aware not only of native speakers' use of language but also of the pragmatics of the classroom, including cross-cultural issues. In typical FL contexts, such an approach would seem particularly well justified. In Brazil, a brief course on pragmatics failed to produce a change in teachers' classroom practices (Lana Chavez de Castro 2005) possibly because pragmatics had not been discussed in relation to naturally occurring classroom situations. Van Lier's work on contingency (1992, 1994) suggests that more opportunities for social and interpersonal communication need to be created in the classroom. In that regard, Kress et al. (1998) make the point that language is normally accompanied by (or accompanies) other modes of communication, such as objects, gestures, or images. Such spontaneous interaction, however, places very particular demands on the sophistication of the teacher's LA, and presents interesting challenges for LA teacher educators.

How can such complex LA be promoted effectively in teacher education? Many authors stress the importance of integrating the three elements of user, analyst and teacher knowledge on teacher education courses. Borg (1994) argues against a strongly linguistic orientation and for an integration of pedagogical issues. Andrews & McNeill (2005) likewise call for a balance between linguistically oriented training and methodology, and suggest that LA development opportunities should be available at all stages of a teacher's career, including by self-access. The argument for an integration of pedagogy and linguistics is also supported by contributions to Bartels' (2005) edited volume, which explore whether applied linguistics knowledge once acquired is or is not transferred into the language classroom. It becomes clear that knowledge transfer cannot be taken for granted. In Burns & Knox's (2005) study, for example, MA students' training in systemic functional grammar did not have the expected impact on their teaching. Summing up the findings in Bartels (2005), the editor concludes that LA is more likely to transfer to classroom practice if there is task similarity between the teacher training and the classroom experience (Bartels 2005). In this light, the findings in Andrews & Bunton's (2006) study are not surprising: a relevant degree as defined by the Hong Kong government, such as in Linguistics, was not a good predictor of teacher LA, particularly when it came to preparing language teaching materials. Borg (1994) recommends that the training approach should reflect the practical and reflexive nature of the LA methodology it promotes. More recently, contributors to Cots & Nussbaum (2002) show how one might work analytically with naturally occurring and contextualized language in

language teacher education. The volume contains analysis and discussion of a range of sample activities designed and used in Spain.

Teachers' LA and their previous experiences of language learning and/or teaching have a major influence on their pedagogic choices (Borg 2005; Cots & Arno 2005). As already mentioned, UK teacher trainees tend to have a low level of LA (Cajkler & Hislam 2002) and have had little exposure to form-focused language teaching. On the other hand, in countries where teacher trainees' awareness of form is generally high, the inductive, exploratory nature of LA work often goes against their previous experience and expectations. For both groups, the process of change from user to analyst, during which already held knowledge and beliefs are challenged, can be difficult and destabilizing (Wright 1991). Hislam & Cajkler (2005) stress that trainees need time to reflect on and absorb LA, and opportunities to try out methodologies in a safe environment. Burley & Pomphrey (2002, 2003) report on an inter-understanding approach to teacher development in which teachers of English and of Modern Languages learnt from each other. The dialogue across subjects changed the teachers' perceptions so that some of the English teachers benefited from having their literature focused views of English enriched by the Modern Languages teachers' more linguistic approach to language, and vice versa.

In this section, a discussion of what characterizes an LA approach to language teaching concluded that description, exploration, languaging, engagement and reflection were salient features. The methodology was then explored in terms of classroom techniques, and skills teaching. A discussion of teachers' LA found that language teachers in general need awareness in a wide range of areas, but that LA as a teaching approach makes particularly challenging demands in this respect.

3.3. Language and cultural awareness

In her published article "A lesson in culture", Tseng (2002) maintains that learning about the cultures of different societies should not be an accumulation of facts, but rather an on-going process. She builds on the premise that different cultural norms create tensions which may propel learning and that this is brought about by a transaction between the individual's own conception of the world when confronted with another outside vision. She maintains that learner participation, social transaction, and tension all play important roles in the

generation/construction of new visions of the world and intercultural understanding. She refers to cultivation theory (Strasheim, 1981), explaining, “culture effects changes in individual perception and is vital for expanding an individual’s perspective of the world” (Tseng, 2002: 12). Strasheim identifies two major goals of teaching and learning about cultures: perspective consciousness and cross-cultural awareness. Perspective consciousness can be characterised by a willingness to accept that there is no universal truth, but rather evolving visions relating to the world in which we live. Cross-cultural awareness involves, firstly, coming into contact with other cultures, secondly being able to make comparisons between different cultural norms, and finally, being able to view one’s own culture through the eyes of someone who does not belong to the same cultural group. This idea of a shifting vantage point, of moving away from the predictable stable ethnocentric perspective towards a shifting, volatile, destabilising empathetic viewpoint may also be likened to the bridge metaphor (Byram, 2002). Embarking upon the bridge to meet someone from a different cultural background, to find common ground, a half-way point, a sort of borderless no-man’s land, necessitates a willingness to decenter, to distance oneself from one’s own cultural cocoon.

Reflecting, comparing, and contrasting are cognitive processes central to the language and cultural awareness approach, allowing differences as well as similarities to be highlighted. Comparing non-verbal behaviour, culinary habits, dress codes, and the celebration of festivals in different countries leads to an awareness of the relativity of cultural practices. All these activities are to be organised in such a manner as to encourage personal pupil participation and research (Men, 2002b: 129). He adds that the aim of this teaching is also to allow pupils to discover the wealth which can be born from exposure to other languages, cultures and peoples, including links which may be made with personal or family stories concerning certain pupils in the class. (Men, 2002b: 201)

It has become increasingly evident that learning languages is not a language matter only. Issues of interaction and culture are integral elements of language teaching. Therefore, it is not enough to make learners aware of language only. They must also be made interactively and culturally aware. It is essential for the language learner to realize how language is actually used in everyday interaction, and what is characteristic in a given culture.

In the past, and to some extent even today, second language teaching has focused on the structure of language. A foreign language is primarily seen in terms of a new code of grammar and new set of vocabulary that has to be forced upon the mind of the student. This emphasis on the structural and formal aspects of language can be called formalist, as opposed to functionalism, which stresses the meaningful and functional element of language. A formalist language teacher starts from the formal elements of language (e.g., the past tense or the genitive case), while a functionalist may try to get his/her students to see how time is expressed in this particular language or what is the function of a case called genitive in this language, and what are the possible other means that convey this function as well (Martin 1993) who uses the partitive case.

The knowledge of the language structure may be necessary for students, but they need also what can be called pragmatic awareness (i.e., knowledge about language use in the target culture) that is of crucial importance from the point of view of social interaction. It may simply be more important to sound polite than to be able to form correct sentences. Thus, when the term Language Awareness is used, it has to be specified that not only awareness of language structure is involved, but awareness of language use as well. Even though it is often claimed that the pragmatic features of a language can be taught only “after the students have learned the basic grammar”, this view is justified. Pragmatic awareness ensures that the first attempts to communicate in foreign language are likely to be successful (Muikku-Werner 1993).

A strong emphasis on formalist and structural aspects of language may also lead to increased knowledge of grammatical facts (i.e., explicit knowledge about language) at the expense of experiential knowledge and communicative skills. In fact, this is well demonstrated in a study in which Finnish subjects were interviewed and their concept of language teaching was investigated. The general sentiment is summarized by a remark of one interviewee: “I know the grammar all right, but this is precisely what prevents me from opening my mouth” (Lähteenmäki 1994).

Too much grammar -in the form of explicit rules- may be a dangerous thing. But the warning against relying too heavily on the factual information applies to linguists as well. Linguistics is not necessarily a direct route, or the best route, to Language Awareness. This is particularly appropriate when the more formal and structural approaches to language are considered. Language Awareness classroom should not be turned into an introductory course on phonetics or a course in elementary syntax. And, although results of research on pragmatics or nonverbal

communication might be fascinating and they might seem down-to-earth enough to be reported in the classroom, this may not be wise. Instead, it would be better to expose the students to relevant material and give them tasks to find out these things themselves.

Language Awareness programs should also encourage the view of language as a form of interaction. It is not enough to consider language and linguistic properties, but also pragmatic and social features in interaction, including nonverbal behaviour. Also these features can be taken under observation and introspection in a foreign language classroom. The learners can be sensitized to various things: Are there different communicative styles in different cultures? What are the most notable differences between the source and target cultures? What types of nonverbal behaviour are regarded as impolite, rude or unsuitable in the target culture? Are gaze contact rules similar in the source culture and target culture? How are the male and female roles in interaction defined in that culture? Are there - in the target culture - wide differences in spoken language and nonverbal behaviour in respect to age, sex, class, or ethnic group?

Furthermore, to regard social interaction is to regard culture. Culture, not necessarily in the sense of fine arts, but especially in the sense of everyday behaviour and everyday thought cannot be excluded from language teaching or Language Awareness programs. It is to be noted that culture does not only involve external elements, such as observable manners, habits, customs or rituals, but also internal aspects as well, such as notions, attitudes, beliefs and conceptual systems held by people living in this culture (Holland & Quinn 1987).

Thus language, interaction, and culture are three interrelated and intermingling aspects that are central for Language Awareness activities in a foreign language classroom.

Cultural knowledge is a part of intercultural competence and can be understood as familiarization with the characteristics of society and culture of the community in which the language is spoken. Sociocultural knowledge covers features relating to everyday living, living conditions, interpersonal relation, values, beliefs and attitudes, body language, social conventions, ritual behavior, etc. Cultural knowledge is one aspect of the knowledge of the world. Common European Framework warns to pay special attention to this part of the cultural competence as it can be “distorted by stereotypes.” (Common European Framework 2002:102)

Stereotypes and prejudices are common problems associated with culture learning. They are not products of direct experience but are handed down and kept by tradition. Byram claims that

stereotyping involves labeling or categorizing particular groups of people, usually in a negative way, according to preconceived ideas or broad generalizations about them – and then assuming that all members of that group will think and behave identically. Prejudice occurs when someone prejudices a particular group or individual based on their own stereotypical assumptions or ignorance (Byram, Gribkova, Starkey 2002:21). Kramersch points out that the cultural imagination of public consciousness has been formed through centuries by cultural products, such as literary texts and media, such as press and broadcasting, and it is a big challenge for language teacher to deal with this problem.

Breaking down stereotypes is not just realizing that people are not the way one thought they were, or that deep down “we are all the same”. It is understanding that we are irreducibly unique and different, and that I could have been you, you could have been me, given different circumstances -in other words, that the stranger... is in us-. (Kramersch 1996:3)

Developing cultural sensitivity, knowing cultural differences without assigning values to them is a way showing how to deal with this problem. Kramersch suggests developing a third perspective which “would enable learners to take both an insider’s and outsider’s view” (Kramersch 93:210) on the target and their own culture. This perspective requires a more complete and less partial understanding of both cultures.

Tomlinson and Masuhara (2004) make a distinction between cultural knowledge and cultural awareness as follows:

3.3.1. Cultural knowledge

It consists of information about the characteristics of our own and other people’s cultures. This information is typically:

- External: It is given to us by someone else
- Static: we do not modify it from experience
- Articulated: it is reduced to what words can express
- Stereotypical: it refers to general norms rather than specific instances

- Reduced: it has been selected from all the information available and it typically omits information about variation and exceptions.

The information is normally given to us in the form of facts, statistics, generalizations, and examples.

Cultural knowledge can be useful in helping us to understand ourselves and other people. However, it can also be misleading because (a) it is dependent on other people's expertise, objectivity and integrity; (b) it is fixed in time (often out of date); (c) it is inevitably simplified; and (d) it often conceals as much as it reveals.

For example, it is useful for a visiting businessman to be told that the Japanese are hard working and serious but this generalization by itself can conceal the reality that many Japanese people like to go out and enjoy themselves after work.

3.3.2. Cultural awareness

According to Tomlinson and Masuhara (2004), cultural awareness consists of perceptions of our own and other people's cultures. These perceptions are:

- Internal: they develop in our minds
- Dynamic: they are constantly being added to and changed
- Variable: they are modified from experience
- Multi-dimensional: they are represented through sensory images (mental pictures), mental connections, and affective associations, as well as through the inner voice (Masuhara, 2003;

Tomlinson, 2000a)

- Interactive in that they connect with and inform each other

Cultural awareness involves a “gradually developing inner sense of the equality of cultures, an increased understanding of your own and other people's cultures, and a positive interest in how cultures both connect and differ. Such awareness can broaden the mind, increase tolerance, and facilitate international communication.” (Tomlinson 2001:5)

Increased cultural knowledge can give us increased credibility and expertise, and increased cultural awareness can help us achieve cultural empathy and sensitivity. It can facilitate language

acquisition, as being positive, empathetic and inquisitive. It can also contribute to one of the optimal conditions for language acquisition: motivated exposure to language in use (Tomlinson, 2000b).

3.3.3. Cultural awareness approaches

An integrated approach to teaching language and culture will focus additionally on culturally significant areas of language and on the skills required by the learner to make sense of cultural difference (Pulverness, 2003). The principles, objectives, procedures, and materials of such an approach are described by Tomlinson and Masuhara (2004) as follows:

3.3.3.1. Principles

The main learning principles of a cultural awareness approach involve the encouragement of:

- Learning from experience
- Apprehension before comprehension, in that the learner is helped to become aware of something before trying to achieve conscious understanding of it.
- Affective and cognitive engagement with an encounter, text, or task
- Intake responses to an encounter, text, or task in the sense of developing and articulating representations of the experience
- Discovering clues to the interpretation of an experience by reflecting on that experience
- Tolerance of ambiguity. That is, not worrying about not being able to interpret an experience, or not fixing an immediate and absolute interpretation.

These principles, as Tomlinson and Masuhara (2004) believe, are coherent in the sense that they connect with each other and have been developed to facilitate the deep processing of experience which can lead to informed awareness, sensitivity and empathy, and to the acquisition of language too.

3.3.3.2. Objectives

Tomlinson and Masuhara (2004) also state that the main objectives of a cultural awareness approach are to help the learners to

- Discover assumptions, values, and attitudes that underlie utterances and behaviors in other cultures
- Discover assumptions, values, and attitudes that underlie utterances and behaviors in their own cultures
- Notice implicit conflicts and analyze the causes
- Identify options for conflict solutions
- Try out options, observe the consequences, and take necessary measures
- Resist falling back on stereotyping and ethnocentrism
- Develop sensitivity to cultures
- Develop empathy with other cultures
- Acquire cross-cultural skills
- Develop the ability to use language appropriately and effectively in various cultural contexts.

3.3.3.3. Procedures

In order to apply the above-mentioned principles to achieve the objectives, Tomlinson and Masuhara (2004) recommend the following procedures:

- Start and finish an activity in the minds of the learners (e.g., by getting them to think about an experience in their own culture before providing them with a similar one in another culture; by getting them to “translate” a new experience in another culture into an equivalent experience in their own culture)
- Provide cultural encounters (e.g., through visits, video, songs, literature, simulations)
- Facilitate connections between the old and the new (e.g., by encouraging the learners to constantly think of comparable personal experiences)

- Stimulate multi-dimensional representation of cultural experiences (e.g., through visualization and inner voice activities)
- Provide focused discovery activities, which guide the learners to find out things for themselves
- Contribute your personal interpretations but don't provide them as definitive answers
- Contribute your personal experiences of other cultures.

3.4. Language attitude

Attitudes have been a focal point of interest of different social sciences, especially social psychology, for nearly a century now. This interest has gone hand in hand with research into how attitudes are formed, maintained, changed but also measured, what their characteristics, applications and implications are, and the relationship between attitudes and behavior.

The result of social experiences and attitudes matters in that they “express our evaluations, influence our perceptions, and guide our behavior” (Crano et al. 2010: 10). By doing so, they may influence what we do and how we feel about people, objects, ideas, events and behaviors. Furthermore, they may also determine our feelings towards language, including language varieties.

Research into language attitudes draws on general attitude theory and research. Like any attitudes, language attitudes pervade our daily lives, can be either overt or unconscious, and may be articulated publicly or not.

To better understand the intricacies of attitudes in general and language attitudes in particular, a close look needs to be taken at the definitions of and other concepts related to these two notions.

This section therefore elaborates on some of the basic concepts connected with (language) attitudes, such as related terms and definitions; outlines how (language) attitudes can be approached, structured, characterized, and ultimately determined; presents the link between attitudes and behavior; and finally shows how (language) attitudes and attitudes towards language varieties can be measured.

3.4.1. Basic concepts in research on language attitudes

3.4.1.1. Definitions

It is a hypothetical construct “used to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour” (Baker 1992: 10). An attitude can be defined as “a disposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to an object, person, institution, or event” (Ajzen 1988: 4) or, in a very similar vein, “a disposition to react favorably or unfavorably to a class of objects” (Garrett et al. 2003: 2-3). By using a pro-con distinction, these definitions highlight the generally accepted evaluative nature of attitudes. Most researchers also seem to agree that even though attitudes cannot be directly observed, they can be measured (Ajzen 1988; Baker 1992; Garrett 2010).

For Bohner and Wänke (2002: 5), an attitude is “a summary evaluation of an object or thought”, whereby the attitude object, that is what people hold an attitude towards, may refer to anything that can be discriminated against or held in mind, and may be concrete or abstract, inanimate or animate, and a person or a group (see, for instance, Maio and Haddock 2010). Similarly, Brehm et al. define an attitude as “a positive, negative, or mixed reaction to a person, object, or idea” (2002: 179). Eagly and Chaiken define an attitude as “a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour” (1993: 1). Petty et al. (1997) and Garrett et al. (2003) also give testimony to evaluation being at the core of attitudes.

All these definitions, although different in terms of semantics and focus, attest to the multilayered nature of attitudes as psychological constructs. What also needs to be stressed is that quite a few of these authors argue for a rather direct relationship between attitude and behavior (Münstermann and van Hout 1988).

However, an important question arises: is the notion of attitudes as complex and difficult to define in a language-based context as it is in social psychology?

Richards and Schmidt (2010) define language attitudes as the attitudes which speakers of different languages or language varieties have towards each other’s languages or to their own language. Expressions of positive or negative feelings towards a language may reflect impressions of linguistic difficulty or simplicity, ease or difficulty of learning, degree of importance, elegance, social status, etc. Attitudes towards a language may also show what people feel about the speakers of that language. Language attitudes may have an effect on second language or foreign language learning. The measurement of language attitudes provides

information, which is useful in language teaching and language planning (Richards and Schmidt 2010: 314).

While Crystal (1997: 215), talks about “the feelings people have about their own language or the language of others”, Bradac (1990) focuses more on the speakers and listeners as well as the behavior of the latter by giving the following description of language attitudes: “persons have attitudes toward language which are especially salient and influential in initial interactions. This means that various linguistic features trigger in message recipients beliefs and evaluations regarding message senders, and that these beliefs and evaluations are most likely to affect recipients’ behaviours” (Bradac 1990: 388, see also Richards and Schmidt 2010).

Other scholars have also adopted the approach of describing rather than defining the notion of language attitudes (Baker 1996; Edwards 1994; Romaine 1995).

When a closer look is taken at attitudes in general, there are a few unifying concepts: they involve beliefs, feelings and evaluation, they can be measured, they are acquired as part of the process of enculturation, people can have attitudes towards a myriad of aspects or issues, and attitudes directly or indirectly influence behavior.

The considerable common ground notwithstanding, however, it is evident that researchers working in different fields, such as social psychology, linguistics and sociology, approach attitudes from their own perspective making them difficult to define.

3.4.1.2. Attitudes versus related terms

Another reason for why it is difficult to define attitudes is the use of different concepts within the field of social psychology that overlap with the notion. These include beliefs, opinions, ideology, habits, values and social stereotypes (Garrett 2010). To the first three, Baker (1992) adds, among others, motive and trait. Different scholars argue that it is both possible and necessary to differentiate between these terms and attitudes in general (see, for instance, Baker 1992; Garrett 2010; McKenzie 2010).

Beliefs, which are arguably cognitive in nature (Garret 2010; McKenzie 2010), differ from attitudes in that they “have a stronger factual support”, while the latter are “more deeply embedded in our minds and can be rooted back in our past or in the influence of the modeling

example of some significant person around us” (Dörnyei 2005: 214). McKenzie (2010) divides beliefs into descriptive, “which involve perceptions or hypotheses about the world”, and prescriptive, which include statements of the should-type (McKenzie 2010: 20).

The notion of beliefs was first introduced by Horwitz, who developed The Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory (BALLI) to assess what students had to say about different issues and controversies related to language learning (Horwitz 1988). Over a decade later, after reassessing the BALLI, Horwitz called it a useful tool “in the identification of learner beliefs about language learning” (1999: 576), which have the potential to influence the learners’ experiences and actions (1999: 558), linking beliefs, again, to attitudes.

Opinions differ from attitudes in that they do not contain affective reaction, are verbalizable, and tend to reflect the preferences and wishes of a community or a group. Attitudes, on the other hand, do convey affective reaction, are dormant and conveyed by non-verbal and verbal processes, and are often seen in relation to other variables (Baker 1992). Garrett calls Baker’s distinction useful and methodologically significant as it suggests that “opinions are discursive, while (at least some) attitudes may be harder to formulate” (Baker, 2010: 32). In other words, since a person’s opinion may not reflect his/her attitude, there is room for interpretation of the results of research into either or into the similarities and differences between both concepts.

Ideology “comprises a patterned but naturalized set of assumptions and values about how the world works, a set which is associated with a particular social or cultural group” (Garrett 2010: 34), making the notion embedded in sociology, while attitude is key in social psychology. Baker posits that ideology is a global attitude as it “tends to refer to broad perspectives on society -a philosophy of life”- (Baker, 1992: 15), while attitudes are specific to objects, such as a particular language.

Language ideology is, within the field of sociolinguistics, “considered to help to understand the politics of language in specific multilingual contexts and more generally, where there is language variation and language change” (McKenzie 2010: 20). In such a context, it seems evident that strong ideological positions influence language attitudes (Garrett 2010).

Habits “are usually viewed as behavioral routines” (Garrett et al. 2003: 10). The difference between habits and attitudes lies in that the latter can only influence a person’s behavior (Bohner and Wänke 2002). Of importance, habits, as behaviors that are performed frequently, occur

without awareness and are difficult to control and yet are seen as effective in predicting future behavior (Maio and Haddock 2010).

Values are seen as more global and general (Garrett 2010) but also as more abstract (McKenzie 2010) than attitudes, which they outnumber. Olson and Maio (2003), following Rokeach (1973), stress that values play an important role in “driving attitudes” and suggest that “a relatively small set of social values underlie most attitudes” (2003: 308). These may include terminal values, such as equality and wisdom, and instrumental values, such as politeness and ambition. Terminal values are often referred to as end-states and can be achieved by means of instrumental values, which are specific modes of behavior (Robbins and Judge 2011). Values can, therefore, be considered superordinate ideals people strive to achieve.

In the language attitudes field, any value, say a sense of accomplishment, can refer to any underlying language attitude, such as a person’s attitude to fully mastering two varieties of the same language.

Stereotypes, or rather social stereotypes, are qualities assigned to certain groups of people within a society. They involve overgeneralization and can be positive or negative (Joans and Hewstone 2001). In a language context, the way a particular group speaks a language or a variety may trigger stereotypical views about individual members of that group. Social stereotypes, which emanate from social psychology rather than linguistic anthropology, differ from the aforementioned (language) ideology in that the latter can influence the former through social learning (Garrett 2010).

Motives, just like attitudes, are latent dispositions (Baker 1992). However, even though both concepts are indeed “manifested in observable responses, motives are goal specific whereas attitudes are only object specific” (McKenzie 2010: 20).

Traits, or rather personality traits, are defined as characteristics that describe an individual’s behavior which are exhibited in a large number of situations (Robbins and Judge 2011). As opposed to attitudes, which are directed towards a target and involve an evaluative process, personality traits do not have a target and are not evaluative in nature (Ajzen 1988).

Interestingly, Lalonde and Gardner (1984: 230) found that although personality traits did not appear to correlate with language measures, “there were many meaningful relations with measures of attitudes and motivation”.

3.4.1.3. Two approaches to (language) attitudes

Attitudes in general and language attitudes in particular are difficult to define. One of the main reasons is that two different theoretical approaches underlie studies, especially into the latter.

Fasold (1984) distinguishes a behaviorist and a mentalist view to the study of language attitudes, a stance that is also adopted by other scholars (Appel and Muysken 1987).

The behaviorist approach to attitudes is grounded in the psychological theory of behaviorism, which states that the study of human and animal behavior should be conducted with reference to physical instead of mental processes. Put differently, behaviorists argue that human activity (behavior) is determined (reinforced) by an external event (a stimulus). According to the behaviorist view, attitudes are thus seen as constructs that “can be inferred from the responses an individual makes to social situations” (McKenzie 2010: 21) and are consequently regarded as single units.

Not requiring the same research methods of questionable validity as in the mentalist viewpoint, attitudes of this sort make research easier but have the serious drawback of not being predictors of other behavior. In other words, if attitude is the only dependent variable, and hence becomes the sole determinant of behavior, other factors, such as language background and gender, are ignored even though they may influence an individual’s attitude as well (McKenzie 2010). Besides, not all attitudes can be observed since some exist at the level of latent psychological processes (Eagly and Chaiken 1993).

The mentalist, or cognitive, approach to studying attitudes is operationalized within the scope of mentalism, a theory according to which a human being’s mind, which has consciousness and ideas, can influence the behavior of the body.

It is argued that the mentalist approach lies at the core of most language-attitude research with an attitude regarded “as a state of readiness, an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a

person and that person's response" (Fasold 1984: 147) or as "an internal, mental state, which may give rise to certain forms of behaviour" (Appel and Muysken 1987: 16).

There is, however, a problem with this approach. If the assumption is that an attitude is an internal mental state of readiness, rather than a response that can be observed, research must depend on self-reports or indirect inference, both of which can be unreliable (Fasold 1984).

Even though these two perspectives differ on many levels, they have certain aspects in common, one being that both consider attitudes to be "learned, particularly over the course of socialisation during childhood and adolescence" (McKenzie 2010: 21).

3.4.1.4. The structure of attitudes

Not only mentalists but also those that do not explicitly adopt either of the aforementioned approaches to attitudes all seem to agree on attitudes having three attitude components, which are mentalist by nature. This tripartite structure comprises the following three subparts: cognitive, affective, and conative (Fasold 1984; Münstermann and van Hout 1988; Baker 1992; Böhner and Wänke 2002; Garrett et al. 2003).

The cognitive element concerns information, beliefs, thoughts and knowledge "about the world, and the relationships between objects of social significance: e.g., judgments of standard language varieties tending to be associated with high-status jobs" (Garrett 2010: 23).

An attitude is affective if it involves emotional reactions, that is feelings, towards the attitude object. These feelings could range from hate to love of a particular language, a passion for or disgust with anything, or simply concern a person's anxiety about having to learn a minority language (Baker 1992).

The conative component concerns reactions, actions, and "behavioral tendencies related to the object of the attitude" (McGroarty 1996: 5). Omdal, by contextualizing these three components, explains: "before a person can react consistently to an object, he or she must know something about it and is then able to evaluate the object positively or negatively; this knowledge and these feelings are usually accompanied by behavioral intentions" (1995: 86). In other words, when a person believes or knows something (the cognitive component), they have some feelings about it

(the affective component) and can therefore be expected to act on this basis (the conative component).

The empirical implications of the hierarchical attitude model can be stated as follows. Given that the three components reflect the same underlying attitude, they should correlate to some degree with each other. Yet, to the extent that the distinction between cognitive, affective, and conative response categories is of psychological significance, measures of the three components should not be completely redundant. In combination, these expectations imply correlations of moderate magnitude among measures of the three components (Ajzen 1988: 21).

This view is seconded by Breckler, who sees cognition, affect and conation as “distinguishable components of attitudes” (1984: 1203), stressing thus the need to measure them separately.

Bohner and Wänke argue that while on one hand “these three response classes are not necessarily separable from each other and do not necessarily represent three independent factors” (2002: 5), on the other “attitudes may consist entirely of cognitive or of affective components and it is not necessary that all three classes are represented” (2002: 5).

However, there is ample evidence derived from research to validate a more collective approach to measuring attitudes. Erwin (2001), for instance, draws attention to cognition and affect being strongly linked, while Garrett (2010) gives the example of advertising and marketing being heavily based on the assumption that there is congruity between cognition, affect, and behavior.

3.4.1.5. Attitudes and behaviour

Although the three components of this triadic model are to at least some extent interconnected, one has generated more controversy and has therefore been studied more extensively than the other two – behavior (Garrett 2010).

3.4.1.5.1. Link between attitudes and behavior

This cannot be surprising if a closer look is taken at the discrepancy between what common sense tells us and what we can observe in reality. In other words, as rational as it seems to expect attitudes to predict behavior (Coleman 1984), we know from experience that very often they do not. For example, learners of a foreign language may have and express very positive attitudes

towards foreign language learning, assessing it as instrumental in finding a good job or travelling abroad, but at the same time they could be underachievers. One such study, by Nikolov (2001), showed that participants who considered themselves to be unsuccessful foreign language learners in fact had positive attitudes toward knowing foreign languages. What they blamed their lack of success on were situation-specific motives, namely their negative experiences in the classroom.

Research into the link between attitudes and behavior dates back to the 1930s. One of the most commonly cited studies is one by LaPiere (see Baker 1992; Garrett 2010; Maio and Haddock 2010), who in 1934 published the results of his research into the attitudes and behavior of restaurant and hotel owners and personnel towards a young Chinese couple. At a time of widespread prejudice towards people from the Far East, he traveled around the United States of America to see whether they would be refused service in any of the 251 restaurants, cafes and hotels they visited. Contrary to expectations, this happened only once. Then LaPiere sent a letter to the same places asking whether they would accept Chinese guests. Replies were received from about half of the establishments, of which over 90% answered the aforementioned question with “no”. The conclusion was that people’s behavior might not be congruent with their attitudes. Despite its many methodological shortcomings, LaPiere’s study is seen as an indispensable starting point for any attempt at establishing if and when attitudes do or do not predict behavior.

To follow up on this example, a closer look can be taken at a 1969 review of nearly 40 studies and a 1995 review of 100 studies into attitude-behavior relations. Whereas the conclusion of the former, conducted by Wicker (1969), was that there was little evidence supporting the view that attitudes could predict behavior, the latter, whose author was Kraus (1995), showed a much higher correlation between the two variables. This discrepancy is put down to researchers using more accurate measures, employing better paradigms for checking their predictions, and focusing more on when exactly attitudes actually can and do predict behavior (see, for instance, Eagly and Chaiken 1993). It is this then that requires further scrutiny.

3.4.1.5.2. When attitudes predict behavior

When attitudes predict behavior seems to depend on a variety of variables: the correspondence between attitudinal and behavioral measures, the domain of behavior, the function of the attitude, the strength of the attitude, the person, and the situation (Maio and Haddock 2010).

For the correspondence between measures of attitudes and behavior to be high, they need to correspond in four ways: action, target, context, and time (Ajzen 1988). In other words, researchers need to make sure that the actions they measure relate directly to the attitudes in question, with an identical target and context, and without too much delay between the assessments of the two measures (Eagly and Chaiken 1993). For example, if we are interested in how our students' attitudes towards autonomous foreign language learning may influence their behavior, the action could refer to students learning vocabulary on their own in their free time, the target would then not refer to learning in general but to the learning of vocabulary in a foreign language specifically, the context would have to refer to autonomous learning at home rather than in the classroom, and there should be very little time difference, if any, between the measures.

The relation between attitudes and behavior also depends on the domain of the behavior since there are certain topics, such as political voting, that generate higher correspondence than others. Blood donation would be a case in point (Maio and Haddock 2010). This is also connected with the function of the attitude, which, in turn, is related to needs. Following the same example, there is more consistency between people's attitudes towards politicians and their voting habits than there is between what people say about how important donating blood is and actual donation. The main reason is the direct and immediate implications in the latter case (Maio and Haddock 2010). These may include lack of time, discomfort and a fear of needles.

Even if two people hold positive, or negative, attitudes towards the same object, these attitudes may still differ in terms of how strong they actually are. Common sense dictates that strong, rather than weak, attitudes are more likely to be predictors of behavior. This view is supported by research (Bohner and Wänke 2002). Cooke and Sheeran (2004) present seven properties of attitude strength and describe how they affect behavior. These include: accessibility, temporal stability, direct experience, involvement, certainty, ambivalence and affective-cognitive consistency. One of their conclusions is that "all of the properties, except involvement, moderated attitude-behaviour consistency" (Cooke and Sheeran 2004: 159), confirming at the same time that strong attitudes are indeed better predictors of behavior. Likewise, Holland, Verplanken and van Knippenberg conclude that "strong attitudes predicted behavior whereas weak attitudes did not" (2002: 874).

The two remaining variables are the person and the situation. Research shows that people are more likely to behave in accordance with their attitudes if they exhibit certain personality traits, with behavior of high self-monitors, for instance, being unrelated to their attitudes (Maio and Haddock 2010) and low self-monitors being able to access the attitudes they hold from their memory more easily (Fazio 1990). Also, the same aim of behaving in line with the attitudes is achieved when the situation they are in encourages this consistency (Maio and Haddock 2010). This may depend on variables such as time (pressure) or individual differences (for instance, low or high self-monitoring).

In addition to knowing when attitudes predict behavior, it is important to also be aware of how this happens.

3.4.1.5.3. How attitudes predict behavior

There are a few theories that have played an instrumental role in explaining attitude-behavior relations, especially from the point of view of how attitudes may predict behavior. These include, among many others, Fishbein and Ajzen's theory of reasoned action (Fishbein and Ajzen 1975), and its extended version, the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen 1985), Fazio's MODE model (Fazio 1990), and Eagly and Chaiken's composite model (Eagly and Chaiken 1993).

The theory of reasoned action (Fishbein and Ajzen 1975) is defined as "a model whose core assumption is that attitudes toward a given behaviour in combination with subjective norms influence the intention to perform that behaviour, which in turn influences behaviour" (Bohner and Wänke 2002: 253). In other words, "a person's intention to perform (or not to perform) a behavior is the immediate determinant of that action" (Ajzen 1988: 117). This intention, in turn, is determined by both models (that is the theory of reasoned action and the theory of planned behavior) are named theories by the authors themselves.

Two factors: a personal one, namely the individual's attitude toward the behavior, and one that reflects social influence, that is the subjective norm (Maio and Haddock 2010). The subjective norm refers to perceived normative prescriptions and boils down to whether the individual evaluates a behavior positively and believes others view it as significant, too.

The theory of reasoned action, however, being only “concerned with the casual antecedents of volitional behavior” (Ajzen 1988: 117) and therefore having a limited scope because it does not take into account behaviors requiring skills, resources or opportunities (Eagly and Chaiken 1993), has a revised version termed the theory of planned behavior.

The theory of planned behavior (Ajzen 1985) acknowledges there being behaviors that are not fully under volitional control. Some of the factors that can influence the degree to which a person can control a behavior include internal ones, such as information, skills, abilities, emotions, and compulsions, and external ones, like opportunity and dependence on others (Ajzen 1988). Put differently, a person who intends to perform a behavior may lack the needed information, skills or abilities, be overcome by intense emotions, suffer from stress, have uncontrollable impulses, lack the opportunity to follow through on an intention, or be dependent on others for the successful performance of the intended behavior (Ajzen 1988).

Ajzen’s theory of planned behavior is “the theory that a combination of attitudes, perceived social norms and perceived control influences people’s behaviour” (Garrett 2010: 229). An extension of the theory of reasoned action, this theory adds perceived behavioral control to attitudes and subjective norms as a predictor of behavioral intention and possibly behavior itself (Bohner and Wänke 2002).

According to this model, perceived behavioral control has a two-fold influence on behavior – it has a direct effect on behavioral intentions, which are affected by an individual’s confidence in their ability to perform the action, and on behavior, which depends on whether the action can actually be performed as the individual’s perception may not be accurate (Ajzen 1988; Maio and Haddock 2010).

A substantial number of studies, including of the meta-analysis type, support the two models empirically proving they can be very effective in predicting ‘thoughtful’ behavior (Maio and Haddock 2010).

Another theory that explains how attitudes can guide behavior is Fazio’s MODE model (Fazio 1990; Olson and Fazio 2009). At the core of this model, which has been defined in a variety of ways (Eagle and Chaiken 1993), is the idea that there is “some way in which positivity or negativity is linked to some attitude object. The MODE model identifies this link explicitly by defining attitude as an association in memory between an object and one’s evaluation of it. The

strength of this object-evaluation association has some important implications for attitude-behavior processes” (Olson and Fazio 2009: 20).

3.4.1.6. Proposal that motivation and opportunity determine how attitudes influence behaviour

A core assumption is that attitudes can influence behaviour either via deliberate processing of the attitude’s implications for behaviour, or via automatic selective processing of attitude-relevant information, depending on motivation and opportunity (Bohner and Wänke 2002: 252).

Fazio (1990), by explaining what the acronym MODE stands for, gives a very simple illustration of the notion - motivation (M) and opportunity (O) are determinants (DE) of behavior. It is a dual-process model that specifies the two ways in which attitudes may influence behavior: if an individual has the motivation and opportunity needed to make a reasoned decision, he is very likely to behave in accordance with his attitude, making the attitude a good predictor of behavior; if, however, either the motivation or the opportunity is low, “individuals enter a spontaneous mode of information processing” (Maio and Haddock 2010: 78-79). What happens next in the latter situation, according to the model, is that if the attitude is highly accessible and hence becomes activated, the behavior will likely be in line with the attitude but if it is not accessible, the behavior will not be consistent with the attitude. Consequently, the attitude is then unlikely to predict behavior.

Finally, Eagly and Chaiken (1993) propose a composite model of attitude-behavior relations, which states that “behavior originates in the activation of habits, attitudes towards targets, and three classes of anticipated outcomes of behavior (utilitarian, normative, and self-identity)” (Eagly and Chaiken 1993: 209). In this model, habits refer to relevant past behaviors, targets are the targets of the behavior, utilitarian outcomes are the rewards and punishments the individual associates with performing the behavior, normative outcomes are connected with whether an individual feels his performing an action will meet with the approval or disapproval of others, and self-identity is about “how performing the behavior might influence the self-concept” (Maio and Haddock 2010: 83). All factors can be linked to behavior through attitudes and intentions. However, attitudes can lead to behavior without mediation by intentions. There is also some variation as to how habits, normative and self-identity outcomes can be relevant to behavior.

Habits can impact on behavior directly, whereas normative and self-identity outcomes can avoid attitudes by directly influencing intentions, which, in turn, influence behavior.

3.4.1.7. Other characteristics of (language) attitudes

There seems to be general agreement that “attitudes can function as both input into and output from social action” (Garrett 2010: 21). This is true of attitudes in general, but also language attitudes in particular.

To exemplify within a language context, a person’s favorable attitude towards language learning may result in a high level of language achievement. Here, the attitude is input. However, if the opposite happens, that is a person’s success in a language course gives a more positive attitude towards the language itself, it takes on an output function (Baker 1992).

As vital as this two-way function of attitudes obviously is for language planners and educationists, “attitudes also play an important role in both the reception and production of language” (Garrett 2010: 21). Language attitudes can impact on how a person reacts to the way other people use language. They can, however, also help predict others’ language use, which, in turn, may influence language choices made during communication (Garrett 2010).

Another characteristic of attitudes is of a dual nature, too, as it concerns their stability and durability versus their variability and volatility. Romaine claims “attitudes do not necessarily remain constant over time” (1995: 314). In other words, attitudes, including language attitudes, can both differ in their level of commitment, with some being more superficial and unstable than others. Also, they can be more, or less, enduring (Garrett et al. 2003).

Maio and Haddock (2010) claim attitudes differ in their valence, also referred to as direction, and strength. Valence is explained in terms of people holding positive, neutral or negative attitudes towards different objects. Strength may refer to individual differences. If two people hold negative attitudes towards a certain object, for instance, one may feel more, or less for that matter, strongly about it than the other. To exemplify, two students may both dislike Cameroonian English but one will in fact refuse to listen to or learn it, while the less negative

feelings of the other one will allow him or her to tolerate the variety enough to make finding out about it a worthwhile experience.

If the assumption is that attitudes are learned rather than innate (Ajzen 1988; Eagly and Chaiken 1993), it seems important to highlight the main sources of attitudes: observational learning, which refers to observing other people's behavior and its consequences, and instrumental learning, where the focus is on whether the consequences of certain attitudes give rewards or not (Garrett 2010). This being true, parents and teachers, among others, can play an important role in the development of attitudes. Nevertheless, there are also studies that suggest the influence of hereditary factors. Tesser (1993) both reports on studies that provide evidence for the sizable heritability of attitudes and presents data from his own research, claiming they "are consistent with the idea that high heritability attitudes are stronger than low heritability attitudes" (1993: 139). Heritability here means the extent to which genetic individual differences contribute to individual differences in observed behavior (Olson et al. 2001). The researchers Tesser (1993) refers to in his aforementioned article provide evidence that there is genetic contribution to a wide array of attitudes, including the social attitudes of altruism and aggression as well as attitudes towards vocation, alcohol, and jazz, to name but a few. However, as Tesser himself posits, "most theories assume that behavior is relatively plastic and is shaped almost entirely by situational parameters" (1993: 129). This is definitely true of theories propagated by social psychologists, which, as has been mentioned before, lie at the basis of attitudinal studies.

3.4.1.8. Attitudes to language

Irrespective of the characteristics, Garrett (2010) posits that people can hold attitudes to language at different levels, such as: vocabulary, -including words and phrases, spelling, pronunciation and accent-, grammar, level of formality, punctuation, accents, code-switching, standard versus non-standard varieties -including the process of standardization itself-.

Baker and Prys Jones (1998), using other nomenclature, argue that the focal point of an attitude to language could be a specific minority or majority language, language variation, dialect and speech style, language lessons, and learning a new language. Baker (1992) adds cultural associations with a language, bilingualism as a product or a process, language preference, and language policy as objects people can have attitudes towards.

Let us first have a look at vocabulary. Different words and phrases reflect and evoke attitudes. Some examples discussed by Garrett (2010) include names, words used purposefully by politicians, expletives as well as words and phrases used to avoid causing offence.

To elaborate on and exemplify just one of these categories, names can be divided into personal names, those given to companies or organizations, and brand names. As far as personal names are concerned, attitudes can be looked at in the context of preferences for certain names. In the United States of America, for example, the names ‘Robert’, ‘John’ and ‘James’ were consistently listed in the top-ten of given male names for most decades of the previous century (Janssen 2013). The same pattern cannot really be observed for female names, except for the name ‘Mary’ in the first half of the nineteenth century, leading to the conclusion that in the USA “cultural attitudes lead to a tendency for boys’ names to be more enduring” (Garrett 2010: 3).

Apart from words and phrases, people can have very defined feelings towards other aspects of language, such as grammar, level of formality and punctuation as well. Garrett (2010) mentions attitudes towards double negatives, which are stigmatized in Standard English but acceptable in English creoles, colloquial speech, which allows for collocations and forms deemed incorrect in standard languages, and apostrophes, the misuse of which is sometimes judged as annoying, as examples.

Accents can generate both positive and negative attitudes. On one hand, people may hold favorable attitudes towards a native accent, as opposed to a non-native one, even if the non-native speaker outperforms the native speaker in terms of accuracy as well as grammatical and lexical range, causing an immigrant to, for instance, Germany to feel the desire to make his or her accent more native-like. On the other hand, certain accents, especially regional ones, can be viewed as bad for trade or reasons for dismissals from jobs.

Bilinguals tend to code switch (Baker and Prys Jones 1998 and Edwards 2006). Code switching refers to “a change by a speaker (or writer) from one language or language variety to another one” (Richards and Schmidt, 2010: 89). A person can switch to another language or variety within a sentence or in the middle of a conversation. The switch can also take place when a question asked in one language or variety is answered in a different language or variety. Code switching may be seen as a sign of cultural solidarity or personal identity. Attitudes towards code switching can also be connected with people being envious of those that are competent enough in

two languages or dialects to be able to switch codes freely. However, if a person who code switches is seen as someone who lacks vocabulary and thus as less educated, attitudes towards code switching will be negative.

According to Ritchie and Bhatia (2006), the attitudes bilinguals or people living in bilingual communities hold towards bilingualism may determine their patterns of language mixing. They distinguish four main types of language-mixing communities: those that have positive conscious and unconscious attitudes and whose pattern of mixing is therefore very high, those that have positive unconscious but negative conscious attitudes and whose pattern of mixing is rather high anyway, those that have negative unconscious attitudes but positive conscious attitudes with a flagged pattern of mixing, and those that have negative conscious and unconscious attitudes with no attempts “made to switch or mix the two linguistic systems” (Ritchie and Bhatia 2006: 349).

“Attitudes to language, positive or negative, are often influenced by the process of standardisation in languages” (Garrett 2010: 7). A language can have a so-called standard variety, for instance Standard German, also known as Hochdeutsch, and Standard Dutch (Standard Dutch language 2013), often referred to as Algemeen Nederlands or Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands, and other varieties, including many local dialects and minority languages, like Spanish in the United States (Baker and Prys Jones 1998). These other varieties, or nonstandard forms, are often seen as less correct and their speakers as less educated with the standard variety taken as the right form. Authorities reinforce this -the standard variety is codified in dictionaries and books, and it is used in education, the mass media and public life- (Coupland 2009). As a result, one would expect more positive attitudes towards standard varieties and more negative ones to nonstandard varieties.

People can also hold attitudes about language teachers’ teaching styles, their approaches to the teaching of grammar and vocabulary, how they assess their students, what kind of classroom environment the language lessons take place in, how important or unimportant learning a second language is, and the like (Baker and Prys Jones 1998).

Last but not least, language attitudes may be connected with how learners see the speakers of that language. After all, the learners’ success at incorporating aspects of the language they are learning is likely to be influenced by their attitudes towards the specific language group (Gardner 1985).

To take that a step further, Baker and Prys Jones (1998) divide language attitudes into integrative and instrumental. By doing so, they follow the classic division of motivation among language learners, treating these two constructs, attitudes and motivation, as synonyms. Yet, with attitudes towards the L2 and its speakers being one of the six main motivational influences (Dörnyei 2005), this indubitably confounds expectations. An integrative language attitude therefore refers to learners admiring the culture and people of the target language community and, possibly, wanting to integrate into that culture. They also tend to be positive about the learning situation itself (Masgoret and Gardner 2003). A person with an instrumental language attitude, on the other hand, sees the language as an instrument in finding an appropriate job, doing better in exams, furthering their career, and such like (Harmer 2007).

3.4.1.9. Determinants of and influences on (language) attitudes

Maio and Haddock (2010) posit there are cognitive, affective, and behavioral influences on attitudes in general. Knops and van Hout (1988) focus specifically on language attitudes and state that these may be determined by linguistic, social, and situational characteristics. To that list they add “factors accounting for changes in language attitudes” (Knops and van Hout 1988: 9). Baker (1992) enumerates age, gender, school, ability, language and cultural background as determinants of attitude to a language.

With respect to cognitive influences, Maio and Haddock (2010) stress “the importance of understanding motivations to accept new beliefs about an attitude object, the stages through which we respond to persuasive information, the extent to which we think about persuasive information, differences in the type of information we consider, and our own beliefs about the types of information we are using” (2010: 89). Each of these variables influences how attitudes are shaped or changed.

On the level of affect, attitudes can also be influenced by “pairing objects or behaviors with emotional experiences and subtle rewards and punishments, even when the associations are formed merely by observing another individual” (Maio and Haddock 2010: 128). In addition, they stress how moods, be it positive or negative ones, and emotions, such as happiness, anger, fear and surprise, can shape attitudes.

Behavioral influences are closely connected with cognitive and affective processes in that behaviors work, according to the theory of self-perception and the theory of cognitive dissonance, “by shaping beliefs and feelings relevant to our attitude” (Maio and Haddock 2010: 131). Whereas self-perception theory states people use their actions, that is behavior, and the environment these actions occur in to guess their attitudes, cognitive dissonance theory suggests a person may experience an uncomfortable tension, that is dissonance, when he feels he has a set of two or more beliefs that do not go together. One of them is often the result of this person behaving inconsistently with a previously held attitude and therefore changing or adapting this attitude to explain the behavior (Maio and Haddock 2010).

Knops and van Hout (1988) name variations at a macro level, such as dialects and accents, as well as variations at a micro level, such as pronunciation, grammatical patterns and lexical choices, to explain the linguistic determinants of language attitudes. The second category they list, namely, social determinants, refers to ethnic and regional groups, socio-economic status, sex, and age, while situational determinants may relate to either the immediate situation, meaning how appropriate certain languages may be in a particular situation, or “the larger socio-cultural background in which language attitudes develop” (Knops and van Hout 1988: 12). The latter involves demographic strength, institutional support and economic, political, socio-historical and linguistic prestige. Finally, Knops and van Hout (1988) mention determinants of attitude change, concentrating on how the language a person uses may help him be seen as more or less persuasive on one hand and on how individual factors, including the amount of exposure to a certain variety, on the other.

The typology offered by Baker (1992) -age, gender, school, ability, language and cultural background- seems self-explanatory by reason of attitudes either declining or increasing depending on how old or what gender a respondent is, for instance. However, it seems at least debatable that a difference between or change in attitudes can be biological or maturational. Instead, it could be argued that the socialization process, along with accompaniments such as relationships and to what extent somebody is influenced by mass media, lies at the core of the aforementioned differences and changes, making age and gender merely indicators (Baker 1992). As for the remaining four determinants, Baker (1992) explains that the educational context, including the attitudes conveyed at school, a person’s ability in a language, the language(s) and varieties that person has been exposed to and the cultural activities he or she has been involved in

may all influence attitudes, making him or her either more or less favorable. Again, not everything is as straightforward as it may seem though because the cause-effect relationship often remains unclear. As an exemplification, it is uncertain whether favorable attitudes give higher achievement or whether the opposite is true (Baker 1992).

Regardless of what influences and/or determines attitudes, what they all have in common is that they can be measured in a variety of ways.

3.4.2. Measuring (language) attitudes

3.4.2.1. General overview

Measurement refers to the “assignment of numbers to objects according to rules in such a way that properties of the numbers reflect certain relations of the objects to each other” (Bohner and Wänke 2002: 19) on the attribute that is measured, such as language attitudes. Traditionally, in psychology there have been two main traditions of measurement: psychophysical, which is about “mapping a psychological judgment dimension (e.g., loudness) onto the different physical values of a stimulus attribute (e.g., sound pressure) (Eagly and Chaiken 1993: 29), and psychometric, in which “the attributes measured (e.g., intelligence) usually have no physical stimulus counterpart” (Eagly and Chaiken 1993: 29). Both these approaches have had an impact on the way attitudes, including language attitudes, are assessed.

Miłobóg and Garrett (2011), drawing on earlier work by Garrett (for instance Garrett et al. 2003), identify three main approaches to researching or measuring language attitudes, that is: analysis of the social treatment, direct measures, and indirect measures.

3.4.2.2. Analysis of societal treatment

The analysis of the social treatment of language varieties, also known as content analysis (Knops and van Hout 1988), “refers to a broad category of language attitude studies where autobiographical, observational, ethnographic, and historiographic methods are used” (Knops and van Hout 1988: 6). Other sources include documents from the public domain, such as those dealing with governmental and educational language-policy.

As analysis of societal treatment involves scrutiny of, for instance, media treatment and policy documents (Bohner and Wänke 2002); it can allow researchers to gain a better understanding of “the social meanings and stereotypical associations of languages and language varieties” (Garrett 2010: 51), making societal treatment studies valuable.

Garrett (2010) describes three studies that employed content analysis measurement. In one, by Schmied (1991), the focus was on letters sent to the editors of African newspapers through which he wanted to examine the attitudes towards English across many African contexts. In another, by Kramarae (1982), the aim was to research “beliefs about gender-related differences by analyzing publicly available literature and documentation of various kinds” (Garrett 2010: 48), including historical records. The third study, another one by Kramarae (1974), looked at how females and males were depicted through their speech in contemporary magazine cartoons.

Knops and van Hout (1988) argue that content analysis seems more useful when the researcher is limited by time or space, and thus has no direct access to the respondents or has to work in unnatural conditions. Garrett (2010), however, disagrees claiming the approach is perfectly suitable in other circumstances as well.

3.4.2.3. Direct measures

Direct measures, whose aim it is to ask about attitudes explicitly, include, for instance, questionnaires and interviews (Miłobóg and Garrett 2011), as well as the semantic differential technique and a number of other scales (Baker 1992).

The difference between direct measures and analysis of the social treatment of language varieties lies in the former not requiring the investigator to infer attitudes from observed or analyzed behavior. Instead, the participants are urged to do so (Knop and van Hout 1988).

Questionnaires and their oral counterparts, interviews, allow for overt elicitation of attitudes by asking respondents direct questions about their attitudes. These questions could be either closed, that is of the “yes/no” type, or open, such as any “wh”-question. Within a linguistic context, examples of the former could be questions like: Do you think minority languages should be taught in public schools? An example of an open question could be: How would you feel if all the signs were in two languages, yours and English?

There are also a number of scales that can be employed within the scope of direct methods of attitude measurement. These can be single-item or multi-item measures (Ajzen 1988; Bohner and Wänke 2002).

In the domain of language attitudes, a single item could involve, for instance, a 10-point scale from “I favor” to “I oppose” to obtain measures of attitudes towards the use of a minority language among a mother and her children in public places. Another example would be the use of a 5-point scale from “I agree” to “I disagree” preceded by the statement “Ebonics sounds like bad English” to assess attitudes towards African American Vernacular English.

Multi-item measures include, among others, the semantic differential, the Likert scaling, Thurstone’s judgment technique and Guttman’s Scalogram (Baker 1992).

The semantic differential, which measures respondents’ attitudes or feelings about words and is of psychometric heritage, uses a rating scale with pairs of bi-polar evaluative adjectives (Richards and Schmidt 2010). Each pair, such as pleasant-unpleasant and beautiful-ugly, is placed on opposite ends of the scale, “and respondents are asked to mark each scale as it best reflects their evaluation of the attitude object” (Ajzen 1988: 10). This technique has the advantage of making it easy for investigators to obtain an attitudinal index and enabling them to compare attitudes towards different objects.

Punch (2005) gives the following brief description of the three scaling techniques presented above:

Thurstone’s (1931) technique was called the “equal appearing interval scale”. Recognizing that different attitude items fall at different points at a unidimensional attitude continuum, he devised a method of calculating the scale value of each attitude item, and then used those scale values to scale people with respect to the attitude. Guttman (1944) proposed a form of scaling whereby the ordering of items according to their attitude content could be used, in conjunction with a dichotomous response format, to determine the location of people along the attitude continuum. This method came to be called “cumulative scaling”. Likert proposed a simpler format, whereby a respondent would respond to each item according to a simple response scale, rather than a dichotomy, and the responses to the items could be summed. This method is called the “method of summated ratings” (2005: 91).

Of the three scales, the Likert method, which is psychometric by nature and typically operationalized on a continuum from “strongly agree” through “agree”, “undecided”, “disagree” to “strongly disagree”, has become the most commonly used form of attitude measurement.

Garrett (2010) summarizes the problems that may occur when formulating questions the respondents are asked through direct measures. These difficulties, most of which touch upon the issue of validity and reliability, include:

- Asking hypothetical questions, as the use of “would” makes the attitude a poor indicator of future behavior,
- Asking strongly slanted questions, as “loaded” words or context push the respondent towards a specific answer
- Asking multiple questions, which makes interpretation difficult as the obtained attitude may refer to one or different parts of the question
- Social desirability bias, which refers to respondents giving answers they believe to be appropriate, the result being that the expressed attitudes are actually not theirs,
- Acquiescence bias, which means that some respondents tend to agree with the items, regardless of the content,
- Characteristics of the researchers, which are quite self-explanatory as it implies respondents, may be affected by the age, sex, ethnicity, and other characteristics of the researcher.

3.4.2.4. Indirect measures-matched and verbal guise studies

“As an alternative to direct questions, attitudes may be inferred from other cues” (Bohner and Wänke 2002: 19). This type is collectively referred to as indirect measures as they investigate particular attitudes of participants without them being aware of it. Indirect measures are sometimes referred to as the “speaker-evaluation paradigm” (Garrett et al. 2003).

In attitude research in general, different techniques are labeled indirect, however, within language attitude research, mainly two indirect measures are used: the matched guise technique (Ó Riagáin 2008) and the verbal guise technique (Garrett 2010).

In matched guise studies, a recording is used of a speaker reading the same text at least twice in such a way that all the readings differ from each other in one respect (Knops and van Hout 1988). Put differently, the speaker reads in guises (Richards and Schmidt 2010). To exemplify, a speaker who is fluent in Standard German as well as one of its dialects, say Central Austro-Bavarian, reads the same text in both varieties. The respondents are unaware that both texts are read by the same person and indeed are told that they are listening to different speakers. They then rate the speaker or speakers on an attitude rating scale. “The reactions of the listeners to the speakers in one guise are compared to reactions to the other guise to reveal attitudes towards different language or dialect groups, whose members may be considered more or less intelligent, friendly, cooperative, reliable, etc.” (Richards and Schmidt 2010: 353). One of the basic assumptions must be that “the deception lasts for the duration of the evaluation task” (Garrett 2010: 41) and that even though the respondents may become aware that they are involved in an attitude rating task, they do not know what exactly is being measured.

The matched guise technique, as initially introduced by Lambert et al. (1960), consists of an independent variable (for instance, 4 bilingual speakers read a passage once in English and once in French, giving a total of 8 passages) and a dependent variable (for example, height, good looks, leadership, sense of humor, intelligence, religiousness, self-confidence, dependability, entertaining, kindness, ambitious, sociable, character, likeability).

The verbal guise technique differs in that various speakers are used for the recordings. This method is especially useful when it is difficult or even impossible to find a sufficient number of fully bilingual or bidialectal speakers (Knops and Hagen 1989). Garrett (2010) summarizes the advantages and disadvantages of the matched guise technique and its variation, the verbal guise technique.

The strengths of the technique are:

- The nature of these indirect methods allows them to better elicit people’s private attitudes as they reduce the possibility for societal desirability,
- The matched and verbal guise techniques have been used in a multitude of international, multilingual and multiethnic studies, making it possible to compare findings,

- The use of these two methods has contributed to the establishment of the main dimensions of language evaluations, the sociolinguistic understanding of language variation, and research at the interface of sociolinguistics and the social psychology of language,
- “It has led to a detailed demonstration of the role of language code and style choice in impression formation” (Garrett 2010: 57).

The minuses concern the vocal representations of the language varieties and are expressed through questions of salience, perception, accent-authenticity, mimicking- authenticity, community-authenticity, style-authenticity, and neutrality (Garrett 2010).

The issue of salience refers to language variations becoming exaggerated because of the repetitive nature of the technique and therefore more salient than outside the experimental environment. The problem of perception is of a twofold nature: nonstandard accent may be misperceived as bad language use and respondents may perceive a given variety as representing a different area than the one the researcher has in mind. The four questions of authenticity refer to features such as intonation and speech rate co-varying with accent varieties and therefore raising doubts as to the authenticity of the accent, speakers being unable to mimic the different varieties, labels used for the audio-recorded varieties not being specific enough, and style implications being ignored or overlooked in the preparation of speech samples. The neutrality question can be explained in terms of the limiting nature of factually neutral texts often employed in studies of attitudes (Garrett 2010).

3.4.3. Criteria, problems and solutions

Regardless of the nature or division of the measures, they must meet two different criteria: reliability and validity (Bohner and Wänke 2002). Just like in the case of any tests, reliability, which can also be called consistency, means that the instrument should repeatedly yield consistent scores or values, whereas validity refers to the instrument actually measuring the attitude that it is supposed to measure, not something else. Baker (1992) adds a third criterion, namely dimensionality, which refers to the possibility that the attitudes scales used by the researcher may measure one or more entities.

Nevertheless, even if the measurement of a group's or individual's attitudes, be it direct, indirect or within the scope of content treatment, is valid and reliable, it is likely not to reveal their attitudes perfectly (Baker 1992). Baker enumerates the three main reasons for this:

- People may respond to an attitude test in a way that makes them appear more prestigious, better than in reality.
- People may be affected in their response to an attitude test by the researcher and the perceived purpose of the research. [...]
- A good attitude test needs to encompass the full range of issues and ideas involved in the topic. (1992: 19).

Since no method is exhaustive (Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain 2009), the answer to all of the aforementioned problems may lie in the application of a multiple-method approach to studying attitudes (Garret 2010). Such an approach builds on methods complementing each other and may thus verify the results of the individual measures.

3.4.4.4. Conclusion

Attitudes and, by extension, language attitudes are “latent, hypothetical dispositions that are inferred from a variety of observable responses” (Ajzen 1988: 23). These responses, which can be verbal or non-verbal, can be measured in a variety of ways, ranging from analysis of the social treatment, through direct to indirect methods. The aim of the study of language attitudes is to discover what attitudes individuals or groups hold, what effects these attitudes may have, and what they are determined by.

As such, language attitudes, which can be cognitive, affective and conative in nature and may be held towards a wide array of language aspects, may be seen as “a backdrop for explaining linguistic variation and change” (Garrett et al. 2003: 11). In fact, attitudes to language varieties underpin all manner of sociolinguistic and social psychological phenomena: for example, the group stereotypes by which we judge other individuals, how we position ourselves within social groups other than our own. There may be behavioural consequences, in the short- and long-run, and serious experiential outcomes (Garrett et al. 2003: 11-12).

It is clear then that among the many aspects of language people might hold attitudes about, like grammar, pronunciation or even language lessons, attitudes may also refer to language varieties.

However, the question then arises: why do language attitudes need to be studied, especially in the context of multilingualism, such as Cameroon?

Since the language varieties learners are likely to be exposed to, that is the standard varieties, receive more favorable evaluations, and attitudes towards language are generally often influenced by the process of standardization in languages (Garrett 2010), it indeed seems obvious that learners' attitudes should determine how language learners are educated. Besides, the amount of exposure to a given language learners have, be it the standard or the sub-standard variety, seems to play a crucial role in shaping these attitudes. After all, "language variation carries social meanings and so can bring very different attitudinal reactions, or even social disadvantage or advantage" (Garrett 2010: 2).

3.5. Bi/Multilingual education

In the simplest definition, bilingual education is the use of two languages for learning and teaching in an instructional setting and, by extension, multilingual education would be the use of three languages or more. In a narrower definition, literacy is developed and/or specific content areas are taught through the medium of two or more languages in an organized and planned education program. In most cases, one of these is the "home," "native," or "mother-tongue" language, and one is the "dominant" societal language or a "powerful" international language. In multilingual education settings, the other languages may be dominant regional languages. However, even these basic concepts such as language, home language, dominant language, native speaker, bilingual, multilingual, and bilingual and multilingual education are highly complex and contested constructs; thus considerations about which languages or varieties of languages to use as media of instruction are not always straightforward. Because education is most often the responsibility of nation states with artificial (and contested) geographical boundaries encompassing many -and oftentimes dividing- linguistic groups, decisions about bilingual and multilingual education are highly political, and influenced by a variety of historical and economic factors.

Bilingual education programs serve many functions in the societies where they exist. Perhaps the simplest way of differentiating their nature is to examine the basic function that they serve for language-majority students versus the basic function that they serve for language-minoritized populations. For language-majority populations they are most often seen as a vehicle for increasing their privileged position in society through the development of marketable skills (de Mejía 2002). At the same time, they may also help stimulate greater openness and tolerance for other cultures, greater opportunities for creative thinking, and increased mutual understanding (Beacco 2007). For language-minoritized populations they are often the outcome of political struggles for autonomy and self-determination and serve as a tool of community empowerment. However, they can also be used by schools to segregate language-minoritized students and exclude them from the mainstream curriculum (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). Therefore, bilingual education programs can be tools for reinforcing privilege, tools for emancipatory efforts, or tools for celebrating and appreciating cultural diversity. Often, they serve all of these functions simultaneously. A frequently overlooked aspect of how these programs both reinforce and challenge relations of power is through the way in which they are structured.

Parents of language-minority students, like all parents, play a critical role in their children's socialization and success in school. This important parental role is more easily facilitated when their children attend schools with bilingual and multilingual education programs, and in schools where there are teachers, administrators, and staff members who speak the languages of the students and their families. Indeed, many effective bilingual and multilingual programs around the world feature strong parental involvement -as classroom volunteers, on parent and community advisory boards, and in some cases in parental administrative control over the schools. Many bilingual programs are also the direct result of grassroots efforts by parents who lobby and who have used the legal system to ensure that local schools were addressing their children's linguistic and academic needs. However, most linguistic-minority children in the world attend schools lacking bilingual programs, bilingual personnel, and clear models of parental involvement. Nonetheless, these schools must still communicate with parents and seek ways to engage them in their children's education. In the United States, for example, with a significant increase in the immigrant population over the last two decades, school personnel who value the participation of parents in their children's education have had to reconsider the teaching methods.

Multilingual Education builds bridges between cultures and between home and school, thus challenging the coercive power relations of schools. Pedagogy can be relevant to children and transformative without privileging a language. It overcomes barriers of monolingualism.

Its first principle is Mother Tongue Instruction (MTI) and it supports the maintenance and/or revitalization of all languages and intergenerational language transfer. Mother Tongue Instruction is immersion for the first eight years and leads to greater overall educational achievement, demonstrating that it is not necessary to sacrifice language through subtractive monolingual education. This also demonstrates that it is false to assume a need to introduce a lingua franca or dominant language at ever earlier ages, something that also perpetuates the myth that formal education is English and that English is good education and necessary for success.

While students who speak a language other than the dominant or language of schooling may actually be the numerical majority, they are considered minority language students. They often fail at formal schooling. MLE demonstrates that it is possible to keep a mother tongue, where self esteem is grounded, and become fluent in another language. Pedagogy can be relevant to children and transformative without being romanticized, rooted in their values and supporting a dialogue and critical consciousness between knowledge systems without privileging either system.

MLE could also be paired with Foreign Language Learning for the dominant language/monolingual speakers, allowing all students to learn in more than one language.

Language learning is for all citizens, throughout their lives. Being aware of other languages, hearing other languages, teaching and learning other languages: these things need to happen in every home and every street, every library and cultural centre, as well as in every education or training institution and every business.

The regions, towns and villages of Europe are called upon to become more language-friendly environments, in which the needs of speakers of all languages are fully respected, in which the existing diversity of languages and cultures is used to good effect; and in which there is a healthy demand for and a rich supply of language learning opportunities.

The European Commission believes that the key areas for action at European level here are: fostering an inclusive approach to languages, building more language friendly communities, and improving the supply and take-up of language learning.

Multilingualism can be seen as a holistic approach to multilingual education. The number of multilingual speakers now outnumbers that of monolinguals (Tucker 1998). In a figure provided by the Linguistic Society of America, nations that are monolingual or mono-ethnic are the minority; on the contrary, scholars estimate over five-thousand languages are spoken in 160 nations around the world (Valdés 2012). For those people, the usage of multiple languages occurs on a daily basis, possibly due to the emergence of global markets or the development of the Internet. The present commentary discusses multilingualism in relation to a newer perspective to multilingual education. First, the scope of multilingualism will be provided, followed by a discussion on a newer trend -a holistic approach- to multilingual education. A particular focus will be placed on monolingual bias and insights for research on multilingualism will be proposed.

Multilingualism has been defined differently, depending on the level of competence and mastery of the languages spanning along a continuum. Researchers favoring a narrow definition argue that in order to be considered multilingual, the person should have native or native-like proficiency in each of the languages. In a broader definition, researchers studying bilingual and multilingual communities view bilingualism “as a common human condition that makes it possible for an individual to function, at some level, in more than one language. The key to this very broad and inclusive definition of bilingualism is more than one” (Valdés 2012). On one end of the spectrum, individuals can possess high levels of proficiency in all aspects of the languages, or they can display varying degrees of proficiency for the skills in each of the languages. On the other end of the continuum, one can simply know several phrases, which is sufficient enough to get around using alternative languages. Multilingual speakers, as Cook (1991) argues, fall somewhere between minimal and maximal definitions.

Among various discussions on multilingualism, a group of researchers look at the interface of second language acquisition, multilingualism, and education. Along this line of research, Cenoz and Gorter (2011:339) propose a holistic approach to multilingual education which “takes into account all of the languages in the learner’s repertoire”, as opposed to traditional approaches that look at the languages separately. For this group of researchers, a multilingual speaker is defined as an individual that has multiple repertoires. According to the holistic perspective, the

competence of a multilingual speaker is fluid, and languages are intertwined with each other, rather than traditionally-viewed as separate.

Additionally, this group of researchers argues against the “monolingual bias” in research and school contexts, which considers the educated native speaker as the standard for achieving second or additional language competences (Cenoz & Gorter 2011). The concept of an ideal native speaker has been challenged in that it is quite exceptional for one to have equal and perfect knowledge in multiple languages (Grosjean 2010). Instead, multilingual speakers access, interact and use their languages differently in various contexts and through multimodal literacy practices. In this sense, a multilingual’s communicative competence is not comparable to that of a monolingual speaker (Cenoz & Gorter 2011). Furthermore, research has reported positive influences of multilingualism for the cognitive system. Through learning additional languages, one changes and expands his or her worldviews. Cook (1997) also argues that knowledge of multiple languages changes how people think. Other advantages of being proficient in multiple languages include having enhanced executive functions (i.e., the abilities to plan and prioritize) (Bialystok & Martin 2004) and better resistance to dementia or Alzheimer’s disease (Bialystok, 2011). Furthermore, with richer experiences with languages, multilinguals can manifest language playfulness and use their languages in creative ways (Cenoz & Gorter 2011).

Given such a wide variety of differences between multilingual and monolingual speakers, multilingual speakers and language learners should not be viewed as imitation monolinguals in the respective target languages (see Cook 1993, for the notion ‘multi-competence’). On the contrary, they should be considered as “possessing unique forms of competence, or competencies, in their own right” (Cook 1993: 270). Nonetheless, the conception of reaching native command of a language as the goal for learning additional languages and the idea that non-native speakers are considered deficient in the target language, have continued to be widespread.

To move beyond the current state, researchers advocate for the multilingual and holistic approach, which may bring new insights for research on multilingualism. For instance, in lieu of focusing solely on the influence of the native language on one’s second language(s), or of comparing multilingual speakers to the ideal native speakers, we can look into multilinguals’ usage of the languages known, as suggested by the holistic approach (Cenoz & Gorter 2011). As

Ortega (2010) argued, it is only through focusing on the multilinguals' total language repertoire that we can understand how learners of additional languages process and use the languages.

3.6. Pluralistic approach to languages and cultures

Pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures are didactic approaches that implement teaching-learning activities that involve several (more than one) linguistic and cultural varieties.

They are opposed to approaches that could be called “singular” in which the only object of attention taken into account in the didactic approach is a particular language or culture taken in isolation. (CARAP, Candelier 2010)

Singular approaches of this kind were particularly valued when structural and later “communicative” methods were developed and all translation and all resort to the first language were banished from the teaching process.

3.6.1. The FREPA model

The Framework of Reference for the Pluralistic Approaches of Languages and Cultures (FREPA) was developed in 2007 by a large team coordinated by Michel Candelier at the European Center for Modern Languages in Graz -Institution of the Council of Europe- as a product of the program “Languages for Social Cohesion: Languages Education in a multilingual and multicultural Europe”. This theme proposes discussion of a major paradigm shift, by “moving towards a global language education, which integrates the teaching and learning of all languages in order to use the potential synergies” (in line with the presentation of ECML (European Center for Modern Languages) programs on the official website of the institution). The survey of the FREPA team reports on four pluralistic approaches: Intercultural understanding, Language Awareness, Inter-understanding between integrated didactics of the languages learned.

The intercultural approach, named in an article “the fourth Musketeer” of the Family of pluralistic approaches (Candelier 2008: 71) has an irrefutable influence -Although it is not always explicitly and truly its fundamental orientations- (Candelier 2007: 7). About this model, the European Framework Common Reference for Languages provides that the fundamental objective

is the development of the personality based on the harmonious integration of linguistic and cultural alterity, by the direct concern of the teacher and the learner: “In an intercultural approach, an essential objective of language teaching is to promote the harmonious development of the learner’s personality and identity in response to the enriching experience of otherness in language and culture. It is incumbent to teachers and learners to build a healthy and balanced personality on the basis of the various elements composing it”. (CEFR (Common European Framework Reference for Languages) 2001: 9)

In the specific situation in education of Integrated didactics of languages, the purpose is to “help the learner establish links between a number of limited languages, those aimed to be learned at school. This didactic provides “classical” competence i.e., the same skills for all languages taught or “partial competences” for some of them (Candelier 2007: 7-8). FL is based on the acquisitions of the MT and that access to another FL is facilitated by support to those previously learned, leads to an integrated plurilingual directory; the representation of the specificity of each language as an "iceberg" emerging from a common base of all languages (proposed by Cummins in 2001 to make bilingual competence) implies the existence of an underlying basis common to two or several languages and influences established links of learning between them. (Egli Cuenat 2009)

Recent European projects have enabled Language Awareness movements to develop on a broader scale, defining it as follows: “LA is used to describe approaches in which some of the learning activities are concerned with languages which it is not the mission of the school to teach.” This does not mean that the approach is concerned just with such languages. The approach concerns the language of education and any other language which is in the process of being learnt. But it is not limited to these “learnt” languages, and integrates all sorts of other linguistic varieties – from the environment, from their families... and from all over the world, without exclusion of any kind... Because of the number of languages on which learners work -very often, several dozen- LA may seem to be the most extreme form of pluralistic approach. It was designed principally as a way of welcoming schoolchildren into the idea of linguistic diversity (and the diversity of their own languages) at the beginning of school education, as a vector of fuller recognition of the languages “brought” by children with more than one language available to them and, in this way,

as a kind of preparatory course developed for primary schools, but it can also be promoted as a support to language learning throughout the learners' school career.

Concerning Inter-understanding, the pluralistic approach established between parallel works on several languages of the same family, be it a family which belongs to the mother tongue of the learner (or the language of the school) or the family of a language he has learned. "Membership in the same family tangible assets, which are primarily understanding and deserving systematic attention (in accordance with the innovations in France and Germany in the second half of the 1990s, continued in other countries of Europe or Latin America).

"The notion of plurilingual and pluricultural competence posits that rather than a collection of distinct and discrete communication skills depending on the languages he or she has mastery of, an individual has a plurilingual and pluricultural competence that covers the entire language register at his or her disposal. "Knowing a language" also means knowing a good deal about quite a lot of other languages but without actually knowing that one knows them. Learning other languages generally enables an individual to activate his or her knowledge and make it more conscious, an aspect to be encouraged rather than pretending it does not exist."

A pluralistic approach is therefore defined as a teaching approach in which the learner works on several languages simultaneously. Such an approach is necessary, among other objectives, to support the structure of a plurilingual and pluricultural competence as defined above, that is, so that the learner can rely on an aptitude he or she may have in one language to establish aptitudes in other languages, so that the result is not an artificial juxtaposition of skills but a system of integrated skills within the same overall competence. Conversely a singular approach is defined as an approach in which the only subject is a particular language or culture taken in isolation.

Plurilingualism differs from multilingualism, which is the knowledge of a number of languages, or the co-existence of different languages in a given society. Multilingualism may be attained by simply diversifying the languages on offer in a particular school or educational system, or by encouraging pupils to learn more than one foreign language, or reducing the dominant position of English in international communication. Beyond this, the plurilingual approach emphasises the idea that as an individual person's experience of language in its cultural contexts expands, from the language of the home to that of society at large and then to the languages of other people

(whether learnt at school or college, or by direct experience), he or she does not keep these languages and cultures in strictly separated mental compartments, but rather builds up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contribute and in which languages interrelate and interact. In different situations, a person can call flexibly upon different parts of this competence to achieve effective communication with a particular interlocutor. For instance, partners may switch from one language or dialect to another, exploiting the ability of each to express themselves in one language and to understand the other; or a person may call upon the knowledge of a number of languages to make sense of a text, written or even spoken, in a previously unknown language, recognizing words from a common international store in a new guise. Those with some knowledge, even slight, may use it to help those with none to communicate by mediating between individuals with no common language. In the absence of a mediator, such individuals may nevertheless achieve some degree of communication by bringing the whole of their linguistic equipment into play, experimenting with alternative forms of expression in different languages or dialects, exploiting paralinguistics (mime, gesture, facial expression, etc.) and radically simplifying their use of language.

From this perspective, the aim of language education is profoundly modified. It is no longer seen as simply to achieve “mastery” of one or two, or even three languages, each taken in isolation, with the “ideal native speaker” as the ultimate model. Instead, the aim is to develop a linguistic repertory, in which all linguistic abilities have a place. This implies, of course, that the languages offered in educational institutions should be diversified and students given the opportunity to develop a plurilingual competence.

Furthermore, once it is recognized that language learning is a lifelong task, the development of a young person’s motivation, skill and confidence in facing new language experience out of school comes to be of central importance. The responsibilities of educational authorities, qualifying examining bodies and teachers cannot simply be confined to the attainment of a given level of proficiency in a particular language at a particular moment in time, important though that undoubtedly is.

Plurilingual and pluricultural competence, that is for an individual who can communicate linguistically and interact culturally, is possessed by an actor who has mastered, to various degrees, several languages and has, to various degrees, experience of several cultures, while

being able to manage language and cultural capital. The major option is to consider that there is no superimposition or juxtaposition of skills that are always distinct, but existence of a complex, competence (Coste, Moore, Zarate 1997).

These three angles lead to the emergence of a didactics of plurilingualism, which is concerned not so much with particular languages as with relations, passages, supports between languages in the perspective of building a plural repertoire. Such a perspective does not view linguistic and/or communicative competence as a simple compilation or articulation of tools -lexical, grammatical, discursive, etc.- but as a set of resources, which also include strategies, questioning and implementation processes, relationship of languages. Moreover, it considers that the strangeness offered by a so-called “Foreign” is not limited to an obstacle to be crossed but stimulates awareness necessary for all learning, including that of L1.

The Council of Europe’s Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) highlights the significance of an intercultural approach in language education in order to raise awareness of cultural diversity and promote respect for otherness. In an intercultural approach, it is a central objective of language education to promote the favourable development of the learner’s whole personality and sense of identity in response to the enriching experience of otherness in language and culture (2001:1). Kramsh (1996), underlines how language is a major means through which culture manifests itself, hence the concern of the language teacher to foster culture through this mediatory role of language. In fact, Kramsch (ibid.) claims that it is expected from language teachers to contribute to international peace and understanding through the teaching of cultural content, that is the “culturalisation” of language teaching. Kramsch (ibid.) refers to the social and cultural component of language teaching as the two sides of the same coin – the synchronic and the diachronic context in which language is used; the historical and the ethnographic approaches to the study of culture; the written and the oral traditions of a social group.

Similarly, Ferradas (2006) considers the development of an intercultural speaker to be the general aim of foreign language education. It is not desirable for foreign language learners to lose their identity while learning a new language but to expand their cultural knowledge and to become able to understand their own culture in relation to others. Therefore, the “intercultural speaker is a plurilingual speaker who does not sacrifice his/her own mother tongue and the culture associated with it but one who enriches them through the learning of a new language” (Ferradas, 2006:28).

Moreover, Utley (2004) distinguishes two different kinds of intercultural development: intercultural awareness or sensitisation, and cultural briefing. The former encompasses consciousness of “the existence of a number of different cultures and types of culture, and of their importance in all forms of human interaction” (2004:6) in both personal and public domains. The latter, on the other hand, refers to the “information about how particular cultures operate and manifest themselves” (2004:6).

The Council of Europe (2001) includes in the notion of ‘intercultural awareness’ many other cultures apart from that of the learner’s and the target one. It is, of course, important to note that intercultural awareness includes an awareness of regional and social diversity in both worlds. It is also enriched by awareness of a wider range of cultures than those carried by the learner’s L1 and L2. This wider awareness helps to place both in context. In addition to objective knowledge, intercultural awareness covers an awareness of how each community appears from the perspective of the other, often in the form of national stereotypes (Council of Europe, 2001:43). According to Buttjes (1991), culture in language courses was originally considered fundamental as preparation for international contact and communication. Later on, ‘culture’ making reference to “the individual’s enrichment through the acquisition of a wider world-view and through an access to the non-native cultural capital” (Buttjes, 1991:8) was deemed to have an educational value. Therefore, in the perspective of intercultural studies, the foreign language teacher is a cultural mediator between L1 and L2. There is a present explicit concern to integrate aspects of communication and intercultural awareness in language education: “Language functions as a vessel of individual and collective social experience and as a vehicle for acquiring an operative knowledge of the world”

3.6.2. The Intercultural Speaker

According to Byram & Fleming (1998), the intercultural speaker is someone who has knowledge of his own culture and other cultures; someone who is able to discover and interact with people of other social contexts even those for which they have not been prepared. Not only is the intercultural speaker aware of his/her own identity and culture but also s/he is also aware of how s/he is perceived by others. Furthermore, the intercultural speaker can establish a relationship between his own and other cultures, can mediate and account for difference, accept it and become

sympathetic to it. The intercultural speaker eventually becomes autonomous in the process of discovering other identities and groups. Byram & Fleming (1998) claim that this process can take place at any age (pupils, teachers, researchers), and highlight its constant evolution in the process of adapting their competence as intercultural speakers in a changing world. In addition, Glaser (2005:207) argues, “The ability to communicate with people reduces the fear of otherness. Our own language provides us with identity. It gives us support and a feeling of belonging. Linguistic diversity allows us to see the world from different angles”:

- Mediation: as the intercultural speaker negotiates understanding between individuals or groups of different cultural backgrounds
- Learning: as he/she constantly acquires knowledge while interacting with native speakers and with unfamiliar cultural contexts, consequently gaining autonomy during this process
- (Self)-reflection: by observing and understanding data including the perception of the self and the attitude towards his/her own culture.

According to Jaeger, the intercultural speaker has an active role when players in intercultural communication learn “to see, accept and respect each other as equal although different beings; different precisely in the way that their respective national/ethnic cultures define” (2001:56).

Among the three elements identified by Jaeger, learning and self-reflection are most relevant to this study. The concept of reflexivity consists in the belief that knowledge about the practices or systems of meaning of other cultures is essential for the individual’s cultural understanding of self and their own identity. Byram insists on this reflexive characteristic of the intercultural speaker (2000:159).

On the other hand, Byram & Zarate (1997) define the intercultural speaker as someone who “crosses frontiers”, who could be considered a “specialist in the transit of cultural property and symbolic values” (1997:11). Thus, the intercultural speaker serves as a mediator between two or more cultural identifications. During the criss-crossing of identities, the intercultural speaker has to negotiate between his own identifications and those of the other (Byram 2000). Guilherme (2002) goes beyond the definition to add the need of being critical, declaring that the critical intercultural speaker is not a cosmopolitan being who floats over cultures, but someone committed to turning intercultural encounters into intercultural relationships whereby s/he

deliberately exposes herself/himself to networks of meaning and forces and reflects critically upon them (2002:129). Jaeger (2001) enumerates the elements that make an intercultural speaker: The term “Intercultural Communication (IC)”, in general, refers to communication between people from different cultures (Damen 1987; Samovar and Porter 1991; Samovar et al., 1997; Dodd 1998; Ting-Toomey 1999; Mai Hoa 2007). More precisely, it refers to “symbolic exchange processes whereby individuals from two (or more) different cultural communities negotiate shared meaning in an interactive situation” (Ting-Toomey, 1999: 16). In the “symbolic exchange process”, people from cultural communities “encode and decode the verbal and nonverbal messages into comprehensive meanings” (Mai Hoa 2007: 5). This definition evidently focuses on the influence of cultural differences and diversity on communication. It often happens that people of different cultural backgrounds face cultural difficulties and barriers when they try to communicate with each other to the extent that misunderstanding and communication breakdown take place. That is mostly due to the differences in their customs, traditions, and ways of life, their worldview, social norms, religious practices and philosophy among other social cultural factors.

The Common European Framework introduces the “Intercultural Dimension” into the aims of language teaching. The essence of Intercultural Dimension is “to help language learners to interact with speakers of other languages on equal terms, and to be aware of their own identities and those of their interlocutors. It is the hope that language learners who thus become “intercultural speakers” will be successful not only in communicating information but also in developing a human relationship with people of other languages and cultures” (Byram et al., 2002: 5).

All actors in the educational system (policy-makers in ministries, designers of training programs, school principals, teachers in training and in practice, etc.) should be persuaded of the good foundation of this plurilingual option and that the school institution has the means to ensure its valorization and official recognition, which requires genuine education for plurilingualism. This is reflected in the development of positive representations and attitudes towards linguistic diversity, as well as the recognition of the normality of plurilingualism and the legitimization of the learner's different languages, whatever their oral or written level.

The main objectives of education for plurilingualism are to integrate language learning and education with democratic citizenship and to raise awareness of the importance of plurilingualism for participation in democratic and social processes (Breidbach 2003:22)

3.6.3. Extensive trilingualism model

Established in 1979 at the University of Yaoundé as a project and integrated from the 90s as a program within the National Association of Cameroonian Language Committees (NACALCO), PROPELCA has a triple objective; generalization and reinforcement of French / English bilingual education; the introduction of national mother tongues in primary school and the teaching of certain national languages in secondary schools. These different objectives are based on the idea that prior knowledge of the national language is a facilitating factor in the learning process.

PROPELCA is interested in the development of models of language teaching and mother tongues in the Cameroonian education system. Given the particular linguistic and cultural context of Cameroon. This team works on the basis of a model of planning and integration of national languages that it has proposed, the so-called extensive trilingualism model according to which the typical Cameroonian of the future will be the one who will have the capacity to communicate in at least three languages, one of which must be native), the other its first official language (French for French speakers and English for English speakers). The third language should be, for some a Cameroonian language and for others, the second official language. (Tadadjeu, 1984).

Since 1981, the PROPELCA project is based on four components: the first is devoted to the promotion of French-English bilingualism at the secondary level and the other three to the protection and promotion of local languages in the education system at the level of kindergarten (Strand 4), primary (strand 2) and secondary (strand 3).

Strand 2 of the project, which corresponds to the teaching of the national languages in addition to English or French, started in September 1981. The recommended approach of the first year in the third year (Class1 - Class 3) allows children to quickly learn to read and write their native language, which they usually speak well when they arrive at school. The gradual transition - carefully arranged and planned - to the official language also allows learners to transfer to the official language, at the end of the third year, the reading and writing skills acquired in the mother tongue. From the third year to the end of the primary cycle, the mother tongue becomes

secondary co-medium. The teacher continues to use it in his teaching class. The first official language (French or English) at this level is both a subject and the main medium of instruction.

Strand 3 is reserved for the teaching of national languages at the secondary school in a perspective of national integration. While offering the learner a broad cultural openness towards a national language other than his own, this component also allows him to access the written knowledge of his mother tongue, or almost mother tongue, as the case may be. A progressive and effective mastery of its sounds, tones, and notions of general grammar of Cameroonian languages support all this.

Strand 4, which should have begun well before strand 2, since it operates at the kindergarten level, started only two years ago because of some practical difficulties related, inter alia, to the identification of viable kindergartens and the problems of adequate funding.

The approach adopted is based on the discovery of the enormous scientific and technological potentialities that African societies harbor.

3.7. Translanguaging

Translanguaging is a new and developing term. First used as a Welsh word in schools in Wales in the 1980s particularly by Cen Williams (1994), it was popularised, in particular but not exclusively, by two books: Baker's *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* (2001, 2006, 2011) and Ofelia Garcia's (2009a) *Bilingual Education in the 21st Century*. As a provisional and developing idea, "Translanguaging is the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages" (Baker 2011: 288). Thus, both languages are used in a dynamic and functionally integrated manner to organise and mediate mental processes in understanding, speaking, literacy, and, not least, learning. Translanguaging concerns effective communication, function rather than form, cognitive activity, as well as language production.

3.7.1. Background

Before giving the global meaning of translanguaging, it is worth depicting the context in which the concept arises.

3.7.1.1. Its origins in Wales

In the context of Wales, the first use of “translanguaging” in the 1980s was in education. This needs to be understood in terms of a reaction against the historic separation of two “monolingualisms” (Welsh and English) with a difference in prestige. The portrayal of Welsh and English had often been about conflict, oppression, and suppression, of English language dominance and Welsh language endangerment. Expressions such as “language struggle”, “fighting for survival”, and “treachery” suggested a language battleground. When Welsh language revitalisation began to become successful in the final decades of the 20th century, it opened up the possibility of the two languages being seen as mutually advantageous in a bilingual school, person, and society. The positive concept of a competently bilingual child and adult developed in the post-1960s with many growing positive associations (e.g., communication, cognition, cultural, curriculum, and employment (Baker 2007)). A symbolic example of this is the belief in the 1920s that bilingualism caused mental confusion (Saer, 1922, 1923), to Jones (1959), who found bilinguals at no disadvantage in “intelligence” to monolinguals, to the publicising in Wales of the research of Peal and Lambert (1962) in the 1970s and 1980s that showed a few of the cognitive rewards of being bilingual. By the 1980s, the idea of Welsh and English as holistic, additive, and advantageous was beginning, allowing the idea of translanguaging to emerge firstly, within education in North Wales and, subsequently, developing within that educational context especially at classroom level.

3.7.1.2. Global use of “translanguaging”

In a more international context, the growing popularity of translanguaging in education can be seen as emancipation from many negative ideas about bilinguals and bilingualism in the first half of the 20th century. This includes: additive (where a second language adds to rather than replaces the first language) rather than subtractive bilingualism (Garcia 2009a; Lambert, 1974), holistic rather than fractional conceptualisations of bilinguals (Grosjean 2008, 2010), code-switching as natural in early childhood language development compared with strict one parent-one language (OPOL) compartmentalisation strategies (Baker 2010). Recently, neurolinguistic studies have shown that both languages remain active when just one of them is being used and can be easily accessed and used by a bilingual speaker (Hoshino & Thierry, 2011; Thierry & Wu 2007; Wu &

Thierry 2010). Thus overall, “bilingualism” moved in the 20th century from being viewed (by many but not all) as a disadvantage to an advantage, from causing mental confusion to the benefits of dual language capability, from solitudes to synergies.

In education, separating languages in the classroom by subject or topic, teacher, time (half days, whole days) has hitherto been fashionable. An example is Two Way Immersion in the United States, where languages (e.g., Spanish and English) are kept separate, in theory, by being used on alternate days, half-days, or lessons (Howard, Sugarman, Christian, Lindholm-Leary, & Rogers 2005; Lindholm-Leary 2001). The idea of language compartmentalisation in bilingual education appears to relate to, for example:

- Giving increasing time to the majority language when assimilation is predominant; or
- Giving protected and sometimes maximal time to an indigenous or heritage language to optimise fluency, literacy, confidence, and positive attitudes around that language;
- Avoiding inefficiencies in translation and duplication; and
- Prejudices about bilinguals becoming mentally confused if two languages are active.

The tide is slowly moving away from separating languages in the classroom to the use of two or more languages in the same lesson (Baker 2010; Blackledge & Creese 2010; Garcia 2009a; Fortune, Tedick, & Walker 2008; Lindholm-Leary & Howard 2008; Met 2008). This reflects the idea that children pragmatically use both of their languages in order to maximise understanding and performance in the home, street, and school. It also reflects the growing belief that content and integrated language learning (CLIL) is preferable to second language learning lessons both for successful language learning and the potential academic achievement gains when both languages are used in a lesson. Thus, separating languages in classrooms has begun to move towards more concurrent and integrated use of two or more languages (Baker 2010).

Having provided a brief sketch of the historical context in which translanguaging developed in education, we now turn specifically to the origin of the term and how it has developed from the 1980s to the present.

3.7.1. Cen Williams and the Welsh origins of “translanguaging”

The term “translanguaging” was created by Cen Williams, a well-known Welsh educationalist, in

the 1980s, for the planned and systematic use of two languages for teaching and learning inside the same lesson (Baker 2003, 2011; Williams 1994, 1996). Coined as a Welsh word “trawsieithu” by him and a colleague (Dafydd Whittall) during an in-service course for deputy head teachers in Llandudno (North Wales), it was later translated into English as “translinguifying” but then changed to “translanguaging” following a conversation between Cen Williams and Colin Baker.

The term “trawsieithu” (translanguaging) was initially coined to name a pedagogical practice which deliberately switches the language mode of input and output in bilingual classrooms: “translanguaging means that you receive information through the medium of one language (e.g., English) and use it yourself through the medium of the other language (e.g., Welsh). Before you can use that information successfully, you must have fully understood it” (Williams 1996: 64). The term remains an important feature of Welsh bilingual education, having also been adopted in other parts of the world as a key modern concept in some bilingual classrooms and communities (Garcia 2009a, 2009b) “capturing the imagination of those who believe that teachers and particularly students naturally use both languages to maximize learning” (Baker 2011:288).

“Translanguaging” was invented by Williams but is linked to Jacobson’s (1983, 1990) concept of purposeful concurrent uses of two languages in a bilingual classroom and Faltis’ (1990) discussion of 16 cues for switching the language medium of teaching. However, Williams (2002) emphasised that translanguaging refers to a different use of the two languages from that outlined by Jacobson and Faltis, a skill that is natural for any bilingual individual: “translanguaging entails using one language to reinforce the other in order to increase understanding and in order to augment the pupil’s ability in both languages”. He goes on to describe the process from the child’s perspective: pupils internalise new ideas they hear, assign their own understanding to the message/concept, and simultaneously and immediately use the message/concept in their other language(s). In doing so, they augment and supplement the message/concept through dual language processing.

While Williams (1996) conceived of translanguaging as a pedagogic theory, he recognised that underpinning this was a cognitive process involving a two-language interchange, but having important educational outcomes. He suggested that the process of translanguaging uses various cognitive processing skills in listening and reading, the assimilation and accommodation of information, choosing and selecting from the brain storage to communicate in speaking and

writing. Thus, translanguaging requires a deeper understanding than just translating as it moves from finding parallel words to processing and relaying meaning and understanding (Williams 1996).

Translanguaging thus commenced as a pedagogical theory, but with an emphasis on the child and not the teacher in parallel with the strong child-centred approach in most Welsh classrooms. Williams (2003) suggests that translanguaging focuses more on the pupils' use of two languages (and what they are able to achieve by using both languages) than on the teachers' role within the classroom, although the teacher may engineer it. Again, with an emphasis on a child's development, Williams (2003) suggested that translanguaging often uses the stronger language to develop the weaker language thus contributing towards a potentially relatively balanced development of a child's two languages.

There are boundaries when translanguaging can operate in the classroom that are less to do with age and nothing to do with a specific language, but about a child's dual language competence. Consequently, Williams (2002) advocated that translanguaging is more appropriate for children who have a reasonably good grasp of both languages, and may not be valuable in a classroom when children are in the early stages of learning and developing their second language. It is a strategy for retaining and developing bilingualism rather than for the initial teaching of the second language:

It should be emphasised that the aim in Wales is to strengthen and to use both languages to a high level in order to develop balanced and confident bilingual pupils. In the USA the aim is different because there, the priority in education is to acquire the second language, English. (Williams 2002: 47)

In the Welsh context, it is seen as a natural way of simultaneously developing and extending a child's bilingualism within a curriculum context whilst also deepening understanding of the subject area.

3.7.2. The advantages of translanguaging

Williams' publications and conference presentations became well known in Wales with dissemination in Welsh and English. In 2001, a close colleague of Williams publicised "translanguaging" through the third edition of *Foundations of Bilingual Education and*

Bilingualism, and this launched the term internationally (Baker 2001). Developing Williams' conceptualisation of translanguaging, Baker (2001, 2006, 2011) discusses four potential educational advantages to translanguaging, thus arguing for the importance of the concept as a pedagogical practice: it may promote a deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter, it may help the development of the weaker language, it may facilitate home-school links and cooperation and it may help the integration of fluent speakers with early learners.

Firstly, translanguaging may help students to gain a deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter. Taking the idea of the Vygotskian "zone of proximal development" that further learning is based on stretching pre-existing knowledge, plus the idea that the interdependence of two languages enables cross-linguistic transfer (Cummins 2008), it can be argued that translanguaging is an effective and efficient way of enabling this.

It is possible in a monolingual teaching situation, for students to answer questions or write an essay about a subject without fully understanding it. Processing for meaning may not have occurred. Whole sentences or paragraphs can be copied or adapted out of a textbook, from the Internet or from dictation by the teacher without real understanding. It is less easy to do this with "translanguaging". To read and discuss a topic in one language, and then to write about it in another language, means that the subject matter has to be processed and "digested". (Baker 2011: 289). Baker (2011) has recently argued that this fits into a sociocultural theory of learning (Drury 2007; Swain, Kinnear & Steinman 2011; Swain & Lapkin 2005) which is very appropriate for the bilingual classroom: "the teacher can allow a student to use both languages, but in a planned, developmental and strategic manner, to maximize a student's linguistic and cognitive capability, and to reflect that language is sociocultural both in content and process" (Baker 2011: 290).

The second potential advantage of translanguaging is that it may help students to develop competence (oral communication and literacy) in their weaker language, as it may prevent them from undertaking the main part of their work through the stronger language while attempting less challenging tasks in their weaker language. "Translanguaging attempts to develop academic language skills in both languages leading to a fuller bilingualism and biliteracy" (Baker 2011).

Thirdly, translanguaging may ease home-school links and co-operation, especially if the child is being educated in a language that is not understood by the parents. As translanguaging involves the reprocessing of content, it may lead to deeper understanding and learning, and this, in turn,

allows the child to expand, extend, and intensify what he has learned through one language in school through discussion with the parent at home in the other language (Baker 2011).

Fourthly, the classroom integration of fluent first language (L1) speakers and second language (L2) learners of various levels of attainment can be facilitated by translanguaging. Furthermore, L2 ability and subject content learning can be developed concurrently if a sensitive and strategic use is made of both languages in class (Maillat & Serra, 2009). This advantage was particularly important in Williams' (1994, 1996) original discussion of translanguaging in that he argued that it develops a student's minority language, be it his first or second language.

Translanguaging is many things. It has become a rather trendy and at times controversial term as it has gained traction in academia over the last several years. However, the way in which it has been taken up by researchers, particularly in education, is evidence that it is filling a gap in our descriptions of language practices in educational settings.

3.7.3. Dual literacy and translanguaging

In Wales, the term “translanguaging” was promoted in education at the turn of the 21st century not just by academics and their writing but through central government and “official” channels, giving it acceptance and promotion and educational and professional legitimacy, alongside the concept of “transliteracy” (Baker 2003). Estyn, Her Majesty's Inspectorate for Education and Training in Wales, in the discussion paper *Developing Dual Literacy* (2002) argued that “the skills involved in dual literacy are sometimes called translanguaging or transliterative skills” (p. 3). In this document, “dual literacy” is defined as the ability to speak, read, and write easily in both languages together with “the added ability to move confidently and smoothly between languages for different purposes” (Estyn 2002: 1). The paper goes on to outline the importance of developing dual literacy from three perspectives:

- It assists individuals' intellectual development by refining their ability to think, understand, and internalise information in two languages.
- It prepares individuals to learn additional languages, by developing flexibility of mind and a positive approach towards other languages and cultures.
- It prepares individuals effectively for situations where they need to use both languages and transfer from one language to the other. (Estyn 2002: 2) [11] Estyn emphasised that dual

literacy (and “translanguaging”) in the classroom is relevant to any two or more languages, with its features of speaking and listening, reading, and writing being the same whatever the languages. As these language modes are interdependent, they are best developed in an integrated way at different levels, as exemplified below (in the context of Welsh and English):

- Speaking and Listening

Use personal or factual detail heard in one language to give the gist of it in another;

Express information or opinions in a formal register to a group of people who speak different languages by switching easily from one language to the other as required.

- Reading

Use sources of information in both languages and summarise main points or opinions for different purposes, orally or in writing; read a text or part of a text in one language and complete a number of tasks based on it in another language;

- Writing

Communicate information, read or heard, from one language to the other in writing

Summarise information received in one language and present it accurately in writing in another language.

Estyn (2002) noted that pupils with dual literacy should demonstrate an increasing ability to draw on their linguistic resources in Welsh and English to reinforce their skills in both languages and take full advantage of communication in both languages to transfer from one language to the other in order to fulfill specific tasks that need an understanding of both languages.

3.7.4. Translanguaging and Poststructuralism

In *Translanguaging: Language, Bilingualism and Education*, Garcia and Li (2014) attach translanguaging to recent shifts in the fields of socio- and applied linguistics. They situate translanguaging particularly within the poststructural turn that interrogates the notion of languages as discrete, separate entities. This notion is perhaps best articulated by Makoni and Pennycook (2007), who argue that the concept of “language was an invention of colonialism. The Romantic notion that one state equals one culture and one language was essential for nation-state

building, and in that sense separate languages are inventions that met the needs of the colonial project. The idea that languages are discrete entities is further questioned by Canagarajah (2014) in his theory of translingual practices, where he describes global semiotic practices that defy the supposedly rigid borders between languages. Garcia and Li (2014) argue that bilinguals do not have two distinct linguistic systems in the brain, but rather one integrated repertoire of linguistic and semiotic practices from which they constantly draw. Thus, the idea of “code-switching” does not fit neatly into the theory of translanguaging because bilinguals are not shuttling between separate codes, but rather performing parts of their repertoires, which contain features from all of their languages. The “one system” idea is perhaps the most controversial aspect of current notions of translanguaging, particularly among linguists studying code-switching, but it is precisely where Garcia and Li link translanguaging to the poststructural turn in applied linguistics.

This poststructural paradigm shift, also referred to as the “trans turn” in applied linguistics, has refocused research away from “homogeneity, stability, and boundedness as the starting assumptions” in favor of “mobility, mixing, political dynamics, and historical embedding” as central concerns in the study of languages, language groups, and communication (Blommaert & Rampton 2011: 3). As a result, the ideology of one nation one language has been critiqued as leading to monolingual ideologies of language and the “two solitudes” approach to bilingualism (Garcia & Li 2014; Makoni & Pennycook 2007). Canagarajah (2014: 6) claims that understanding translingual practice involves two key concepts: communication transcends individual languages and communication transcends words and involves diverse semiotic resources and ecological affordances. Garcia and Li (2014: 21) posit that translanguaging refers to new language exchanges among people with different histories, and releases histories and understandings that had been buried within fixed language identities constrained by nation-states. This definition captures the historical, political and social embeddedness of language practices and how these practices are and have been intertwined with ideologies. When we use the term translanguaging, we are indexing this poststructural paradigm shift in applied linguistics.

The previous sections help us to understand the theoretical underpinnings of translanguaging, but the question remains: What is translanguaging exactly? What do researchers actually mean when they use the term? The answer is, of course, that it means different things for different researchers in different contexts. Creese and Blackledge (2010) explore the relationship between translanguaging practices and identity in complementary schools in the UK. They use the term

flexible bilingual pedagogy and argue that this pedagogy adopts a translanguaging approach and is used by participants for identity performance as well as the business of language learning and teaching. ... We think the bilingual teachers and students in this study used whatever signs and forms they had at their disposal to connect with one another, indexing disparate allegiances and knowledges and creating new ones (Creese & Blackledge 2010: 112) Thus, they argue that translanguaging is a pedagogical approach that at once serves to enhance teaching and indexes the speakers' shifting multilingual and multicultural identities. Canagarajah (2011) investigates multilinguals' use of "whatever signs and forms" are available to them and the deep connections that this use has to identity enactment in texts. In one of the few studies of translanguaging in texts, and one of even fewer looking at higher education, he explores how one graduate student used code-meshing to make meaning by employing Arabic, English, French and symbols in her academic writing. His emphasis on the process of the graduate student exploring the ways in which she could use all of her communicative repertoire as an integrated system shows how translanguaging in texts is strategic, and at the same time he raises important questions on how to assess translanguaging competence in academic settings. In Canagarajah's (2011: 408) synthesis of research on translanguaging, he notes, "what current classroom studies show is students". That is, in bi- and multilingual environments, translanguaging is when students (and often teachers) use their entire linguistic repertoire strategically to teach and learn, which they do with a keen awareness of the identity consequences of linguistic performance. Hornberger and Link (2012) reinforce this notion from a biliteracy perspective.

In their conclusion, two things are clear from the research though, in connection with fostering transfer, and both of them suggest the significance of translanguaging for biliteracy development: one, that individuals' biliteracy develops along the continua in direct response to contextual demands placed on them; and two, that individuals' biliteracy development is enhanced when they have recourse to all their existing skills (and not only those in the second language). (Hornberger & Link 2012: 244–245). Li (2011: 1233) describes translanguaging practices as 'creative', 'critical', 'flexible' and 'strategic' in his 'moment analysis' of multilingual Chinese youth in the UK. He describes translanguaging spaces as 'interactionally created' and emphasizes the performative nature of these spaces: For me, translanguaging is both going between different linguistic structures and systems, including different modalities (speaking, writing, signing, listening, reading, remembering) and going beyond them. It includes the full range of linguistic

performances of multilingual language users for purposes that transcend the combination of structures, the alternation between systems, the transmission of information and the representation of values, identities and relationships. The act of translanguaging then is transformative in nature; it creates a social space for the multilingual language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into one coordinated and meaningful performance, and making it into a lived experience. I call this space “translanguaging space”, a space for the act of translanguaging as well as a space created through translanguaging. (Li 2011: 1223)

Thus, for Li, translanguaging is linguistic performance that not only includes the use of different features of the speakers’ repertoire, but also creates something new that transcends the combination of structures and creates a ‘translanguaging space’. In Sayer’s (2013) ethnographic study of the classroom language practices of Mexican American second graders and their teacher in San Antonio, Texas, he refers to translanguaging as a method. He argues that a translanguaging lens is less focused on language per se, and more concerned with examining how bilinguals make sense of things through language.... The excerpts illustrate how translanguaging through TexMex enables teacher and students to create discursive spaces that allow them to engage with the social meanings in school from their position as bilingual Latinos. (Sayer 2013: 84) Although he emphasizes translanguaging as a method, he also argues that it is ‘a descriptive label that captures the fluid nature of [students’] language practices and “a theoretical and analytical tool that allows researchers to portray the multifaceted ways that the children’s bilingualism is not merely a double monolingualism (Sayer, 2013: 85). Thus, Sayer includes multiple understandings of translanguaging: as a method, as a descriptive label for language practices, and as an analytical tool. In sum, based on the research cited here and on the work of Mazak & Herbas-Donoso (2014), translanguaging is a language ideology that takes bilingualism as the norm. It is also a theory of bilingualism based on lived bilingual experiences. As such, it posits that bilinguals do not separate their ‘languages’ into discrete systems, but rather possess one integrated repertoire of languaging practices from which they draw as they navigate their everyday bilingual worlds. Translanguaging is a pedagogical stance that teachers and students take on that allows them to draw on all of their linguistic and semiotic resources as they teach and learn both language and content material in classrooms. Translanguaging is a set of practices that

are still being researched and described. It is not limited to what is traditionally known as “code-switching”, but rather seeks to include any practices that draw on an individual’s linguistic and semiotic repertoires.

As such, translanguaging is transformational. It changes the world as it continually invents and reinvents languaging practices in a perpetual process of meaning-making. The acceptance of these practices -of the creative, adaptable, resourceful inventions of bilinguals- transforms not only our traditional notions of “languages”, but also the lives of bilinguals themselves as they remake the world through language.

3.8. Code-switching

In language contact studies, there has not been a clear consensus on the appropriate definitions of various results of language contact situations such as borrowing, interference, transfer, shift, relexification, pidginization, and creolization. Some scholars have chosen the term “mixing” as a neutral cover term for both code-switching and borrowing. However, borrowing can occur in the speech of those with only monolingual competence, while code-switching implies some degree of competence in the two languages.

Sociolinguistics considers Code Mixing and Code Switching as the by-products of bilingualism. In Code-Mixing, a fluent bilingual changes the language by using words from another language without any change at all in situation, whereas in Code Switching, anyone who speaks more than one language chooses between them according to circumstances and according to the language comprehensive to the persons addressed, the purpose is to get the right effect of communication.

Crystal (1995) states, “Code or language switching occurs when an individual, who is bilingual, alternates between two languages during his or her speech with another bilingual person.”

Halliday (1978:65) defines CS as “code-shift actualized as a process within the individual: the speaker moves from one code to another and back, more or less rapidly, in course of a single sentence.”

Verma (1976:156) focuses on Code Switching as “a verbal strategy used by speakers in much the same way as creative artists switch styles and levels (i.e., from sublime to the mundane or the serious to the comic or vice versa) or the ways in which monolinguals make selections from among vocabulary items” and concludes, “Each type of coding or CS is appropriate to the topical

and situational features that give rise to it.” Weinreich (1953:73) elaborates, “The ideal bilingual switches from one language to another according to appropriate changes in speech situation, but not in unchanged speech situation and certainly not within a single sentence.”

Bokamba (1989:278) considers CS as “the mixing of words, phrases and sentences from two distinct grammatical (sub) systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech event, in other words, intersentential switching.” Ashok Kumar (1995:44) adds, “Code Switching which is influenced by extra-linguistic factors such as topic, interlocutors, setting etc. is the alternate use of lexical items, phrases, clauses and sentences from the non-native language into the system of the native language.” Gardner Chloros (2009) is of the opinion that CS may be used as “a general term covering all outcomes of contact between two varieties whether or not there is evidence of conversions.” For her, Code Switching refers to the use of several languages or dialects in the same conversation or sentence by the bilingual people.

3.8.1.Types of code-switching

There have been many attempts to give a typological framework to the phenomenon of code-switching. One of the most frequently discussed is that given by Poplack. Poplack identified three different types of switching which occurred in her data, namely tag, inter-sentential and intra-sentential switching.

Tag-switching is the insertion of a tag phrase from one language into an utterance from another language. It seems that the fixed phrases of greeting or parting are quite often involved in switches. Since tags are subject to minimal syntactic restrictions, they may be inserted easily at a number of points in a monolingual utterance without violating syntactic rules.

Inter-sentential switching occurs at a clause or sentence boundary, where each clause or sentence is in one language or another. According to Romaine, inter-sentential switching could be considered as requiring greater fluency in both languages than tag-switching since major portions of the utterance must conform to the rules of both languages.

Intra-sentential switching takes place within the clause or sentence and is considered to be the most complex form of switching. It seems most frequently found in the utterances, though it involves the greatest syntactic risk since the switching between languages occurs within the

clause or sentence boundaries. According to Poplack, intra-sentential switching may be avoided by all but the most fluent bilinguals.

Gumperz (1982) introduced the concepts of situational and metaphorical switching. Situational switching involves change in participants and/or strategies while metaphorical switching involves only a change in topical emphasis. Auer (1999) offered two types of code-switching, namely, discourse- related alternation and participant alternation. Different from other researchers, Lin (2008) categorized code-switching according to Halliday’s point of view; clause, rather than sentence is the basic unit of code-switching. Therefore, he suggested two types of code-switching, which are alternational and insertional switching. Alternational switching belongs to intra-clausal switching while insertional switching is inter- clausal.

Code switching occurs mostly in bilingual communities. Speakers of more than one language are known for their ability to code switch or mix their language during their communication. As Aranoff and Miller (2003:523) indicate, many linguists have stressed the point that switching between languages is a communicative option available to a bilingual member of a speech community, on much the same basis as switching between styles or dialects is an option for the monolingual speaker.

3.8.2. Reasons for code-switching

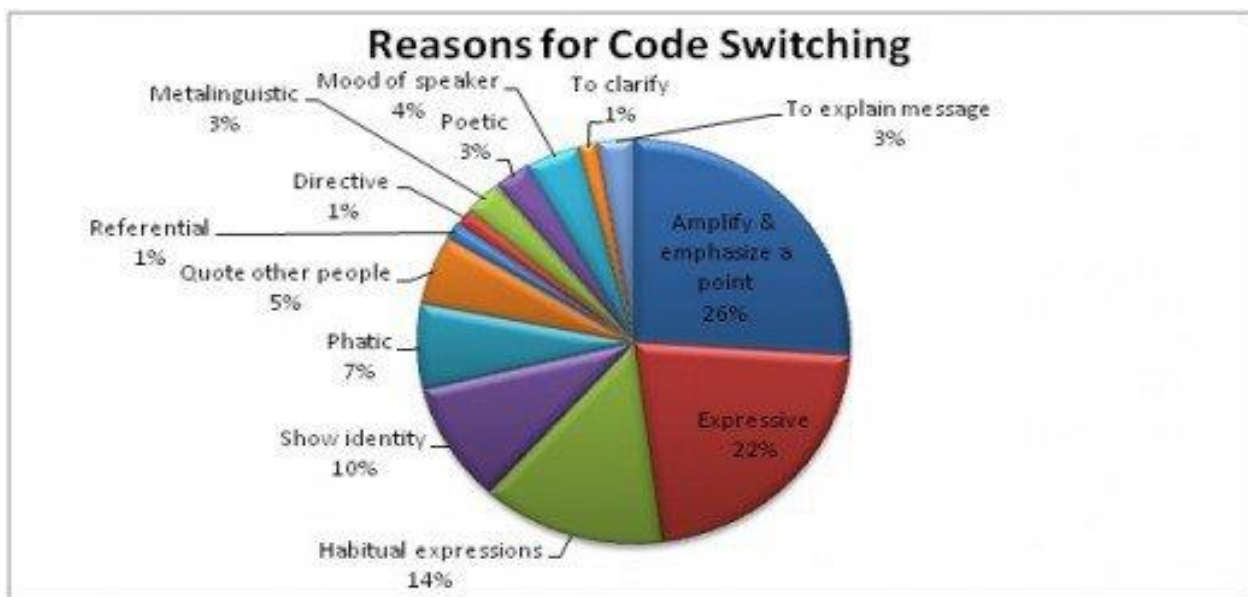


Chart 1: Reasons for Code-switching

There are a number of possible reasons for switching from one language to another, and these will now be considered, as presented by Crystal (1987).

The first of these is the notion that a speaker who may not be able to express him/herself in one language switches to the other to compensate for the deficiency. As a result, the speaker may be triggered into speaking in the other language for a while. This type of code switching tends to occur when the speaker is upset, tired or distracted in some manner.

Secondly, switching commonly occurs when an individual wishes to express solidarity with a particular social group. Rapport is established between the speaker and the listener when the listener responds with a similar switch. This type of switching may also be used to exclude from a conversation others who do not speak the second language.

As Skiba (1997) comments, code-switching is not a language interference, on the basis that it supplements speech. Where it is used due to an inability of expression, code switching provides continuity in speech rather than presenting interference in language. The socio-linguistic benefits have also been identified as a means of communicating solidarity, or affiliation to a particular social group, whereby code switching should be viewed from the perspective of providing a linguistic advantage rather than an obstruction to communication. Further, code switching allows a speaker to convey attitude and other emotions using a method available to those who are bilingual and again serves to advantage the speaker, much like bolding or underlining in a text document to emphasize points. Utilizing the second language, then, allows speakers to increase the impact of their speech and use it in an effective manner.

In some situations, code-switching is done deliberately to exclude a person from a conversation. It is seen as a sign of solidarity within a group, and it is also assumed that all speakers in a conversation must be bilingual in order for code switching to occur. Bilinguals do not usually translate from the weaker language to the stronger one. Code-switching is used most often when a word doesn't "come".

Code-switching can be used in a variety of degrees, whether it is used at home with family and friends, or used with superiors at the workplace.

3.8.3. Code-switching as a language interference

In the classroom, code-switching can be seen as language interference. Students may see code switching as an acceptable form of communication in society, and may feel comfortable switching languages in everyday normal conversation. This would put those who are not bilingual at a disadvantage, because they



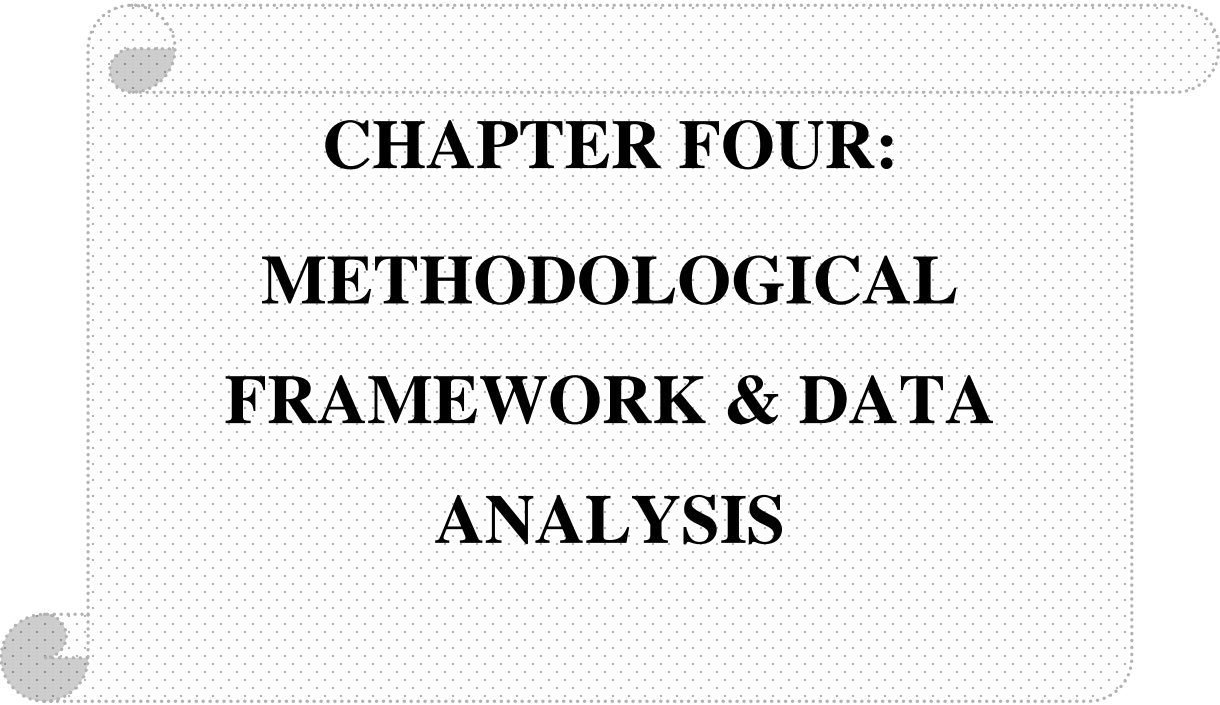
Figure 1: Language interference

would not be able to communicate effectively. Therefore, code switching can be both beneficial and possible language interference, depending on the situation and the context in which it occurs.

A great number of scholars in sociocultural linguistics use a definition of code switching similar to Heller's: "the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode" (1988a: 1). Auer and Myers-Scotton, who largely disagree on how or why code switching occurs, nonetheless sound quite similar in their definitions of the phenomenon. Auer (1984:1) refers to "the alternating use of more than one language," while Myers-Scotton (1993:vii) mentions "the use of two or more languages in the same conversation." Romaine (1989) cites Gumperz as the source of this definition. However, these definitions introduce an element not strictly present in Gumperz's definition: "Conversational code-switching can be defined as the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (Gumperz 1982:59). Code switching is a practice of parties in discourse to signal changes in context by using alternate grammatical systems or subsystems, or codes. The mental representation of these codes cannot be directly observed, either by analysts or by parties in interaction. Rather, the analyst must observe discourse itself, and recover the salience of a linguistic form as code from its effect on discourse interaction.

3.9. Summary

Other approaches or domains related to LA include: Bi/multilingual education, attitudes, translanguaging, code-switching as well as pluralistic approaches to language and cultures.



**CHAPTER FOUR:
METHODOLOGICAL
FRAMEWORK & DATA
ANALYSIS**

4.1. Methods

Once the theoretical background settled, this chapter will provide more information on data collection. In order to achieve the objectives of this work, various instruments were used. From Germany to Cameroon, subjects were useful either for interviews or questionnaires. In addition to the research on the Internet, some pictures portraying the Linguistic Landscape of Yaoundé city were also taken and analyzed. Depending on the needs, the collected data were then transcribed, annotated and elicited both from a quantitative and qualitative perspective.

4.2. Sample choice

Choosing the best sample is the ultimate condition to get efficient results and to reach the objectives of the research. In the globalization context, there is an increasing rate of migrant families coming all over the world. In Europe in general and in Germany in particular, this situation brings changes in curricula, but also in families and society. The sample of this study is transcontinental and bi-directional. It targets both people and places.

People involved are first of all families with Cameroonian backgrounds whose children are attending school in Germany. As such, interviews and questionnaires were administered to 20 persons with Cameroonian background living in Berlin, including 12 children and 8 parents. In a German majority language context, what are the language experiences and challenges faced by families with Cameroonian background? This was also one of the Project T1 major concerns, so that schools in Germany could better handle and manage discrimination pertaining to language and cultural diversity by designing appropriate teaching tools. The adaptation of these materials led then to the second target of this study: 21 level 1 students of the Higher Teachers Training College of Yaoundé of the Department of Cameroonian Languages and Cultures. They were helpful when conducting a specific module called: Linguistic Landscape. The last sample of this study was 14 youngsters, from various backgrounds speaking Camfranglais in the city of Yaoundé.

Places involved are the following countries: Germany, France, and Cameroon. In the next sub-heading, I am going to explain why I had to move from place to place.

4.3. Data collection

Going to the fieldwork is a prior and crucial stage when doing research in social sciences. This requires a preparation that might take several months. Once the scheme is well elaborated, the sample chosen and the instruments ready and available, then the fieldwork studies intervene.

As for the equipment, I first got an interview authorization from the director of the project. Then I took a microphone and a smartphone, an agenda, a pen, a pencil with eraser. I also bought sweets and popcorns to reward the children I had to interview.

Given the fact that the impetus of this research was given as I was following an internship within the framework of a project conducted in Germany particularly in the Center of Language Variation in Teacher Education of the University of Potsdam (Project T1), I had to bring out a Cameroonian contribution to the project. Under the heading of the director of the project, Heike Wiese, I elaborated the interviews and the questionnaires for Cameroonian families whose children are attending school in Berlin. She put me in touch with a lady with a Cameroonian background that I had to interview and in her turn, the lady introduced me to some other parents whose children attended schools in Berlin.

I ended up having 8 parents and 12 children interviewed which was already a representative sample for the purpose of my research. The next stage consisted in the transcription of the recordings and the analysis of the questionnaires. In order to tackle stereotypes pertaining to students' background and origins, Project T1 designed books, flyers and exercises books. Still in Germany, I had to adapt three of them to the Cameroonian context. These materials will be discussed in the seventh chapter of this thesis.

Secondly, in the course of my analyses, I went the SeDyL thanks to the Labex EFL, which is a laboratory in France, specialized in multi-corpora texts analysis or heterogeneous corpus. There I used software called JAXE for data annotations and analysis. So I went there for the analysis of the data I collected in Camfranglais and there I completed my thesis.

4.4. Interviews in Germany

A qualitative analysis was made with the first recordings (20), which were about the survey on the linguistic experiences of families with Cameroonian background living in Germany.

4.4.2. Objectives of the interviews:

- Find out the linguistic experiences of families with Cameroonian background, whose children are attending school in Germany.
- Identify the different languages spoken by Cameroonian in Germany
- Find out the languages they speak regularly: (at school, at home, with friends...)
- Find out teachers' attitudes towards children with Cameroonian background
- Find out children's attitudes towards the linguistic diversity in Germany
- Find out parents' attitudes towards the linguistic diversity in Germany

Table 2: Description of the interviewees

Interviewees	Children	Parents	Profession	Age	Level	Spoken languages	City
01	□	□	Pupil	04	Nursery school	02	Berlin
02	□	□	Pupil	05	Nursery school	03	Berlin
03	□	□	Pupil	07	Primary school	03	Berlin
04	□	□	Pupil	06	Primary school	03	Berlin
05	□	□	Pupil	06	Primary school	01	Berlin
06	□	□	Pupil	08	Primary school	03	Berlin
07	□	□	Pupil	07	Primary school	03	Berlin
08	□	□	Pupil	09	Primary school	03	Berlin
09	□	□	Pupil	10	Primary school	03	Berlin
10	□	□	Pupil	08	Primary school	03	Berlin
11	□	□	Student	12	Secondary	02	Berlin

					school		
12	□	□	Student	10	Secondary school	02	Berlin
13	□	□	Student	11	Secondary school	03	Berlin
14	□	□	Medical doctor	35-40	□	03	Berlin
15	□	□	Engineer	30-35	□	03	Berlin
16	□	□	Nurse	35-40	□	03	Berlin
17	□	□	Researcher	30-35	□	03	Berlin
18	□	□	PhD student	30-35	□	04	Berlin
19	□	□	PhD student	30-35	□	04	Berlin
20	□	□	Engineer	35-40	□	03	Berlin

During the interviews children answered the following questions at five levels namely:

Knowledge about languages

- What languages can you speak?
- What languages can you understand?
- What languages can you recognize at the oral / written level?
- How come that you know these languages?
- Can you tell me about these languages?
- Can you tell me a few words in these languages?
- Can you tell me about the people who speak the languages you know?
- What languages do you speak at home?
- What languages do you speak at school? Where? When? By who?
- How do you feel when you speak these languages?
- Do you feel comfortable speaking your language everywhere?
- Among the languages you know, is there a language that you prefer? Why?

- What languages would you like to speak? Why?
- How would you like to learn these languages?
- What languages don't you want to learn? Why?
- Does it have something to do with people who speak this language?
- Is it because of the language itself?

Awareness of multilingualism

- How do you feel in knowing to speak more than one language?
- What are the advantages and disadvantages to know several languages?
- How do you think you'll use later on the languages that you know?

Contexts

- Have you heard languages other than your language spoken at school? Where? When? By whom?
- Do you know the names of these languages?
- Can you tell me more about the people who speak these languages?
- Think at a time when you have heard of languages other than your language at school. Can you tell me/describe this situation? (How did you feel, what did you think)
- Do you know words or phrases in these languages?

If so, how did you learn them?

Attitudes and perceptions

- Does it happen that you speak languages that your friends are speaking? When? Where?
- Do you know the name of these languages?
- Can you tell me about your friends who speak these languages?

- Think about a time when you were with one of those friends and he spoke in his language with his parents and that you did not understand what they were saying? Can you tell me about this situation? (How did you feel and what did you think?)
- Do you know the words or sentences in these languages? If so, how did you learn them?

Openness to the world

- Can you tell me about the people you know in your neighborhood who speak other languages than what you speak?
- Why do they speak these languages?
- Do you know the name of these languages?
- Can you tell me the people who speak these languages?
- Think about a time when you heard two people in your neighborhood who spoke in a language you do not know or whatever. Can you tell me this? (How did you feel and what did you think?)
- Do you know the words or phrases in these languages? If so, how did you learn them?
- Have you heard of other languages in the media?
- Where and when have you heard them?
- ✓ In music?
- ✓ On TV?
- ✓ On the radio?
- ✓ In the newspapers?
- On the internet?
- Do you know the name of these languages?
- Can you tell me the people who speak these languages?
- Why, in your opinion, are there media here that are in languages other than your language? Is it useful?

4.5. Questionnaires for children

The first questionnaire was for children attending primary and secondary school in Germany. The questions had three major objectives, namely, discovering the languages they know, the contexts

in which they use different languages, and their attitudes and perceptions towards the linguistic diversity. So, they were addressed the following questions:

The languages they know

- For how long have you lived in Germany?
- What is your Mother tongue? (The language you have first learned)
- Can you tell me about the languages you know and those you've heard?
- What languages can you speak?
- What languages can you recognize at the oral / written level?
- How come you know these languages?

Contexts

- What languages do you speak at home?
- What languages do you speak at school?
- What languages do you speak with your friends?

Attitudes and perceptions

- Among the languages you know, is there a language that you prefer? Why?
- What languages don't you want to learn? Why?
- Do you have friends who speak languages other than German?
- Can you tell me about your friends who speak these languages?
- Have you heard of other languages in the media?
- Do you know the name of these languages?
- Would you like to speak many languages? If yes, which ones? Why?

4.6. Questionnaires for parents

The second questionnaire, targeting first the linguistic experience of parents, was divided into three parts: the background of parents, the contexts in which they speak different languages regularly and their attitudes and perceptions towards the linguistic diversity.

Thus, the first part was about getting information about their name, age, profession, country, city, citizenship and on how long they have lived in Germany.

In order to find out the contexts in which they speak different languages regularly, the following questions were addressed to the parents:

Background of parents

- What is your mother tongue? (The language you have first learned)
- What languages do you speak regularly?
- What language do you speak to your children?

Contexts

- What languages are spoken in your family:

Father – mother

Mother – children

Father - children

Children – mother

Children – father

- What languages do you speak with their teachers:

Father - teachers

Mother – teachers

Teachers- Father

Teachers – mother

Father - friends

Mother – friends

Friends- Father

Friends – mother

Attitudes and perceptions

As far as their attitudes and perceptions towards the linguistic diversity are concerned, they answered the questions below:

- Do you face difficulties/challenges with teachers as a Cameroonian parent whose children are attending school in Germany? Yes No. If yes, which kind of difficulties do you face?
- What perception/attitude do teachers have towards you as Cameroonian parent whose children are attending school in Germany?
- What experiences do your children have at school?
- Do they feel discriminated? Yes No. If yes, how?
- Would you like your children to speak many languages? Yes No.
If yes, which ones? What for?

4.7. Photographs in Cameroon

To carry out this part, “Safari photos” were performed at two main stages; a good number of pictures were taken in the city of Yaoundé, first of all by the researcher/teacher, and secondly by students. These pictures were analyzed from a qualitative and a quantitative viewpoint.

4.7.1. Safari photos performed by the researcher

Although 1200 pictures were taken in Yaoundé neighbourhoods in August 2015 using a Panasonic digital Camcorder, only **796** were finally retained for the first objective of this study. They were

taken on the main roads of the following geographical areas: Cité Verte, Nkolbisson, Oyomabang, Mokolo, Administrative Area, Biyem-Assi (Montée Maison Blanche), Obili, Ngoa-ekelle, Madagascar, Tsinga, and Bastos

Not only did the pictures give an overview of the linguistic practices in the city of Yaoundé, but they also helped in documenting the Linguistic Landscape for educational purposes.

4.7.2. Safari photos performed by level 1 students of the Higher Teaching Training College of Yaoundé (ENS, Ydé 1)

In our research on the LL with students on February 2016, data served as a research tool to stimulate children's observations of texts, multilingualism and language diversity.

Before asking them to take safari pictures, some selected slides from the safari photos snapped by the researcher were presented to the class with illustrations and recommendations were also given. They were given instructions to go to the neighborhoods in small groups and take pictures on: multilingual texts, monolingual texts in various languages, texts in non-standard French or English (dialects, colloquial language, youth language, etc.).

They were first of all asked to bring digital cameras or mobile phones with camera function, together with cables that could help in transferring pictures to a PC for training purposes. Secondly, Students were given themes during slide show, as well as explanations about the protocol for "Safari photos".

The 20 students that took part in the study were divided into small groups of 5. They went out for "Safari photos" in the neighborhoods. They took 100 pictures in all of the LL and came back to the class on the agreed time. Finally, participants were asked to transfer their pictures in the computer from which the presentation was performed before the evaluation phase. The small groups evaluate their pictures. For this purpose, initially, the screen function of cameras or mobile phones is used (alternatively to laptops, to which the students have added pictures). A work protocol with targeted questions is distributed to each group. The small groups present their results in the classroom, thereby showing their pictures as illustrated in figure 1 below.



Figure 2: Group work during LL class, February 2016; ENS

While evaluating their pictures, students are asked to answer the following questions:

- What languages or dialects often/hardly occur? Is that surprising?
- Are there languages that could not be identified, or signs that could not be read? Could you still guess the meaning of the texts?
- What are the functions of multilingual and monolingual Linguistic Landscapes on the following pictures?
- Do the texts reflect local languages practices?
- Who decides who and where the languages should be written?
- How do pictures provide information on the social status and rank of the speaker of a specific language?
- What does it mean for children when their family language is often / barely / not represented in the public or private sector of the Linguistic Landscape?
- What can we do to promote national languages?

4.8. Young people interviews in Cameroon

Both a qualitative and quantitative analysis was made with the last recordings (13) of young people in Camfranglais in the city of Yaoundé.

They were natural conversations on everyday life topics such as: family, love, money, and school. The table below provides information on the participants to the recordings on Camfranglais.

Table 3: Description of the participants to the recordings on Camfranglais

Recordings	Male	Female	Profession	Age	School	Level	City
01	☐	☐	Student	20-25	ENS Ydé 1	1	Yaoundé
02	☐	☐	Student	25-30	ENS Ydé 1	1	Yaoundé
03	☐	☐	Student	25-30	UYI	3	Yaoundé
04	☐	☐	Student	20-25	UYI	1	Yaoundé
05	☐	☐	Student	15-20	High school of Mballa II	Class 5	Yaoundé
06	☐	☐	Student	20-25	SIANTOU	1	Yaoundé
07	☐	☐	Student	25-30	SIANTOU	3	Yaoundé
08	☐	☐	Student	25-30	ENS Ydé 1	1	Yaoundé
09	☐	☐	Student	20-25	ENS Ydé 1	1	Yaoundé
10	☐	☐	Student	20-25	ENS Ydé 1	1	Yaoundé
11	☐	☐	Student	20-25	ENS Ydé 1	1	Yaoundé
12	☐	☐	Student	25-30	ENS Ydé 1	1	Yaoundé
13	☐	☐	Student	20-25	ENS Ydé 1	1	Yaoundé

4.9. Transcription and annotations of the recordings

The total amount of the recordings from interviews was 33 with each lasting for about 3-5 minutes. Before their analysis, they were transcribed first of all into WORD files for a qualitative analysis and into JAXE files for a quantitative analysis. The fifth chapter will provide more details on the functions of this software (JAXE).

4.10. Reading papers in library and on the Internet

The last instrument of this research is the reading of papers, books and texts on the Internet that not only help to enrich some statements with outstanding illustrations, but also to figure out the theoretical framework as well as the work cited throughout this work.

4.11. Data elicitation and analysis

Because the questionnaires and interviews were addressed to 20 people in Germany, the data collected have been mostly analyzed from a qualitative viewpoint. Apart from giving the results of the language experiences of some families with Cameroonian background whose children are attending schools in Germany, this chapter also debriefs the language question in Cameroon and in German schools, as far as attitudes and relations that pertain to linguistic diversity are concerned. It also gives an elicitation of two teaching materials (Linguistic Landscape and Camfranglais-Exploration) the results of which is an adaptation of Project T1 works, that can be directly applied as teaching modules in classroom situations.

4.11.1. Multilingualism in German schools

Multilingualism has various dimensions and can be defined in different ways. “Individual multilingualism” for example characterizes people who are capable of making themselves understood in more than one language. We talk of “social multilingualism” when languages share different functions in a society as is the case in the Swiss canton of Graubünden, where German, Romansh (and Italian) are official languages with theoretically equal status, yet Romansh and Italian are dominated in many situations by German on account of the general bilingualism of the minorities (“polyglotism”). In modern cities, speakers of different languages often live side by side without their languages being functionally separated (“heteroglotism”). By contrast, the term “territorial multilingualism” describes political areas divided into more or less monolingual language zones, as is the case with Flemish, French and German in Belgium. We talk of “institutional multilingualism” when institutions or organizations offer their services in different languages, as do the UN, the EU and the Swiss Federal Railways.

4.11.2. Germany speaks many languages

One of the drivers of the different forms of multilingualism is migration. In all the highly developed countries of the world, migration is not only normal but also necessary and desirable, and this also applies to Germany, where it has resulted in individual and social multilingualism. German society is multilingual: immigrants have brought their languages with them and also use them in everyday life. It is not known how many languages are actually spoken in Germany, as there are no reliable statistics on this.

“Social multilingualism” is a general requirement for education in Germany, as children or adolescents whose lives are conducted in two or more languages are found in virtually all classes of the country. In addition, education policy aims to promote individual multilingualism. Like all the member States of the European union, Germany has also committed itself to the educational goal of trilingualism: all young people in European schools are expected to learn at least two other languages in addition to the country’s main language. Although there is a consensus that English should be one of these languages, there are no limitations on other languages. The languages that immigrants bring with them offer great potential for teaching other languages.

In purely functional terms, individual multilingualism is defined as the ability to communicate in several linguistic contexts - regardless of how the languages concerned have been acquired or how they are mastered. As a result, these individuals are neither multilingual by birth nor “perfectly” multilingual. A Moroccan immigrant who speaks a little French and German in addition to his Arabic dialect is multilingual, as is the conference interpreter who confidently uses his three mother tongues or English, German and French.

In the context of education, the distinction between “popular” and “elective” multilingualism has proved beneficial. “Popular multilingualism” means that a person lives in more than one language in his/her daily life. A child growing up in a multilingual environment will acquire the different languages of this environment in the same way that a monolingual child will acquire his or her own language. On the other hand, we talk of “elective multilingualism” when people take foreign language courses, although they use only one language in their daily lives.

4.11.3. Multilingualism as a connected system

Individual multilingualism is often referred to as “plurilingualism” (Beacco, Byram, 2002). In the same sense, it is also referred to as “multi-competence”. The point here is to emphasize that it is more than a kind of “multiple monolingualism”, that is, it is more than the sum of several individual languages that exist independently side by side without influencing each other. Indeed, individual multilingualism works as a connected system “a connected system, rather than each language being a distinct system” (Cook 2008), in which the elements of individual languages interact and influence each other. Together, they constitute a single “integrated competence”.

Concretely, a multilingual repertoire consists of a number of multimodal linguistic resources, that is, they use different sensory channels. They are activated by speakers to solve problems related to specific situations -for example, in multilingual teams at the workplace where team members can simultaneously use different languages, images and gestures to achieve optimal communication. As a set of building blocks, these elements are somehow prefabricated in some cases and can be accessed from the speaker’s memory. In other cases, however, they form again spontaneously and creatively (Lüdi, Py 2009).

Such observations have many implications for classroom instruction. On the one hand, it is important to take into account, in all kinds of ways, the multilingualism associated with migration in the classroom. For example, German courses for native German speakers can often not be separated from the teaching of German as a second language. On the other hand, all teachers must be aware of the importance of supporting pupils, both for their own benefit and for the benefit of society as a whole, to acquire multilingual repertoires and thus to promote or at least respect the development of their first languages.

Languages are an essential factor in the construction of identity during the learning process and in shaping the personality. For this reason, it is of equal importance to bestow prestige on the other languages of bilingual children, to support these languages, and also to broaden the limited linguistic horizons of the monolingual children through helping them to get to know other languages towards a goal of language sensibility. Specialist literature generally considers the existence of diverse languages (and cultures) as an opportunity. However, suggestions made on

how to deal specifically with these languages and cultures have as yet only been concerned with particular topics and remain for the most part unsystematic, coincidental. The formation of these ideas into a syllabus is as yet still outstanding.

The actual existence of several or even many languages in a given classroom situation causes conceptual difficulties. Perhaps the more frequently spoken other languages can be treated occasionally, as is the case for Turkish. One strong wish is that those languages which are perceived to a much lesser degree and whose speakers are less numerous should also be taken into account and receive more status.

However, these languages mostly create a particular sense of anxiety for the teachers involved. It is the anxiety of losing control of the lesson and the learning process, if they allow unintelligible languages. For this reason our project has provided for the training of teachers using documentation from authentic lessons (videos, transcripts) in which these other languages occur.

One practical difficulty is that many teachers are not aware of the basic problems. They have developed a subjective theory of learning based on theories of education and linguistics, which leads them to believe that bilingualism puts a particular strain on children. Due to this idea, teachers quite frequently suppress other languages (by advising against native language instruction or through prohibitive action).

They are blind to the benefits of supporting these languages; only the languages taught in the school matter. Hence, they create many artificial language learning situations while many natural opportunities for intercultural learning escape them.

Contrary to popular opinion, the German language area is linguistically diverse: Northern and Southern forms of Standard German, Austrian and Swiss German, dialects and regional sociolects, the diverse languages of long settled minorities, the languages of more recent immigrant groups, overlapping at the edges.

Like other European countries and countries further afield, Germany is a country where people of different backgrounds, experience and languages live together for shorter or longer periods of time. Intercultural learning concepts have been and are still being developed for the kindergarten, school and leisure activities to make this mutual social existence possible from an early age on.

The global aim we intend working on is, in brief: Using the languages and Language Awareness of the children for reflecting on language and for intercultural learning. This can be summed up in four points:

- To train teachers in a way that they recognize the importance of language(s) and bilingualism for the identity and language learning of their pupils, that they need not be afraid of utterances made by the pupils in other languages, that they can (monolingually or multilingually) perceive the pupil's spontaneous Language Awareness and include it productively in the lesson, that they systematically involve the other languages in German language instruction.
- To develop materials for German language instruction, which simplify and support the consideration of other languages, indeed make it almost necessary. At times we will fall back on the suggestions made by the bilingual children themselves. This will also give rise to new motivation and a stronger, natural methodology in language instruction.
- To support the wave of syllabus revisions expected in the German states in the near future in such a way that comparisons between languages are not regarded as a problem, but to include them as a principle and instructional method in the area of "Looking at Language/Reflecting on Language".
- To compare and develop the European concepts of Language Awareness and to transport them to countries where they are barely or not at all known. For this purpose the Freiburg Teachers College (Pädagogische Hochschule Freiburg) has applied for a COMENIUS-Project with Great Britain, The Netherlands, France, and Spain (the countries represent regions with internal and external work migration as well as established bilingualism); our TEMPUS-Project with Hungary, Spain, Italy, and Germany has already begun addressing this question.

When carrying a LA project in German schools, Ingelore Oomen-Welke (2013), often had to answer the following questions from strangers:

- Could you give me some advice? I am nineteen years old and bilingual in German and Italian. But I can't write a word of Italian. Are there any courses available where I could still learn to write?
- My girlfriend is Vietnamese and we are expecting a baby. Wouldn't it be irresponsible of us to bring up a child bilingually these days? And what's the situation with school later on?

- I've been living here for two years and my children have finally been allowed to join me from Georgia. The children are nine and twelve. What is the best way for them to learn German? Will they really have to attend an international preparatory class?
- I'm sorry to disturb you at home, but I'd like to ask you a question that is very important to me. The foreign children in my class, well, a lot of them, have problems with the question form in German. I've noticed this time and again. Where does this come from, is it to do with their native language, and how can I help them?

The diversity of social situations of speakers of other languages and of bilingual speakers in Germany and Central Europe is demonstrated in these examples. In German schools, the mirror of society, it is expected for some time now to have almost twenty per cent of the pupils to be bilingual or multilingual. A large number of these bilingual or multilingual children in Germany come from: old minorities, for example, in bilingual areas on the German-Danish border, in Friesland, as well as Serbian families in Brandenburg and Saxony, the Romanies, binational families, families after work migration, resettled families from Eastern Europe, contract workers from the former East Germany, refugee families from all continents, German families after a stay abroad, foreign families of executives, families in the performing arts, etc.

This concerns the languages of pupils. It concerns the official school language of the country as well as the other languages, which are spoken in class. Linguistic diversity and bilingualism are the standard case in our societies. Many Europeans believe it is natural that one language is spoken in a particular country: Polish in Poland, French in France ... and it is laid down in the constitution of some countries. However, we know that this is seldom the case anywhere in the world.

According to Ingrid Dietrich (1997), in Germany for instance, 90 per cent of the population holding an Italian passport, half of the population with a Turkish or Greek passport, a third of the population with a Spanish passport and ten per cent of the population with a Polish passport have been living in Germany for 30 years or more. Their children are often, but not always, bilingual from the start. Some of them do not learn the German language until they start compulsory education at a German school: German, if their lives so far have been spent in their ethnic groups,

or their native language if there is instruction in this language and if up to that point they have lived in a German environment, possibly with dialect.

While the long-settled ethnic minorities are German, have long achieved minority rights as well as language rights and often have a bilingual school system at their disposal, the provisions for migrants and refugees in terms of language and schooling are poorer, and they achieve less at school.

Statistical material concerning the residential population in Germany with a non-German passport and possibly even a different language is available for cities and for the whole country. Pupil success is outlined in the statistics compiled by the government representatives for issues pertaining to foreigners. The latest study by Ingrid Dietrich (1997) entitled “Fully integrated? / Voll integriert?” shows that the languages of the children and the handling of these languages by the teacher play a decisive role in both child success at school and in the mental state of the children. This study aims to help teachers gain access to the languages of the children. We are assuming here that the unknown languages in lessons are dismissed because they create fear. This need not be the case. We can discover their potential and experience a piece of another culture.

4.12. Facing linguistic diversity in Germany: A qualitative analysis of the attitudes experienced by the Cameroonian diaspora

Following the interviews on the linguistic experience of 6 parents and 12 children with Cameroonian background in Berlin, it goes without saying they are all bi/multilingual.

Children with Cameroonian backgrounds attending school in Germany speak at least two languages including German and an official language in Cameroon. For those attending bilingual schools, English is the mother tongue of Anglophones and French is the mother tongue of Francophones. Those attending German monolingual school consider German as their mother tongue. Though they are aware of their language of origin (a Cameroonian language), none of them can speak it. -Even if they live abroad, French, English and German remain the language of prestige for families with Cameroonian background-.

Girls’ curiosity about languages is higher than boys’ curiosity and openness to languages. They have more positive attitude and perception towards the linguistic diversity than boys, and are willing to learn many other languages in order to get in touch with the world.

At their early age, children do not perceive themselves as being different from others and are not always aware of their teacher's attitudes towards them. -This attitude of children informs us about the fact that human beings were not born racists or with prejudices and bias-

As they are growing up, they start realizing that they are different. -This is caused by the adult society, which is full of prejudices-. Henceforth, adults, embodied in schoolteachers and parents play a key role in the development of children's perception of "otherness".

As for the parents, all of them are able to speak a Cameroonian language though none of them teaches it to their children. Here arises the question of language instrumentalisation. Because they are not aware of the usefulness of their mother tongue in a foreign country, they deliberately choose to forsake it, which is a pity for cultural preservation.

Women think their children are discriminated against because of their origin while fathers believe they are not.

They consider the relation to the majority language in Germany as a challenge to face because the child is generally exposed to one language at school, and to a different language at home. He thus has, not only to work very hard not only to reach a certain level of competence in German, but also to overcome negative perceptions pertaining to his origin.

As a matter of fact, here are some significant quotes from the parents' interviews:

Do you face difficulties with teachers as a Cameroonian whose children are attending schools in Germany? *Yes sure, educators mostly try to talk to you that you should speak a lot of German to your children rather than English so that the child can learn German fast but I see things differently because I think my son needs the English more than the German, moreover we are in Germany and he will always learn German anyway.*

What perception/attitude do teachers have towards you as Cameroonian parent whose children are attending school in Germany? *It's true that schools are doing efforts to fight against discrimination but education does not start at school; it also starts home and there are*

children who do not have that education and are not used to people from other colors and at time this leads to conflict.

Generally, I think it's no new to say that black have been discriminated, they believe they can't meet up the need the demand of their society, they don't know so much of the other way, they don't say it that way but you feel it that way.

Women think their children are discriminated against because of their origin while fathers believe they are not.

Do they feel discriminated against? *Yes, when she was 7 years old, my first daughter for instance came back to school crying and so sad because she had been insulted "Nigger" by a child and she asked me what a Nigger is, and I had to explain and reassure her because my fight has always been to make my children love and accept themselves the way they are, with their beautiful complexion.*

Of course, but you know it is never open. Well, they are different just from color and country and it makes a lot of difference, the same just like parents that idea is always behind, racism you know but nobody will never say it but you know it that way.

The above answers on the linguistic experiences of families with Cameroonian background whose children are attending school in Germany clearly show that be it in monolingual or bilingual schools, linguistic diversity is a daily challenge in Germany as far as attitudes and perceptions are concerned. Families have to cope with discrimination and racism. However, the presence of bilingual German-English/German-French schools in a monolingual country like Germany is already the demonstration of the willingness of this country to give everybody equal opportunity to succeed. The interviews also reveal that, the fact of attending a bilingual school does not put the children away from discrimination; that is why LA measures have to be undertaken both with teachers and children at the didactical level.

From all children's answers, racism appears to be an adult-disease for they all have friends speaking other languages than their mother tongue, watch TV shows and listen to music in other languages than their mother tongue.

As for teachers, they always perceive children according to their backgrounds and this constitutes a hindrance to children's performance.

Concerning parents, very few believe that their children do not face any challenge. All parents want their children to have a good mastery of German not only because it is the daily language, but also to get out of stereotypes related to their colors and their origins.

They also want their children to learn many languages like Spanish, Chinese, English, and French because they are a window to the world.

Mothers seem to be particularly more affected by this issue -probably because some of them spend most of the time with their children than fathers, others raise their children alone-.

LA starts at home with parents and if nothing is done, this situation might increase discrimination and hatred, not only at school, but also beyond school. Hence, the need and the necessity to find out appropriate strategies to build a more friendly society.

What is at stake here is that Parents and other primary caregivers have the strongest influence on children's first language acquisition in the early years. These "first teachers" attitudes, goals, and behaviors related to their child's initial language development influence children's developing language skills, language socialization, perceptions of the value of L1, and maintenance of L1.

Gardner and Lambert (1972) were among the first investigators to characterize parents' language attitudes as "instrumental" and "integrative".

Instrumental language attitude focuses on pragmatic, utilitarian goals, such as whether one or another language will contribute to personal success, security, or status. By contrast, an integrative language attitude focuses on social considerations, such as the desire to be accepted into the cultural group that uses a language or to elaborate an identity associated with the language. Most minority language parents are eager to see their children succeed in school and the broader society. Most minority parents also want their children to learn L1 and to be proud of their cultural heritage. Though few empirical studies have been reported, it seems that parents with these dual language goals tend to act more on promoting second language learning than on their expressed desire for mother tongue learning. This behavior in turn affects children's dual language behaviors: they sense that the home language is less important, resulting in weakening

of L1 in favor of L2. This subtractive bilingualism can begin at a very early age, just as children are learning their first words. Advocates of mother tongue acquisition in the early years need to consider possible differences between parents' expressed desires and their actual language behaviours with their infants and young children. Kemppainen, Ferrin, Ward, and Hite (2004) identified four types of parental language and culture orientation: mother tongue-centric, bicultural, multicultural, and majority language-centric. They describe a correspondence between these positions and parents' choice of language school for their children. Of course, in many situations, parents have no choice about the language of instruction. In these situations, De Houwer's (1999) conceptualization of "impact belief" is helpful. Impact belief refers to the extent to which parents believe they have direct control over their children's language use. Parents with strong impact beliefs make active efforts to provide particular language experiences and environments for their children, and to reward particular language behaviors. Parents with weak impact beliefs take a passive approach to their children's early language experiences, seeing the wider environment as determining whether children acquire one or another language. Li (1999) described how minority language parents' attitudes towards the majority language affect the speed and quality of children's acquisition of L2. She identifies three conditions that may affect young children's majority language learning when one or both parents speak a minority language:

- Continued use and development in L1 (extensive family talk covering more than household topics);
- Supportive parental attitudes towards both languages
- Active parental commitment and involvement in the child's linguistic progress (daily conversations, explanations, family talk and joint activities). Lao's (2004) study of English-Chinese bilingual preschoolers underscores the important contributions of parents' home language behavior in supporting preschool children's first language development. She emphasizes that mother tongue development cannot be achieved without a strong commitment from parents. To enable parents to facilitate their children's home language and literacy skills, she urges the provision of meaningful print-rich home environments, guidance from adults with high levels of literacy, partnerships with schools, and support for parents who need to improve their own oral and written skills in L1. Factors internal to the child also affect language learning. Children's responses to opportunities or demands to learn more than one language depend on their temperament and other personality variables (Krashen, 1981; Strong, 1983; Wong-Fillmore,

1983), including motivation, learning styles, intellectual capacity, and sensory abilities (e.g., hearing and vision) (Genesee & Hamayan, 1980).

Little research has been conducted on the effects of these individual differences on the outcomes of alternative models for language in education. In sum, this literature has brought forward several considerations when designing policies and programs to support mother tongue bi/multilingualism in the very early years. Parents' perceived value of different language learning outcomes for their young children is a very important consideration for advocates of mother tongue preservation and early education. Possible differences between what parents say they want and their actual language behaviours with their infants and young children are important for advocates of the primacy of mother tongue acquisition in the early years. Children's individual differences in learning styles, capacities, interests, motivation, and temperament may significantly affect the speed and quality of their language acquisition.

4.13. Camfranglais-Exploration

It is based on the exploration of Kiezdeutsch, a youth dialect in Germany that we decided to explore Camfranglais.

Also called Cameroonian French and English, Camfranglais is the talk of young people in Cameroon. It is a kind of creole that borrows words from French, English, local languages as well as some created words by young people. This talk acts as a lingua franca of the youth in its quest for a national identity. Because young people in big towns like Yaounde and Douala speak Camfranglais, it has become a vehicular language.

In spite of its large spreading, Camfranglais still has a pejorative view, and is considered as a language of boys who never attended school (Nangas Bokos). Yet the language is not a wrong way to speak official languages. Just like French, it obeys rules be it at the phonetic or morphological level. A close look at the language actually reveals how this hybrid sociolect functions and puts in evidence processes like: shortened endings, word order at the beginning of sentences, borrowing, code-switching, interrogatives and the polysemic usage of words.

Just like national languages, Camfranglais is a factor of social integration that enables young people to be identified to a certain group. In fact, the language binds and unites people belonging

to a certain group. The unity created by the language is observable in one of the Cameroon famous hip pop song “Si tu vois ma go” sung by “Koppo”, a Camfranglais musician.

Similar phenomena like Camfranglais also exist in other countries, and are mostly encountered in multi-ethnic groups of big cities. Camfranglais it is not only a “Boko talk”, but also a youth language that is used regardless the social background.

One of the core principles of UNESCO, the Council of Europe and EU is to respect and protect linguistic and cultural diversity. The “UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity”, adopted by the UNESCO’s General Conference in November 2001, declares that “as a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations”. Article 22 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, adopted in Nice on 7 December 2000, states that the “Union shall respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity”. The Council of European Union’s resolution of 14 February 2002 on the promotion of linguistic diversity and language learning in the framework of the implementation of the objectives of the European Year of Languages 2001 emphasizes that “all European languages are equal in value and dignity from the cultural point of view and form an integral part of European culture and civilization”.

Yet at our time, the time of the global village, to protect cultural and linguistic diversity is not an easy task. Admittedly one language becomes extinct each week. Although there are at present around 6000 to 7000 languages, from 50% to 90% of them could become extinct within this century (Krauss 1992, Crystal 2000). While there is some international recognition that a few domains such as science and higher education might be threatened in national languages (Communiqué 2003: 6), generally the endangered languages are those that have neither official status nor legal protection.

While it is important to work for legal protection of minority languages, it may not be enough: in our era of global information exchange, the fate of a language may depend less on its legal status than the attitudes of its speakers. There are a number of known cases where the linguists have been more concerned by protecting an endangered language than the speakers themselves. Generally, such attempts are doomed to fail: unless the speakers at times favour language maintenance, specialists will not be able to protect the language. The question that needs to be

answered is whether there is anything that could be done to change the negative attitudes towards an endangered language. This knowledge could then be purposefully used in minority language education in order to promote a change in attitudes.

4.13.1. The rationale

The coexistence of 280 national languages along with English and French as official languages remains a great challenge to face as far as attitudes and representations are concerned. Moreover, the absence of a nation-wide lingua franca that serves as a common linguistic idiom leads to the use of Pidgin English as the lingua franca and Camfranglais as the youth talk. Generally, the ability of speaking either of these languages is associated with the background or the social status of the speakers: (Literate vs. non literate/ rich vs. poor).

The discrepancy between children's home and school language and culture has long been perceived to be the root cause of serious educational problems (Alby & Léglise, to appear).

Current Language Awareness methodology uses constructivist pedagogy; it involves exploration, languaging, engagement and reflection. Both Svalberg (2007) and Swain & Lapkin (2013) highlight the benefits of involving learners on both a cognitive and an affective level. Students benefit from being consciously aware of how linguistic systems work. Talking analytically about language with peers, exploring, discovering and constructing language for deeper understanding, and promoting learning skills are all examples of Language Awareness pedagogy (Svalberg, 2007).

4.13.2. The goal

The goal of this heading is to describe Camfranglais from a linguistic and social perspective so as to put in evidence its functioning (morpho-syntactic, semantic, stylistic, lexical analysis) as well some mechanisms involved in its development (socio- pragmatic analysis).

4.13.3. The method

In order to reach the above-mentioned goal, corpora were analyzed on the basis of conversations texts in Camfranglais; some of them are available in a forum on the Internet, others are transcripts

of the recordings of young people in Yaoundé city and lyrics of a Camfranglais musician called “Koppo”.

The transcripts have been annotated with the help of software called Jaxe, for a better analysis, the data were analyzed from a morpho-syntactic, pragmatic and semantic perspective.

4.14. JAXE and CLAPOTY

Jaxe is software developed by the Clapoty project - a multi-level, typological and computer-assisted analysis of contact-induced language change-, appropriate for multicorpora texts analysis. This software is downloadable on their website, which gives access to its various functions. Before doing the annotations of my texts, I first went to the website of Clapoty, where I downloaded Jaxe on my computer so as to have access to its multiple functions and manuals of usage.

4.14.1. Specificity of this work

The purpose of this study of Camfranglais is that it is first of all meant for school (didactical approach), then the data we used are newer data than the one used in previous studies on Camfranglais because they come from natural conversation and texts rather than some excerpts on the Internet.

In a course on LA, students are encouraged to express explicitly their implicit knowledge of the rules underlying their use of the mother tongue and to search for and find out the rules of the foreign language system. The starting point is the observation of a corpus. An educational argument for corpora is that learning grammar should be about doing grammar, not learning about grammar, and doing grammar means involvement, observation, sensitivity to pattern, interpretation, abstraction and generalisation. Learning language does not mean the learning by heart of a set of rules, but the investigation of language as a dynamic phenomenon.

When the teacher or the learners feel that they need it, the teacher devotes some time to an explicit grammatical explanation. He then integrates this newly acquired knowledge into communicative activities. Language is thus contextualized. It is a means to an end rather than an end in itself.

With the help of JAXE, occurrences of mul texts (texts with more than one language) are very sharp and there is a good precision and clarity in the analysis of any language related phenomenon.

4.14.2. Transcriptions of the recordings on Camfranglais

It consisted in the transcription of the recordings I got. So I chose 4 recordings of about 4-5 minutes. It took me one week to have all the conversations transcribed on WORD.

I recorded the conversations of secondary and university students in the city of Yaoundé, in their campus. They were talking about social life and school in Camfranglais. The study involved 10 boys and 2 girls. The gender disparity tells long about the appropriation of this talk by young boys hence its pragmatic usage.

4.14.3. Annotations of the transcriptions with Jaxe

It consisted in the annotation of these texts under Jaxe. Annotation appeared to be the most important and meticulous part of my task because it was divided into several stages:

4.14.4. Literal translation and language segmentation

It was about indicating the language of each segment used at each level of speech and also giving the literal meaning of the speech. It took me one month to do that. It was both a constraining and fascinating task because you also had to find out the origins of neologisms and each time it requires verification on Clapoty; the little mistake does not allow the visualization of your work. Therefore there was no room for mistakes.

001.	MC1 :	je	ass_(ask)	hein	les	gars ↗			
AB 1		1SG	dis	PRT	DEF.PL	gars			
		PRN	V	PRT	DET	N			
		<i>Les gars je demande hein?</i>							
002.	MC2 :	wāï_(oui) ↗							
?[A] 2		oui							
		ADV							
		<i>Oui</i>							
003.	MC1 :	003. -01.	vous	avez	nyè	la	nga		
AF 1			2PL	avoir.2PL.PRS	vu	DEF.F	fille		
			PRN	V	V	DET	N		
		<i>Avez-vous vu la fille</i>							
		003. -02.	qui	était	avec	mon	pote	hier là	
A 1			REL	être.3SG.PST	ADP	1SG.POSS	pote	ADV ADV	
			ADJ	V	ADP	ADJ	N	ADV ADV	
		<i>qui était avec mon ami hier</i>							
004.	MC2 :	la	go	avec	qui	on	back	ait	souvent
AB 2		DEF.F	fille	ADP	REL	PRN.INDF	rentrer	PRT.TE	ADV
		DET	N	ADP	ADJ	PRN	V	PRT	ADV
		<i>La fille avec qui on rentrait souvent</i>							
005.	MC1 :	005. -01.	yep yep yep	c'	est	ça	même		
BA 1			oui	DEM	être.3SG.PRS	DEM	ADV		
			ADV	PRN	V	PRN	ADV		
		<i>Exactement</i>							
		005. -02.	vous	know	yez	la	go	là ↗	
AB 1			2PL	connais	PRT.TE	DEF.F	fille	ADV	
			PRN	V	PRT	DET	N	ADV	
		<i>Connaissez-vous la fille là?</i>							

Figure 3: Word segmentation and literal translation

In the example above, the first line of each speech indicates the language segmentation and the last line indicates the literal translation. Whenever the line is yellow, it means that the speech is heterogeneous and Jaxe represents the various languages used in specific character: normal for French words or segments, bold for English, italics and bold for neologisms...

4.14.5. Word for word translation and parts of speech indication

After that stage, I had to go back to my texts, this time to do a word for word translation and also to indicate the different parts of speech. Though I found this stage very interesting, because you get used to the words and their parts of speech, it was also constraining because it has to do with semantics. This stage also requires the verification under Clapoty until you make them perfect. It is only once they are perfect that you can proceed to the next step. After one month I could finally move to the last stage i.e., the analysis.

005. -02.	j'	ai	recommencé	à	jong	le	feu	sort				
	1SG	avoir.1SG.PRS	recommencé	ADP	boire	DET;DEF.M	feu	sort				
	PRN	V	V	ADP	V	DET	N	V				
	<i>J'ai recommencé à boire beaucoup</i>											
: 006. -01.	Haaa	tu	go	y	ais	même	où	avec	le	jong	où	non
	PRT	2SG	aller	PRT.TE	PRT.TE	même	où	ADP	DET;DEF	boisson	où	PRT
	PRT	PRN	V	PRT	PRT	ADV	ADV	ADP	DET	N	ADV	PRT
	<i>Ah, pourquoi t'es-tu mis à boire autant?</i>											
006. -02.	mon	ami	tu	go	avec	le	jong	où				
	1SG.POSS	ami	2SG	aller	ADP	DET;DEF	boisson	où				
	ADJ	N	PRN	V	ADP	DET	N	ADV				
	<i>Mon ami, où penses-tu que la bière te mènera?</i>											
: 007. -01.	mbom	hier	j'	ai	jong							
	mon.ami	hier	1SG	avoir.1SG.PRS	bu							
	N	ADV	PRN	V	V							
	<i>Mon ami hier j'ai bu</i>											
007. -02.	il y'avait	le	ndjocka	au	qwatt (quarter)	man						
	DEIC	DET;DEF.M	bringue	ADP	quartier	gars						
	ADV	DET	N	ADP	N	N						
	<i>Il y'avait la fête au quartier mon type.</i>											
007. -03.	il y'avait	les	muna	muna	là	qui	se	sont	communiés	l'		
	DEIC	DET;DEF.PL	enfants		ADV	REL	REFL	être.3PL.PRS	communier.PTCP	A		
	ADV	DET	N		ADV	ADJ	PRN	V	V	A		
	<i>Il y'avaient des enfants qui célébraient leur communion à l'église</i>											
:	gars	un	jour	le	ndjocka	va	te	ndem				
	gars	DET;INDF.M	jour	DET;DEF.M	bringue	aller	2SG.OBJ	échouer				
	N	DET	N	DET	N	V	PRN	V				
	<i>gars un jour la fête va te détruire</i>											

Figure 4: Word for word translation and parts of speech indication

In this example, each word, particle or morpheme is given a meaning in the second line and the part of speech to which they belong is indicated in the third line. Annotations under Clapoty are done in a special way, i.e., in precise and regular forms.

4.15. Analysis of the annotations with Jaxe

Depending on what you are looking for, Jaxe gives the possibility to visualize all the results of your request. It might be at the morpho-syntactic, semantic, stylistic, and phonetic level, but it is amazing to see that Jaxe also enables to see the occurrences of code-switching and code mixing in your corpus.

Here are some illustrations at the morpho-syntactic level:

4.15.1. Clipping

pas	de	ndolo	sans	do	#
NEG	ADP	amour	ADP	argent	
ADV	ADPN		ADP	N	#

Figure 5: Clipping

The word “do” here has been clipped because it comes from the English word “dollars” and it has the meaning of “money” in Camfranglais.

4.15.1. Blending

là	tout	le	monde	va	djourn ↗	#
ADV	ADJ	DET	DEF.M monde	aller.3SG.PRS	entrer	
ADV	ADJ	DET	N	V	V	#

Figure 6: Blending 1

This is a succession of two verbs one in French and the other in a neologism of Camfranglais, namely “va” et “djourn”

Corpus n°1		gars / ça m' a	kill	am	hier j' ai recommencé
Texte n°1	LC1 :	N PRN PRNV	V	PRT	ADV PRNV V
Pdp n°5					

Figure 7: Blending 2

In this example a single verb is made up of languages: English and Pidgin as in: “Kill-am”

Corpus n°1		ah moi	je ne	know	yais	pas #
Texte n°1	LC2 :	PRT ISG.OBJ ISG NEG		connaître	PRT.TE	NEG
Pdp n°18		PRT PRN	PRN ADV	V	PRT	ADV #

ch particle, indicating the second singular form of the past tense “ais” in “knowyais” with the insertion of the glide “y”.

4.15.2. Interrogatives

A special attention also has to be paid on the prosody of sentences. Particularly in Camfranglais, most sentences are ending with an ascending pitch. (pitch=asc). Our corpus displays 59 occurrences of ascending utterances:

Nombre de résultats : 59		
Index	Locuteur	Recherche
Corpus n°1		#
Texte n°1	LC4 :	Héhééé ↗
Pdp n°32		#
Corpus n°1		#
Texte n°1	LC2 :	Wai ↗
Pdp n°34		#
		ADV

Figure 9: Occurrences of interrogatives

4.15.3. Interro-declarative?

This section also determines whether we can really assert that Camfranglais makes use of interrogatives, or some other type of sentences. The criteria of recognition of the interrogatives will allow us to verify our hypothesis.

Referring to the morphological criterion, the use of “wh/qu” is indeed highlighted in these dialogues:

Pdp n°34				#	ADV	
Corpus n°1		qu'on fait même ici-là c' est how non mon			frère ↗	
Texte n°1	LC1 :				N	
Pdp n°35		ADJ PRNV ADV ADV PRNV ADV PRT ADJ				
Corpus n°1		# gars ndem seulement ça sort on va sortir non			gars ↗	
Texte n°1	LC2 :				N	
Pdp n°36		# N V ADV PRNV PRNV V PRT				
Corpus n°1				# on do	quoi ↗	
Texte n°1	LC1 :				PRN	
Pdp n°41				# PRNV		
Corpus n°1				# on do la school	non ↗	
Texte n°1	LC2 :				PRT	
Pdp n°42				# PRNV DETN		
Corpus n°1				# on do le way là	non ↗	
Texte n°1	LC4 :				PRT	
Pdp n°43				# PRNV DETN ADV		
Corpus n°1				# quel	way ↗	
Texte n°1	LC2 :				N	
Pdp n°44				# PRN		
Corpus n°1		# muna way ↗ tu gères déjà les			ways ↗	
Texte n°1	LC2 :				N	
Pdp n°44		# PRNN PRT PRNV ADV DET				
Corpus n°1				#	quels ways ↗	
Texte n°1	LC3 :			#		
Pdp n°45						
Corpus n°1				# quels ways ↗ quels	ways ↗	
Texte n°1	LC3 :				N	
Pdp n°45				#		
Corpus n°1		# moi je te croyais muna tu gères déjà les			ways ↗	
Texte n°1	LC2 :				N	
Pdp n°46		# PRN PRN PRNV N PRNV ADV DET				
Corpus n°1				# quels muna	non ↗	
Texte n°1	LC4 :				PRT	
Pdp n°48				# PRN N		
Corpus n°1		# quels muna non ↗ c' est			comment ↗	
Texte n°1	LC4 :				ADV	
Pdp n°48		# PRN N PRT PRNV				
Corpus n°1		# tu as déjà les munas			non ↗	
Texte n°1	LC1 :				PRT	
Pdp n°49		# PRNV ADV DETN				
Corpus n°1		# est-ce-que le muna do le muna			gars ↗	
Texte n°1	LC2 :				N	
Pdp n°50		# DETN V DETN				
Corpus n°1		# elle est née de from			hein ↗	
Texte n°1	LC2 :				PRT	
Pdp n°52		# PRNV ADJADPADP				
Corpus n°1		# est-ce-que le muna do le			muna ↗	
Texte n°1	LC4 :				N	
Pdp n°54		# ADV DETN V DET				

Figure 10: The use of "wh/qu" in Camfranglais

As the arrows show, the clitic or nominal inversion is not the rule in this speech. The prosodic criteria and the question mark are also present in these utterances. Orally, a final rising intonation (arrow) is observed at the end of each utterance. In writing, interrogation is materialized by a

question mark, in this case, (pitch=asc). The last criterion, the discursive or pragmatic criterion, leads us to talk about “interro-declarative” because, far from being rhetorical questions, these utterances constitute a code for its speakers which allows them to respond to their interlocutor while retaining the monopoly of the conversation. Another criterion, marker of interrogatives in this talk is the presence of the interrogative marker “non”. Out of the 59 occurrences of interrogatives in our corpus, 21 make use of “non” at the sentence final position:

Nombre de résultats : 21			Recherche
Index	Locuteur		
Corpus n°1	LC2 :	tu goy ais même où avec le jong où	non
Texte n°1		PRNV PRT PRTADV ADVADP DETN ADV	PKT
Pdp n°6			
Corpus n°1	LC1 :	# Je dis hein la go c' est how	non
Texte n°1		# PRNV PRT DETN PRNV ADV	PKT
Pdp n°10			
Corpus n°1	LC4 :	how gars comment tu me chiba devant le muna- ci	non
Texte n°1		ADV N ADV PRN PRNV ADV DETN ADV	PKT
Pdp n°21			

Figure 11: The use of "non" in Camfranglais

Fig 9 and 8 illustrate conversations that take place only with the help of interrogatives; In the Fig 9, the interrogatives are interspersed with declaratives.

Secondly, although some questions relate to the whole statement, their responses are surprisingly partial, which results in the receiver bouncing on another issue; it is this rebound which constitutes the particularism of interrogatives in Camfranglais. Thus, in all these figures, some interrogatives are partial while others are total.

As for the infinitive interrogatives, they do not appear in this corpus, but we observe few instances of double interrogatives as in: “Quels ways non? Quels ways” (see Fig 10)

Indeed, the use of “wh/qu” is preponderant in these utterances because Camfarnglais is a talk strongly influenced by local languages; this talk therefore calls on the use of the “calque” or loan translation which is a lexical adaptation on Cameroonian languages.

Index	Locuteur	Recherche										
Corpus n°1		#	que	quoi ↗	tu	know	même	les	go	de	dehors	ici-là ↗
Texte n°1	LC1 :	#	PRN	PRN	PRNV	ADV	DET	ADPN				
Pdp n°90		#										

Figure 12: The use of “que” in Camfranglais

If interrogatives remain the prerogative of young people using Camfranglais, they are also found in the same forms in Cameroon French and English. Special attention should therefore be paid to this style in linguistics.

Moreover, it would also be interesting to determine the nature and function of the “non” at the level of grammar. At the socio-pragmatic level, one may ask if the interrogatives reflect a mere willingness for young people to face the situation, or if it is simply an identity marker. In a context that is not always propitious, they have to fight; it is clear that they need to find ways to keep up their mind while not letting any opportunity escape them.

At the social level, this way of speaking makes exchanges user-friendlier, because each interlocutor is forced to fight to answer the question asked of him by asking another question. Indirectly responding to a direct interrogation could also translate the desire for the receiver to bypass the issue or conceal the information while allowing the transmitter to receive an answer. It can also be simply a simple way of avoiding the answer (here the receiver ignores the answer) or even a courteous refusal.

Whatever the case, the exchange takes the form of a part of a game to which one takes pleasure, a competition where there is neither winner nor loser, hence the ludic exchanges. Therefore, could Camfranglais also be called a revolution language?

4.15.4. Results

This was the most interesting part of my work because I could finally have the results after more than 2 months of annotations.

Below are the percentages of code switching and language occurrences I got from the analysis of the corpus with JAXE.

Table 4: Corpus presentation

Main editor	Title of the corpus	File	Trans.	Juxt.	Trad.	GN ann	PdP
Christelle Talla	Camfranglais 1	CAMF1.xml	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Christelle Talla	Camfranglais 2	CAMF2.xml	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Christelle Talla	Camfranglais 3	CAMF3.xml	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Christelle Talla	Camfranglais 4	CAMF4.xml	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Chart 2: Language occurrences in the corpus

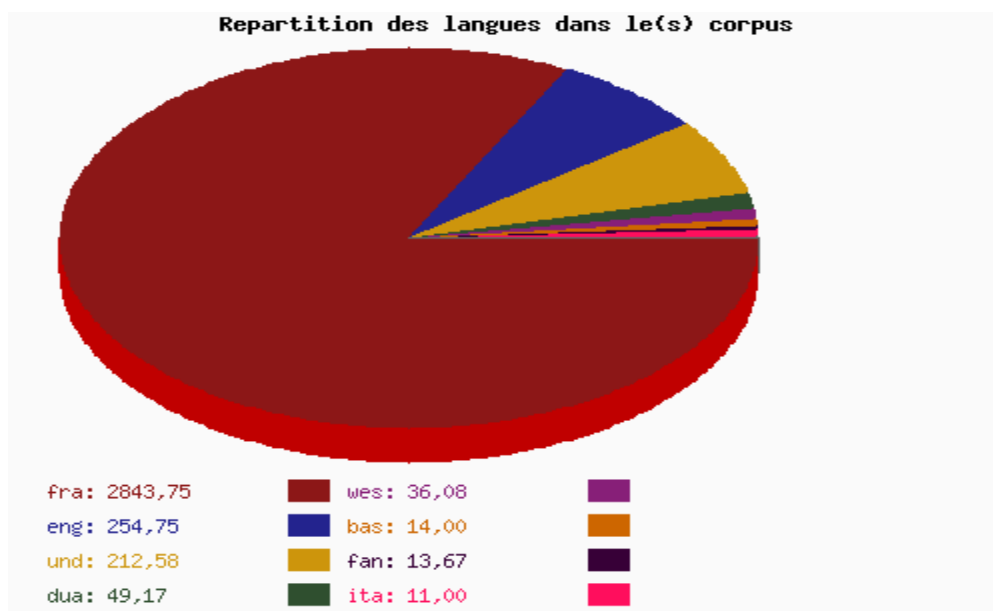


Chart 3: MUL occurrences in the corpus

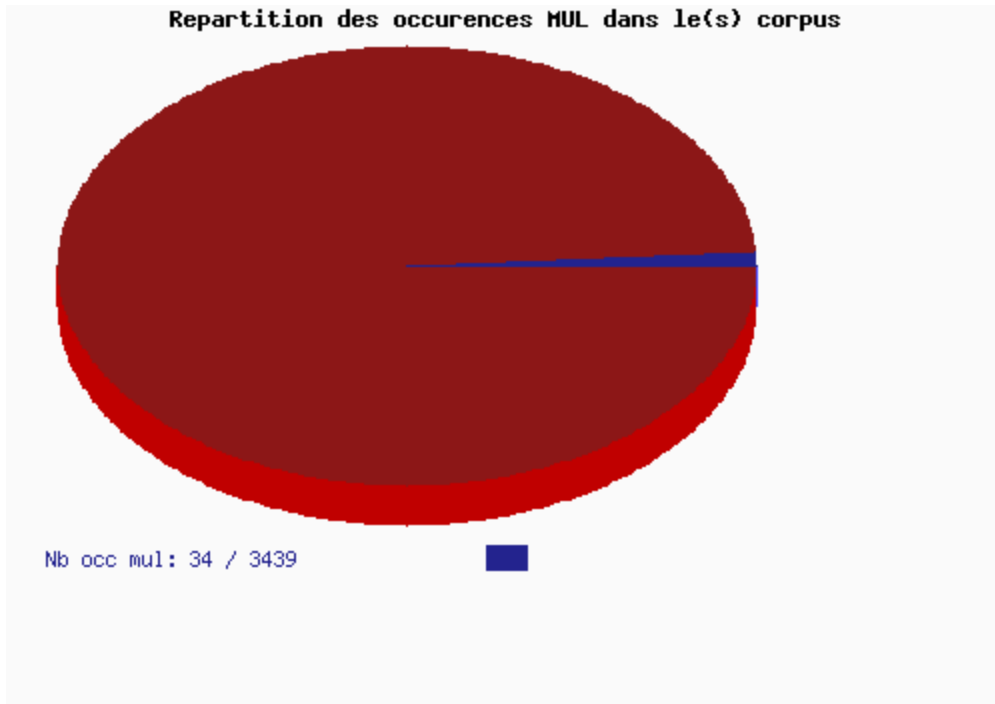


Chart 4: MUL utterances in the corpus



Figure 13: Multilingual occurrences in the corpus

```
fra, und -- 1
eng, fra -- 2
dua, eng, fra -- 7
fan, fra, und -- 5
dua, fra -- 1
eng, fra, wes -- 1
eng, fra, und, wes -- 3
eng, fra, und -- 13
dua, fra, und -- 1
```

Corpus “Camfranglais 2”:

Size of the corpus

speakers: 2

texts: 1

utterances: 31 (by text: 31)

occurrences: 737

forms: 661

Languages of the corpus

Languages (4): *fra, eng, wes, dua, bas, und, mul*

By language:

occurrences: 737 (by language: fra (615.42), und (30.75), dua (15.33), eng (63.42), wes (11.08), bas (1))

forms: 661 (by language: fra (520), und (33), dua (18), eng (76), wes (13), bas (1))

Mul treatment:

number of mul utterances: 29

number of mul occurrences: 14

Corpus “Camfranglais 4”:

Size of the corpus

speakers: 4

texts: 1

utterances: 87 (by text: 87)

occurrences: 959

forms: 858

Languages du corpus

Languages (4): *fra, eng, wes, dua, bas, fan, und, mul, ita, lat*

By language:

occurrences: 959 (by language: fra (815), und (65), lat (2), eng (49), dua (7), ita (6), wes (6), bas (9))

forms: 858 (by language: fra (724), und (53), lat (1), eng (61), dua (7), ita (2), wes (5), bas (5))

Mul treatment:

number of mul utterances: 59

number of mul occurrences: 0

Corpus “Camfranglais 1”:

Size of the corpus

speakers: 4

texts: 1

utterances: 92 (by text : 92)

occurrences: 910

forms: 847

Languages of the corpus

Languages (4): *fra, eng, wes, dua, bas, und, mul*

By language:

occurrences: 910 (by language: fra (706.67), fan (1), und (69.17), eng (91.33), dua (23.83), bas (3), wes (13))

forms: 847 (by language: fra (637), fan (1), und (75), eng (101), dua (17), bas (3), wes (13))

Mul treatment:

number of mul utterances: 81

number of mul utterances: 15

Corpus “Camfranglais 3”:

Size du corpus

speakers: 3

texts: 1

utterances: 56 (by text: 56)

occurrences: 833

forms: 749

Languages du corpus

Languages (4): *fra, eng, wes, dua, bas, fan, und, mul, ita*

By language:

occurrences: 833 (by language: fra (706.67), fan (12.67), und (47.67), eng (51), dua (3), ita (5), wes (6), bas (1))

forms: 749 (by language: fra (619), fan (15), und (45), eng (58), dua (3), ita (4), wes (4), bas (1))

mul treatment:

number of mul utterances: 43

number of mul occurrences: 5

Multi-lingual occurrences (34):

fra, und (1)
eng, fra (2)
dua, eng, fra (7)
fan, fra, und (5)
dua, fra (1)
eng, fra, wes (1)
eng, fra, und, wes (3)
eng, fra, und (13)
dua, fra, und (1)

In order to better interpret these results, it is important to get the meaning of the use of some words and abbreviations in JAXE: The occurrences refer to the number of time the words of a language appear in the corpus. The utterances refer to the number of speakers' interventions in the corpus. A MUL text refers to a text where more than one language is used. A mul-utterance is when a speaker uses more than one language in his speech. We talk of mul-occurrences whenever speakers use more than one language in the corpus. About 10 languages are used in the MUL corpus namely:

fra: French, eng: English, wes: Pidgin-English, und: undetermined language, dua: Duala, bas: Bassa, fan: Beti-Fang, lat: Latin, ita: Italian.

The results are very fascinating because they actually reveal the language situation in Cameroon, which is not yet in favor of local languages. Occurrences help us to get percentages: French: 82%, English 8%; Camfranglais neologisms 6%; others 4% (including local languages and Italian.)

The analysis of the language occurrences in Camfranglais also predicts language status, practices and attitudes in Cameroon. French appears to be a real glottophagic language because it largely overwhelms languages like English and local languages. In Camfranglais, the languages that occur less are national languages. Awareness of this situation should urge people to undertake strong measures that would promote local languages and give all languages equal value.

On may 2017, at the end of a LA class, a little survey was conducted on the attitudes and perceptions of Camfranglais towards level 4 students in Applied Linguistic of the Department of African Languages and Linguistics of the University of Yaoundé I. Findings reveal that:

70% agree on its relevance in the society.

10% think that it is absolutely not relevant.

20% are still reluctant about its use in the educational system.

From those who consider that Camfranglais plays an important role in the Cameroonian society, **50%** even think that it should be valorized, standardized and even creolized so as to be taught in schools as an identity marker.

4.16. Linguistic Landscape

The term “Linguistic Landscape” refers to the everyday phenomenon of the visibility of languages designed in public space, i.e., road and shop signs, billboards in graffiti or handwritten notes, on slips of paper lying around or on the wall scribbled messages, etc.

In sociolinguistics, the concept Linguistic Landscape is used for the study of the social meaning of languages and dialects in multilingual countries. Linguistic Landscape can provide information on which languages and dialects are prominent and valued in the private and public sectors, and which relations of power prevail between different groups of speakers.

This part intends to raise awareness of students and parents on the linguistic diversity of the country and to shed light on the following questions: Which role do minority languages play on the Linguistic Landscape market in particular contexts? What are the mechanisms that influence the practices of users? Does visibility of language really help to sustain a language? Does it increase the value or does it help to gain functions and prestige? Is the presence of minority languages mainly symbolic and tokenistic? Or to which degree is there an informational value in public signage? May the public visibility of a language contribute to participation of a minority community in political decision-making and is, thereby, ultimately a contribution in the struggling for human rights?

Its specific objectives are first of all to design classroom materials for teachers to achieve these goals and raise awareness of policy makers on the use of local languages. Secondly, to develop positive attitudes and perception towards marginalized varieties and minority languages and to promote minority languages in public and private sectors. Finally, to give the role, the function, and the relation of power between different languages.

These days, sociolinguists do not just walk around the world carrying field notebooks and sound recording equipment; they also carry digital photo cameras with which they take snapshots of what has in the meantime become known as “Linguistic Landscapes”. (Blommaert 2012: 5)

During the past decade, research on visual language use has grown to an emerging discipline under the term Linguistic Landscape (LL). Today, this term has a wide definition, including the widest variety of forms and modes of visual language use (e.g. Shohamy & Gorter 2009). For quantitative research, the term was first developed to study the ethnolinguistic vitality of French in Quebec (Landry & Bourhis 1997). The groundbreaking book by Scollon and Scollon (2003) established the basic method for qualitative, geosemiotic research of inscriptions and signs. Since then, the analysis of multimodal signs as well as the setting of different codes in multilingual inscriptions has been in the focus of LL research.

The most elementary contribution of visual research to sociolinguistic description of a given community, area or city has been to ask how different minority languages are displayed and interpreted in the LL.

Yaounde is the political capital of Cameroon and is considered by citizens as the mirror through which the country’s real face can be seen. As such, studying the LL of the city of Yaounde in schools is important as it portrays the situation regarding language policy in Cameroon as a whole where one can discriminate between legal texts and practice. For the present work, it can help to tackle stereotypes and bias pertaining to students’ backgrounds and origins and to the multilingualism of the country.

4.16.1. Legislation on public and private signage in Cameroon

Concerning public and private signage in Cameroon, the constitution of the Republic of Cameroon 1996, orders:

Art.4 Posters, billboards, signs and notices of services or property of the state and the use of these should be written in both official languages on the same support or on two separate supports placed side by side so that the text in each language can be also visible, apparent and available.

Art.8 Bilingual services must be provided in public and para-public organizations.

The constitution of the United Republic of August 26, 1972 orders:

Art.5 Publication of regulatory acts of the subordinate administrative authorities will be carried out at the behest of them by all appropriate means of advertising such as posters, public announcement, notification, insertion in the press, radio play, etc. These regulatory actions took effect upon their publication.

Gorter, Aietaran and Cenoz (2006) argue that laws, decrees, other rules and legislation and promotional measures shape the Linguistic Landscape. According to Shohamy, (2006:12) “Linguistic Landscape is a mechanism of language policy”. In this view, LL is part of the agenda of the language policy studies, of political and legal regulations and the contrast between overt language policy and more covert, hidden practices. Where language legislation directly regulates the shape of the Linguistic Landscape, LL research shows how people react to them.

Where can niches of individual interpretations of linguistic rules as a compromise between official rules and personal wishes be created? Where and how are conflicts negotiated and how do legal regulations influence them?

Can LL decisions initiate debates and thereby raise attention and create more understanding for minority languages? Or is it likely that they have the opposite effect and create awareness, which is used by minority-languages opposed forces of society?

4.16.2. Analysis of the Linguistic Landscape of Yaoundé

This section shows language occurrences and saliency of the Linguistic Landscape of the city of Yaounde as portrayed in the following pictures and tables:

4.16.2.1. Percentages according to the types of signs

Below is a detailed account of the 796 pictures taken in the mixed areas of Yaoundé neighbourhoods. Each category/subcategory will be directly illustrated.

4.16.2.1.1. Commercial pictures: 585 (73.48 %)

585 of the 796 pictures taken were commercial signs. An exploration reveals that commercial signs are where linguistic diversity predominates. The subsections below provide illustrations of those signs, according to whether they appear as monolingual or not.

- French only: 189 (32.31 %)
- English only: 79 (13.50%)



Figure 14: French only



Figure 15: English only

- French-English: 217 (37.09%)



Figure 16: French-English 1



Figure 17: French - English 2



Figure 18: French-English 3

Figures 14, 15 and 16 illustrate three different types of bilingual signs; while figure 14 gives a direct translation of the text, English provides supplementary information in Figure 15, which is a case of code-switching.

- French/English-national languages: 12 (2.05 %)



Figure 20: French-National language

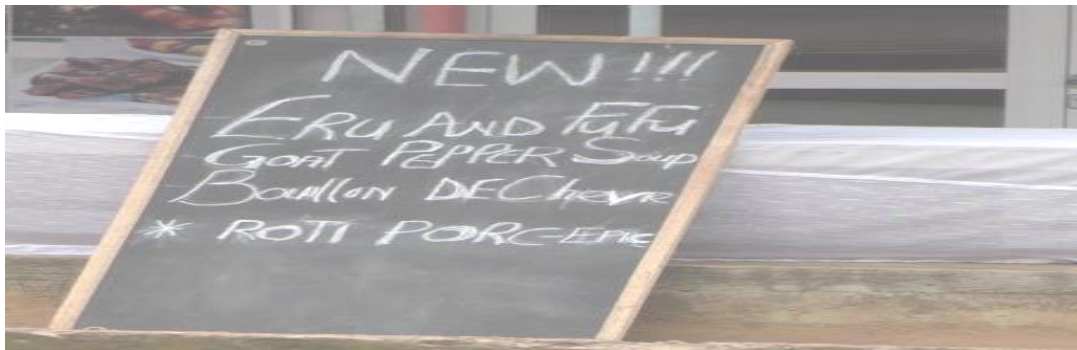


Figure 21: English-National language

- Other languages (Camfranglais, Pidgin, colloquial language, etc.): 88 (15.04 %)



Figure 22: Cameroon Colloquial-French



Figure 23: Cameroon Pidgin- English



Figure 24: French-Camfranglais



Figure 25: Camfranglais-French

Predictably, French-English signs have the highest percentage of commercials, 37.09% followed by French only, 32.31%. National languages are really underrepresented, as well as other colloquial and youth languages.

4.16.2.1.2. Public pictures: 210 (26.38%).

- French only: 96 (45.71%)



Figure 26: French

- English only: 11 (5.23%)

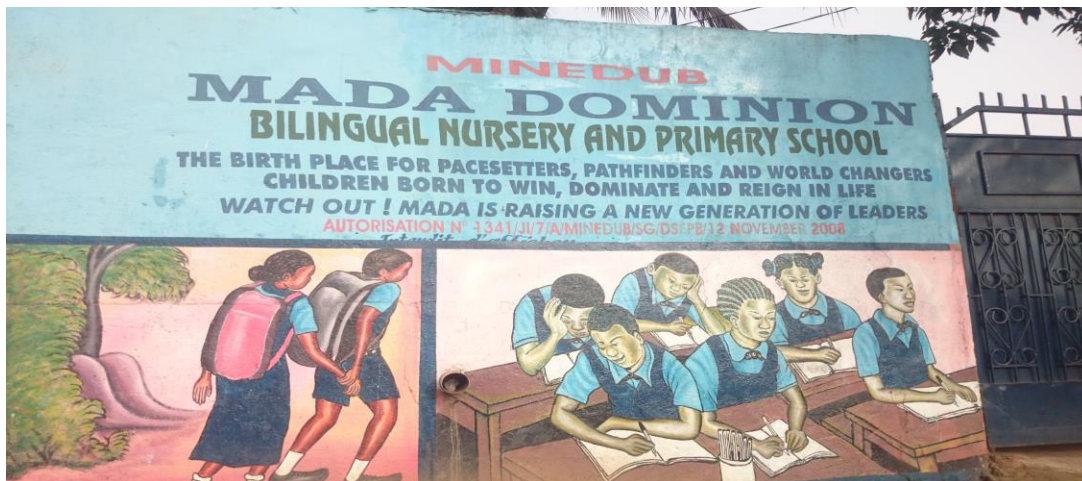


Figure 27: English

- French-English: 87 (41.42%)



Figure 28: Official bilingual

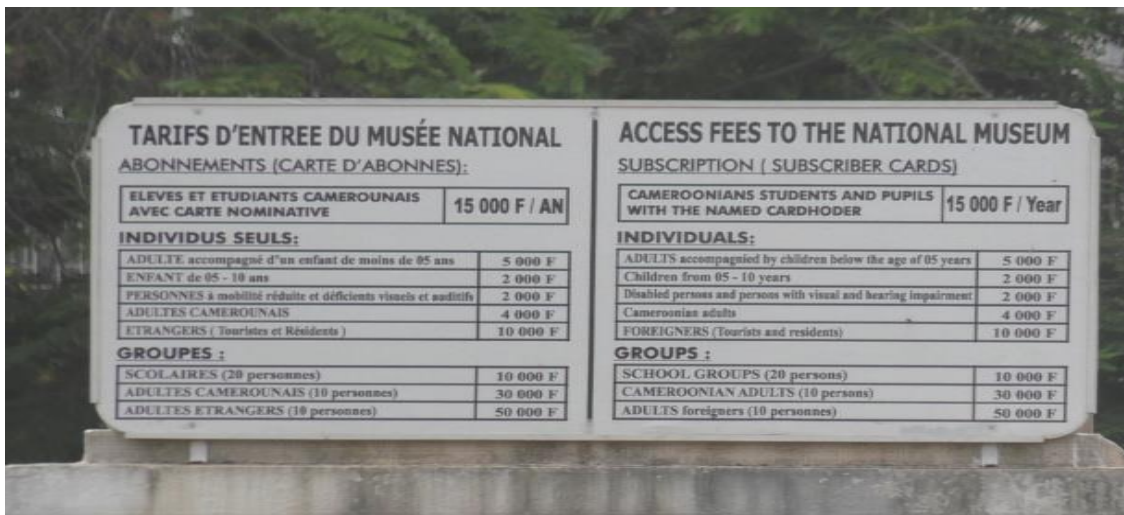


Figure 29: Official bilingual

- Other languages: 16 (7.61%)



Figure 30: German-French-English

The above pictures depict what and how language is used on public signs. In some cases like in photo 17, a French text is provided with its English equivalent side by side. In others, the public signage is written in different languages (see photo 18 and 16)

4.16.2.1.3. Monolingual signs

French is the most salient language in this category with 41.33% followed by English with only 11.81%. Though other languages are present, they are very less represented (see table 4)

Table 5: Monolingual signs

Language	Number of signs	Percentage
Arabic only	1	0.13%
Chinese only	1	0.13%
English only	94	11.81%
French only	329	41.33%
Italian only	1	0.13%

Latin only	1	0.13%
Colloquial	1	0.13%
Spanish only	1	0.13%

4.16.2.1.4. Bilingual signs

French-English bilingual signage dominates the public sphere with 38.19%. It was noted to be the most salient trend in Yaoundé. Though other languages exist as shown in table 5, they represent a minority.

Table 6: Bilingual signs

Language	Number of signs	Percentage
Arabic and English	1	0.13%
Arabic and French	2	0.25%
French and Camfranglais	2	0.25%
French and Chinese	5	0.63%
French and English	304	38.19%
French and German	5	0.63%
French and Hebrew	3	0.38%
French and Japanese	1	0.13%
French and Latin	3	0.38%
French/English and national language	16	2.01%
French and Spanish	2	0.25%
Pidgin and English	1	0.13%

4.16.2.1.4. Trilingual signs

This category provides information on signage with three languages appearing at the same time. Spanish seems to be the language that coexists, the most alongside with the two official languages, French and English (see table 6). The next section will give more evidence on the percentage according to types of signs.

Table 7: Trilingual signs

Language	Number of signs	Percentage
French-Chinese and English	2	0.25%
French-English and Camfranglais	2	0.25%
French-English and Hebrew	4	0.50%
French-English and National language	1	0.13%
French-English and Spanish	8	1.01%
French-German and English	3	0.38%
French-national language and Camfranglais	1	0.13%
Spanish-English and Chinese	1	0.13%
Total of all signs	796	100,00%

4.17. Discussion

Statistics show that public signs mostly make use of the two official languages, French and English. They can appear on the same signage altogether, or side by side where one is the direct translation of the other. Nevertheless, there seems to be a diglossic relation between the two languages, French being the dominant one. Though legal texts make provision for the promotion of national languages, there was no instance in which a national language was visible on public signs. However, aside French and English, commercials exploit youth language, colloquial and

other hybrid languages in their adverts. National languages seem to appear mostly in food domain together with other languages like Camfranglais and foreign languages. It is worth noticing that some neighborhoods like Obili, Nkomkana were noticed to be more fertile with bilingual signs than others.

In general, one can make the following remarks from the quantitative and qualitative analyses: There is a contrast between policy and practice: French and English bilingualism on public and para-public signs is supposed to be used equally. But French is still more apparent unlike on commercial signs. Therefore, French monolingual dominates the LL of Yaounde; public signs reflecting the local linguistic practices are inexistent. A laconic summary of the LL situation of Yaounde, both in public and private sectors is provided by the pie charts below.

Chart 5: Percentage of commercial language signs

Commercial signs

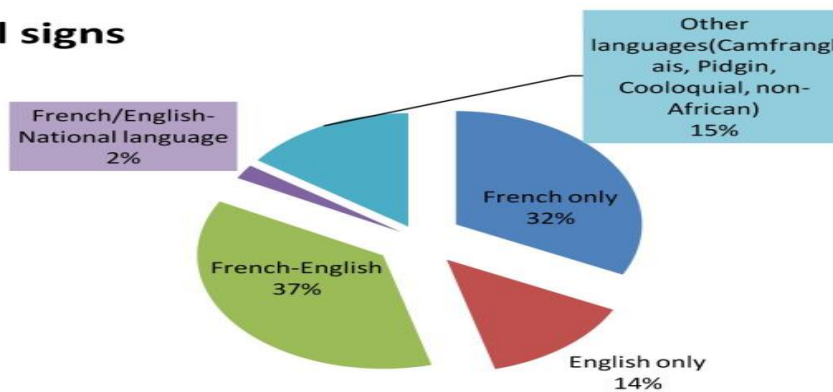
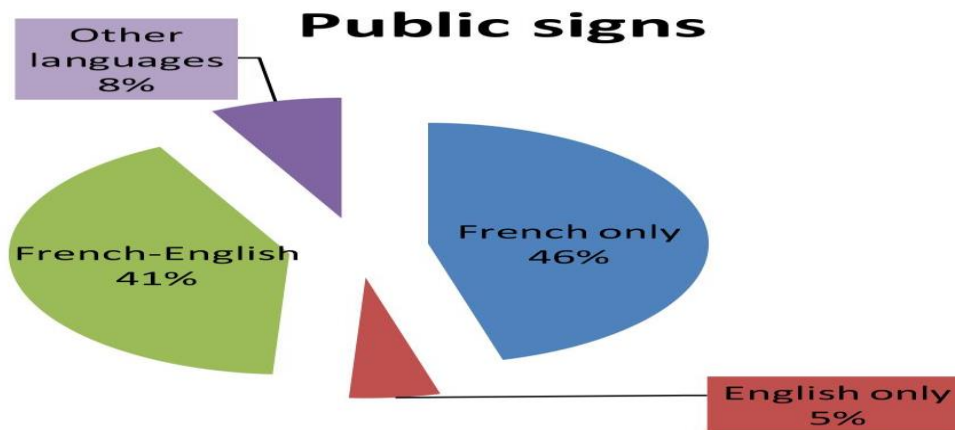


Chart 6: Percentage of public language signs



The texts found on the signage are a clear depiction of the local practices as displayed in Charts 5 and 6. The private sector exploits the linguistic diversity of the country more than the public sector, which explains the fact that they have the highest rate of other languages. The more a language is visible (be it on public or commercial signs), the more its value and sustainability automatically increases. The other way round is also true. While the presence of local languages here is mainly for business purposes, the presence of other languages like German and Latin is rather tokenistic. Therefore, the government has to strive to reach equilibrium at the level the official languages (English and French) signage so as to avoid linguistic marginalization, which generally generates human conflicts. Local languages and other hybrid dialects should also be given more visibility on public signage in order to raise awareness on the linguistic diversity of the country.

4.18. Linguistic Landscape and Language Awareness

Language Awareness allows educators to expand beyond school languages, recognize minority languages, and raise awareness of language diversity (Candelier 2003). Students who participate in this approach develop more positive representations and attitudes towards diverse languages and their speakers. By performing Safari photos, students are becoming aware of the languages of their neighborhoods as they investigate about their authors and their purposes. This makes them develop a sense of curiosity about their home languages as well as other languages. Once they

have collected all the pictures, they analyse them by answering the questions of the worksheets task.

The Language Awareness findings on the module Linguistics Landscape with Level I students at the Higher Teachers Training College of Yaounde therefore revealed that all the 20 students are aware of the unequal signposting among official and local languages and would want the latter to appear more often in order to ensure their revitalization. In fact, when exposing their work to the class, the 20 students answered that the languages appearing the most are French and English with French being the dominant language. These official languages are therefore the prestigious languages of the country. Local languages scarcely appear although one can notice the presence of hybrid dialects. They also realised that public signage is made by the government while commercial signage is made by the private sector. Out of the 20 students, only four (20%) did not want to see minority languages appearing on public signage because in their own view, there should first of all be a legislation on which local languages should appear, in order to avoid conflict due to marginalization. 80% (16 students) are willing to learn a language different from their home language, which means that they are open to linguistic diversity and henceforth to otherness. 18 students (90%) agree to change their perception towards Pidgin English, Camfranglais and its speakers, for they might also foster national integration and unity. Camfranglais, being a youth talk, blends official languages, Pidgin English and some national languages, and can become a lingua franca. In fact, the texts found on the postings reflect the local practices by showing the discrepancy between the legislation and reality. Finally, one can also notice the presence of other languages like Arabic, Spanish and Chinese, which are not mentioned on the legislation.

In their suggestions, students acknowledge that equal visibility should be given to English, so that it can appear alongside with French as stipulated in the constitution. In order to increase the value of local languages, all the students think that the language policy of the country should be revised to strengthen the role and function of national languages. They should be given more prestigious value in the constitution and implementation measures should be efficient and strictly followed.

4.19. Linguistic Landscape and national identity

In social sciences, identity is defined as the way that individuals label themselves as members of a particular group; in psychology, it refers to an individual's self-esteem or self-image. We can speak about social identity, gender identity, cultural identity, religious identity, national identity and many other identities.

The fact that 279 national languages coexist along with English and French as official languages in Cameroon is still challenging as far as identity is concerned, to the extent of causing public and violent protests. On November 21 and 28, 2016, there were strikes in Bamenda and Buea respectively, caused by a conflict of national identity. Anglophone Cameroonians teachers and lawyers in Bamenda and students in Buea demanded the departure of French speaking teachers from their regions. Although they are all Cameroonians, Anglophones feel linguistically marginalized in favour of Francophones. The statistics from the LL of Yaounde, especially on public signage can testify to the observation that English is not yet an official language with the same value as French as stated in legal texts. French is still the language of prestige and the first language of the State in Cameroon to the detriment of English.

Not only can Linguistic Landscape show the power relation among languages in Cameroon, but also it reflects the local language practices. For instance, the prevalence of French on public signs in the nation's capital is a clear indication that French is still the language with the highest prestige in Cameroon. As identity evolves, the Linguistic Landscape evolves as well. A city's LL of today will be totally different from that of ten or twenty years to come.

Even though national languages are not apparent in the neighbourhoods of Yaounde, this does not mean that they are totally absent. Though they have been absent in the educational sector for a long time, they are perceptible through fuselects like Cameroon Pidgin English and Camfranglais.

Camfranglais is a dynamic language mostly found in the private sector on advert signs. In spite of its increasing speakers all over the country, it is viewed pejorative because of its lack of status. Nonetheless, it is becoming more and more a lingua franca as observed on the Linguistic Landscape.

4.20. Linguistic Landscape and translanguaging

According to Baker (2011), translanguaging is the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages. The term translanguaging was initially coined to name a pedagogical practice which deliberately switches the language mode of input and output in bilingual classrooms... pupils internalize new ideas they hear, assign their own understanding to the message/concept, and simultaneously and immediately use the message/concept in their other language(s). In doing so, they augment and supplement the message/concept through dual language processing.

Following a pedagogical perspective, Linguistic Landscape also harnesses translanguaging given that they meet the same objectives as they promote a deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter, help the development of the weaker language, facilitate home-school links and co-operation, and help the integration of fluent speakers with early learners.

When analysing bilingual pictures, students are systematically translanguaging because they make use of both French and English inside the same lesson. See Figure 17. The fact that two languages are used in Figure 17, “Je suis made of black” can be a clear illustration of translanguaging during the LL class.

4.21. Linguistic Landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality

For quantitative research, the term Linguistic Landscape was first developed to study the ethnolinguistic vitality of French in Quebec (Landry & Bourhis 1997). The concept of ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) was defined in 1977 by Giles et al. as the sociostructural factors that affect a group’s ability to behave and survive as a distinct and active collective entity within multilingual settings (Landry & Bourhis 1997: 30). If a particular ethnic group’s position is weaker in comparison with that of more dominant language groups, the former group will tend to adapt linguistically to the dominant groups and consequently the group in the subordinate position will eventually no longer exist as a distinct ethnolinguistic collective entity (Landry & Bourhis 1997).

The term ethnolinguistic vitality can be interpreted in a subjective or objective way. The subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of a community refers to the group members’ cognitive representation or perception of the relative vitality of a different group in a particular multilingual

environment (Landry & Bourhis 1997: 30). The objective ethnolinguistic vitality, on the other hand, is assessed by means of the sociostructural factors mentioned in the definition above. These factors are divided into four types of categories or linguistic capitals: demographic, political, economic, and cultural.

First, the demographic capital of a particular ethnolinguistic community can be determined by means of the following measures: the number and the proportion of group members relative to the overall population, the degree of concentration of group members within a territory, the relative birth rate, the degree of endogamy and exogamy, and rates of emigration and immigration. In other words, the demographic capital deals with the characteristics of the members belonging to a particular ethnolinguistic group.

Secondly, the political capital of a community can be determined by examining the institutional support its language enjoys at various levels of government and public affairs. This institutional support covers the degree of use of the language in government functions and services including government signs, the quantity and quality of language rights and the incorporation of these rights in administrative policies and language laws. The more support a specific community's language enjoys in both private and public domains, the stronger its ethnolinguistic vitality will be. Apart from the institutional support, the political capital can also be assessed by analysing the position of group members in the hierarchical decision-making structure of the society in question and by estimating the relative power of lobbyists, pressure groups, and other organized social movements representing the language group.

An ethnolinguistic community's economic capital is represented by "the use of a group's language in the various aspects of commerce and industry, which includes the commercial signs contributing to the Linguistic Landscape. The economic capital is also reflected in the degree to which important sectors of financial and commercial activity are controlled. The more a language group controls these sectors, the easier they can establish the use of their own language in the work setting, in financial communications, and in advertising, including private and commercial signs.

Finally, monitoring the extent to which the group controls its own linguistic, educational, and cultural institutions and the degree to which the media reflect and portray the language and the culture of the group assesses the cultural capital of a community.

The relevance of the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality for Linguistic Landscape is pointed out in Landry & Bourhis' observation that the most salient marker of the ethnolinguistic vitality of several language groups who inhabit the same territory, is that territory's Linguistic Landscape, since public signs directly reflect the economic, political, and cultural capital of the language group (Landry & Bourhis 1997: 34). In other words, by determining the ethnolinguistic vitality of a language we can also reveal its symbolic strength at various levels in the society.

In a multilingual society, the vitality of a language can predict the hierarchy of its use and the varieties of code-switching it may ascertain. Attitudes, both political and social, affect the use and status of a language (Rampton, 2010). In multilingual communities, the primacy of one language is usually established through the combination of institutionalized support (Giles et al, 1977). Furthermore, cultural identity and heritage may be intertwined in this prioritization.

The European dominance in colonizing the New World over the past 300 years has produced clear traces of linguistic demarcations today. The dominance of a specific language through high vitality over that of a minority language creates variants that are as rich and as varied as the original language. The cross-seeding with secondary languages and subsequent linguistic dialects are evident in post-colonial Creole and Pidgin. This in turn creates new ethnolinguistic variation and vitality over time. No language operates in a vacuum and the diversity of the ethnolinguistic vitality of a language is only relative to that of another language. Essentially all languages are in a constant state of flux, which is directly related to the diverse nature of the human temporal experience.

As our statistics show, French is a language of prestige; therefore, its community has the highest ethnolinguistic vitality in Yaounde. If this can be justified demographically, it is not politically explainable because the English community should also enjoy the same privilege for they have the same status. The weakness of Cameroonian languages vitality might be justified by the fact that their speakers geographically belong to either the French or English community. That is why they only exist through hybrid forms like Pidgin-English and Camfranglais.

Just like Dagenais (2009) posits, as they walk the streets of the city, children navigate through three dimensions of the linguistic landscape that include the geographical, the sociological, and the linguistic aspects of the geosemiotic system. These dimensions can be conceptualized in terms of horizontal and vertical axes. The horizontal axis includes the physical, visual locations

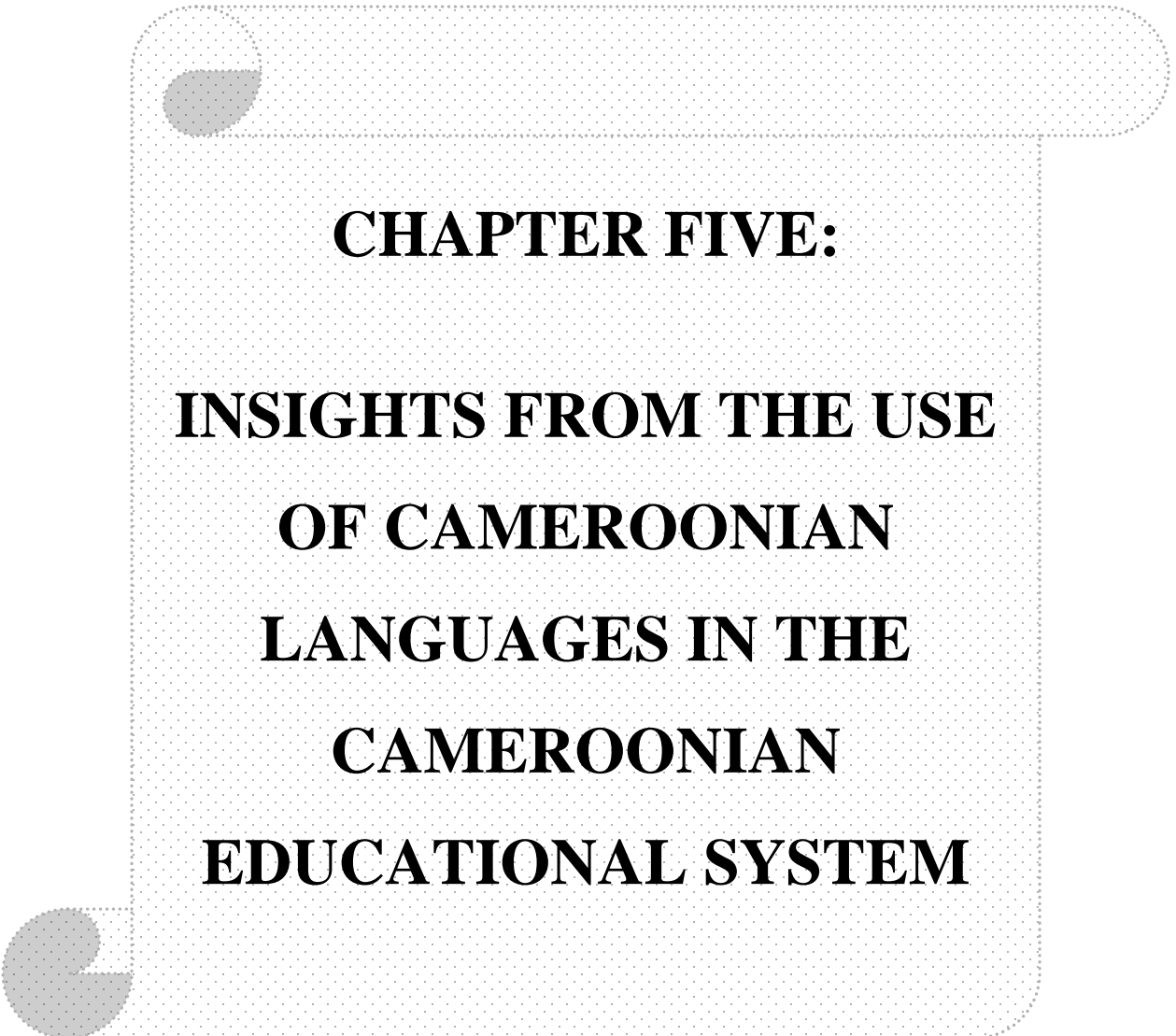
of signs in the material world such as store signs, posters, newspapers, graffiti, as well as their visual characteristics such as color, composition and their temporal characteristics, that is, whether they are permanent or ephemeral. The horizontal axis serves an informational function; it documents the physical location of language, of “discourses in place” (Scollon and Scollon 2003), providing clues needed to decode, read, and observe the city. The vertical axis corresponds to the symbolic function of language in which meanings of signs are interpreted in terms of power relations, language status, cultural affiliations, and identity negotiations. These two axes intersect at a central node, the social actor, and in this case, the child who is mobile, in motion and dynamic.

Another issue in the investigation of minority languages in the LL is the role of writing traditions. Spolsky (2009) identifies literacy as an important factor in analyzing LL. More attention for the Linguistic Landscape can also imply a “visual turn” in language policy studies. In the case of minority languages, according to Edwards (2010: 27), the LL should therefore be included into “a domain of necessity” for language revival. For a language to be revitalized and to secure a sustained future, it needs to be written, and consequently it will appear in the LL, at least in urban context (with possible exceptions for the few relatively isolated language communities, which have not taken over any aspect of the globalized twenty first century lifestyle).

Linguistic Landscape appears to be an adequate and efficient pedagogical tool to language awareness in Cameroon secondary schools. Not only does this study open clues to related new approaches like translanguaging, but it also shows power relation at the top-down bottom-up levels where we have official languages French and English prevailing over Cameroonian languages, Pidgin-English, Camfranglais and other languages. Even within levels, there are still degrees of domination. By discovering their linguistic environment (landscape), students learn who they are, their national identity and language policy. This develops positive attitudes towards other languages and can trigger the enhancement of minority languages. Linguistic Landscape also provides information on the dominant language, languages that hardly/frequently occur, and the local practices. It allows students to think creatively and analytically about how language is used in society and become more aware of their own sociolinguistic context.

4.22. Summary

Finally, LL enhances national identity as well as people's ideologies, beliefs and expectations. In Yaounde, though the majority of signs and postings are visible in official languages, local languages are striving to find their way in hybrid forms. In its quest for the consolidation of national unity, the exploration and implementation of the module Linguistic Landscape in the educational system of Cameroon, through the respect of the legislation could probably lead to the empowerment of Cameroonian languages.



CHAPTER FIVE:

**INSIGHTS FROM THE USE
OF CAMEROONIAN
LANGUAGES IN THE
CAMEROONIAN
EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM**

Given that one of Language Awareness main interests is to investigate on marginalized and minority varieties and dialects, this part sheds light into the various ways Cameroonian languages are perceived and taught in the educational system. It will thus show the relationship between students and their mother tongue, students and the majority languages. At their early introduction in the Cameroonian school system, glimpses on the curriculum of national languages will also be displayed, so as to see how linguistic diversity is managed in primary schools, secondary schools, as well as at the Higher Teachers training College of Yaounde I.

5.1. Relation between students and their mother tongue

In Cameroon, if almost every student living in villages can speak his/her mother tongue or a Cameroonian language in addition to the official language, this is not always the case in towns/cities where English and French predominate. According to Bitja'a Kody (2001), findings from an earlier study carried out on language use in the city of Yaounde reveal that 32% of young people between 10 and 17 years old in Yaounde do not speak any Cameroonian indigenous language. French is their only language of communication. The author affirms that this population is bound to increase in an exponential manner by the next generation, given that such Cameroonians will not be in a position to transmit the indigenous languages to their children. This situation is suicidal for the indigenous languages, which are bound to continue dying progressively. This situation is not only due to the fact that Cameroonian languages have the status of "national languages" while English and French have that of "official languages" and perform a more prestigious status and function. The use of local languages is restricted to families as well as to some associations.

Formerly, local languages were strictly forbidden in schools. Students who were caught speaking their mother tongue were constantly punished. They would carry a stone, hung on their neck the entire day as a public symbol of shame. This situation brought many students to despise and to start developing negative attitudes towards their own languages.

This could also explain the reason why the introduction of national languages in the educational system as a subject in Cameroon has always been a fight. Among the 280 languages, the question of which languages to teach remains unanswered; this ambiguous situation brings many people to remain reluctant as far as teaching national languages is concerned.

When they were formally taught as a subject in high schools in 2012, only few credits were granted to these subjects, bringing students to believe that they are not as relevant as official languages. Very few measures are taken by the government to promote national languages.

Many young people do not speak their mother tongue, also merely because their parents did not teach them how to speak, thinking that they were of no relevance.

Furthermore, children prefer to speak official languages because they are world languages that could provide them a job in the future. Others think that speaking their mother tongue will be an impediment to the acquisition of official languages.

Instead of being encouraged and rewarded, students speaking their mother tongue are viewed as “villagers”, that is, people coming from illiterate and poor families.

Some other students may want to learn their mother tongue, but because they live in an environment that is highly multilingual, they start to speak a kind of creole comprising Camfranglais and Pidgin English.

Although some people view Cameroonian languages as valueless, others strongly believe that local languages are part of their cultural identity and thus a great source of enrichment. For such people, it is important to know, learn and preserve them because they are the national patrimony.

Experiments have proven that children who receive education in their mother tongue at the early classes of primary school perform better than those who are directly exposed in official languages (Kosonen 2005). Because of this, few parents keep on teaching mother tongue to their children, and allow them to attend national languages classes organized by local language committees.

5.2. Attitudes and representations towards the majority languages

As English and French are the majority languages in Cameroon, they are used in administration, justice, business, schools, media, and any other public sector.

Official languages also contribute to build the national unity in the sense that, they are lingua franca used by people from different ethnic communities for communication.

There is a lot of pride and prestige around the languages brought by Westerners. He who speaks well at least one official language has the feeling of being closer to the “White man” who is still

idealized by many people. This Cameroonian French idiom “ Tu es en France hein” clearly illustrates this inferiority complex. Those who master these languages are respected and admired by the entire community.

In high schools, official languages have the highest credits. It is therefore a “must” for any student who wants to graduate to reach a certain degree of competence in at least one of these two languages.

Before the economic inflation, a journey abroad was warranted to students who wanted to become English or French teachers for a better language immersion.

Prizes and rewards are still granted to best students in these subjects. A lot of measures are taken by the government and organizations such as Francophonie and Commonwealth to promote official languages. Nobody can find a job if he is not able to communicate in an official language.

Nowadays, English and French have become the mother tongue of many children who could barely utter a word in their language of origin. There seems to be a permanent conflict as far as attitude between official languages versus national languages is concerned

Alongside this conflict, there is an internal competition between the two official languages. Though *de jure* English and French are languages of equal status, French has a *de facto* dominance due to the demographic factor. 3/4 of the population is Francophone whereas 1/4 is Anglophone. Cameroon seems to be the only bilingual country in the world where English speakers seem to be marginalized.

It is also worth mentioning that majority languages also exist within the national languages. Some of them are more developed and serve as vehicular languages while others are less developed. We also have endangered languages (Bitja’a 2001).

5.3. Relation to linguistic diversity

Cameroon is a linguistic and cultural bunch of flowers (Biya 1987). While some consider the country as a Babel tower (with the connotation of a curse), others think that linguistic diversity is rather a blessing. Whatever the case, the most important thing is the way these languages are perceived, handled, and managed.

On one hand, Linguistic diversity in Cameroon is a source of division and conflict. The conflict is perceptible within national languages; there are many stereotypes and bias pertaining to people's language and origin.

This appears to be a hindrance to success in the educational sector and in the country development in the sense that some teachers will never give good marks to students coming from certain regions or ethnic communities.

Because language is related to ethnicity, some people would hardly find a job if they belong to certain ethnic groups. Some parents will never allow their children to get married to people from different ethnic group even if they have children. Linguistic conflict entails tribalism, which entails corruption and other defects like embezzlement and injustice.

Besides the chaotic situation that seems to prevail because of the presence of many languages, there is another side to linguistic diversity. It is well known that language carries culture and culture is an identity marker. Language contact in Cameroon allows people to share cultural values, ideologies and also cultural practices. There is an enrichment of words within national languages embodied by borrowings of some words from official languages and from other national languages.

Linguistic diversity also entails new talks such as Camfranglais, which is a blending of official languages and local languages, created by young people in order to build their own national identity. This talk may be seen as a contribution to national unity.

5.4. Cameroonian Languages and Cultures at the primary level

In primary school, the teaching of Cameroonian languages and Cultures has been experienced by the PROPELCA project.

5.4.1. Objectives

One of the aims of this approach is to awaken in children a reasoning and behavior that is predominantly national, by orienting their everyday games towards unconscious acquisition and the manipulation of simple scientific principles. -But to multiple applications - in the social

environment of the child. Some illustrations of the oral teaching of Cameroonian Languages include: drawing and painting, dances, songs, poems and recitations.

5.4.2. Curriculum

The curriculum for elementary school at this time intensively covers the first three years. It uses two languages at the beginning of school: the mother tongue (LI) and the first official language (LOI). The mother tongue (LI) is the medium of instruction for all subjects; the first official language (LOI) is taught as a subject at the beginning. At the end of the third year, the status of the two languages is reversed: the first official language becomes the main means of instruction while the mother tongue retains only a place in the use of the upper classes: in fact, it is taught mainly as a subject for one hour every day; it is freely used as a co-vector for teaching certain subjects such as art, culture, history, local geography, environmental sciences, songs, etc.

	LI	LOI
Class 1	75%	25%
Class 2	50%	50%
Class 3	40%	60%
Class 4 - 6	15%	85%

Table 8: Percentages experienced and proposed for schedules

This program is a bilingual. It takes into account both languages at the early stage of school and reflects the language situation in Cameroon where these languages exist side by side. For pedagogical reasons, the mother tongue, which most children know better, occupies the most important place in the early years. It allows the child to better assimilate new concepts (writing, calculation, another language), which are difficult by means of a foreign language.

Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 6	
Mother Tongue (LI)	Alphabet of the LI		Current reading Correct spelling Reading Grammatical concepts Writing small texts	Followed reading
	Initiation to reading and writing	Perfectionning in reading and writing		Traditional arts and culture Writing
	Orally: Tales, songs, recitations, religion, morals			
First Official Language (LOI)	Comprehension and elocution in LOI (dialogue) Vocabulary Knowledge of the LOI structure through oral practice	Tradition of reading and writing of LOI Specificity of the orthography of LOI	Continuation of the transition (Reading, spelling, grammar vocabulary) Beginning of the use of the LOI as a medium for teaching other subjects (observation sciences etc.)	Traditional program (reading, spelling, vocabulary)
	Orally: Tales, songs, recitations, religion, morals.			Tales, songs, recitations, religion, morals (in writing)

Calculation	Numbers from 1-20 (Concepts and numbers); Addition and subtraction in LI	Numbers 1 - 100, The four operations in LI and - Mathematical concepts	Numbers 1 -10000, The four operations with restraint, geometric notions the currency, the units of measure (distance, weight) in LI and LOI	Traditional program
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Table 9: PROPELCA program for primary education (with a focus on the first three years)

The PROPELCA program is very interesting in the sense that it gives students, the opportunity not only to acquire competence in their mother tongue, but also in their LOI. Its similarity with

the LA approaches is that the child gets familiar with at least three languages that represent the languages of its environment.

5.5. Cameroonian Languages and Cultures at the secondary level

Below is the curriculum of Cameroonian Languages and Cultures which is also available on the website of the Ministry of Secondary Education.

5.5.1. Curriculum

The curriculum for national languages and cultures at the secondary level provides a course in national language (NL) and national culture (NC). Thus, in the sub-cycle of observation (class 1 and 2), students receive introductory courses to the General Alphabet of Cameroonian languages, the linguistic and cultural diversity of Cameroon as concerns the NL. As far as the course of culture is concerned, the child is introduced to the culinary, musical, ludic, dress, and handicraft arts of Cameroon. The programme of class 3 and 4 deepens the courses received at the grassroots level; so the child will be led to carry argumentations (small dissertations) into a NL, with greater emphasis on grammar. Oral literature will be the object of the course in culture (tales, fables, proverbs, epics...).

The programme of national languages contributes to the secondary school curriculum through the introduction of the study of indigenous linguistic values. These benefits are apparent in the case where the adaptation of some structures in the curriculum to the local contextual framework is done based on the writing conventions of national languages. This adaptation prevents wrong translations from national languages to Indo-European languages and vice versa.

5.1.1. Contributions of the curriculum to learning

The national languages programme belongs to the field of literature and language. Its contributions are, therefore, essential in the promotion of linguistic values. Apart from sounds, tone is an important characteristic of African languages. The introduction of this element (tone) in the educational system is a very significant contribution as far as the universality of languages is concerned. This contribution is not limited to the study of language and literature. Specialists in other subjects could also exploit other structures explored in the teaching of national

languages, where need be.

5.5.1.2. Contributions of the curriculum to living

The study programme for national languages helps the learner develop self-confidence and self-assertion because he is proud to study his own language, which is dear to him. This assertiveness develops from the parameters that the learner uses to measure up, first of all as a Cameroonian, and then as a citizen of the world. The economic benefits of this programme include the development of a book industry for the production of language textbooks and manuals, and the curbing of unemployment through the recruitment of resource persons.

National languages are essentially for family communication yet many families are gradually losing grip over this means of interaction. The introduction of this new discipline in the school curriculum will rekindle family interest in their languages and enable them to strike a linguistic balance in their day to day communication, in their homes in particular and their linguistic community as a whole.

5.1.3. Introduction of all the situations covered by the Study programme

The situations covered by the language study programme is linked to all spheres or areas of life contained in the forms one and two curriculum. Each learner brings one or two languages to class and together, they share rich experiences. As the learners study the various language structures, graphemes, words, phrases ... this linguistic repertoire of the class shall serve as a reference point in the handling of many life situations. Following is the list of families of situations covered by the programme for national languages:

- Communication in the classroom
- Communication in the classroom using segmental units found in the linguistic repertoire of the class
- Communication in the classroom using supra-segmental units found in the linguistic repertoire of the class
- Communication in the classroom using noun phrases in the linguistic repertoire of the class
- Communication in the classroom using verbal phrases in the linguistic repertoire of the class
- Communication in the classroom using sentences in the linguistic repertoire of the class

The syllabus of Cameroonian languages and cultures is of our interest in the sense that Module I can be effectively used to raise students' Language Awareness.

In the curriculum of the first two years of secondary school, national languages are majors, hence they are compulsory and the workload is 02 hours per week. It is on this basis that the total number of hours due for this two- year programme is 100. These hours are distributed into six modules as follows:

Cycle	Classes	Level	Title of Module	Status	Duration
1 st Cycle	One And Two	1	Cameroon linguistic diversity	Compulsory	15 hours
			Segmentals in national languages	Compulsory	17 hours
			Suprasegmentals in national languages	Compulsory	17 hours
		2	The Noun Phrase in national languages	Compulsory	17 hours
			The Verb Phrase in national languages	Compulsory	17 hours
			The Sentence in national languages	Compulsory	17 hours

Table 10: Summary of the modules of the syllabus

5.5.2. Presentation of the module: linguistic diversity of Cameroon

This module introduces the learners to the linguistic diversity of Cameroon. Like other “National Languages” modules, it helps the learners to have a good knowledge and acquire good competences of their languages and cultures.

This module is an introductory module to the programme of National Languages. The module determines the definition of basic concepts in the Cameroon Linguistic Landscape. These concepts will be exploited in the real life situations found in the whole curriculum of the first and second years of secondary school.

Contextualisation framework		Competent behaviour		Resources		
Life situations	Examples of situations	Categories of actions	Examples of actions	Essential knowledge	Attitudes	Other resources
Communication in the classroom	-Interactions between and among learners in class -Interaction between the teacher and students	-Production of messages about the linguistic diversity of Cameroon	-Naming some Cameroonian national languages -Speaking about languages -Identifying languages -Distinguishing a Cameroonian language from another language	Concepts: language - Dialect ^[L] _[SEP] - national language - Official language - Foreign language - Major language families in Cameroon	-Creativity -Interest in the national languages -Open-mindedness -Discovery	Human Resources -Parents ^[L] _[SEP] -Teachers ^[L] _[SEP] -Learners ^[L] _[SEP] -Language community Learning /Teaching AIDS - Linguistic atlas ^[L] _[SEP] -Linguistic maps ^[L] _[SEP] - Ethnologue of Grimes (SIL) -Internet resources
		Production of oral messages in the languages found in the class	-Identifying himself/herself -Presenting his/her family -discussing with classmates languages a sketch of an object -Asking questions -Giving his/her opinion about a topic	^[L] _[SEP] - Linguistic map of Cameroon -Methods and Techniques - Role-play		

Table 11: The module of Linguistic diversity of Cameroon

5.6. Cameroonian Languages and Cultures at the Higher Teachers Training College

In addition to the fundamental and complementary teaching units offered in all subjects, students at the Higher Teachers Training College of Yaoundé also receive courses in didactics, pedagogy, and general psychology related to their series. The teaching practice of all these courses is carried out during a semi-annual training period at the end of each cycle in a secondary school under the heading of a supervisor. This practice prepares them to face the different realities of the field.

The introductory classes to Cameroonian Languages and Cultures aim at making students familiar with the linguistic and cultural diversity of the country. These courses are not only taught in the Department of Cameroonian Languages and Cultures, but also to the students of French Modern Letters and of Bilingual Letters.

Semester	Code UE	Course title	Link with secondary school	CM	TD
S1	LCC 111	Segmental productions in Cameroonian languages	Segmental productions in the Cameroonian languages (class 1) Essential knowledge: sounds, points and modes of articulation, the phonatory apparatus, presentation of the general alphabet of Cameroonian languages, etc.	1h 30	1h 30
S1	LCC 121	General introduction to Cameroonian languages and Linguistics	Discovering the linguistic diversity of Cameroon (class 1) Essential knowledge: the notions of language, dialect, the major linguistic families of Cameroon, etc.	1h 30	1h 30
S1	LCC 131	Language Practices of the community: Alphabet of L1	The national language in the management of everyday life (class 3) Essential knowledge: phonic aspects (the alphabet of the language)	1h 30	1h 30
S1	LCC 141	Cultural Practices of the community: The Physical Environment of the community	Cultural practices in Cameroonians communities (class 3) Essential knowledge: the traditional environment (wildlife species, floral species, preservation of the environment in the traditional society and processes of implementation, etc.)	1h 30	1h 30
S1	LCC151	General introduction to Cameroonian cultures and anthropology	Discovery of Cameroonian cultural diversity (class 1) Essential knowledge: national cultures, cultural diversity, cultural areas, traditions, habits and customs, etc.	1h 30	1h 30

Table 12: Fundamental teaching units

Semester	Code UE	Course titles	Link with secondary school	CM	TD
S1	LCC 161	Cameroonian Language and Culture for openness (L2): Beginner	The national language in the management of everyday life (class 3)	1h 30	1h 30

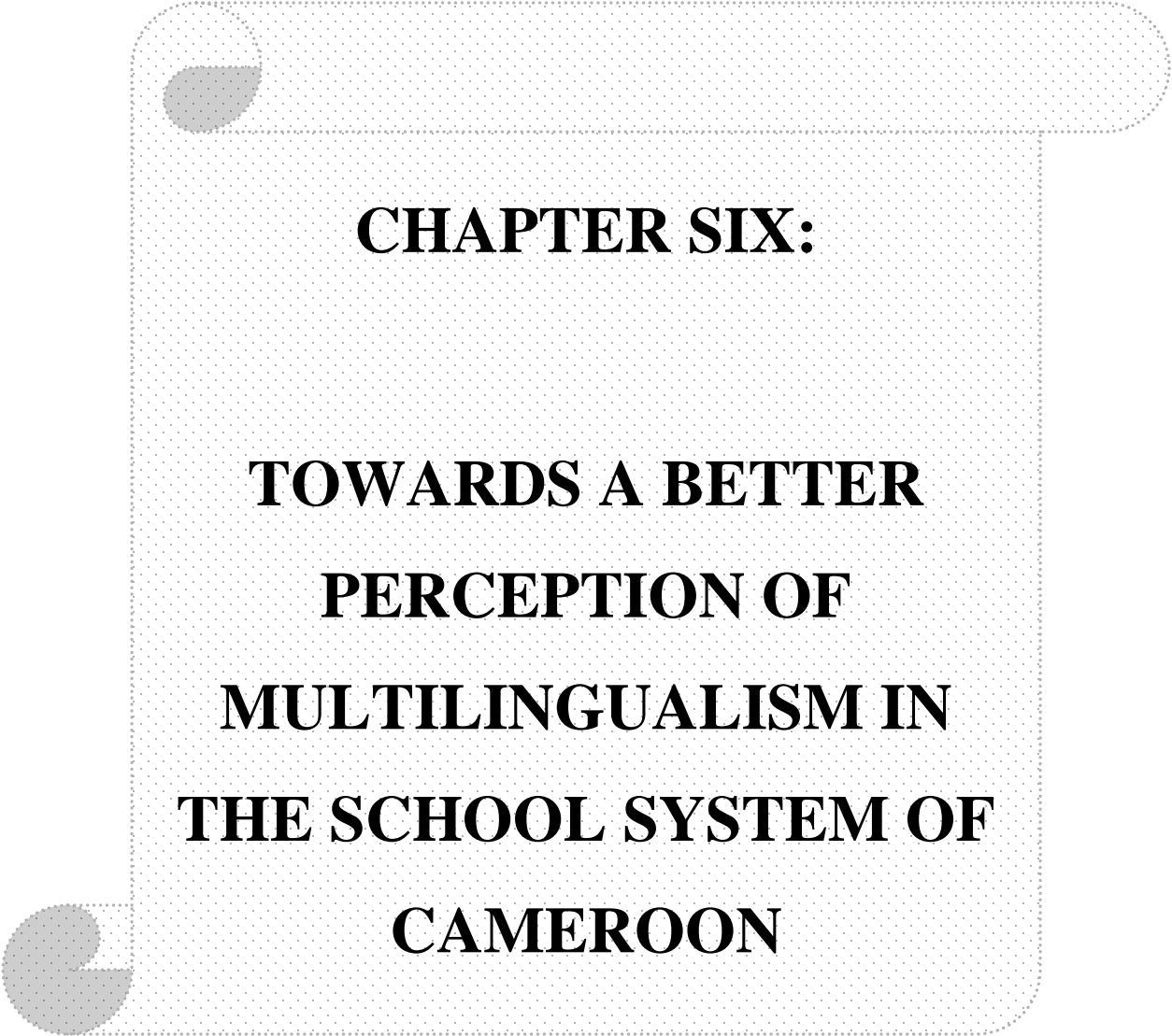
			Essential knowledge: the phonic aspects (the alphabet) Cultural practices in Cameroonian communities (class 3) Essential knowledge: the traditional environment		
S1	LCC 171	Language and English and French writing	Bilingualism	1h 30	1h 30
S1	LCC 181	Tools for digital transcription of texts in Cameroonian languages (computer science)	Audio-Visual Resources	1h 30	1h 30

Table 13: Complementary teaching unit

5.6. Summary

Tables 9-13 give an overview of the curricula of Cameroonian Languages and Cultures at the primary and secondary level, as well at the Teacher Training College. Even though this is already a turning point in the Awakening of minority languages, their major concern remains the teaching of standardized varieties (L1/LO). They do not account accurately for the language situation in Cameroon, yet some marginalized varieties are also spoken in Cameroon.

Moreover, for students to develop positive attitudes towards the linguistic diversity of Cameroon, the Module “Introduction to linguistic diversity” should be emphasized at the early stage of their education (nursery and primary school). At this level, the three materials that will be proposed in the next chapter could be useful in raising awareness about languages and cultures.



CHAPTER SIX:

**TOWARDS A BETTER
PERCEPTION OF
MULTILINGUALISM IN
THE SCHOOL SYSTEM OF
CAMEROON**



This last chapter proposes three teaching materials, to be used as support by teachers and students during the introductory classes to linguistic diversity. These materials are the following: Lingi, Linguistic Landscape and Camfranglais-Exploration. However, only the materials for teachers will be presented in this part, those for students will be displayed in the appendices.

Therefore, the teachers' guides give the description, the objectives, as well as the content of each teaching material.

Lingi' s story is just a sample that can be adapted depending on the context. A text and exercise book as well as help cards for students are all available in appendices 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and are also downloadable on the website: <http://www.deutsch-ist-vielseitig.de/en/other-countries>.

Concerning Linguistic Landscape, a worksheet task for students and PowerPoint slides are available in appendices 7 and 8 of this work.

Finally, Camfranglais-Exploration also contains worksheet tasks for students, a marked and unmarked worksheet, a leaflet and PowerPoint slides for students, all available in appendices 9-19 as well as on the website: <http://www.deutsch-ist-vielseitig.de/en/other-countries>.

The circles into the square  refer to the course main objective, while the first vertical line in bold  indicates the first phase/introduction of the class.

The three people gathered in this square  symbolise group works in the classroom.

Depending on the need, these materials could all be fit for nursery, primary, secondary level, and also for teachers trainers.

6.1. Lingi the stork (see. Appendices 1-6)

Lingi the stork visits the students.

The Teachers' guide

DESCRIPTION

Lingi is a very pleasing stork travelling all over the world and learning people's languages and habits.

He talks about his multiple experiences with people coming from diverse backgrounds, the language(s) they speak as well as their lifestyle. As such, through each student of the

classroom, Lingi the stork visits Europe and Africa, in order to explore their languages, dialects and registers. Lingi thus has to visit each student in his house. The student is given guidelines on what Lingi wants to know. The following day, Lingi tells of his experiences to the classroom.

Ludic discovery of the use of languages, registers, dialects and the talks of the everyday life of primary and secondary school students

Motivation and introduction

Group works in the classroom

This is to help finding out similarities and differences between the daily languages spoken in the classroom, developing awareness on multilingualism.

Target group: Suitably adapted for nursery and primary level

Outline of the course: “Lingi the Stork visits the children”

<p><i>Part 1</i></p> <p><i>Lingi presentation to the class</i></p>	<p>Students listen carefully to Lingi</p> <p>Lingi is introduced as a guest who really loves children and who would like to pay them a visit.</p> <p>Lingi brings along with him a basket containing some gifts, treasures, and pictures cards.</p> <p>With the help of the maps, Lingi shows the places he visited in the world.</p> <p>Students are asked some questions (see the questions below)</p> <p>Students are told that Lingi has to spend one night with each one of them.</p> <p>Lingi takes the student and tells him what he wants to know</p> <p>The following day, Lingi relates his experiences.</p> <p>Lingi story and the questionnaire are just guidelines for you to build and refine your own role-playing game (RPG). Make sure to create an exciting and interesting story so that each student could feel like home.</p>
<p><i>Part 2</i></p> <p><i>Lingi the stork visits the children</i></p>	<p>Students are instructed on the topic to be presented by Lingi in the classroom the following day.</p> <p>Lingi has to visit each student for a night.</p> <p>Choose a student that could bring Lingi home</p> <p>Repeat to him Lingi’s expectation.</p> <p>Ask him few questions about his origins;</p> <p>For monolingual students, ask about their dialect(s) or register(s).</p> <p>Inform the parents of students when Lingi will pay them a visit; he has to bring in his basket a toy, a gift, or any traditional object the following day.</p> <p>Parts 2 and 3 are repeated until each student of the classroom brings Lingi home for a night so that he could relate his experiences.</p>

Parts 2 and 3 are repeated until each student of the classroom brings Lingi home for a night so that he could relate his experiences.

Outline of the course: “Lingi the Stork visits the children”

<p><i>Part 3</i> Lingi tells of his experiences</p>	<p>In the classroom, each group shares its experiences with Lingi Lingi tells his story to the classroom. He answers questions. On the maps, Lingi shows where he comes from (origins of the members of his family)</p> <p><i>Parts 2 and 3 are repeated until all the children of the group bring Lingi home once so that he could relate his experiences</i></p>
<p>Conclusion</p>	<p>The project “Lingi the stork visits the children” could be completed by role-play.</p> <p>Possible questions:</p> <p>“Who can do like a mother singing a lullaby”?</p> <p>“Who can talk like a father/mother when he/she is angry”?</p> <p>“Who can do like an elder when greeting a chief?</p> <p>“Who can speak in a language different from his own language?</p> <p>“Who can do like a parent wishing welcome to a visitor?”</p> <p>“Who can do like a grand-mother mourning at a funeral?”</p> <p>“Who can do like a mother greeting her friend in the farm?”</p> <p>“Who can do like a woman greeting a man”?</p> <p>“Who can do like a mother greeting her friend at home or on the street?”</p> <p>“Who can laugh/smile like a father/mother in happiness?”</p>

Teachers' requirements.

- Equivalences in habits and in individuals.
- Appreciation of the linguistic diversity of the classroom
- Highlight the linguistic diversity, the coexistence of different languages and the different ways of speaking as the norm
- Avoid emphasizing cultural stereotypes.

Preparation

- Get a stork cuddly toy for about 30 cm
- Get a large map of Cameroon
- Elaborate Lingi basket (use reeds to do that)
- Print the questionnaire for the presentation in the classroom
- Inform parents on the project “Lingi the stork visits the children”

Required materials:

- A Stork cuddly toy
- A basket for Lingi
- A large map of Cameroon (www.mapsofworld.com)
- Lingi's story
- Questionnaire

Related topics:

Various topics could be incorporated in the project “Lingi the stork visits the children” dealing with many other questions and including several issues.

Suggestions:

“Cultural diversity”:

All the students elaborate their own basket and fill it with different objects from different areas of the country e.g.:

- Traditional games
- Foodstuff
- Clothing
- Music instruments
- Fauna and flora
- Symbolic objects like (kauris, jujube...)
- Artistic gadgets

“Discussions”

Students could also discuss the following topics in order to learn more about each other:

- Greeting conversation
- Politeness (honorific titles and address terms)
- Kinship system

- My beautiful village (including architecture, the relief and the climate)
- Birth and death
- Belief system
- Orature (tales, proverbs, counting system)

“We all learn about the storks”

Students give information about the storks including the following:

- What do they eat?
- Where do they live?
- How do they spend the year?
- What is their height?
- What are they able to do?

Thereafter they may watch a little video on the life of the storks (for instance at http://www.storchenelke.de/storchen_webcams.htm).

Lingi’ story

“I am Lingi, and I am a stork. Do you know about the storks? I travel a lot and fly around the world. When it is getting colder here in Europe and the winter is coming, I fly to the warm South.

Having stayed in Germany, I am now flying to Africa. Do you know where Africa is? Wait for (children feedback and possible answers.) Here's Africa! (Show it on the world map.)

In Africa, for instance, I visited Ghana, a beautiful country. Do you know where Ghana is? Wait for (children’s feedback).

I met many friendly children in Africa, for instance Kianu, a boy from Ghana. He lent me his favorite toy, so that I can show it to you! Do you want to see what Kianu lent me? (Wait for an enthusiastic “Yes” of the children.) Then let me have a look in my basket! (Take the basket and show the children the toy coming from Africa. Let the children silently have a look at it.)

Kianu also told me that he can speak many languages, and all his friends can also do so. He speaks English and Akan. Do you know these languages? (Wait for children’s feedback.) There are overall 81 languages in Ghana!

In the course of my journey, I came to Cameroon. Do you know where Cameroon is? Wait for (children’s feedback). It is a country located in Central Africa (show it on the map). Many people speak English and French here, as well as local languages such as Pidgin-English and “Betifang”. My friend is called Atangana. He told me that there are many languages in Cameroon. Do you know how many languages are spoken in Cameroon? (Wait for children’s feedback). There are overall 250 languages in Cameroon. Atangana taught me how to say good-morning in Betifang: “Mbe be ki ri” (students answer: “Kiri mbong”). Before going to bed, children listen to a patriarch playing a music instrument called “Mvet”. Do you know how it looks like? (They give possible answers). It has the form of a guitar and it is made with calabashes and cords. While playing, he tells many interesting stories on the amazing deeds of the Ekang people. Atangana has another friend whose name is Ondoua. With Ondoua, Atangana speaks a form of French and English talk called “Camfranglais”. They are very happy to speak Camfranglais because they think that their parents do not understand it. Early in the morning, I heard a greeting conversation between Atangana’s mother and her neighbor. It lasted for about 15 min because she was enquiring about her husband, her children, her brothers and sisters and also about activities like farming, fishing and hunting. Before I left, Atangana lent me his favorite music instrument. (Show it to the children). Do you want to see what Atangana lent me? (Wait for an enthusiastic “Yes” of the children.) Then let me have a look in my basket! (Take the basket and show the children the toy coming from Cameroon. Let the children silently have a look at it.)

As I am pursuing my journey, I am now in the South region of Cameroon where people of the forest live. (Show it on the map). Also called pygmies, they are the first people who settled in Cameroon and live mainly from hunting, harvesting, and fishing. In the South, I learnt how to build a house in order to spend the night. Do you know the materials I used to build my little

house with? (Children feedback). I built it with the leaves and the branches of trees. My friend's name is Ngonu and her friend Simo lives in the West. While she says "Nda" for the house, Simo says "nde". She is the only person in the camp speaking French because she is attending school. Other people refused to go to school and are only able to speak a Cameroonian language called Baka. I told them that if they go to school, they could speak many languages like me. We also went to fish. Before I left in the morning, many children decided to go to school and I learnt how to say good morning in Baka: "Mojo ko-e" (students answer "e e mojo ko-e si"). Ngonu gave me a dish called "bifaga" with dry fish. Her friend Simo calls dry fish "melulu". Do you want to taste it with me? (Open the basket and share it with students).

Do you know different talks? (Wait for children's answers. Then go to further questions from the questionnaire on registers and language use.)

As I followed my journey, I went back to Germany. Do you know where Germany is? (Wait for children's feedback).

There I met Sarah. Sarah lives in Berlin and says for example, "Schrippe" for a bun. This is Berlinisch. Her cousin Alex lives in Hamburg and says "Rundstück" for a bun. Sarah's girlfriend Lisa lives in Thuringia and she says "Semmel" for a bun.

It also sounds different when Sarah is angry for instance or when she is singing a beautiful song. She also told me that it sounds different when her mom speaks with dad during the dinner and when she reads Sarah a story

What languages can you speak by the way? What languages do you know? It might be from your holidays? Tell it out! (Ask children some questions about language (s) and multilingualism. Let the children reply spontaneously).

It was very exciting, to tell you all these stories, so I would like to meet you again! I could always come and sleep with you at your home in the next few days! At home, you should introduce me to your parents and siblings and they should show me how you speak in your family. Would you want to do that? (Wait for an enthusiastic "yes" of the children.) You are all fantastic, but today I first have to take (the child's name) home".

Questions about the picture cards

Topics:

Languages, dialects, multilingualism and registers

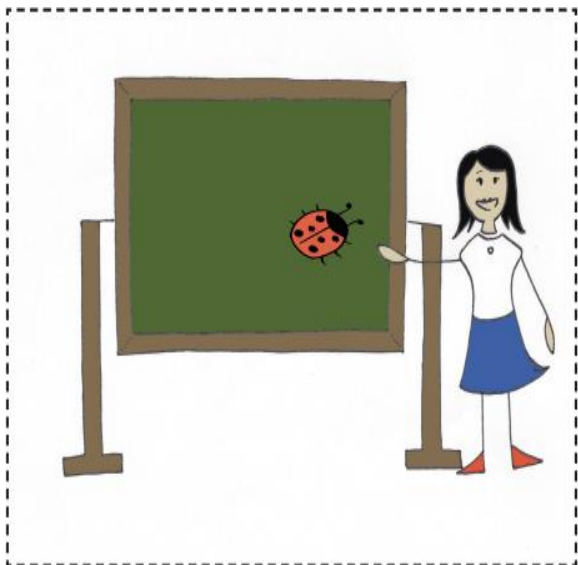
1. How do you say welcome and goodbye? ("Hello", "Goodbye!"...)
2. How do you speak in your family? What languages can you speak?
3. What languages would you want to learn? What languages did your parents and other family members learn?
4. Have you ever gone on vacation? How did people speak there?
5. What did you paint when you were there?" - How does it sound when someone speaks friendly or angrily?
6. What are the words for “yam”, “dry fish” and "house"?
7. Where do you imagine your language or languages in your body? Where are your dialects located?



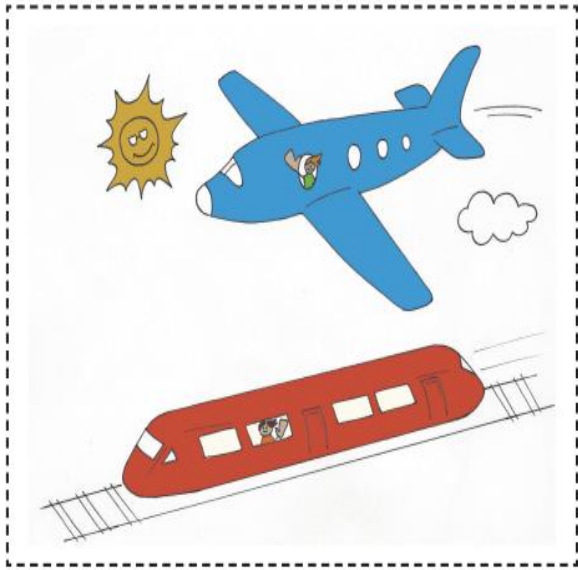
How do you say welcome
and goodbye?
("Hello", "Goodbye!"...)



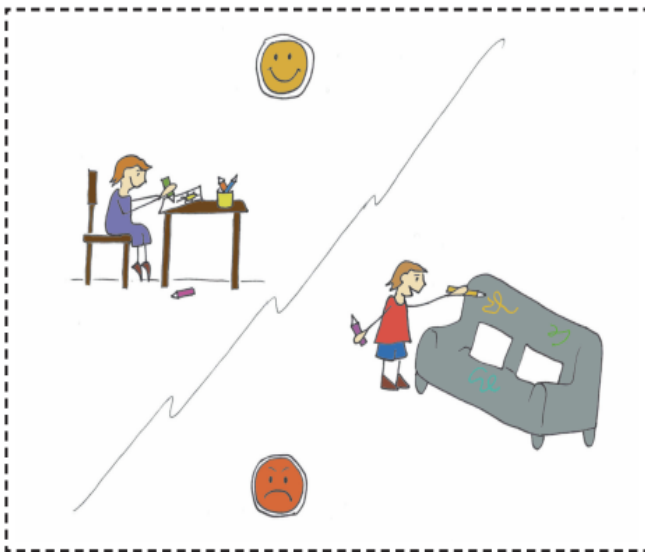
How do you speak in your family?
What languages can you speak?



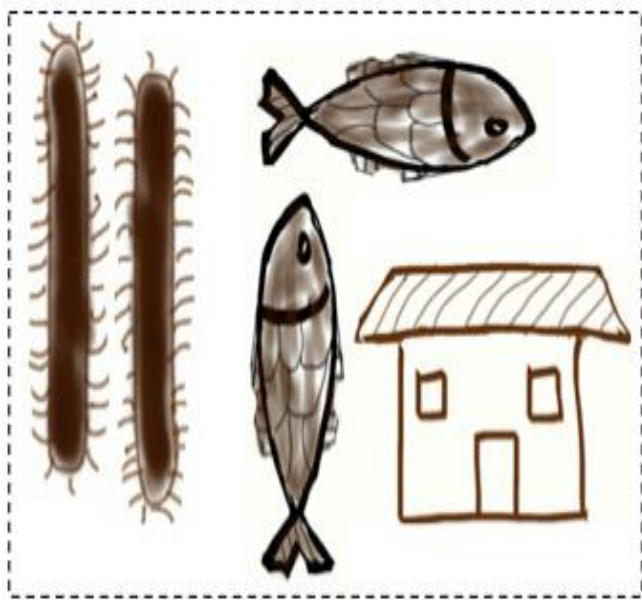
What languages would you want to learn?
What languages did your parents and other family members learn?



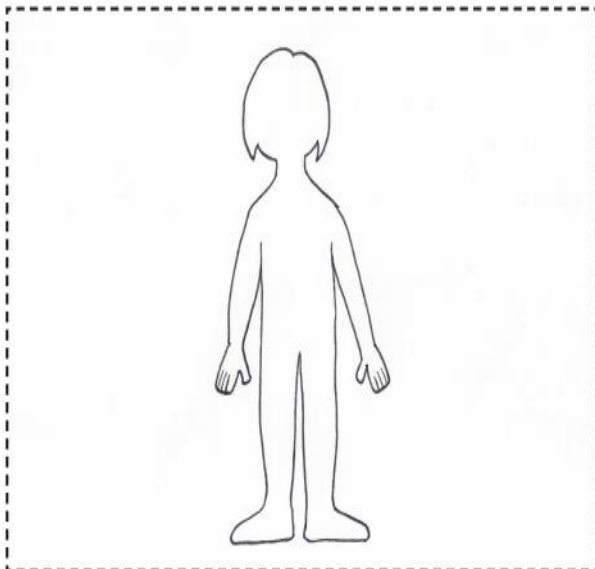
Have you ever gone
on vacation?
How did people
speak there?



What did you paint
there?"
How does it sound
when someone speaks
friendly or angrily?



What are the names for
“yam”, “dry fish” and
“house”?



Where do you imagine
your language or
languages in your body?
Where are your dialects
located?

You will need:

- Reeds for basketry (number and size to your preference)
- Clothespins
- Glue
- Paint (optional)
- Scissors

Steps :

- Make the base of the basket.
- Fold the reeds
- Split into two one of the uprights.
- Weave the basket
- Form the basis
- Take weaving.
- Tighten your weaving.
- Finish the top of the basket
- Level the basket.
- Make the border

More info at (http://www.basketweaving101.net/Educational-How-To_ep_40.html)

10 steps to design Lingi basket:



1



2



3



4



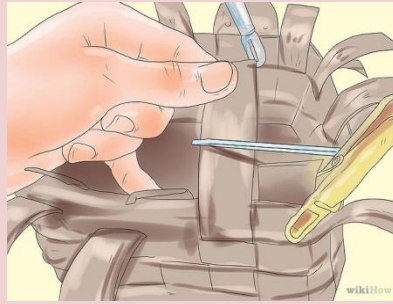
5



6



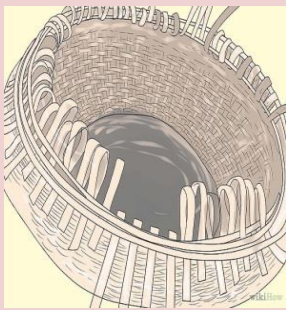
7



8



9



10



Map of Cameroon



Coloring page for your own Lingi basket



LINGE



LINGE

LINGE



Letter to the parents

Lingi the stork visits you!

.....Today Lingi the stork is visiting your house.

The stork would want to take part to all your activities (games, fishing, farming, hunting, cooking, singing...).

He should also have a room for the night.

Tomorrow he will tell the classroom, the different languages, dialects and registers he learnt during his stay.

Please remember that Lingi should also bring a gift/toy in his basket!

6.1.1. Discussions in the classroom

This is to show how LA approaches can be applied to any African language. In this case, Lingi’ story will uniquely be about an African context. As a way of illustration, children will first of all discover a cross-border language such as Swahili, and secondly a Cameroonian language called Ngembà during the discussions in the classroom. Additional supports will be required whenever a language is chosen.

You will need:

- Map of Swahili
- Map of Ngembà
- Leaflet about Swahili (see. Appendice 4)
- Leaflet about Ngembà (see. Appendice 5)
- Leaflet about Ghomala’ (see. Appendice 6)

6.1.2. Lingi visits the children in East and Central Africa

Hello, students, I am your Lingi. Today, I want to tell you about my experiences in Africa. In the course of my journey, I visited many countries in East and Central Africa. In addition to a language called Swahili, I also learnt many cultural practices such as, kinship terms and proverbs that I am willing to share with you. Do you know where Swahili is spoken? (Wait for children’s feedback). It is spoken in countries such as Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Somalia, and Eastern Congo... (Show it on the map). Because it is a language spoken by so many people in Africa, it has become the second African lingua franca with about 50 000 speakers after Arabic.

Would you want me to share my experiences with you? (Wait for an enthusiastic “yes” from the children). Then let’s travel together to Africa!

My friend “Gome” is from Tanzania. During the holidays, I spent many weeks in the Mafia Island and I learnt many words. Gome’ s brothers, sisters, cousins, aunts, and uncles are all living together as one family with mutual respect and honor for the elders.

In Tanzania, one endearing feature of Swahili is the use of kinship terms. A waitress will be “dada” (sister), a taxi driver “mjomba” (uncle) or “baba” (dad) if he is older or “kaka” (brother) if

he is in the same age group as you. An older person would address me as “mwanangu” (my child).

My friend has for instance another friend from Somalia called “Musa” who speaks “Chimwiini”. Musa says “numba” for “house”, while my friend says “nyumba.” Gome’s girlfriend is called “Amani”, which means “peace” in “Ngwana”, a dialect of the DRC. She says for instance “kisu” for “knife” while Musa says “chisu”. Amani also says “nyama” for “meat” while Musa says “nama.” Very often, they meet “Sheng”, a friend from Kenya with whom they speak a youth mixed code made up of English, Swahili, as well as some local languages words. They really like to speak it because it is a part of their identity. My friend told me that there are about 15 varieties of Swahili; however, they can all understand each other.

Every morning, men go out hunting while women cook food. As for “Gome” and me, we usually go and fetch water with other children.

In the evening, we all gather around a big firewood and listen to the African wisdom through proverbs, tales, and songs from the elders. Here is one of the proverbs I learned there. Do you want me to share it with you? (Wait for an enthusiastic “yes” for the children). **“AKILI NI MALI”** (Intelligence is wealth.) Do you know the meaning of this proverb? (Wait for children’s feedback). It means that knowledge can be used to better one’s life. I also brought you a traditional cloth that Gome gave me. (Show it to the children). It is called “kanga” and it is very colorful!



Question about Lingi' story

What are the names for “house,” “knife,” and “meat”?



What are the names for “house,” “knife,” and “meat”?

6.1.3. Lingi visits the Dgêmbà

“While pursuing my journey, I went to Central Africa. There I visited Cameroon, particularly a community whose mother tongue is Dgêmbà. Have you ever heard about that language? (Wait for children’s feedback). Ngêmbà is spoken in the West Region of Cameroon with about 500,000 speakers originating from 5 villages, namely, Bamendjou, Bansa, Bameka, Bamoungoum, and Bafounda (Show it on the map). Would you want to discover that community with me? (Wait for an enthusiastic “yes” from the children). Then let’s visit the Dgêmbà community!

Today is a great day in the Mũncho’s family. My friend Mũgum and I are eager to attend a traditional birth ceremony that will take place in a small village called Bamendjou. In fact, “Mũka” a princess, daughter of a traditional chief in Bameka, who has just got married to “Mũncho”, a prince, son of a traditional chief in Bamendjou, has given birth to twins, both boys, after a year of marriage. It is a very important ceremony because the twins are supposed to have supernatural powers in the Dgêmbà community. Therefore, in order to control these powers, they are made to undergo some rituals. Many people are coming from the surrounding villages like Bameka, Bamoungoum, and Bafounda in order to take part to these rituals. They are not coming empty handed. Do you know what they are bringing? (Wait for children’s feedback). They are carrying animals like goats, chickens, and pigs useful for the rituals and to feed people. Almost every woman is bringing maize, which is the main staple food for a mother who has just given birth. This is accompanied with a traditional brown and slimy sauce made up of 12 ingredients. The mother has to take it every day so as to increase her milk. While my friend Mũgum is saying “məsáŋ” for maize, Mũncho is saying “ŋgəsáŋ.” Another friend of mine called “Ssá” who is also attending the ceremony is saying “məmphiə” for goat while Mũgum is saying “mphiə”. Mũgum also calls a child “má” when Mũncho is saying “mé.” In spite of these slight differences of dialects, they are mutually intelligible and each variety enriches the lexicon of the Dgêmbà language. Before I left the Dgêmbà community, Mũgum lent me his traditional hat. (Show it to the children). He told me that it is a very important hat because only the notables are supposed to wear it. Now you know more about Swahili and Dgêmbà languages. Would you want to discover other African languages? (Wait for an enthusiastic “yes” from the children). Then tomorrow, Ghómálá’ is bringing Lingi home”.

Carte de la localisation de la langue ngɔmbà dans la région de l'Ouest Cameroun



CREA-ISH	LIMITE	DEPARTEMENT	ARRONDISSEMENT	DISTRICT	VILLAGES	LANGUE	DIALECTES
●	○	○	○	*	●	Ngɔmbà	S Sà Múnjóm Múnjwò Múnka Fo'ndã
R. BRETON 1987	CHEF LIEU	○	○	*	●	▨	

Question about Lingi' story

What are the names for “maize,”
“goat,” and “child”?

What are the names for
“maize,” “goat,” and
“child”?



6.1.4. Lingi visits the Ghómálá'

“Hello children, I am your Lingi, ready to share with you my journey in the Ghómálá' Community. Do you want to know more about that community? (Wait for children's feedback). Language of wide spreading, Ghómálá' is spoken in 22 kingdoms and 4 divisions of the West region of Cameroon. (Show it on the map).

In the course of my Journey, I went to the Mifi division where I met a friend called “Jo”. During the holidays, many families are doing harvesting in the Ghómálá' community. Early in the morning, Jo and I went to farm with all his family's members. After having walked for one and half hour, we finally reached the farm, and I was amazed by the beautiful landscape on the top of a mountain. We immediately started harvesting groundnuts. It was a very pleasing experience to harvest groundnuts, as it is an activity that requires patience and skillfulness. As we were harvesting, I noticed that Jo was putting some grains aside. He told me that he was keeping that special variety called “məŋgəsəm” as a gift for his grandfather; he will then receive blessing from the latter in counterpart. At noon, we all gathered under a big tree and ate a delicious meal called “tsáp”, cooked by Jo mother the day before. It was a dish made up of the paste of maize mixed with the paste of grilled groundnut with palm oil and some vegetables, all packed in bananas leaves and tied with banana ropes.

At sunset, we finally went back home, everyone carrying a big bag on his head.

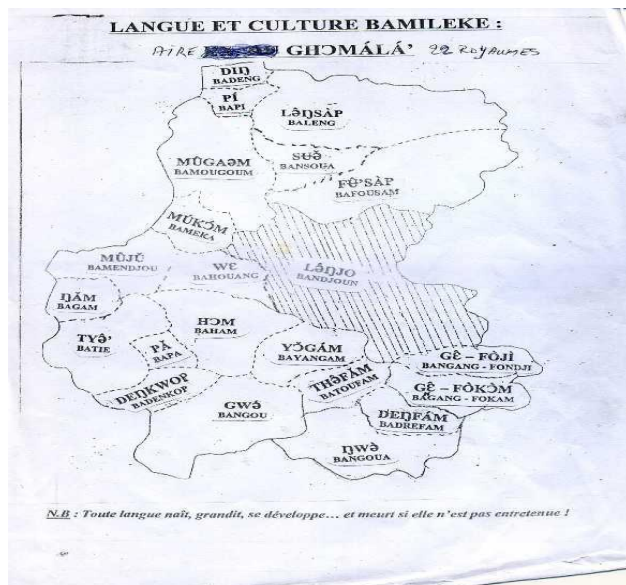
My friend Jo has a friend called “Həm” who lives in the Hauts-Plateaux division. While Jo says for instance “biyé” for groundnuts, “mwàá” for oil, and “kədə” for banana, Həm says rather “biyéŋ”, “mbwàá” and “kədə” respectively.

Jo has another friend called “Mûju” who is also very fond of that meal. However, while Jo calls it “tsáp”, Mûju calls it “cháp”. Mûju neighbor is called “Múkóm” and she will rather say “kəntyó” for banana and “məŋgisà” for “məŋgəsəm”.

Tomorrow we all plan to meet a common friend “Fə'sàp” who is willing to make us visit his chiefdom. The chief “fo” is also referred to as lion “nomcəma” by Jo, and “nacəma” by Mûju. In spite these slight differences, they all love each other deeply.

Before I left, Jo gave me a surprise. Do you want to discover it? (Wait for an enthusiastic “yes” from the children). (Open his basket, show the special variety of three-grains groundnuts, and share it with children).

It was very exciting, to tell you all these stories, so I would like to meet you again! I could always come and sleep with you at your home in the next few days! At home, you should introduce me to your parents and siblings and they should show me how you speak in your family. Would you want to do that? (Wait for an enthusiastic “yes” of the children.) You are all fantastic, but today I first have to take (Fulfulde) home”.



Question about Lingi' story

What are the names for “groundnuts,” “chief,” “banana” and “oil”?



What are the names for “groundnuts,” “chief,” “banana” and “oil”?


6.2. Linguistic Landscape (see. Appendices 7-8)

Linguistic Landscape Teachers' guide

DESCRIPTION

The term “Linguistic Landscape” refers to the everyday phenomenon of the visibility of languages designed in public space, i.e., road and shop signs, billboards in graffiti or handwritten notes, on slips of paper lying around or on the wall scribbled messages, etc.

In sociolinguistics, the concept Linguistic Landscape is used for the study of the social meaning of languages and dialects in multilingual countries. Linguistic Landscape can provide information on which languages and dialects are prominent and valued in the private and public sectors, and which relations of power prevail between different groups of speakers. The training module “Linguistic Landscapes” leads students first in the concept of Linguistic Landscape. When performing “Safari pictures”, students collect their own experiences in exploring the Linguistic Landscapes of their environment. This is achieved by a subsequent analysis performed in small groups. The results are discussed together and then the implementation of a similar unit is presented in the classroom.



Raise awareness of secondary school students about the linguistic diversity of the country. Improve their perception towards other languages.
Give the role, the function and the relation of power between different languages.

Motivation and introduction

This session could start by training on “multilingualism in towns”. It can be used and adapted for the introduction to social representations and the power of languages and dialects.

Group works in the classroom

Slides presentation of the “safari photos” in classroom, formation of small groups work.

Due to its long time, this module could be divided into many parts or events.

Target group: Suitably adapted for primary and secondary level

Linguistic Landscape

Ask students to bring digital cameras or mobile phones with camera function and cable to transfer pictures into a PC for the training.

<i>10 min</i>	1. Give students the themes by means of the slide presentation and explain them the work order for the “Safari pictures”.
40 min	2. Divide them into small groups of about 5 people; each then goes to “Safari photos” in the nearby Environment. They take pictures of the Linguistic Landscape and come back on the agreed time of the class. (This part could also be done as homework and extended to many events as an individual task)

Linguistic Landscape

10 min	3. Ask participants to transfer their pictures in the computer on which the presentation is performed before the evaluation phase.
20 min	4. The small groups evaluate their pictures. For this purpose, initially, the screen function of cameras or mobile phones is used (alternatively of laptops, to which the students have added pictures). Distribute to each group a worksheet with targeted questions for evaluation.
30 min	5. The small groups present their results in the classroom individually and thereby show their pictures. You can use PowerPoint presentation for classroom discussion and for structuring the questions and, if necessary, to systematize the categories from the data sheet. Use “Linguistic Landscapes”, the participants obtained at the end of the event.
10 min	6. Set the application of “Linguistic Landscapes” for teaching at the primary level, (cf., PowerPoint presentation) from the information sheet “Linguistic Landscape”.
120 min	Total time (or more according to the time of “Safari pictures”)

Linguistic Landscape

Short version without “Safari photos”

If there is not enough time available for training, a summary could be done. Start by printing in color the pictures from the first half of the slide presentation as large as possible.

10 min	Divide the students into working groups and share the pictures. Do not show the PowerPoint presentation. Ask the groups to discuss the pictures without prior knowledge: What general conclusions can be drawn from these pictures?
20 min	2. From the classroom discussion, ask key questions for the discussions on the basis of the pictures used. The information of the film text from the example of pictures can be used for the discussion.
10 min	Finally, Apply the teaching "Linguistic Landscapes".
40 min	Total time

Worksheet for students

Analysis of pictures

Sort and organize your pictures. In working groups, determine the different categories in which pictures should be ranged.

Discuss the following questions:

- What languages or dialects often/hardly occur? Is that surprising?
- Are there languages that you could not identify, or signs that you could not read? Could you still guess the meaning of the texts?
- What are the functions of multilingual and monolingual Linguistic landscapes on the following pictures?
- Do the texts reflect local language practices?
- Who decides when and where the languages should be written?
- How do pictures provide information on the social status and rank of the speaker of a specific language?
- What does it mean for children when their family language is often / barely / not represented in the public or private sector of the Linguistic Landscape?
- What can we do to promote national languages?

The following materials are available for downloading:

- Presentation slides in PPT and PDF format
- Work order to evaluate the pictures
- Leaflet with a brief overview on “Linguistic Landscapes”.

Required materials:

- PC with the following software: PowerPoint or Adobe Acrobat
- Beamer
- Mobile phones with camera function or digital cameras of participants possibly even laptops of participants for group work
- If necessary, printers and paper (to print the pictures).

6.3. Camfranglais-Exploration/KiezdeutschSprachForchung (see. Appendices 9-19)


Camfranglais - Exploration

Teachers' guide


DESCRIPTION

“Camfranglais-Exploration” can be used as part of a training unit on topics such as: “Youth talk”, or “Argot in a multilingual context” or “French varieties”.


By analyzing authentic materials, students work on the grammatical features of Camfranglais, a variety of French, spoken by young people in Cameroon. The research shows that Camfranglais is not an arbitrary broken and incorrect variety of French, but a separate dialect with its own systematic grammar alongside with other dialects. It is an interesting way to show the students the structure of the language; the analysis not only strengthens the linguistic self-image of young people, but also arouses their interest on grammatical issues and grammatical analyses. By a contrastive comparison of the patterns of Camfranglais to standard French and English, the latter's competencies are also strengthened. The data are analyzed on the basis of conversation texts in Camfranglais found in a forum on Internet, transcripts of the recordings of young people in Yaoundé city and lyrics of a Camfranglais musician called “Koppo”.



Recognize that Camfranglais is neither an arbitrary language, nor an incorrect French, but a talk with systematic rules to follow. Get familiar with the grammatical features of the variety of a language spoken by many students in the everyday life. In a contrastive perspective, the history of standard French and English can be exploited as mediation.



Development and deepening
“Camfranglais-Exploration” Is suitable for further teaching unit. The unit may include issues like introduction to dialects and varieties, as well as a thorough study of a specific variety.



Group works in the classroom
Slides (in PowerPoint or PDF format) are suitable for an introductory class, and also worksheet materials for up to six small working groups are required. Groups presentations in the class.

Target group: Suitable for teenagers at the secondary level and also for teacher-trainers (in the repetition of some grammatical basic concepts).

Camfranglais – Exploration

Phase	Teacher-student interaction	Medias
Starting/ Development i (30 min)	<p>Teacher displays Camfranglais based on slides 1-13 as a youth talk, a variety of French.</p> <p>Notes accompany the presentation in the comment fields or in a separate download</p> <p>Students listen and ask questions if necessary</p>	<p>Slide presentation, beamer, laptop, speaker</p>
Development ii (30 min)	<p>Teacher divides the students into six group works</p> <p>Distributes the worksheets with the conversation texts and the worksheet tasks.</p> <p>Each group is given the same long conversation text, and different short quotes, illustrating each a certain phenomenon to be examined by the group.</p> <p>Students develop the regularities and the functions of the studied phenomenon; if possible, they prepare posters before the presentation (e.g., presentation format according to presentation slides)</p>	<p>Work materials, Possibly posters</p>
Evaluation (30 min)	<p>Students present their findings in the area of the studied phenomenon to the classroom</p> <p>Teacher calls if necessary on their own observations and experiences as a contribution to Camfranglais</p> <p>Results of groups are gradually compared with the information of each studied phenomenon found on the slides.</p> <p>Teacher distributes if necessary a complete leaflet in Camfranglais, that summarizes the main features.</p> <p>Pupils compare their own results with data sheet</p>	<p>Work results, “Camfranglais leaflet”</p>
90 min	Total time	

The following materials are available for download:

- Option 1: slides in PowerPoint format with animation and integrated audios
- Option 2: Slides in PDF-version with single films (instead of PPT Notes on content monitoring of the films (comment field for PPT slides in the Commission; for PDF slides in a separate file)
- Audio and video files to accompany the films: These files are automatically played in the PPT slides (the files still need to be downloaded separately); when using the PDF slides they can be played separately. The video is in WMV format or mp4 format. In the PPT slides the WVM file is included - If the mp4 format is desired, the mp4 file should replace the WVM file.
- Sheet with an extensive discussion Neck (A4) for printing
- Six sets with additional citations for printing
- Six worksheet tasks for printing
- Leaflet "Camfranglais" to print

Required materials:

PC with the following software: PowerPoint or Adobe Acrobat software to play videos in WMV or mp4 format

- Beamer
- Speakers
- Paper (A4) for the conversation texts
- Paper (A5) for the additional quotes
- Paper or thin cardboard expression of Leaflet
- Transcriptions of the lyrics of the songs
- Conversation texts

6.4. Summary

To sum up, the adaptation of Lingi, Linguistic landscape and Camfranglais-Exploration also fits well the Cameroonian situation. In a context of multilingualism, it is important to design and develop multimedia materials that will raise the awareness of both teachers and students on the linguistic and cultural diversity of the country. These materials are thus of a great importance in the sense that they will help in avoiding bias and stereotypes pertaining to student languages and origins. Consequently students could perform better at school for the development of the country.

CONCLUSION

As a reminder, the goal of this study entitled: “Language Awareness in the Educational Sector: A Germano-Cameroonian Experience” was to elaborate appropriate teaching materials that would raise awareness of teachers and students on linguistic diversity.

The problem was to find out adequate mechanisms to tackle marginalization, bias and stereotypes result of multilingualism both in German and Cameroonian schools, so that they could develop positive attitudes towards students speaking different varieties. Its secondary objectives were among other to find out the language experiences of families with Cameroonian background whose children are attending school in Germany, describe power relationship between languages in Cameroon and Germany, highlight the use of Cameroonian languages in the educational system, and elaborate classroom materials for a better perception of languages and varieties. Four main questions arose from that goal stated as follows: What are the language experiences of families with Cameroonian background whose children are attending school in Germany? What are the relationships between majority and minority languages? To what extent the Cameroon educational system fosters linguistic diversity? What are the mechanisms that can be set up to cope with the challenge of multilingualism in German and Cameroonian schools? To achieve the objectives, both the qualitative and quantitative methods used consisted in interviews addressed towards Cameroonian families in Berlin, questionnaires addressed to level I students of the Higher Teacher Training College, Safari photo in Yaoundé, and recordings on Camfranglais.

On the question concerning the linguistic experiences of families with Cameroonian background whose children are attending school in Berlin, we came out with the following answers: On one side, parents think their children are discriminated by teachers because of their country of origin and skin colour. On the other side, children in primary school are not even aware of discrimination; awareness of this situation arises as they reach secondary school. Discrimination is therefore an adult disease that can be cured through Language Awareness training.

As far as the relationships prevailing between majority and minority languages are concerned, it goes without saying that it is a conflictual relationship. In Cameroon, official languages French and English are prevailing over Cameroonian languages, Pidgin English, Camfranglais and other languages. Even within levels, there are still degrees of domination. Statistics from the analysis

of our data in Camfranglais and Linguistic Landscape present the same results: French shows a dominance of 80%, followed by 8% of English and 2% of local and other languages.

At the educational level, a blink at the curricula at the primary, secondary and higher level, shows that much effort have been made by the governments and researchers to teach Cameroonian languages. However, in order to meet LA objectives, dialects and hybrid talks need also be taken into account.

The study proposes three teaching materials called Lingi, Linguistic Landscape and Camfranglais-Exploration/KiezdeutschSprachForchung, as remedies to cope with the issue of multilingualism in Germany and Cameroon. In the following lines, some perspectives need therefore to be considered.

Perspectives

The findings of this study are inevitably leading us to the following perspectives and suggestions:

Once exposed to LA class, children develop better understanding and attitudes towards people speaking different languages or varieties than their mother tongue.

Through Lingi for instance, children are brought to discover the diversity of languages and cultures not only of the world, of their continent and more precisely of their local community.

Though young people are advocating Camfranglais, with some being in favor of its insertion in the educational system, the teaching of Camfranglais remains very controversial because, parents are firmly opposed to its teaching in schools and view it as bad language.

For parents such as our supervisor who strongly discourage the teaching of Camfranglais, he would hardly imagine his child, instead of learning French, English or national languages, start learning the grammar of Camfranglais.

However, the study of Camfranglais and Linguistic Landscape displays approximately the same results as concerns linguistic diversity in Cameroon. Upstream we have French followed by English and national languages followed by some dialects and idiolects downstream.

If Camfranglais succeeds in binding and uniting young people in and beyond the country, it is probably high time we should think differently. The youth is the spearhead of the nation and

Camfranglais is a very dynamic talk. The fact that young people can look in the same direction and can communicate through a common fuselect is already the foundation and the wage of a sustainable and bright future and development. Elders are therefore also encouraged to learn it, in order to make it acquire a better status.

The fact that Camfranglais can make use of up to 10 languages in our corpus may symbolize in a broader sense the ten regions of Cameroon. As such, one may qualify it as the most representative Cameroonian talk. A kind of equilibrium could be made throughout the ten languages found in Camfranglais, in order to enable each Cameroonian -young or old, rich or poor, literate or not- to identify himself through that talk. If such actions were undertaken, then we would surely move towards a Cameroonian creole and why not towards a national language?

The talk that embodies the most diversity in Cameroon is Camfranglais. As it has been mentioned earlier, linguistic diversity is a factor of national development and so is Camfranglais. In the quest of a national language, keen attention should be paid to that talk which appears to be a factor of national identity, development, and cohesion.

As a matter of fact, the current Northern and Southern problem in Cameroon is basically a language problem that could be solved through a national common lingua franca.

Scientists especially linguists should therefore investigate much more in that field of study which is a contribution to many domains:

In Social psychology, the study clearly reveals how to deal with terms and notions like attitude, representation, perception and noticing.

It is also a revolution in computer science for it entails the development and the rise of multilingual software and programs.

In sociology, the study of Camfranglais is somehow the study of a specific variable of the Cameroonian society: the youth. Their language enables to identify their lifestyle as well as their political and economic context.

As far as Linguistic Landscape is concerned, it has been mentioned that the concept is relevant in the field of sociolinguistics because it reveals power relation among languages in urban space as well as the language policy of a country.

In Africa in general and in Cameroon in particular, the study of Linguistic Landscape should only not be limited to written signs. As societies with oral tradition, nothing occurs by chance that is why Linguistic Landscape in the African context should also take into account symbols like architecture, sculpture, traditional clothing, dance, and craft that act as our primarily writing system. (Talla 2012)

In Cameroon for instance, one can easily identify (read) the origin of a person through clothing. - Gandura for the North, Kaba-gondo for the Littoral-. Architecture may also provide information about the rank and the origin of an individual. Traditional dances generally convey messages of joy or sorrow, and each movement has a meaning. The materials used in the craft for instance also give indications on which part of the country they are coming from. Even the nature -animals and plants, mountains and valleys...- is highly symbolic in African society.

Language equity measures should be implemented and applied in all Cameroonian cities. Government should therefore put appropriate means and frameworks, at the disposal of researchers, to find out how to tackle and manage that issue, e.g., the standardization, documentation and revitalization of local languages and Camfranglais. Language policies in favor of minority languages should also explicitly appear in the national constitution, just as it is the case of official languages. As such, national languages should appear much more on public and private billboards, walls and signposting.

In schools, Language Awareness trainings should be intensified be it at the primary, secondary and higher education. Students should also be trained to read our traditional writing system: symbols. “We should rethink the contents of our languages courses and assign them an objective which aim at the integral development of their communities. African languages can play their best role as development-oriented tool in literacy” (Mutaka 2008).

As it has already been observed through music and arts, culture should be used to foster and develop linguistic diversity activities.

Language Awareness approaches should be extended to all other African countries. This will develop a climate of peace and tolerance among all African people.

All in all, linguistic diversity is a powerful weapon that can be used in a good or a bad way in Cameroon. Awareness of this situation should first of all bring changes in attitudes towards the perception of the “otherness”, and secondly entail positive and laudable actions from many actors of the society, namely the government, schoolteachers, parents, and students.

Gains of Bi/multilingualism

Multilingualism is important for at least the following reasons: Economic efficiency and productivity, establishment of a democratic society, promotion of education, and respect for human rights.

In 1922, in “Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus,” the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein wrote, “The limits of my language mean the limits of my world.” The words that we have at our disposal affect what we see and the more words there are, the better our perception. When we learn to speak a different language, we learn to see a bigger world.

The advantages that multilinguals exhibit over monolinguals are not restricted to linguistic knowledge only, but extend outside the area of language (Cook 1999, 2002), and the substantial long-lived cognitive, social, personal, academic, and professional benefits of enrichment bilingual contexts have been well documented (Thomas & Collier 1998). Children and older persons learning foreign languages have been demonstrated to:

- Have a keener awareness (Galambos & Goldin-Meadow 1990; Ewert 2006, *forthc.*) and sharper perception of language (enhanced metalingual abilities, e.g., detection of anomalous sentences; Bialystok 2001). Foreign language learning “enhances children’s understanding of how language itself works and their ability to manipulate language in the service of thinking and problem solving” (Cummins 1981);
- Be better at judging how many words there are in a sentence (whatever the practical utility of this skill);
- Be more capable of separating meaning from form (Ben Zeev 1977; Bialystok 1986);
- Learn more rapidly in their L1, e.g., to read (Yelland et al. 1993), with a high positive correlation between FL study and improved reading scores (for children of both average and below average intelligence, Garfinkel & Tabor 1991), as well as improved performance in other basic L1 skills, regardless of race, gender, or academic level (Dumas 1999);

- Be more efficient communicators in the L1;
- Be consistently better able to deal with distractions, which may help offset age-related declines in mental dexterity (Bialystok et al. 2004); their greater control needed to perform well on the experimental Simon task being accounted for either by the ability to hold two languages in the mind concurrently without allowing words and grammar slip from one into the other, or by superior working memories for information storage and processing;
- Develop a markedly better language proficiency in, sensitivity to, and understanding of their mother tongue (e.g., Johnson et al. 1963). For instance, graduating high school seniors with two or more years of FL study significantly outperformed non-FL students on achievement tests in their L1 (Bastian 1980; cf. also e.g., Van de Craen et al.'s (2006) account of children in multilingual schools in Walloon vs. their monolingual peers, and Nespor (1971) for an increase in expressive L1 oral productivity);
- Develop a greater vocabulary size over age (cf. Kosmidis 2006), including their L1 (Johnson et al. 1963), consistently scoring higher in measures of L1 English vocabulary, particularly when the language studied has Latinate roots (Masciantonio 1977), contrary to the fear that bilingual children may be 'late talkers';
- Have a better ear for listening and sharper memories (Ratte 1968; Lapkin et al. 1990);
- Be better language learners in institutionalized learning contexts because of more developed language-learning capacities owing to the more complex linguistic knowledge and higher language awareness (Wolff 2006); thus, FL 'best practice' reinforces the L1 English language content of the general classroom (Curtain & Dahlberg 2004);
- Have increased ability to apply more reading strategies effectively due to their greater experience in language learning and reading in two -or more- different languages (Nayak et al. 1990), with TL proficiency linearly correlated with reading strategy use (Hong & Leavell 2006), also in their native language (Garfinkel & Tabor 1991; Horstmann 1980; Johnson et al. 1963);
- Develop not only better verbal, but also spatial abilities (Diaz 1983);
- Parcel up and categorize meanings in different ways, e.g., colors (see footnote #1 below) (Athanasopoulos 2001; Japanese has different verbs for putting on garments, hat, and other pieces of attire and two lexemes denoting 'water' depending on whether the speaker is female or male (although the young generation attempts to shun this gender-exclusive

differentiation), Chinese has a separate word for going to the cinema, theatre, or doctor, while Swahili an assortment of greetings depending on the gender, age, and status of the person encountered);

- Display generally greater cognitive flexibility, better problem solving and higher-order thinking skills (Hakuta 1986); they have better “measures of conceptual development”, “creativity” and “analogical reasoning” (Diaz 1985), divergent thinking and figural creativity (Landry 1973b; cf. also e.g. 1968, 1972, 1973a, 1974). “Bilinguals or multilinguals are more used to switching thought patterns and have more flexible minds” (UNESCO 1995:179). FL learners consistently outperform their peers in core subject areas on standardized tests (Masciantonio 1977; Rafferty 1986; Andrade et al. 1989; Armstrong & Rogers 1997; Saunders 1998). For instance, multilingual children in Brussels secondary schools outperform their monoglot schoolmates in problem-solving and fraction exercises (Van de Craen et al. 2006; cf. also Rafferty (1986) for higher math scores of language students and Armstrong & Rogers (1997) for similar results in mathematics and language arts; Campbell’s (1962) longitudinal study contrasting performance in all school subjects of FLES (FL in elementary school, 20 minutes per day) and non-FLES students, all selected to have IQ of 120 or above, suggesting that FLES has a positive effect; consistent improved performance on both verbal and nonverbal intelligence tests in Peal & Lambert (1962), Bruck et al. (1974), Hakuta (1986) and Weatherford (1986), on Performance IQ, Picture Arrangement Object Assembly in Samuels & Griffore (1979), and on Iowa Test of Basic Skills in Lipton et al. (1985)).

“A monolingual has in a sense a single other to model: all the people whom he or she encounters use the same worldview and the same language. A person who speaks multiple languages has at least a dual or stereoscopic vision of the world from two or more perspectives. As we know from many studies of young children, this indeed has an effect on their cognitive development, enabling them to be more flexible in their thinking, learn reading more easily. The point is not so much that $2+2=4$ as $2+2=5$; it is not just the addition of a different world perspective to the person’s scope as the realisation that many perspectives are possible. Monolinguals therefore are not only restricted to a single worldview, but they also have more ideas that other worldviews are possible. Indeed this has always been seen as one of the main educational advantages of language teaching (Cook 2001a)”. Early FL study results in substantial and long-lived benefits to the developing brain: “the learning experiences of a child determine which neural connections are

developed and which no longer function” (Dr. Michael Phelps, Chairman of the Department of Molecular and Medical Pharmacology, UCLA School of Medicine, quoted in NNELL 1996)

Therefore, foreign language learners have the advantages:

- Expand their personal horizons and -being simultaneously insiders and outsiders- see their own culture from a new perspective not available to monoglots, enabling the comparison, contrast, and understanding of cultural concepts;
- Be better problem-solvers gaining multiple perspectives on the issue (Kennedy 1994);
- Have improved critical thinking abilities;
- Possess extra skills in language use, e.g., engage in transfer, borrowing, insertional, alternational, inter- and intra-sentential code switching (Grosjean 1989), mixing, and translation patterns that are usual and natural rather than exceptional (as is in the case of monoglots), and analyzed as psycholinguistically motivated hybrid utterances serving different interactional, linguistic, pragmatic, cognitive and strategic functions (Majer 2006); which may prove invaluable as, in some cases, the insertion of a foreign term may mean lower risk than e.g., omitting that term altogether for lack of a relevant translational equivalent in the person’s lexicon (Pym 2006);
- Reverse underachievement and close the achievement gap if they had been struggling in other subjects; as such learners make the greatest proportional gains, since “extended foreign language study gives students of average intelligence a kind of enrichment they may not be getting from other studies or experiences” (Garfinkel & Tabor 1991). For instance, a significant correlation was demonstrated between improved reading scores of language learners of average intelligence (the improvement for children of above average intelligence was statistically insignificant); FLL helps alter the trajectory for these students (Andrade et al. 1989) for indications that achievement for children participating in the FL magnet program far exceeds national norms in reading and math); thus, when pupils not accustomed to achievement in school excel in this area, it results in developing a significantly higher self-concept and self-esteem (Masciantonio 1977; Andrade et al. 1989; Saunders 1998);
- Better understand and appreciate people of other countries, thereby lessening racism, xenophobia, and intolerance (Carpenter & Torney 1974), as the learning of a new language usually brings with it a revelation of a new culture. FL study offers unique insight into other cultures and promotes intercultural competence -especially as “the positive impact of cultural

information is significantly enhanced when that information is experienced through foreign language” (Curtain & Dahlberg 2004), which is becoming increasingly sought after in the age of global interdependence and increasingly multicultural and multi-ethnic societies. Harvard Business Review (quoted by Schwarzer 2006) reveals that banks not only tolerate, but also celebrate and capitalize on diversity, which helps them make much more money annually;

- Learn further languages more quickly and efficiently than their hitherto monolingual peers (Cummins 1981); to say nothing of the social and employment advantages of being bilingual – offering the student the ability to communicate with people s/he would otherwise not have the chance to interact with, and increasing job opportunities in many careers.
- Learning a second language makes it easier to learn a third

Once people have opened their mind enough to take in a second language, it becomes even easier for them to learn a third and a fourth. Becoming bilingual increases a person’s ability to focus on learning new tasks and also triggers increased concentration. Multitasking also becomes much simpler for those who are bilingual.

The area of the brain that is responsible for learning new materials and encouraging spatial growth is further stimulated with bilingual education. Studies show that bilingual education leads to increased brain growth and an increase in the person’s ability to handle multiple tasks at once.

The world is shrinking every day at an astonishing rate. Children who are able to communicate fluently with a variety of cultures and peoples are the ones who will rise to the top in a world that is becoming far more global than anyone could have anticipated.

- There are multiple personality benefits

There is a plethora of personality benefits to be gained by children who are able to experience a bilingual education. Bilingual education is a great way to enhance your child’s overall working memory. Studies have shown that children who show the ability to handle learning a second language also increase their ability to process new sounds, especially those who use separate languages on a regular basis.

A child who receives a bilingual education is also far less likely to experience a wide range of personal disorders, including anxiety. They are also typically much less lonely than their single

language-speaking counterparts. Accomplishing a task of this nature is also a great boost to their self-esteem.

Their overall aggression level is also reduced and their ability to reason logically experiences a significant boost. They externalize their anger at a much less frequent rate and less likely to get into arguments with their peers. (Bialystok 2004)

- Leads to a more well rounded child

While skeptics believe that bilingual education will only serve to confuse a young student, studies prove that learning a second language enhances the mind and provides the student with a much brighter future, making it easier for them to understand and relate to other cultures throughout the world.

A child who is able to grasp a second or third language opens up a much larger world to himself and is much more likely to be cultured and worldly. He is able to study abroad and gain more from the experience than those who study abroad without being able to speak the predominant language of the country.

He will have a decided advantage over children who do not speak more than one language. Learning a second language provides a valuable gateway to positive interactions with other races, which leads to personal growth and more rapid development of other important social skills.

The most significant advantage, which has been reported recently must be the fact that “bilingual patients developed dementia 4.5 years later than the monolingual ones.” Thomas Bak (2014) concluded that “bilingual switching between different sounds, words, concepts, grammatical structures and social norms constituted a form of natural brain training, which was likely to be more effective than any artificial brain training programme”.

Bilingualism has also been found to enhance a child’s working memory as shown by a research conducted at the University of Granada under the supervision of Ellen Bialystok (2004). The “working memory includes the structures and processes associated with the storage and processing of information over short periods of time.”

In their article “Being Bilingual Makes You Smarter”, The New York Times (2012) writes that “the bilingual experience improves the brain’s so-called executive function, a command system

that directs the attention processes that we use for planning, solving problems and performing various other mentally demanding tasks.” Bilinguals are better at multi-tasking. “Children who grow up learning to speak two languages are better at switching between tasks than are children who learn to speak only one language”.

Bilingualism makes you more open-minded and sensitive to others: “bilinguals have an enhanced awareness of other people’s points of view, born from their deeper understanding, from an early age, that some people have a different perspective.” This probably makes bilinguals better managers.

Another study found that bilingualism enhances listening ability. It showed that in a noisy environment bilinguals are “better at detecting the different sounds, therefore enhancing attention.” (Agnes Kovack 2009)

Bilingual children are less easily distracted. Judy Willis MD (2012), a neurologist, teacher and author states that “compared to monolinguals, the bilingual children develop greater attention focus, distraction resistance, decision-making judgment and responsiveness to feedback” and that “research supports encouraging parents to retain use of their native language in the home” in her article Neuroscience and the Bilingual Brain.

If you grow up as a bilingual you are often also bicultural. Being bilingual offers a greater number of social networks, awareness of cultural differences, the possibility of taking part in the life of two or more cultures, of being an intermediary between cultures as well as having “greater creativity and professional success”. (Grojean 2008)

Moreover, multilingual education provides monolingual students with the opportunity to learn a second language and become bilingual. A large body of research now shows that bilingualism benefits various cognitive and social-linguistic skills, throughout the lifespan. Infants raised in a bilingual environment are perceptually more flexible than infants raised in monolingual environments. For example, when infants are shown silent videos of two people speaking in different languages, bilingually-raised infants -compared to monolingually-raised infants- are better able to differentiate that the two people are speaking in different languages, even when the speakers are speaking two different languages that the infants have never been exposed to! This

perceptual flexibility seems to last into adulthood and might even make learning a third (or fourth or more!) language easier. On top of this perpetual flexibility, bilingual children have also been found to have a better understanding of the communicative functions and grammatical conventions of language. Bilingual children develop an understanding of grammatical rules and structures earlier than monolingual children, and bilingual preschoolers -compared to their monolingual peers- better understand that speakers of different languages call objects by different names (e.g., apple vs. manzana). Bilingual preschoolers have also been found to be better able to name the language that they speak! (Mechelli, Crinion, Noppeney, Ashburner, Frackowiak & Price 2004.)

Aside from language-related skills, learning to speak two languages benefits cognitive skills like attention, inhibition, and switching as well. Bilingual children develop these kinds of cognitive skills earlier than their monolingual peers. The reason why researchers think bilingual children develop these kinds of cognitive skills faster is because bilingual children are constantly exercising their cognitive skills each time they speak: bilingual children need to pay attention to what language they're speaking, inhibit speaking in the other language, and switch from one language to the next depending on who they're talking to. And this also seems to have lifelong consequences; bilingual older adults show behavioral symptoms of Alzheimer's about 5 years later than monolingual older adults, even though images of their brains will show similar progression of the disease. In other words, bilingual older adults' brains are able to compensate for beginning Alzheimer's symptoms through the cognitive skills they've been exercising throughout their life. (BBC 2013)

- Linguistic and cultural diversity are connected to biodiversity

Linguistic and cultural diversity on the one hand and biodiversity on the other hand are correlated; where one type is high, the other one is usually too, and vice versa, even if there are exceptions. Comparing the top 25 countries in terms of the number of endemic languages and the number of endemic vertebrates, conservationist David Harmon (1995) finds a high degree of overlap: 16 of the 25 top countries are on both lists. He has the same result when comparing languages and flowering plants, languages and butterflies, etc. There is a high correlation

between various kinds of indicators of biological mega-diversity and rich linguistic diversity (Harmon, in press).

New research suggests mounting evidence for the hypothesis that the relationship might also be causal: the two types of diversities seem to mutually enforce and support each other (Maffi, 2001; Posey, 1999). It is not only the biological species and languages that disappear. With death of languages, also the “traditional ecological knowledge about relationships between plants and animals is being lost” (Nabhan 2001: 151). Indigenous and minority communities are “reservoirs of considerable knowledge about rare, threatened, and endemic species that has not to date been independently accumulated by Western-trained conservation biologists”, says Nabhan (2001: 151), summarizing a wealth of studies.

The strongest and most stable ecosystems are those which are the most diverse. Diversity contains the potential for adaptation whereas uniformity can endanger a species (including the human species) by providing inflexibility and unadaptability, (Baker, 2001: 281). Baker argues that “Our success on this planet has been due to an ability to adapt to different kinds of environment over thousands of years (atmospheric [e.g., the Ice Age] as well as cultural. Such ability is born out of diversity. Thus language and cultural diversity maximise chances of human success and adaptability” (ibid.). “Just as in biology, diversity is the norm. So it is with language: multilingualism is the norm” (St. Clair 2001: 102).

- Linguistic diversity and national development

In Chumbow (1990), national development is defined as the nation’s human resources acting on its natural resources to produce goods (tangible and intangible) in order to improve the welfare and social well-being of citizens of the entire nation in terms of indicators of development predicated on minimum standards of living which include (among others) a reasonable standard of good health and housing facilities, food security, life expectancy (reduction of infant mortality and improvement of maternal and reproductive health), education and literacy, and employment.

It has been argued forcefully that the economic and social development of Africa depends crucially on the development and use of African languages in the enterprise of national development (Bamgbose 1991; Chumbow 1990 and 2005-among others).

Plurilingualism enhances creativity. High-level Plurilinguals as a group do better than corresponding monolinguals on tests measuring several aspects of intelligence, creativity, divergent thinking, cognitive flexibility, etc. In an information society, those parts of the world will do well where multilingualism has been and is the norm (as it is in most countries with linguistic mega-diversity), even among people with no or little formal education. This presupposes that the plurilinguals there obtain access to exchanging and refining this knowledge - which they may, in a thoroughly wired satellite and chip-driven global society-. This presupposes in most cases education through the medium of the mother tongue, even for numerically small groups. Thus education that leads to high levels of plurilingualism produces not only local linguistic and cultural capital but also knowledge capital that will be exchangeable to other types of capital in the information society.

- Diversity, a parameter of social cohesion

Cultural diversity today is a major challenge because of the multicultural composition of most countries. The 2004 edition of UNDP's Human Development Report, entitled Cultural Freedom in a Diverse World, stresses the need to implement public policies that recognize difference, defend diversity, and promote cultural freedoms. However, this is only possible insofar as we are aware of the conflicts that the very recognition of diversity brings about in multicultural societies. Experience has shown that efforts to strengthen the national fabric by denying the existence of cultural differences produces shocks in return, and that the only effective way to cope with these differences is to confront them directly.

Drawbacks of Bi/multilingualism

Although, since the sixties, the studies reporting positive effects of bilingual development by far outnumber the studies reporting cognitive disadvantages associated with bilinguality, there are still a number of studies reporting negative effects, which have to be explained. Some just mention the negative effects; some mention negative effects along with positive effects, a few mention an intellectual handicap.

Lemmon & Goggin (1989) observed that Spanish-English bilingual college students in the USA, carefully selected as proficient in both languages though not balanced, who were given an array

of cognitive tasks scored lower than English monolinguals on three cognitive tasks (WAIS-R, the Cattell Culture Fair test, and the Guilford fluency/flexibility test). However, when they made a distinction between a group of low bilinguals (who, although proficient enough in English to be considered bilingual, scored low on the Gates-McGinitie Reading Test in their mother tongue) and a group of high bilinguals (who scored high on the Reading test) they observed that the high bilinguals outperformed the low bilinguals on seven of the ten cognitive measures. When they paired the high bilingual group with an equally proficient (on the reading test) monolingual group they found no differences on the cognitive tasks.

In a UNESCO investigation in Sweden, Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukoma (1976) found that Finnish migrant children, of average non-verbal IQ, attending Swedish comprehensive schools, were considerably below Finnish and Swedish norms in their literacy skills in L1 and L2. They further observed that those children who migrated at age 10 achieved a level in both languages fairly comparable to those norms, whereas children who migrated at an earlier age did not. They also found that the extent to which the mother tongue was developed prior to migration was related to achievement in both languages; from these findings they postulated that competence in the mother tongue had to be sufficiently established before the child could successfully acquire a second language. Pfaff (1981) mentioned similar results in her study on children of Gastarbeiters in Germany.

Almost all studies mentioning negative effects have been conducted in Western cultures with children of minority groups schooled in the majority language. It must be noted that the more recent studies mentioning negative effects cannot be faulted on the ground of methodological weakness; for this reason we must find an explanation, which takes into account the negative as well as the positive consequences of early bilingual experience.

- Bilingual education is quite costly

Many people think that running a dominant language program is far cheaper than attempting to educate a minority language student. Often, if students do not have a strong understanding of the language in which they are being taught, all of the money spent on establishing the program is a complete waste.

Spending money on bilingual education programs takes valuable funding away from programs that schools are already forced to cut back on. Physical education and music related programs are consistently falling by the wayside, in favor of foreign language programs that are not proven to be successful. For this reason, many schools have elected to stick with their current dominant language programs.

- Foreign language students do not assimilate as easily

One of the most common criticisms of bilingual education is that it provides foreign language students with an opportunity to avoid complete and total assimilation into the culture where they currently live. In order to fully adapt to the current culture of the country where a person resides, a person needs to make certain sacrifices.

Chief among these sacrifices is their dominant language and culture. When bilingual education is offered, it simply serves to widen the cultural gap, as opposed to bridging it. It also becomes more difficult for the student to experience success in other school subjects, such as mathematics or science.

Those who speak a minority language should be able to learn English, while also holding onto their native tongue and their own cultural traditions. Learning a second language should never be an either/or proposition.

- Reduces focus on a career

When a child is made to spend a great deal of time learning a second language, this can hinder his ability to develop the skills that he needs in other areas. Specializing in one particular area is considered to stunt the child's overall development and can actually lead to a lack of well-rounded learning.

Teaching a child to be bilingual is an extremely time consuming pursuit and one that can cause a great deal of frustration for both the teacher and the student alike. If a child becomes frustrated with learning, this attitude can spill over into how he relates to other subjects.

Some children respond well to learning a second language, while others do not. For this reason, it is crucial that you are able to read the warning signs in the child you are trying to teach, so that you do not burn them out on learning altogether and adversely affect their chances of reaching their true potential and focusing on the career that they desire.

- Lack of qualified teachers

One of the main issues that continues to arise in the world of bilingual education is the severe lack of qualified teachers who are able to handle the subject. Quality bilingual education requires a firm, patient, expert teacher who has the time on his hands to take care of all the issues that arise.

Unfortunately, these teachers are in very short supply. Many of them are already very busy teaching their normal subjects and do not have the time necessary to add teaching a second language to their already busy schedule.

At a point in time when so many teachers' capabilities are being stretched to the limit and schools are struggling to fill their staffs with qualified educators, the idea of taking talented teachers and assigning them to teach a second language is not something that is universally supported.

Globalization would inevitably lead to cultural homogenization. While it is undeniable that globalization weakens in some respects cultural diversity and leads to a standardization of lifestyles, production and consumption, it is equally true that it contributes to a recomposition of new forms of diversity.

Challenges

When observing the above-mentioned issues, linguistic diversity remains a big challenge in the world in general and in Cameroon in particular. This section below provides an attempt to face these challenges by giving some clues of solutions. Each actor of the society (government, parents, educators and children) has to play a key role in the fight against bias and stereotypes pertaining to languages and cultures. Raising awareness is thus the responsibility of each and everyone.

- Save our languages

Cultural diversity includes linguistic diversity, a common heritage of humanity, a source of development and creativity, as an integral part of human rights and recognized as such by UNESCO in the 2001 Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity. Hence this petition “Save our languages!”

Each individual, each family, each community, and each nation must uphold the importance of language as an expression of culture, of who we are as a people. As Fishman (1996) states, language is the mind, spirit, and soul of a people. Every effort must be made to protect, preserve, promote, and practice our Indigenous/Aboriginal languages. We must gather into the circle all the knowledge, wisdom, and energy we possess to ensure their survival.

Over the last thirty years, various programs and projects have been initiated in an attempt to keep our languages alive. We must especially recognize and thank our elders and language teachers for their perseverance in efforts to save our languages despite the lack of support given to them.

As a world community of Indigenous people, we are faced with many common challenges in our attempts to maintain the vitality of our respective languages and to honour “the natural order of the Creator.” But in the end, the preservation and use of our languages depends on our communities: “When the smallest of our communities hangs on to their language, it allows your community to continue and to redevelop and recreate itself one generation to the next” (D. Crombie in Kirkness, 1989: 26). The challenge we face today is to ensure that the work at all levels to protect and preserve our languages is being done to provide for the specific needs of the communities. The following are seven critical directions to the task:

- Bank our languages.

To save what remains of our languages, it is crucial that we preserve them immediately by recording using ICT tools, all of our fluent speakers, most of whom are our Elders. We must capture the purest oral forms of our languages to ensure that they will be available to future generations. Although today it may not be important to many of our people to speak their ancestral language, when the “wake-up” call does come, as I am sure it will, the languages that we “bank” now will make possible a new period of cultural renaissance among our people. In

fact, the very act of recording our languages may produce the spark that inspires the community to begin the process of language revival and maintenance.

- Raise the awareness level of our people.

To save our languages, there is a need to ensure that our people know why our languages are nearing extinction and why our languages are so important to our lives and to who we are. To do this, we can employ two strategies.

First, we must do as Paulo Freire, the radical Brazilian educator who spent a lifetime working with the oppressed in South America and Africa, has done. We must ensure that every indigenous man, woman, and child knows of their oppression. They must know how the oppressors “stole” their language and culture through schooling in residential schools and day schools, how school has destroyed their identity, and how all this has contributed to the weakening of our people and their communities: “Only through knowing can the oppressed recognize the ideological distortions that influence and shape their understanding of social and political reality” (Freire, 1978). The impact of years of brainwashing must be revealed and understood.

Second, we must ensure that every indigenous man, woman, and child knows the effect language has on his or her lives. Language is what gives us our identity and expresses our unique worldview. Language is the ultimate symbol of belonging; it is through language that culture is shared and transmitted. If we lose our language, we are essentially losing a way of life, a way of thought, a way of valuing and a particular human reality. If you take language “away from the culture, you take away its greetings, its curses, its praises, its laws, its literature, its songs, its riddles, its proverbs, its cures, its wisdom, its prayers” (Fishman, 1996, p. 81).

Without our indigenous languages, we are not remaining true to “the natural order of the Creator.” At the 1988 Aboriginal Language Policy Conference, Grand Chief Mike Mitchell related the following words of his grandfather:

What would happen to the Creator’s law if the robin couldn’t sing its song anymore? We would feel very bad: We would understand that something snapped in nature’s law. What would happen if you saw a robin and you heard a different song, if it was singing the song of the sea gull? You would say, “Robin, that’s not your language; that’s not your song.”

To this Chief Mitchell added: “It was not meant for us to lose our language; we broke the cycle, and today we have nothing to stand on if our language is going to die.”

- Mobilization of our resources.

The most important and valuable resources we have to save our languages today are our human resources. Our speakers of the language, whether totally or marginally fluent, are the key to enabling us to maintain the “Creator’s natural order.”

As Timoti Karetu, the New Zealand Maori Language Commissioner, states, “The revitalization of a language is dependent upon the will of its speakers.” To set up a language bank, for instance, it will take speakers who may not consider themselves to be fluent, but who have sufficient command of the language, to interview the more fluent speakers. The onus and responsibility falls on the youngest generation of speakers who have the education, vitality, and stamina to pursue the range of activity that is needed to save our languages. Ways and means must be identified that enable them to play an active role in revitalizing our languages.

The other critical resource needed is money. While not all initiatives require money, many do. We must get the government and the churches to acknowledge their responsibility in the demise of our languages and get them to provide the financial resources required to enable us to save our languages. As money becomes available, indigenous people with language expertise and a passion for language renewal must have a voice in organizing a plan of action that will be of benefit to all language groups.

- Training and certification.

To save our languages, we must have appropriate, certified training programs available to enable our people to become language teachers, linguists, interpreters, translators, curriculum developers, and researchers.

It is not sufficient to merely have language training workshops or short courses. It is not sufficient to merely have isolated courses provided by various colleges or universities. Even a range of courses offered in native studies, education, or other degree is not sufficient. What is required is a full- scale-training program leading to a certificate, degree, or diploma in Indigenous

languages or, even better, in a particular language or language family. Building in “prior learning assessment” will give the fluent speakers an advantage. As the Maori of New Zealand are doing, our own qualification boards should be established to provide guidelines for standards to be obtained in the various categories. If articulation with institutions of higher learning is desired, the qualification boards can be affiliated with the provincial or territorial certification authorities.

The training of teachers to teach the language, through either immersion or as a second language, requires particular skills. Current approaches are basically ineffective because they are based on the old grammar teaching methods used to teach English, which is the only model available to many of our fluent speakers. Of greatest importance is the need to identify “best practice pedagogy” based on the traditions of our people.

- Development of a comprehensive and appropriate curriculum.

Curriculum development is necessary if we are to be successful in recreating an intergenerational transmission process. It is only through passing on the language from parent to child that our languages can truly survive. If two successive generations do not speak the language, it will be lost; we need a planned intervention. A community approach to developing language curriculum would be the most effective way to ensure that there is an opportunity for everyone to get involved in learning the language. It cannot be left up to the schools; it must be a family and community responsibility.

To teach our languages effectively, planning is critical. In the case of planning language programs community-wide, it is important that an overall plan be prepared that would encompass preschool through to adult learning in both formal institutions (schools) and community programs. This will ensure that learning is continuous and will avoid unnecessary duplication.

The community must take the lead and be actively involved in planning and implementing language programs. Only the people of the community can put a plan into the appropriate contextual framework. The plan must be based on the philosophy of the people, and the goals must be clearly articulated by them. For example, is the goal to be able to converse in the language? Is it to attain literacy? How will this be accomplished stage by stage? Who will be the teachers? What materials will be required? What teaching methods will be employed? How will progress be assessed?

- Engagement in meaningful research.

The purpose of research is to find answers to questions, and researching important questions may well be the most critical area to be addressed if we are to save our languages. The most urgent questions needing research pertain to the creation of successful and effective models of language renewal.

In an article entitled “At a Loss for Words,” Stephen Hume (1998) asks two important questions: “Why were the Hungarians able to preserve their language for over 5,000 years despite repeated reinvention of their original culture and social structure...? Why is Welsh undergoing an explosive renaissance among teenagers and young adults?” Researching the answers to these two questions would provide us with a wealth of understanding and direction in addressing our situation.

Other languages that have successfully been rescued from near extinction are Hebrew in Israel, Catalan in Spain, and Maori in New Zealand. Learning about the processes they used to revive their languages would answer a number of our questions. This information is critical to curriculum development, teaching methodology, training and certification of teachers and other language professionals, and to our understanding of language acquisition.

We really know very little about our languages. Little is known about how English or French are learned, and less is known about how indigenous languages are learned. Will knowledge of our traditions help us to understand how we learn? We talk about building on cultural traditions, yet little research has been done in this area. Carl Urion and Walter Lightning suggest that traditions cannot be written down (Urion, Norton, & Porter, 1995). Does this suggest an oral approach to research? This is an exciting possibility.

We have to get inside our language for deeper meaning. As Earle Claxton states, quoted in Hume’s (1998), “The more you get into language, the more you get to the very heart of the culture and spirit.” Learning how words and sentences are constructed gives us information about our culture, our way of thinking. Learning how our stories were told, how knowledge was imparted, sheds light on who we are as a people. How often have we said, “It is difficult to translate this into English”? This tells us that there is uniqueness to our language. Only by

expanding our knowledge of our languages can we begin a meaningful process of language revival and preservation.

- Working together.

To accomplish the previous nine suggestions of how we might save our languages, we must work together, whether it be as a family, a community, or on a national level. We must take stock of where we stand in respect to our languages. If we are “for saving our languages,” then we must assess what each of us is prepared to do about it. Is it going to be a family effort? How can our commitment and passion become a community effort? Are we willing to help to get the language families together to make long-range decisions about the languages? How are we going to ensure that the political will of government and of our political leadership coincide for the benefit of all our languages?

We do not have any time to lose. We, as indigenous people, must get behind the work that has been done over the last 25 years and support and accelerate these efforts in a coordinated way. We must engage in a common strategy to make our languages living and vibrant once again. When this happens, we will be following the “natural order of the Creator,” and we can expect a better life for ourselves and for future generations.

- Use our languages

Speakers of minority languages have suffered a long history of persecution. Well into the 20th Century, many Cameroonian students were often forbidden to speak their native language.

Languages are dying all over the world. Unesco’s Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger lists 576 as critically endangered, with thousands more categorised as endangered or threatened.

But does it matter whether a seemingly obscure language spoken by a few people in one isolated corner of the world goes out of existence?

Some people argue that language loss, like species loss, is simply a fact of life on an ever-evolving planet. But counter arguments are abundant. “A lot of people invoke social Darwinism to say ‘who cares’,” says Mark Turin, an anthropologist and linguist at Yale University. “But we

spend huge amounts of money protecting species and biodiversity, so why should it be that the one thing that makes us singularly human shouldn't be similarly nourished and protected?"

What's more, languages are conduits of human heritage. Writing is a relatively recent development in our history (written systems currently exist for only about one-third of the world's languages), so language itself is often the only way to convey a community's songs, stories and poems. The Iliad was an oral story before it was written, as was The Odyssey.

- Wealth of wisdom

Another argument mirrors that of biodiversity conservation. Just as ecosystems provide a wealth of services for humanity -some known, others unacknowledged or yet to be discovered- languages, too, are ripe with possibility. They contain an accumulated body of knowledge, including about geography, zoology, mathematics, navigation, astronomy, pharmacology, botany, meteorology and more. "No culture has a monopoly on human genius, and we never know where the next brilliant idea may come from," Harrison says. "We lose ancient knowledge if we lose languages."

Finally, languages are the gateway to our world, they are ways of interpreting the world, and no two are the same. As such, they can provide insight into neurology, psychology and the linguistic capacities of our species. "Different languages provide distinct pathways of thought and frameworks for thinking and solving problems".

- Informing public opinion.

Cameroonian society as a whole must be informed about the state of our languages. Articles must appear in all forms of media. Although foreigners already write articles and books and give interviews, there is a need for us, as indigenous people, to do more to promote an understanding of the state of our languages to the general public. We too could publish articles in magazines and newspapers and take advantage of radio, television, or Internet talk shows to get our message out.

Public opinion is important in gaining government support. The more understanding there is about the critical state of our languages, the reasons for our predicament, and our efforts to save our languages, the greater the empathy will be for our situation.

UNESCO is convinced that cultural diversity and multilingualism on the Internet have a key role to play in fostering pluralistic, equitable, open and inclusive knowledge societies. UNESCO encourages its member States to develop comprehensive language-related policies, to allocate resources and use appropriate tools in order to promote and facilitate linguistic diversity and multilingualism, including the Internet and media. In this regard, the Organization supports the inclusion of new languages in the digital world, the creation and dissemination of content in local languages on the Internet and mass communication channels, and encourages multilingual access to digital resources in the cyberspace.

Globalization would inevitably lead to cultural homogenization. While it is undeniable that globalization weakens in some respects cultural diversity and leads to a standardization of lifestyles, production and consumption, it is equally true that it contributes to a recomposition of cultural diversity.

The reasons behind the slow progress of the presence of many languages on the Internet are quite diverse but can be classified into technical, economic, social, and political issues.

Whilst the technical challenges may have been significant a decade ago -mainly for languages that do not use the Roman alphabet- they are much less significant today, thanks to significant progress made during the past decade. The remaining technical challenges concern standards, tools, and technical capacity. Most standards at the core of the Internet -also called Internet protocols- are increasingly being internationalized thanks to the efforts of the Internet Engineering Task Force.²

Similarly, encoding problems, which represented the most important impediment to the use of many scripts just a decade ago, are being solved by the introduction of Unicode.³

However, in many countries, standardization at the national level has been slower, especially in the developing world. As a result, some standards, such as keyboard layouts, are still lacking, hampering the use of many languages on the Internet. As for the tools, few software tools are truly multilingual, and even fewer have been localized to a large number of languages, making it very difficult for users of most languages to access the Internet in their own languages, let alone

enter information. Last, but not least, insufficient technical capacity is a major bottleneck for many languages.

The biggest challenge is on the content development side. Unless there is enough content in a given language on the Internet, there is little incentive for speakers of that language to use the Internet. In many developing countries, there are small-scale, often volunteer-based content development activities in local languages. In the past, the Diasporas that enjoyed better connectivity and more awareness often led these efforts. Today, as local connectivity improves, more content in local languages is being developed from within the country. However, these efforts have not been sustainable and have not been able to produce a sufficient quantity of up-to-date content and information. Furthermore, most organizations, whether private or public, prefer to publish information in so-called international languages such as English and French and, unfortunately, rarely contribute to developing local content in local languages.

Insufficient economic resources are probably another reason that languages of the least-developed nations are not well represented on the Internet. There is no economic incentive for software developers to produce software tools for languages spoken in these nations even where those languages are spoken by tens of millions of people because there is limited demand for those products and, consequently, little prospect of reasonable returns. Local governments and other actors also lack funding to support activities targeting the development of multilingualism on the Internet.

Certain rooted social problems have also had a considerable impact on the development of multilingualism on the Internet. For example, illiteracy is a major impediment to the development of some languages on the Internet. In many African countries, most of the literate people are not literate in their own mother tongue, which complicates the issue.

Lack of political will is also a major impediment in many countries. Experience shows that when a government supports multilingualism, the country's linguistic presence on the Internet is substantially improved. This has been proved for many European languages and also more recently with Chinese, which has become the second-most-used language on the Internet.

All in all, should linguistic diversity be considered as a Babel tower (a curse) or a blessing? Whatever the case, the most important thing is the way these languages are perceived, handled and managed. In Germany just like in Cameroon, coping with that issue implies raising awareness of teachers, children and parents on the linguistic diversity. It also implies the development of a better understanding of others, the development of positive perceptions and attitudes through an opening to linguistic and cultural diversity and an interest for language learning, the development of a linguistic culture that underlies or supports certain components of attitudes and skills above mentioned, a set of references to help in understanding the multilingual and multicultural world in which students are brought to live (Candelier 2003: 23).

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APPENDICES

1. My Lingi book



!

MY LINGI BOOK


Author: Lydie Christelle Talla
An adaptation of "Mein Lingi Buch" by Katharina Mayr
Potsdam University

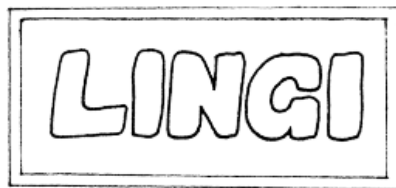


Layout: Stella Krüger



Hello students! I'm the one, your Lingi! I have brought a book for you. Do you want to fill it out with me?

The hands  will lead you
In this task, for every hand refers to a card with exercises. I wish you much fun!



Is a..... who travels much around the world. Throughout his..... he experiences many friendly.....
Lingi is particularly interested in.....and relates his new.....



I've brought you a poem.
Let's recite it together!

LINGI POEM

?

Lingi, Lingi you're there,
this is really wonderful!

You're a stork, as everyone knows,
you have traveled all over the world.

?

Many children get to know you.
You want to know how they call things
because you are very much interested in language.
You want to know everything more and more!

?

Thus, you ask me about my language
and you also come to my house.
I would like to tell you more about my beautiful
languages stories.

?

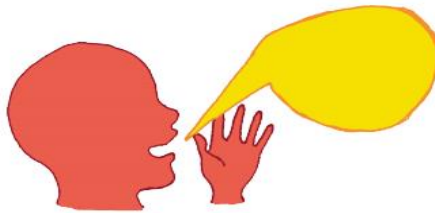
Then the next day you tell how people are
speaking in my house.
Together we collect everything well, and write it
into a Lingi book.

...?

...?

How do you greet?

?



?

?

Ling wants to know the languages that are spoken
in your family.

?



?

?

Here are dialects and languages!
This is very colorful and great,
Languages and dialects are wonderful!

?

?

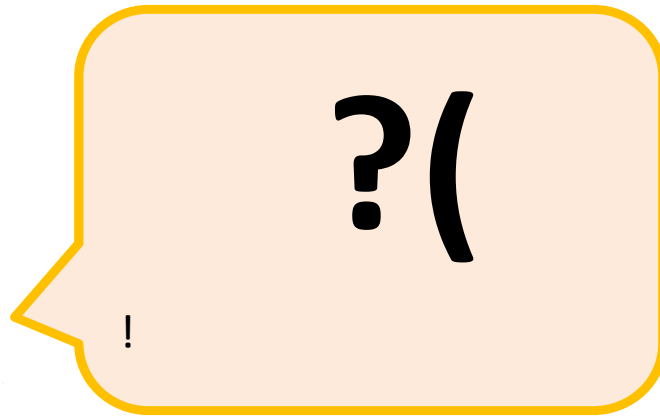
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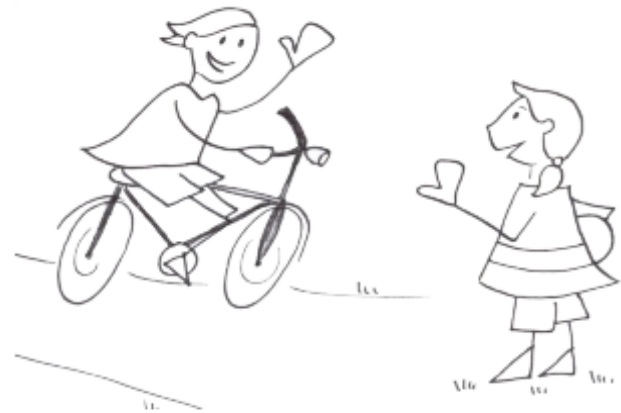
On (..... (..... (Lingi
visited my family and me. (He
also asked me many
questions. (



(
The following pages show everything
Lingi learned from me. (

(

Blank writing area with five horizontal lines.



Blank writing area with five horizontal lines.

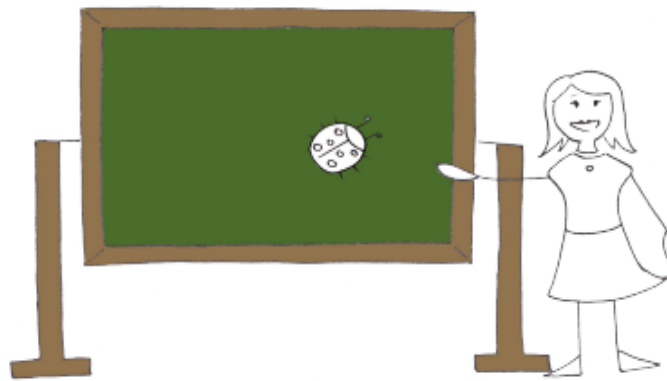


A large yellow rounded rectangle containing six horizontal lines for writing.



Five horizontal lines for writing.

A large, rounded rectangular box with a yellow border and six horizontal lines for writing.



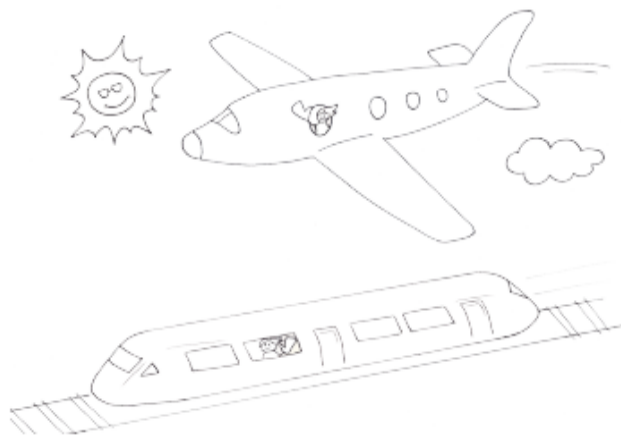
Five horizontal lines for writing, positioned below the teacher illustration.

!

11



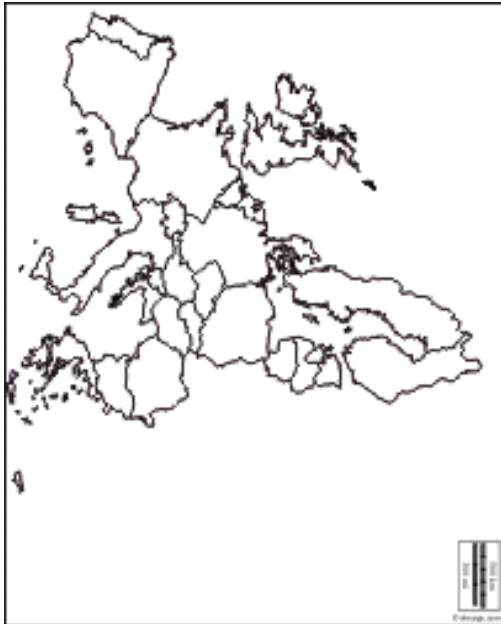
A large, rounded rectangular box with a yellow border and a light yellow background. Inside the box are seven horizontal black lines, spaced evenly, for writing.



12

Five horizontal black lines, spaced evenly, for writing.

EUROPE(AND AFRICA)



- !
- !!!!!!!live here!
- !!!!!was already here!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!
- !would like to travel here!

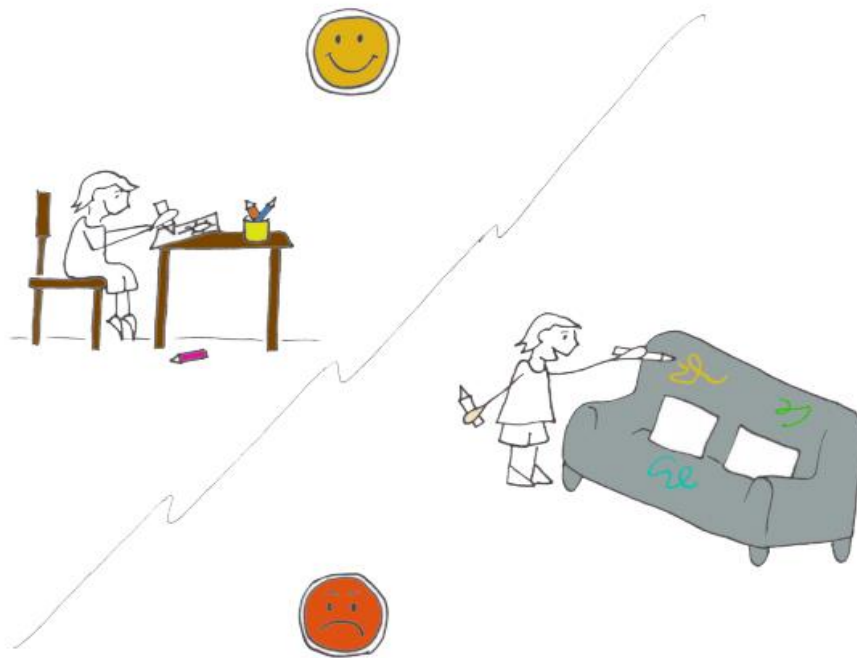


- !
- !!!!!!!live here!
- !!!!!was already here!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!
- !would like to travel here!

16



A large, rounded rectangular box with a yellow border and a light yellow background. It contains five horizontal black lines for writing.



!
!
!





!

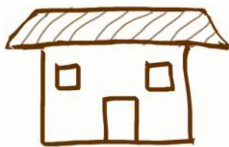
18



A large, rounded rectangular box with a yellow border and a light yellow background. Inside the box are five horizontal black lines for writing.

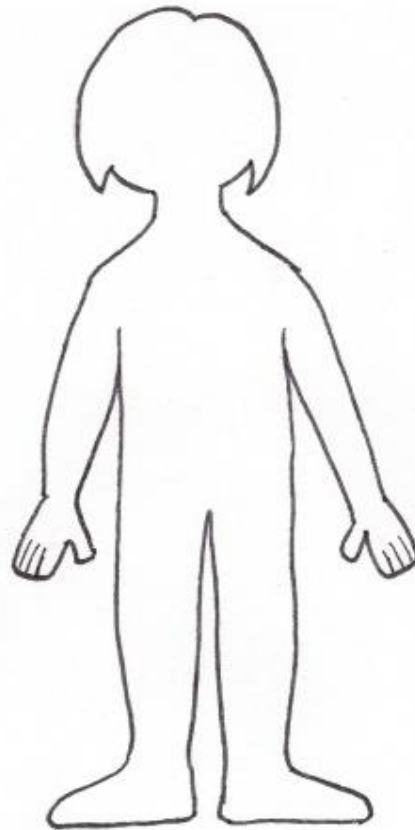


19



Four horizontal black lines for writing, positioned to the right of the illustrations.

A large, rounded rectangular box with a yellow border and six horizontal lines inside, intended for writing.





?

?

?

Lingi has not only visited me. From.....to....., he was in my classroom. We are going in class.....and the name of our school is.....

???

?



The following pages are about Lingi experiences in my classroom.

?

?



LINGI(AND(MY((CLASSROOM(...(



!

!!!!!!Concepts! ! ! ! Languages!	Greeting!	GoodBye!	Yam!	Fish!	House!
!	!	!	!	!	!
!	!	!	!	!	!
!	!	!	!	!	!
!	!	!	!	!	!
!	!	!	!	!	!
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**Lingi(is(saying(GoodTbye.(
But(before(that(he(still(has(
a(request(...(**

(

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(

?

?



?

How did you find my visit?

Please write down your Lingi story and tell what we experienced together. In this way, you could tell other children my experiences all over the world!

Looking forward to your story!

If you like, you could also paint a picture.

?

2. Help cards Lingi Level 1.

Now Lingi says good-bye to you and to your Class. He was very happy to know you and your class.

He found your languages and dialects very exciting.

?

?



Be proud of yourself! You know a lot of languages and dialects!

Lingi is following his way in order to discover new children's languages and dialects.

Maybe you travel for holidays and learn new languages there. You move around and there is an interesting dialect spoken. Maybe you will learn a new language in school. Or you develop a particular language with your friends.

?

?

?

?

?

?

Stay for a long time if you want to know more about languages like me. There is still much to discover! Have fun!
Get your Lingi.





Color your Lingi!
Write your name in
Lingi's basket.



Use the following
words:

Stork, travel, children, languages,
questions



Write the day of the week and the date on which Lingi visited you.

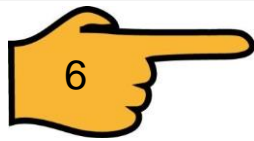


Paste a picture or draw a picture of you and Lingi.



Copy the question of
this picture card:

How do you say welcome and goodbye?



Answer Lingi's
question here!



Copy the questions
of this picture
card:

How do you speak in your family?
What languages can you speak?



Answer Lingi's
question here!



Copy the questions
of this picture
card:

What languages do you want to learn?

What languages did your parents and
other family members learn?



Answer Lingi's
questions here!



Copy the questions
of this picture
card:

Have you ever travelled on vacation?
Have you spoken with people there?



Answer Lingi's
questions here!



This is a world map.
Where do you live? Where have
you been? Where would you want
to travel? Paint it in
different colors.



This is a map of
Africa.
Where do you live? Where have
you been? Where would you want
to travel? Paint it in
different colors.



This is a map of
Cameroon.

Where do you live? Where have
you been? Where would you want
to travel? Paint it in
different colors.



Copy the questions
of this picture
card:

"What did you paint there?"
How does it sound when someone
speaks friendly or angrily?



Answer Lingi's
questions here



Copy the questions
of this picture
card:

What are the names for "yam", "fish"
and "house"?



Put the words near
the pictures.



Copy the questions
of this picture
card:

Where do you imagine your language
or languages are found in your body
from?

Where are your dialects located?



2

Draw where your
languages and
dialects are found
in your body!

2

2



Write the day of the
week and the date on
which Lingi visited
you and your class.
Fill in the gaps!

2



Paste a picture of
your class or draw a
picture of your
class and Lingi.



Write about the
class poster!



Write about the
class poster!

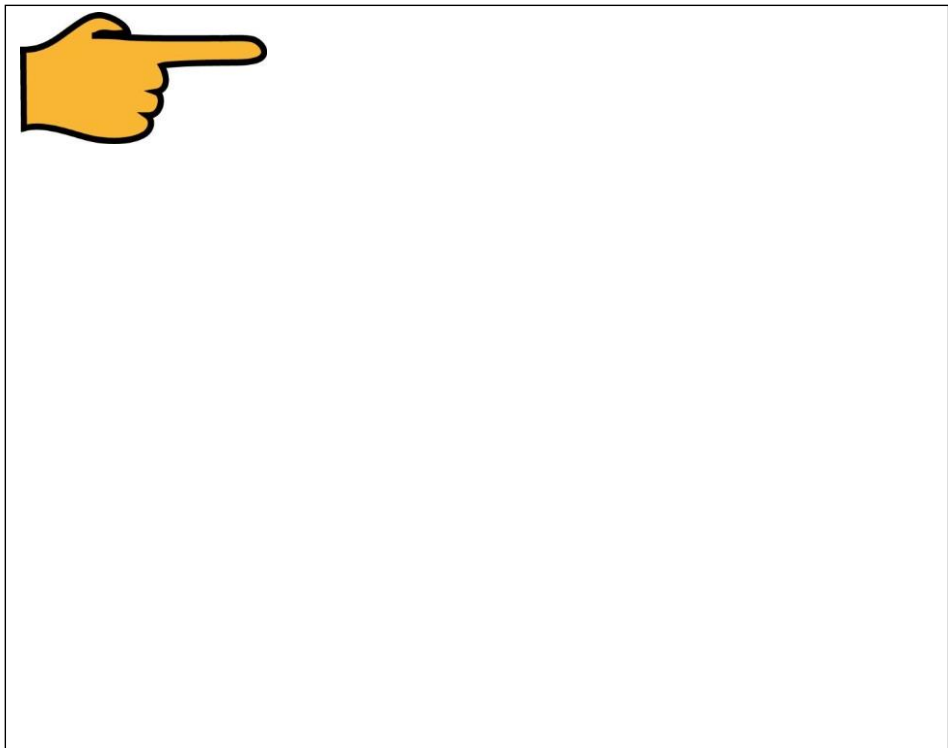
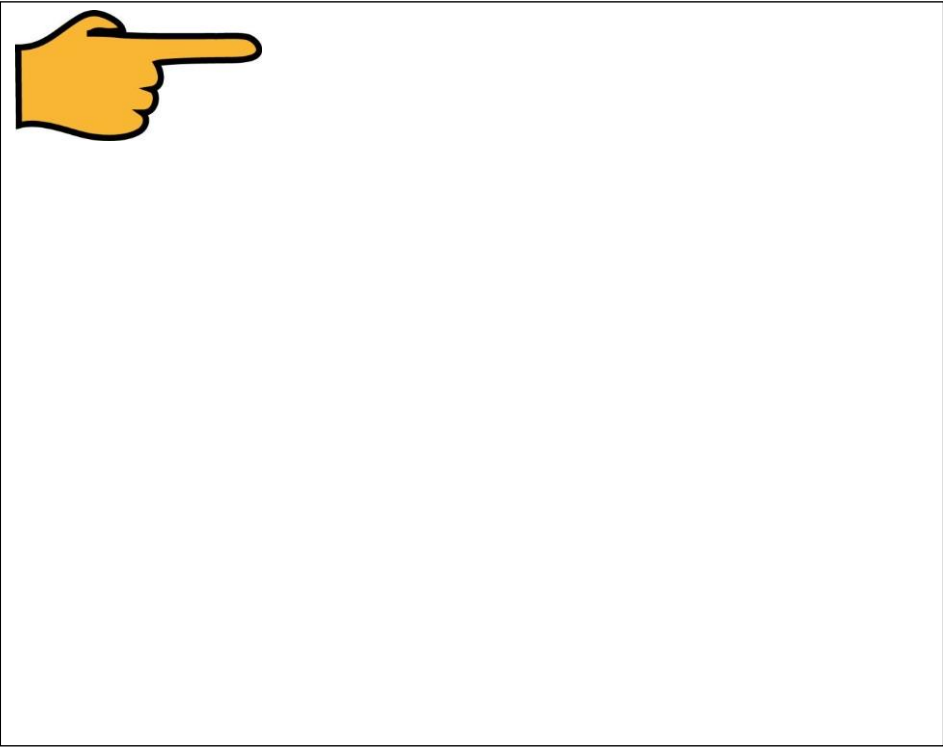


Write about the
class poster!



Here you have space
to paint. You can
also color the
stickers from Lingi,
cut them and paste
them.





3. Help cards Lingi Level 2.



Color your Lingi!
Write your name in
Lingi's basket.



Fill the gaps with the
appropriate words. Each
gap corresponds to a
word. If you need help,
turn this card around.

Stork Trips Children
Languages questions



Write the day of the week and the date on which Lingi visited you.



Paste a picture or draw a picture of you and Lingi.



Write the question
of this picture card
in the speech
bubble.



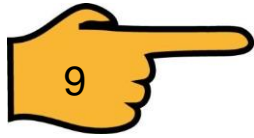
Answer Lingi's
question here!



Write the question
of this picture card
in the speech
bubble.



Answer Lingi's
question here!



Write the questions
of this picture card
in the speech
bubble.



Answer Lingi's
questions here!



Write the questions
of the picture card
in the speech bubble.



Answer Lingi's
questions here!



This is a world map.
Where do you live? Where have
you been? Where would you want
to travel? Paint it in
different colors.



This is a map of
Africa.
Where do you live? Where have
you been? Where would you want
to travel? Paint it in
different colors.



This is a map of
Cameroon.

Where do you live? Where have
you been? Where would you want
to travel? Paint it in
different colors.



Write the questions
of this picture card
in the speech
bubble.



Answer Lingi's
questions here



Write the questions
of this picture card
in the speech
bubble.



Put the words near
the pictures.



Write the questions
of this picture card
in the speech
bubble.



2

Draw where your
languages and
dialects are found
in your body!

2

2



Write the day of the
week and the date on
which Lingi visited
you and your class.
Fill in the gaps!

2



Paste a picture of
your class or draw a
picture of your
class and Lingi.



Write about the
class poster!



Write about the
class poster!

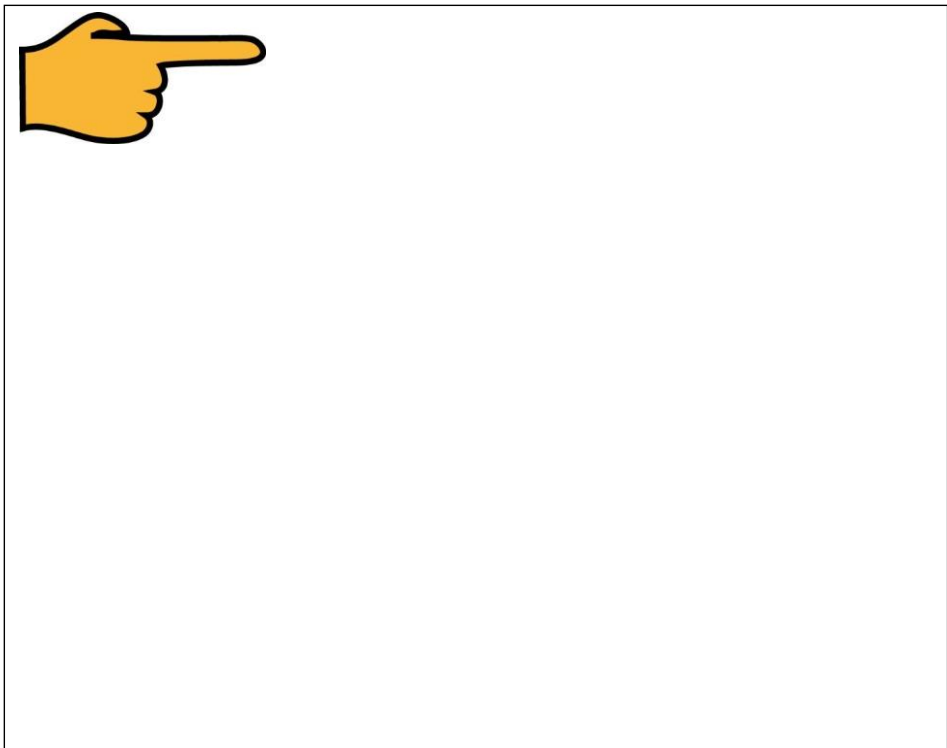
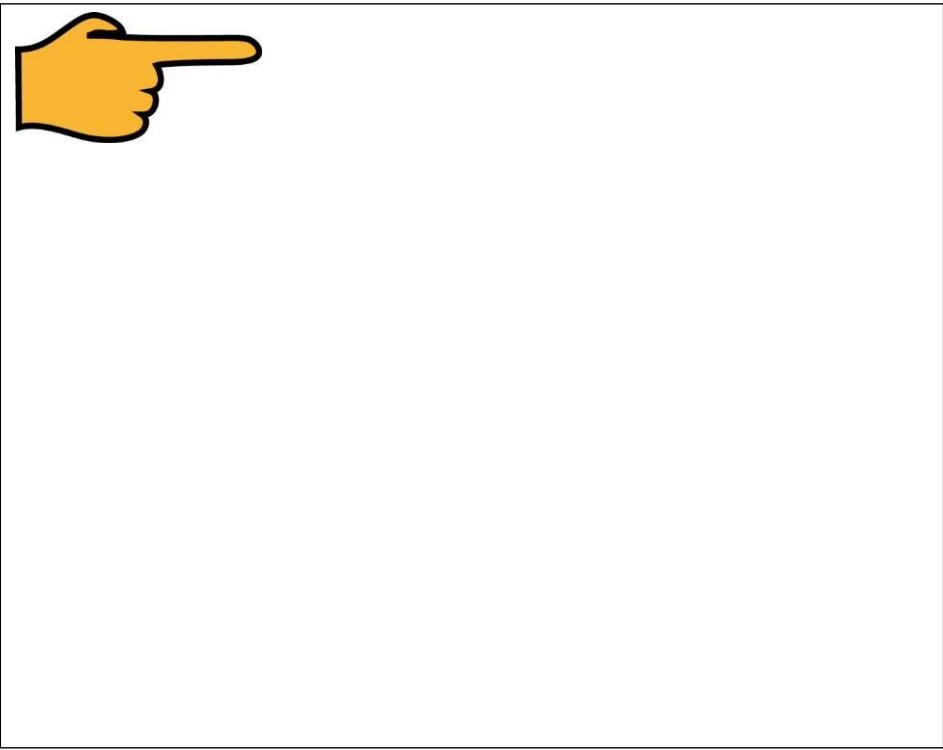


Write about the
class poster!



Here you have space
to paint. You can
also color the
stickers from Lingi,
cut them and paste
them.





4. Leaflet about Swahili

LEAFLET ABOUT SWAHILI

Swahili is spoken by an estimated 50 million people and, after Arabic, is the most widely understood language in Africa. It is the official language of Tanzania and Kenya and is used extensively in Uganda and the eastern provinces of Zaire. In Burundi and Rwanda, it is known and used in major urban centers, but is not widely known or extensively used in the monolingual countryside.

In countries that flank the area where Swahili functions as the common mode of communication, use of the language does spill over the border areas in small towns and villages along major transportation arteries, for example, in northern Mozambique, northern Zambia, and southern Ethiopia. Along the East African coastal strip from well into Somalia and as far south as northern Mozambique there are communities of Swahili speakers. Of less significance are small and declining communities in the Comoro Islands, where local Swahili-related vernaculars and French are the rule, and along part of the northwestern coast of Madagascar.

In spite of its large number of speakers and the huge area in which the language is spoken, Swahili has less than two million native speakers, most of whom live along the east African coast of southern Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania, northern Mozambique, and on the off shore islands of Lamu, Zanzibar, and Pemba. Most speakers in Tanzania and Kenya acquire Swahili as a second language, being native speakers of other African languages. Many speakers of Swahili, especially those further into the interior of the continent (up country) speak two or more other languages, and use Swahili as a lingua franca. A growing number of first language speakers, however, live in the urban areas of East Africa, where inter-ethnic communities prevail.

They are almost without exception all mutually intelligible, differing primarily in certain phonological and lexical features.

There are also pidginized versions of Swahili that developed during colonial times mainly in Kenya.

☐

☐

5. Leaflet about Ngembà

☒

LEAFLET ABOUT NGENBÀ

With 500 000 speakers, the Ngembà are divided into four departments in five villages of West region. Thus, they are found to the East in the Mifi in the villages of Bamoungoum and Baméka. On the Northern side, they are present in the Menoua at Bansa and at Bafounda in the Bamboutos. In the Hauts-Plateaux, it is the village of Bamendjou which represents the Ngembà towards the South. They are also found in the Noun, (Foumbot Divisosn, village of Mougoum), in the metropolises of the country and the diaspora. These different villages constitute the different variants of the language, although in general there is no fundamental difference between these dialects because there are no enormous difficulties of intelligibility among its speakers.

The appellation Ngembà is the contracted form of the expression "me gha Ngembà" which means "I say hein...." This term has a dual function because it refers not only to the language that is spoken within the community, but also the identity of each of its members and of the entire community, since it functions as an appellation that enables one to attract one's attention to one's audience.

☒

6. Leaflet about ghomala'

10/19/2018

Ghomálá' | Ethnologue

Ethnologue

Languages of the World

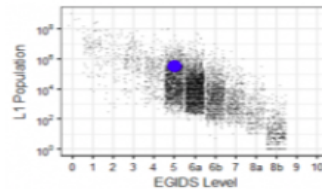
Ghomálá'

LANGUAGE

A language of Cameroon

ISO 639-3	bbj
Alternate Names	Baloum, Bamileke-Bandjoun, Bandjoun, Banjoun-Baham, Banjun, Batie, Mahum, Mandju, ghomali
Autonym	Ghomálá'
Population	350,000 (2005 SIL). Based on the actual population of the subdivisions where the Ghomala' people are present, as of the official 2005 census (2014 C. Hamm).
Location	West region: some in south Bamboutos division, east Menoua division, Mifi division except south and pockets north and west, Bamendjou subdivision.
Language Maps	Central Cameroon Southern Cameroon
Language Status	5 (Developing).
Classification	Niger-Congo , Atlantic-Congo , Volta-Congo , Benue-Congo , Bantoid , Southern , Wide Grassfields , Narrow Grassfields , Mbam-Nkam , Bamileke
Dialects	Ghomálá' Central (Baham, Bandjoun, Hom, Jo, We, Yogam), Ghomálá' North (Fusap, Lang), Ghomálá' South (Dengkwop, Pa, Te), Ngemba (Bamenjou, Fu'da, Meka, Monjo, Mugum, Sa). Bameka, Bansa, and Balessing are subvarieties of South Ghomálá'; North Ghomálá' has 2 subvarieties, Central Ghomálá' 4, and Ngemba 5.
Language Use	Taught informally to adults since the early 1900s. Adopted by UNESCO in 1960s as one of 9 languages of wider communication for Cameroon. Taught formally in 6 Roman Catholic schools since 1995. Also use French [fra].
Language Development	Literacy rate in L2: 25%–50%. NT: 2002.
Language Resources	OLAC resources in and about Ghomálá'
Writing	Latin script [Latn].
Other Comments	Traditional religion, Christian.

PLACE IN LANGUAGE CLOUD



ETHNOLOGUE PRODUCTS

Language Map of Central Cameroon

<https://www.ethnologue.com/language/bbj>

7. Linguistic Landscape PPT



Multilingual Linguistic Landscapes

)


Analysis of Linguistic Landscape:

Sociolinguistic study of the visual representation of languages in multilingual societies.

- What languages are locally relevant?
- What languages are prominent and valued?
- What languages are used for regulations or prohibitions?
- What languages are used for advertising or promotional material?
- Who is addressed with which languages?

Multilingual Linguistic Landscapes

)

- In many multilingual countries, signs should be written in different languages.
- Is that the case in Cameroon?
-  Here are some illustrations:

Examples)in)Yaoundé)



Examples)in)Yaoundé)



Example)in)the)country)



Example)in)the)country)



Examples in the country



Examples in the country



Monolingual)linguistic)landscape)



Monolingual)Linguistic)Landscapes)



Example))in)the)world)



“Safari)pictures”)

Go to the neighborhood in small groups and take pictures on:

- o Multilingual texts
- o Monolingual texts in various languages.
- o Texts in non-standard French and English (dialects, colloquial language, youth language, etc.)

Please be on time at the agreed moment!

“Safari)pictures”)

- o How have you sorted your pictures?
- o Where have you found the texts?
- o Where are the texts from?

“Safari)pictures”)

- o Who writes the texts?
- o Who should read it?
- o What is the functions of the text?

“Safari)pictures”)

o Which languages occur frequently?

o What languages hardly occur?

Course)outline)

Linguistic Landscape

Who writes what where
how and why?

Course)outline)

- o Part 1: Introduction
- o Part 2: Safari pictures
- o Part 3: Group work I
- o Part 4: Group work II
- o Part 5: Personal participation to Linguistic Landscape

8. Linguistic Landscape worksheet

Linguistic Landscape worksheet task:

Pictures evaluation

Sort and organize your pictures. In each group, determine the different categories in which the pictures could be divided.

Discuss the following questions:

- What languages or dialects often/hardly occur? Is that surprising?
- Are there languages that could not be identified, or signs that could not be read? Could you still guess the meaning of the texts?
- What are the functions of multilingual and monolingual Linguistic Landscapes on the following pictures?
- Do the texts reflect local languages/practices?
- Who decides what and where the languages should be written?
- How do pictures provide information on the social status and rank of the speaker of a specific language?
- What does it mean for children when their family language is often/barely/not represented in the public or private sector of the Linguistic Landscape?
- What can we do to promote national languages?

?

?

9. Leaflet about Camfranglais

LEAFLET ABOUT CAMFRANGLAIS

Also called Cameroonian French and English, Camfranglais is the talk of young people in Cameroon. It is a kind of creole that borrows words to French, English, local languages as well as some created words by young people. This talk acts as a lingua franca of youth in its quest for a national identity. Because young people in big towns like Yaoundé and Douala speak Camfranglais, it has become a vehicular language.

In spite of its large spreading, Camfranglais still has a pejorative view, and is considered as a language of boys who never attended school (nangas bokos). Yet the language is not a wrong way to speak official languages. Just like French, it obeys rules be it at the phonetic or morphological level. A comparison of Camfranglais to French or English actually shows how this hybrid sociolect functions.

This unit aims at showing that Camfranglais has systematic rules like: Shortened endings, word order at the beginning of sentences and polysemy.

The data are analysed on the basis of conversations texts in Camfranglais found on Internet, transcripts of the recordings of young people in Yaoundé, and lyrics of a Camfranglais musician called “Koppo”.

Nowadays, the language has succeeded to spread among young people of diverse backgrounds.

Camfranglais is spoken in its different forms according to whether its speakers are Anglophone or Francophone, literate or not. Whatever the case, there is an intelligibility among all the “Camfrangleurs” (Camfranglais speakers).

☐

10. Camfranglais PDF

Urban Language Variation in
Teachers' Education

Salut ce gars, est-ce que tu peux me helep avec les
djarrabad pour buy mon ticket du metro

Je ya mo la nga là bahate

il mimba pourtant c'est un tartampion

je chiba de la bagna

c'est un ndjocka de
tuyauristes

confirmer le code

C'est quand il a holl le cori au
mola que ça a tchakala

Ya moi les ways

après la ntcham
c'était le salaka

Camfranglais Exploration

Je falla la cala de ngop ci

Hao que tu me chiba
comme ça devant le

regarde-moi le gueme-man-là, il veut
faire le défi avec qui

ON VA ALL BACK AU MBOA

Camfranglais

An everyday language
spoken by young people
in Cameroon urban areas.



The mixed language coined by the youth in
Cameroon is called Camfranglais

Camfranglais...



Is an identity marker,
a mean of social integration
just like local languages



Camfranglais is not a mere mixture of French and English. It also includes linguistic elements from Cameroonian languages, Pidgin and Slang .

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oUW7dg9bZDk>

Camfranglais is...

... Nothing unusual in Africa,
but has similarities in many other countries:

- Togo
- Ivory Coast
- Congo
- Tchad
- Tanzania
- Uganda
- ...

linguistically described as
"Hybrid sociolect"
"Register"
"Youth talk"



For Kießling (2004:1),
Camfranglais, a highly **hybrid sociolect** of the urban
youth type in Cameroon's big cities Yaoundé and Douala,
serves its adolescent speakers as an icon of "resistance
identity"(Castells 1997).

Camfranglais is...

Not restricted to street boys or rascals but is spoken by young people from diverse backgrounds:

Francophones, Anglophones, literates or not!

Illustration

- The name of a tailor house and a shop in Camfranglais



Camfranglais is...



... Not a linguistic last resort,
but a conscious choice in some contexts:

Yvan Amar, RFI French reporter interview to Christian and Brice, Camfranglais musicians with Stephane Akwa as a commentator.

<http://www.rfi.fr/emission/20131003-le-mot-actu/>

“Camfranglais portrays the identity of young people who are very proud to know that their elders do not understand them. It is a specific way of speaking in some contexts. We know how to switch from a language to another depending on the context”

Camfranglais is...



- ... Not a linguistic last resort, but a conscious choice in some contexts:

Today Camfranglais has become the language of people from various backgrounds claiming their identity.

<http://www.rfi.fr/emission/20131003-le-mot-actu/>

Camfranglais is...

- ... Not the result of lack of language skills, but part of a larger repertoire:

Camfranglais	English	French
C'est hao non?	How are you?	Comment vas-tu?
Chou moi les dos	Give me some money	Donnes-moi de l'argent
Je back à la piole	I am going back home	Je rentre à la maison
La muna de ton kwatt la est une vraie bombe	That girl from your quarter is very beautiful	La fille de ton quartier la est très belle.
Tu ignores quoi?	Of course!	Bien sûr!

The grammar of Camfranglais

Camfranglais Exploration!

How does Camfranglais function?
What are the grammatical features of Camfranglais?

Task for the Groups:

Examine a linguistic phenomenon in Camfranglais.

What grammatical rules do you find?

Also use your own linguistic intuition!

What other observations can you make?

Present your results to the class

On the sheets you will find original linguistic data:

- a) A long conversation text (the same for all groups)
- b) Additional quotes to the topic of your group (different for each group) in Camfranglais

“Neppa/nessa/n’est-ce-pas”

”Neppa” has many functions :

Neppa	
Roles	Functions
Neppa	
Is used in exclamative sentences! Nespa le man se lève lui et il veut go sans buy!	Exclamative “Neppa”
Is used for independent clauses: ..., neppa la mater bring une petite boule moyo avale.	Coordinating conjunction “Neppa”
Is used in affirmative sentences	Adverbial “Neppa”
Is used for emphasis at the initial position of the sentence	Tag-question “Neppa”

“Neppa/nessa/n’est-ce-pas”



”Neppa” has many functions :

- Generally, “Neppa” is used at the sentence initial position to introduce clauses;
- It is also an independent clause functioning like an adverb whose meaning is “yes” or “of course”.
- “Neppa” also expresses astonishment/exclamation or interrogation in Camfranglais.
- “Neppa” also functions as a Tag-question to lay emphasis on the sentence.
- It can also be moved at the sentence final position

“Shortened endings“



- ✍ Endings are often shortened in Camfranglais:
- ✍ On verbs: La reme là m’a gui(ve) les dos.
- ✍ On nouns: Le kwatt (quarter); le topo (topic); le letch → lage (village)
- ✍ Phonetically motivated: “Nessa”? (N’est-ce-pas?)
- ✍ Frequency motivated . Cops (copain) ; Taps (tapioca)

“Que”



“Que” has many functions :

As in French, it is used in embedded clauses as a subordinating conjunction: *Il mimba que je vais le lep avec mes dos?* (He thinks that I will leave him with my money?)

- Anaphoric usage : *Que le school là est dur que comment non?*
- Adverb of restriction: *À l’heure-ci , j’ai moi que decalé oh!*

“Noh/ non?/nor”



• “Noh” has many functions :

- “Noh” is an interrogative marker in Camfranglais: *Mon frère c’est hao noh?*
- Is only used at sentence final position to lay emphasis: *C’est vrai hein, mais ils t’ont quand même mis à l’aise non?*
- Is also a Tag-question: *Je ne te dis pas comment? Tu es ma personne nor ?*

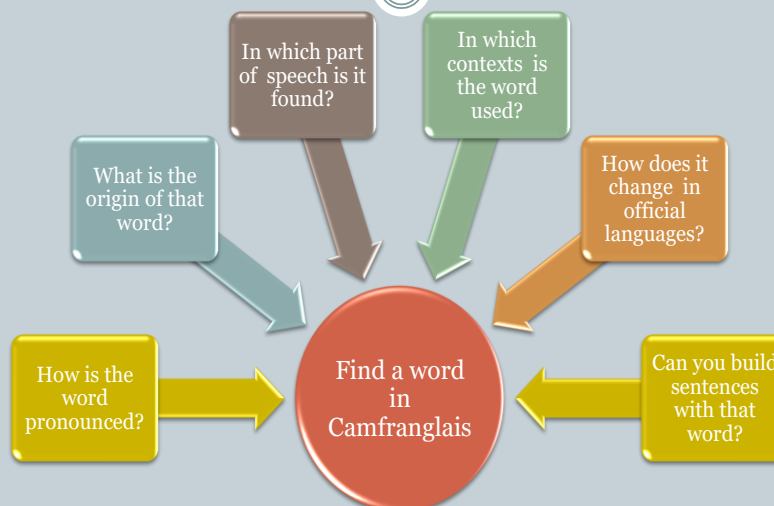
Word order at the beginning of a sentence:

The word order of Camfranglais generally follows the syntax of French which is SVO (Subject+Verb+Object):

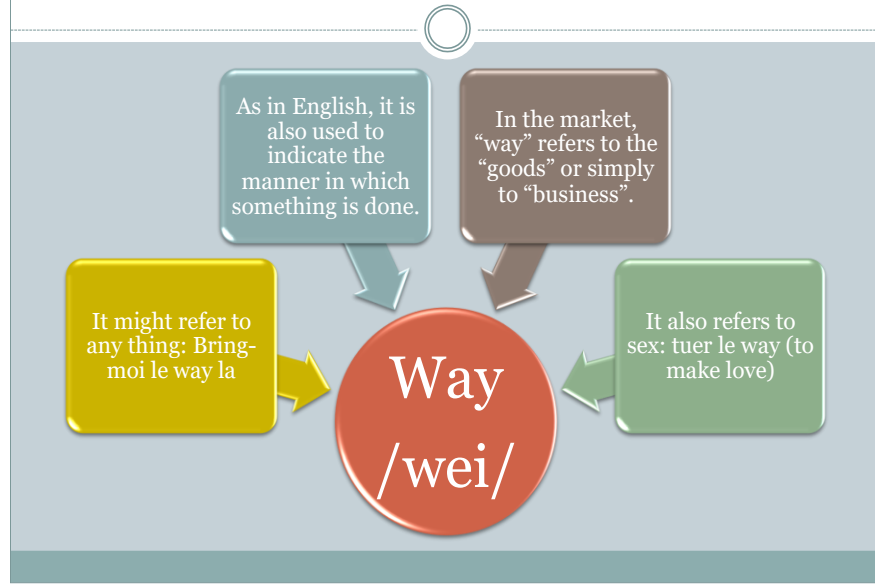
Je read un book

S V O

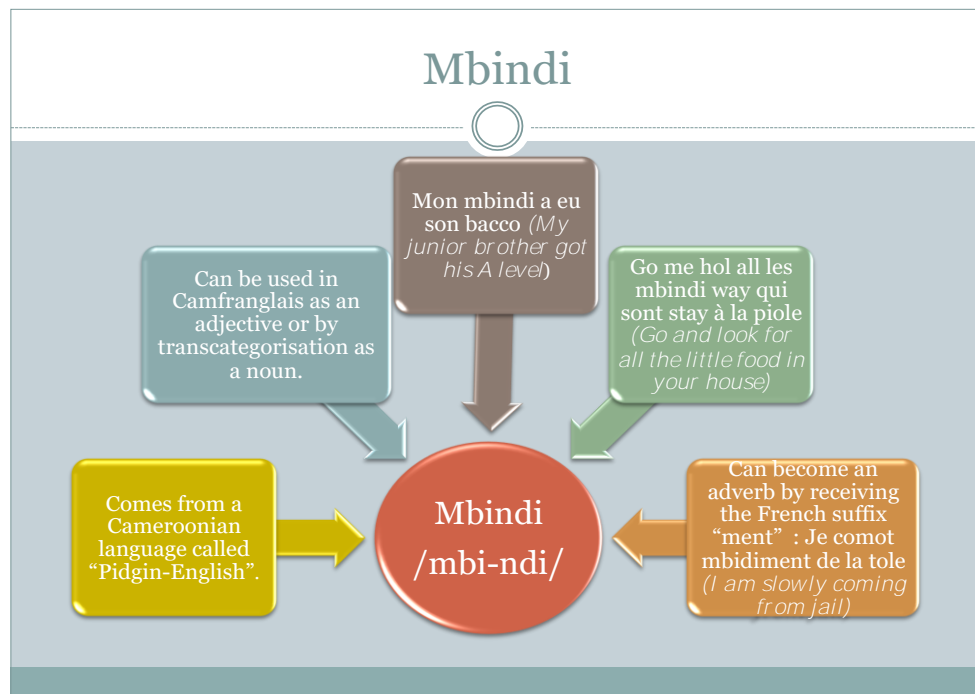
Lexicon exploration

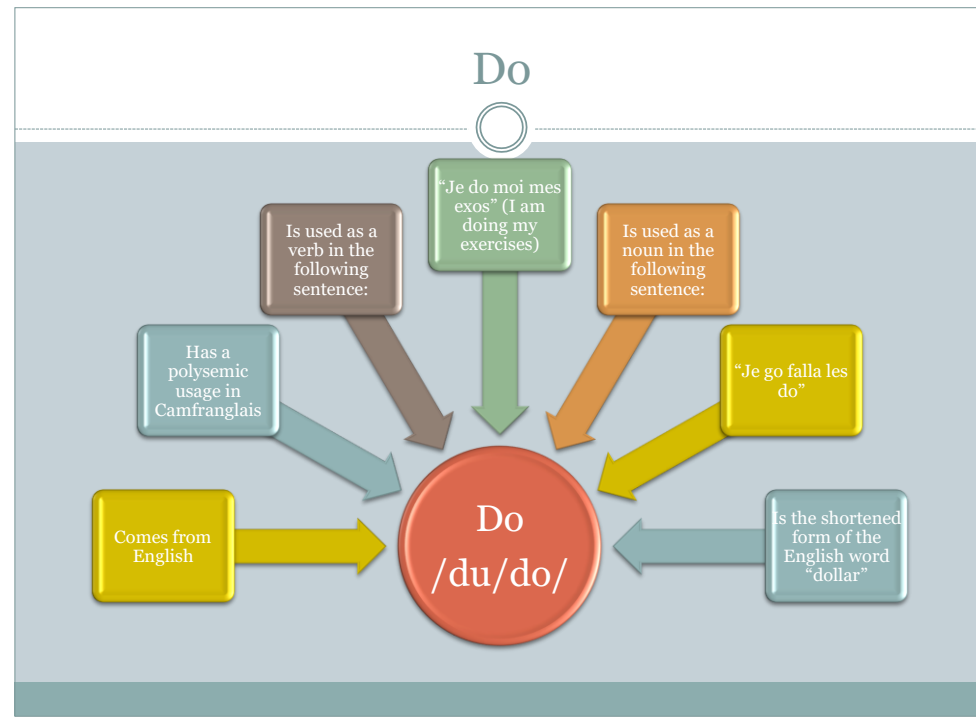
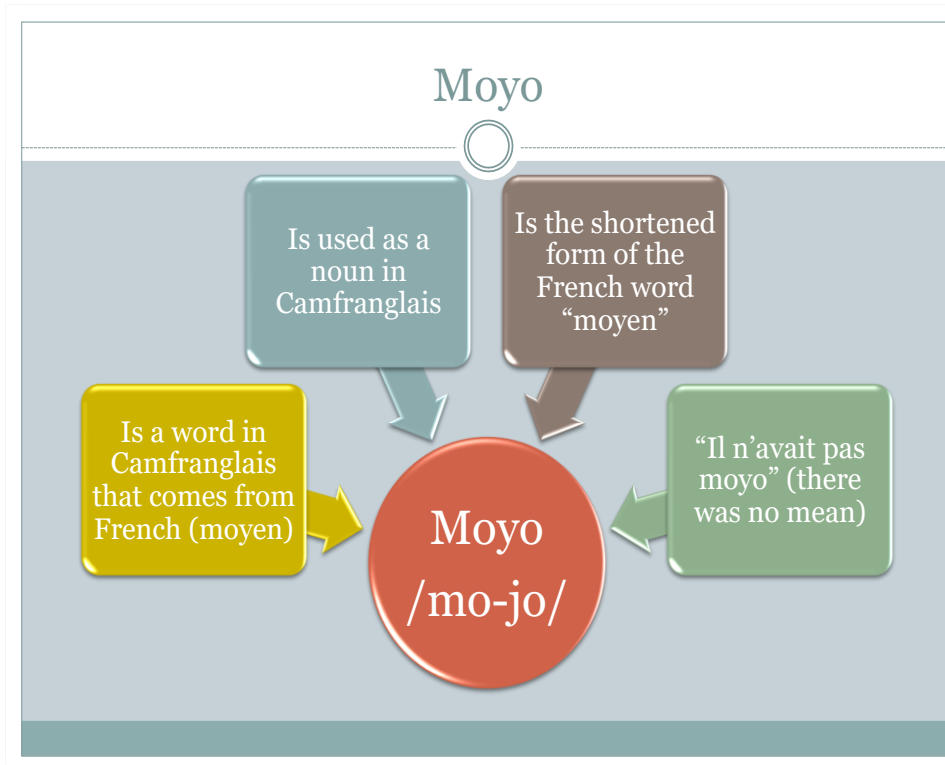


Lexicon exploration: Way

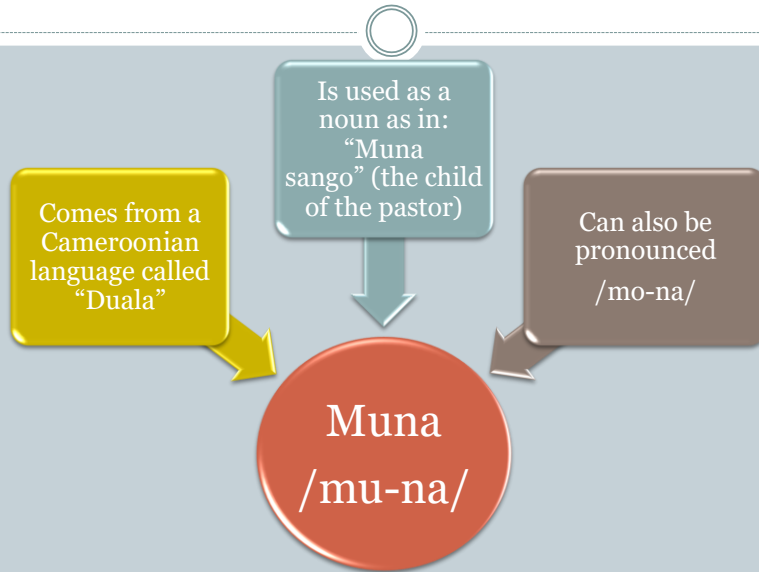


Mbindi

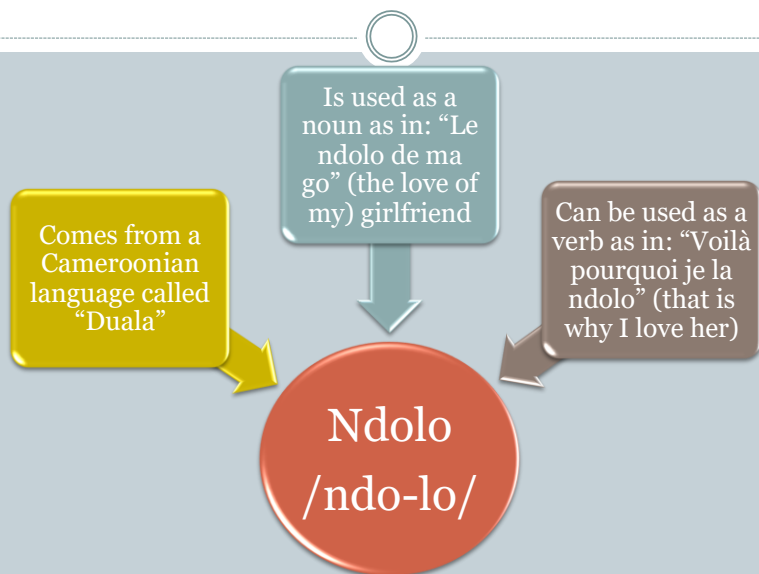




Muna



Ndolo



11. Marked teaching worksheets

“Camfranglais - Exploration” Marked teaching worksheets

Source: http://www.cameroon-info.net/reactions/@_18916.7.frananglais-new-language-for-divided-cameroon.html

Guest_seigneur

1. “Neppa”

Neppa voilà une mater qui a perdu son mari dans mon secteur . La mater go au lech elle enterre son mari et elle back au quatt.

Il y'avait alors un djo au kwatt ki etait très réputé parce qu'il ne manquait à aucun deuil. On le callait MOYO. **Neppa** on a wanda que pourquoi Moyo n'est pas came au deuil du pater là, parce qu'il tellait à qui veut le ya ke le pater la c'etait un grand copo (pote) à lui.

Moyo se leve alors le lendemain il go pour saluer la mater qui avait loss son man. Il reach il commence à trop parler ,il tell a la mater là

comment son mari et lui il se knowait depuis from ,que il etait son meilleur pote , il do les longs discours en waitant ke le couscous ke la mater avait put au feu cuit.

Quand le couscous est cuit, à ce moment precis Moyo se lève il tell a la mater k'il va back. La mater lui tell "Non mon père, le couscous vient juste de cuire, tu ne vas même pas manger une petite boule avant de partir mon fils?" Moyo dit "heee la mère ,tu vois meme comme ca je n'ai pas trop faim ,mais on ne refuse pas la nourriture du deuil ,donne moi une petite boule la mere , vraiment je te dis c'est parce que c'est le deuil sinon je n'ai pas trop envie de manger".

Neppa moyo sat on lui bring le couscous.

Le gars djaff, il nack les commentaires ,il djaff après la sauce bole il dit " hum la mère donne moi un peu de sauce ke je finis mon petit bout de couscous ci" , la mater bring la sauce il avale ,il avale , le couscous finit ,il reste un peu de sauce , il dit "la mère la sauce là est très bon ,on ne pe pas jeter ca ,donne moi un petit bout de couscous ke je finis ca avec" , **neppa** la mater bring une petite boule moyo

avale ,il n'ack les divers , après meme scenario , "la mère je n'ai pas envie ke tu jettes le couscous ci , ce n'est pas bien de jeter le couscous du deuil ,donne moi un peu de sauce ke je termine ca" et ainsi de suite.

Moyo a finalement avaler 6 boules de couscous pourtant il n'avait pas faim comme koi le couscous du deuil ne rassait pas!!!!

2. "Shortened endings"

Je mimba ke le djo ki a write ce divers est un mbindi kengue ki ne maitrise pas le **toppo** kamer. Mais je partage un petit way ki voudrait ke ce **toppo** soit codifie (c'est bien vrai k'il est en constate evolution mais au niveau la-la-la des choses on peut deja write des bords de grammaire).

Je langua cela parce que kan on est chez les whites il y a certains kamer ki ne maitrise pas le **toppo** est ca **vex**. Kan les kenyans **toppo** swahili;les congolais **toppo** lingala ou kan les senegalais **toppo** woloff(et meme les biaffras ont leur popo pidgin) cela ne me **vex** pas car je suis plutot curieux et content de meet k'il ont quelque chose de commun. Alors qu'entre kamers si tu veut **toppo** one de nos dialectes avec un refre t'as l'impression de bahat l'autre ALORS k'il est aussi kamer comme toi (et coome j'ai deja write plus haut certains kamer ne maitrise pas ossi notre **toppo**).

Ns is sim

3. "Noh"?

1:) *Je sais?*

2:) *Si tu ne sais pas qui sait?*

1:) *Mon frère c'est comment **noh**?*

2:) *Comment comment? Je te ask un way tu ne me **réponds** pas?*

1:) *Quel way?*

2:) *Ao que tu ne me call plus **noh**?*

1:) *Est ce que moi-**même** je know?*

2:) ***Nessa**?*

4. « Que »

A. *Gars il n'y a rien pour les pauvres?*

B. *Mon frère **que** moi **même** j'ai quoi?*

A. *Un boss comme toi tu pleures aussi le foirage?*

B. *C'est le mois de janvier, tu ignores quoi?*

A. *Mais tes potes mbenguistes **étaient** la nor, ils ne t'ont rien lep?*

B. *Je wanda sur toi hein, **que** mbeng leur donne le lait?*

A. *C'est vrai hein, mais ils t'ont quand **même** mis **à** l'aise nor?*

B. *Sans? La bringue et moi **c'était** la mort! Ce sont les **dégagements** **que** tu veux voir?*

A. Aaka est ce que je t'ignore? Tu joues dans la cour des grands. Tu es un boss nor?

B. Boss dans quoi même? Gars mbom on se capte after ou bien il ya un truc now?

A. Pas de problème tu es là nor?

B. Je ne suis pas là que je suis où DG?

A. Je connais? Quand tu pars souvent tu me dis?

B. Je ne te dis pas comment? Tu es ma personne nor.

YATSON

5. « Word order at the beginning of a sentence »

Vive le Camfranglais.

A sé, son pb c'est quoi? Il ne faut pas qu'il hambok les gens avec des faux ways. Speak plusieurs langues a toujours été un avantage. Et pour les mbom qui sont comeout, ça le nton jusqu'ààààà.

Les Loch (Maliens) tchatent leur bambara, les Senof (Senegalais) leur Woloff, don quand on est entre nous Camers il ne faut pas que les autres djos WestAf (de l'Afrique de l'Ouest) ya ce qu'on se tell, surtout que ça leur vex et on peut les moronto sans pb.

Et le camfranglais n'a jamais empêché quelqu'un de bien parler français et anglais. Alors...

Remarquez, il serait bien qu'on codifie notre camfran pare qu'il y a plusieurs camfran, selon le milieu social, l'âge mais aussi l'endroit où on se trouve. pare que le camfran qu'on speak à Béko (Bamako) n'est pas le même à Rome ou à Douala. Quand je tchate qu'un sac a do le mbrakatta au pougou ou que jai jon un disma dans un manani, je ne crois pas que vous m'avez compris, et pourtant c'est toujours du

camfranglais...

En tous cas vive cette langue, vu qu'elle nous aidera à se sentir membre d'un même pays (c'est ça la nation)...

Bantouclan

6. "Way"

How que le djo la falla a formater notre jeunesse. Moi je ya mo le camfranglais et c'est sure que le way la rapproche all les camers. le kengué la ne know mm pas que de paris à johannesbourg et de rio de janeiro à casablanca quant tu nyè un camer tu lui ask d'abord que c'est how mbom. Heureusement qu'il y a l'hunanimité sur CIN aumoins sur ce sujet. Quand les ways begin il y a tjrs les réticences, je me souviens dans les années 90 quand mon pater ne yaai pas mo qu'on speak le camfranglais à la piole en 2000 ctai lui qui lancai les débats en camfranglais. Le mbom qui veut devenir président du camer j'espere que dans ton programme tu nous prévois un comité de reflexion sur le camfranglais d'ici 2020 pourquoi ne pas en faire notre langue nationale....

12. Unmarked teaching worksheets

“Camfranglais - Exploration” Unmarked teaching worksheets

Source: <http://www.cameroon-info.net/reactions/@.18916.7.frananglais-new-language-for-divided-cameroon.html>

Laura Carla Canada

1. Neppa

Juste pour laugh: Tadoo le gardien de but

Néppa voila un djo au Kwatt k'on callait Tadoo et ki était trop bon au goal ; le gars jouait dans l'équipe du Kwatt .Néppa l'équipe du

Kwatt sè qualifiée pour la finale inter-Kwatt et le match était difficile juska reach aux pénos. All les motohs comptaient maintenant sur tadoo pour hold le last tire et gagner la coupe. Alors tadoo se met au goal il se concentre, néppa l'advesaire tire contre-pied a l'angle même du but.Tadoo saute comme ca la ,une détente de fou et il arrête le tire mais le gars a Nack sa tete grave sur le poteau il est tombé evanué . All les motohs came soulever Tadoo le heros des penos.

Depuis ce day Tadoo est devenu fou , all le temps, il allait se mettre dans les goals (meme quand il n'y avait pas match) et il sautait comme si on lui tirait un péno, tous les jours il était au goal ,on l'attrapait par force même pour le faire back chez lui, il voulait seulement jouer aux tirs péno.

One day alors, un petit bebe de 2 ans est monté sur la toiture et il voulait sauter, tout le monde fiaait, et se askait comment on allait faire pour le hold, il allait die si il tombait au sol. Du coup all le kwatt était sorti, et un man dit " Je connais un gars qui peut sauver le bébé, c'était un ancien grand gardien de But " en se référant a Tadoo. Neppa on go call Tadoo. Tadoo vient comme ca la, il croyait ki allait jouer aux tirs péno, il go put ses gangs et son pantalon de gardien il court il arrive devant la toiture il commnce a s'échauffer comme le

gardien. Néppa voila le petit bébé qui saute lui, Tadoo court, il fait une détente incroyable et il arrête le bébé en plein air il retombe au sol en le protégeant sur son ventre comme le ballon rond. Les gens étaient contents Tadoo avait sauvé le bébé, mais du coup Tadoo se lève il arrête le bébé avec une main, il prend l'élan. Il dit: "MONTEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEZ " et il dégage le bébé, Tadoo venait de faire une remise en jeu.

Shauna Ici, Là-bas

2. „Shortened endings“

Les camers qui se croyaient trop intelligents! !!!

Neppa voila ke le gouvernement Japonais a lance un concours pour recruter all genies du monde pour les put dans un school spécialisé aux Genies. Alors les 2 djos les plus forts du camers (genies) go représenter le camers.

Les gars reach au Japon ,ils see qu'il y'avait presque all les genies de all les pays .La moyenne d'age exigée c'était 14 ans. Les gars look a côté d'eux, ils voient un chinois qui dessinait all les circuits électroniques du PC , de l'otre coté ils meet un petit anglais qui s'entraînait a être plus rapide qèue la calculatrice ,de l'otre coté ils voient un indien qui fasait des calculs mathématiques à main lèvée pour donner les previsions météo. Les gars wanda que %%% , ici ca ne lap pas. Neppa le concours start, les gars sat entre 2 petits japonnais, trop concentrés. First epreuve, physique; Le prof djoum il go au tableau il écrit: " Calculez la vitesse, la portée maximale et la hauteur".

Il se tourne il jette la craie et il s'en va. Les gars (nos refrés

camers)

wanda que mais le prof si est comment ,il gui les questions que ou est l' enoncé. Ce qui les wanda encore plus c'est que il look comment

all le motoh a coté se baisse sur la feuille pour write, un petit jamaicain ask meme l'intercallaire. Ils se disaient eux que les petits-ci sont fous, nos refrés camers waitaient eux trankillos l'ensoncé. Après 30 min, rien le prof n'est pas recame , ils ask alors au

japonais ki etaient a coté d'eux que ,mais les gars on calcule "la vitesse, la portée et la hauteur" de koi?? les japonais tellement concentrés sur leurs calculs leur tell de ne pas les hambock.

1h30 après le prof recame , il tell de remettre les feuilles , nos refrés camers, les plus intelligents du bled wandah ke %%% le prof ci est malaade ou koi?? les gars go ask au prof, que mais Monsieur vous n'avez pas donné l'ensoncé du sujet. Le prof leur tell que " Quand

je jettais la craie la ,vous aviez les yeux dans la poche???, je vous disais de calculer la vitesse ,la portée maximale et la hauteur du

lancer de la craie".

Les camers ont ya que le level etait trop haut ,les gars ont préféré eux back sans meme bolè le concours, si le debut était comme ca, la suite allait être comment alors????

3. Noh?

1:) *Je sais?*

2:) *Si tu ne sais pas qui sait?*

1:) *Mon frère c'est comment noh?*

2:) Comment comment? Je te ask un way tu ne me **réponds** pas?

1:) Quel way?

2:) Ao que tu ne me call plus noh?

1:) Est ce que moi-**même** je know?

2:) Nessa?

4. Que

A. Gars il n'y a rien pour les pauvres?

B. Mon frère que moi **même** j'ai quoi?

A. Un boss comme toi tu pleures aussi le foirage?

B. C'est le mois de janvier, tu ignores quoi?

A. Mais tes potes mbenguistes **étaient** la nor, ils ne t'ont rien lep?

B. Je wanda sur toi hein, que mbeng leur donne le lait?

A. C'est vrai hein, mais ils t'ont quand **même** mis à l'aise nor?

B. Sans? La bringue et moi **c'était** la mort! Ce sont les **dégagements** que tu veux voir?

A. Aaka est ce que je t'ignore? Tu joues dans la cour des grands. Tu es un boss nor?

B. Boss dans quoi **même**? Gars mbom on se capte after ou bien il ya un truc now?

A. Pas de **problème** tu es **là** nor?

B. Je ne suis pas **là** que je suis **où** DG? A. Je connais? Quand tu pars souvent tu me dis? B. Je ne te dis pas comment? Tu es ma personne nor

Shauna

5. « Word order at the beginning of a sentence »

Attention à la femme du voisin!!!!

Neppa voila dans un kwatt une mater et son man ont eu un mouna. Quand le mouna est né le gars n'a pas cry et il a plu seulement dans le kwatt. A 2 ans le mouna ne speak pas, à 3 ans rien, à 4 ans rien.

Neppa à 5 ans ,le jour de son anniv le mouna commot un mot . Il dit " Cyxsie" . Voila ka dans le kwatt il y'avait un djo k'on callai Cyxsie ki die le lendemain à 12h. All le motoh wanda. A 6 ans il ne speakait pas tjrs et le jour de son anniv le mouna commot un otre mot " Tatou".Neppa ke la djo au kwatt ki s'appelait Tatou die le lendemain à 12h. gars all le monde fiayait le petit, all le motoh l'evitait fiayant ke le jour de son anniv,il commot son name. A 7 ans prochain anniv ,le mouna dit " Tonton " , voila ke le frère du répé k'on callait Tonton die le lendemain à 12h.

Le répé a fia ,il tell au mouna ke "Ne dis jamais PAPA , tu as compris non ,ne dis jamais PAPA , c'est un mauvais mot ne dis jamais ca."

A 8 ans le petit ne speakait pas tjrs ,prochain anniv , neppa le Mouna dit "PAPA" . Neppa le répé commence à cry sachant k'il va die, il commence a vex sur sa go ke c'est kel genre de vampire ca k'elle a mis au monde.

Le lendemain, à 11h55, le pater avait put sa veste blanche apres avoir gui all les recommandations et il s'est couché sur son lit pour wait sa mort. A 12h le pater ne die pas , 12h05 rien ,il est toujours en vie. 12h10 rien, le pater dit ke ce n'est pas normal, k'il y'a un probleme.

Du coup, à cet instant on ya comment on crie chez le voisin, les gens pleuraient la-bas. Un gars run, il came dans la piole du mouna là, la où normalement le pater devait die et il came tell ke le voisin d'à côté est die il y'a seulement de cela 10 minutes.

Le pater a sauté sur sa nga pour la remercier en lui tellant k'elle lui a sauvé la vie.
Avis aux djos ki kiffent la femme du voisin

Ns issim Obang

6. „Way“

Notre toppo devrait deja avoir 1h par semaine au school (et non obligatoire pour un debut). Tu ne vas pas me toppo ke les cours de couture(1h par semaine) que t'avais au school primaire ne t'on pas helep kan t'avais une situass decambolik avec un pan ke tu piffais grave (et ke il n'avait de nga a

cote) - Toi meme tu buyais l'aiguille et du fil et tu workais sur ca..noon?...Les autres cours au school doivent rester normalo en french et en anglais MAIS il faut legaliser ce toppo et put dans les manuelles. Dans ce Camer qui tend vers le tribalisme ce way est une arme strong pour combattre car il rassemble all les mot du mboa...c'est vrai ke por k'il y ait une tcham au mboa c'est strong..MAIS si un day la tcham eclate ca va tey au moins 25 ans avant de bole...car chaque kamer est une bombe ambulante...

j'ai talk ma part de way!

☒

13. Camfranglais Worksheets



Language System, Development and Change:
The gamut of a language

“Camfranglais - Exploration” Worksheet for groups work

Camfranglais-Exploration (group 1)

Examine the use of "Neppa"!

- What is unusual compared to written language?
 - What are the different forms of “Neppa”?
 - What are the functions "Neppa"?

Language

Page 1



Language System, Development and Change:
The gamut of a language

Camfranglais-Exploration (group 2)

Examine the shortening of endings!

- What is shortened and when?
- What systematic rules do you find?
- What do you know from your own language?

Language

Page 2



Camfranglais-Exploration (group 3)

Examine the use of "Noh"!

- What are different forms of "noh"?
- How does it function?



Camfranglais-Exploration(group 4)

Examine the word order at the beginning of sentences!

- What elements can begin a sentence? In what order?
- What is new compared to standard French? which additional options can be found here?
- What could be the motivation for the particular word order?



Camfranglais-Exploration (group 5)

Examine the use of "Que" and other "Wh" morphemes!

- How is "que" used? Where can it be used, where not? What function does it have in conversation?
- What further morphemes can you identify? How would you describe their use?
- What (other) morphemes are used in your own language?



Camfranglais-Exploration (group 6)

Examine the following lexicon: "Way", "Mbindi", "Do", "Moyo",
"Ndolo"!

How do we pronounce these words?

In which part(s) of speech do they fall?

In what context are they used?

How are the words written?

How do they change when used in official languages?

Can you give sentences with these words?

14. Transcription 1 on Camfranglais

RECORDING 1

- A-** Je ask hein les gars,
B- C- Waï!
A- Vous avez nyè la nga qui était avec mon pote hier là, on backait là
B- La ngo avec qui on backait souvent
A- Yep yep yep c'est ça même, vous knowyez la ngo là
B- Moi je la know
C- Je know la ngo là noh dis donc, la shwa qui aime souvent mimba les petpets comme ça non?
B- Je ask alors, la ngo là c'est une ngo android un genre un genre
A- La ngo là c'est une ngo android le feu sort je ne vous tell même pas Elle a tous les blèmes avec son gars bad seulement c'était chaud au quarter hier dans la night
B- Donc quand elle est swag là, elle do les pbs?
C- Man j'avais gi deux kolos à la ngo là, mon frère elle m'a lavé non? Il dit alors que j'ai raté même les ways
A- Ah bon? Alors que moi je disais que la nga là est sérieuse hein alors que c'est une done nga comme ça?
B- Ah ka! Laisse la ngo là comme ça. Sérieuse? Elle a dépassée le level de panthère
A-Ekiéé! Mince!
B- Elle c'est le pirania
C- La ngo là m'a dépassée donc le petpets noh mon frère donc quand je lui gi souvent le shwa là...
A- Je vous assure que quand moi je lookais la nga là elle était devant mes yeux comme une étoile type mon frère alors que si elle agit comme ça veut dire que mieux de moi même encore? Hé hé!
B- Parce qu'elle te connaissait sinon elle allait te mettre au ndem vrai vrai
C- Mon paapa tu es un babylone
A- Mais entre temps hein, j'étais sûr qu'elle ne do pas les ways comme ça, c'est d'abord une done nga dans le sens où quand elle arrive quelque part, si tu n'as pas les pieds sur terre
B- Quand tu nyè d'abord une shwa qui a les rastas là les cheveux de boeuf non man héééé
A- Partout où elle reach d'abord, quand elle reach elle enflamme d'abord tous les types
B- C- D'abord! d'abord! Hein type!
A- Mais en tout cas , moi je la yamo quand même hein, pas yamo dans le sens que yamo là noh, moi je la yamo dans le sens où quand moi je waka avec elle partout où moi j'arrive je jong d'abord mes deux trois quatre bières parce que c'est elle championne dans le grattage
B- Reach doucement reach doucement tu ya non?
Yes
B- Le genre de shwa là , fais la croix sur ça comme ça

A- Non Non je la yamo dans le sens où...
B- Elle a dépassé le cadre des panthères
C- C'est l'araignée man, c'est l'araignée
B- Mon frère tu joues?
A- Je know, je know type, mais quand même c'est une done nga hein
B- Mon frère on sait qu'elle est done est-ce qu'on bahat? elle est done mais c'est à son niveau, mais il y'a plus done que elle
C- Parce que c'est le piège le shwa là
A- Gars vous ne pouvez pas chiba la côte de la nga là devant moi là, vous ne pouvez pas chiba sa côte comme ça. C'est ma pote hein, c'est ma dure pote
B- C'est ta pote et tu la yamo?
A- Non je just que je la yamo comme pour dire que j'aime waka avec elle mon frère parce que partout où on reach mon frère je peux me retrouver entrain de jong même six bières sans même buy one sans même put la main dans la poche
B- Je te dis, elle gratte le feu sort
C- Elle est porteuse
A- Je vous dis qu c'est une gratteuse. Partout où elle reach c'est all le mot qui la nyè d'abord
B- Elle est porteuse ou bien elle est gratteuse?
A- Tout ça
B- Et qui gi les dos?
A- Les njos non mon frères. Tu ne nyè pas d'abord comme elle est blin blin?
B- Donc alors tu es comme un rythmeur en gros
A- Haha moi je ne fais pas les plans type
B- Donc tu joues en mode kouandjang
A- Je n'en fabrique pas n'ai pas pas le moule des dos chez moi type quand elle gratte elle me gi je jong je tchop après je go nang dans le easy
B- Mais quand le way va come j'espère que tu vas gérer le retour
C- Donc tu es le kouandjang derrière
A- Je ne fia pas le retour. Nous on a mangé le retour. Même si c'est le bir nous on mange le bir
B- Quand la nga va commot le retour
A- En tout cas, moi je vous just hein , je ne fia pas le retour. Même si le retour là c'est le bir, même si c'est la GP, nous on a mangé ça. Il n'y a pas de palaba si tu veux go hein, go moi-même je go.
B- On t'a déjà just
C- Si tu veux ya tu ya si tu ne veux pas ya tu ndem
A- Moi je vous ya hein, c'est parce que vous n'avez pas le niveau de just avec la nga là que vous voulez me décourager, vous ne pouvez pas.

15. Transcription 2 on Camfranglais

RECORDING 2

- A-** Gars mon onkal me hambock trop là-bas à la piole dis-donc
Je fallah même un moyen pour m'en débarrasser de lui
- B-** Et tu as alors do quoi à ton onkal?
- A-** Gars il hambock mon frère tous les bindis travaux que tu vas do même la night ou bien même le matin mon frère il voit toujours que tu n'as rien do, il veut toujours t'envoyer send or tu peux buch tu dois aussi waka comme les autres boys mon frère, même choquer même tu n'arrives pas à choquer mon type
- B-** Lui il n'a pas de muna?
- A-** Bon il a un muna mais il est encore bindi et lui il go au school contamment donc il ne peut rien do entre temps, donc c'est moi qui dois tout do, je dois go au school, je dois laver le sol, all les bindis travaux là non, tu ignores koi?
- B-** Et sa shwa, elle est où?
- A-** Il n'a pas de shwa mon type, ce sont les genres de onkals qui hambock trop les shwas, il naque sa nga tout le temps mon frère la nga ne peut pas supporter elle est go , elle a djam
- B-** Il aime alors les mattas
- A-** Ah il yamo les pbs trop
- B-** Et tu do hao pour le supporter non man
- A-** Gars je supporte seulement non, mais quand ça va me piquer là mon frère moi je vais fendre la route seulement
- B-** Tu know déjà là où tu vas go?
- A-** Gars, même si je go stay chez un kombi il n'y a pas de pb on va life
- Et le kombi en question est-ce-que lui il n'a pas de problème?
Ça sera pour peut-être pour un temps non? Après je vais me battre là dans les routes quand on est jeune on fronte toujours est-ce-que dans les ways-là ça ne se passe pas comme ça
- C-** Tu know que dans la vie ce n'est pas facile non?
- A-** Je know que la life n'est pas facile mais on va se battre
On ne peut pas stay dans un coin où tu as les pbs à tout moment à chaque instant mon frère on te hambock tu n'arrives pas à même buch
- B-** Mais quand même les tchops il vous show à la maison non?
- A-** Bon pour les tchops il n'y a pas les pbs du côté des tchops mon frère
Imagine que tu tchop peut-être on te joss mon frère tu vas yamo...
- C-** Tu es même sûr que ton onkal n'a pas de petites?
- A-** Il joue la life noh il commot, il dumi, c'est comme ça qu'il déchire avec les ngos non? Tu connais les Don ngas là, elles came seulement tchop elles nang elles bolè de do leur way elles back le chap, ells ne stay pas à la piole
- B-** Et ses ngos ne viennent pas jouer les mattas à la piole?

A- Non elles ne peuvent pas il y'a d'abord qui à la piole? elles vont do les mattas avec qui à la piole? Les ngos font souvent les mattas s'il y'a une nga à la piole, il n' y a pas de nga à la piole

B- Ainsi donc qui s'occupe de ton bindi?

A- Mais on se gère non , c'est un bindi il n'est pas aussi bindi en tant que tel il se débrouille non, bon il fait seconde, Donc il n'est pas aussi bindi en tant que tel que noo waï

C- Donc il n'est pas un muna! Mais tu as les pbs comment? Ton bindi est déjà grand!

A- Non tu sais quand tu étais avec ton repé, il ne te mets pas la pression comme son neuveu quoi Waï Donc les ways comme ça là...tous les bindis travaux là, il met seulemnt la pression sur moi

B- Mais au moins l'argent pour le takesh pour le campus il te shou quand même non?

A- Gars là-bas je me gère quand même avec ça. (tout ce qu'il me donne) mais si on te donne même deux kolos par semaine mais tu te bats avec

C- Alors c'est toi la remé de la maison et tu te plains même de quoi?

Ça veut dire que tu as tous les avantages

A- Pour les cooks je tchop comme il n'est pas permis, je suis un cordon bleu!

Mais je ne peux pas cook everyday! mais si on cook même il essaye même d'améliorer les tchops.

B- Wow!

16. Transcription 3 on Camfranglais

- A-** Je dis hein mbom ta nga c'est qui non mon frère?
B- Mon frère tu ignores quoi c'est la go qui est dans le qwatt à côté non?
A- Qui ça?
B- SP derrière Mini Ferme là
A- La go là? La go qui a les lass un genre un genre là
B- Elle est short comme ça
A- La Don nga là mon frère? Je te ask en classe ta nga de la classe c'est qui?
B- Gars joss nous non mon frère?
C- La nga de la classe?
A- Waï
C- Quand même, on est entre nous , je ne peux pas dire ça maintenant
A- Entre nous comment mon frère .Hein gars
C- Non pas pour le moment
B- Ah ka il veut qu'on la ta la cours moi je le nyè avec avec..
C- Tu me nyè avec qui? Tu me nyè avec qui?
A- Il y'a les ngas en classe mon frère Laissez. Les brunes , les noirs, les les courtes les..
B- Je te joss non?
C- Lep ça lep ça , ne fais pas que je te dis maintenant tes verités
B- Depuis la semaine passé là le gars..
A- Came, came ici là vive les mariés elle a un new look mon frère Il floppe les nas à chaque bancs
C- Tu commot déjà avec les mariés mon frère?
A- Est-ce-qu'on perd le temps mon frère?
C- Gars, non do les ways que toi-même si on te do toi-même ça va te ...
A- Je ne commot pas avec elles c'est elles qui commot ave moi c'est different
B- Wow! Donc tu veux qu'on te falla mon frère il y'a quoi?
C- Comment tu commot avec les ngas des gens
A- Super cent tu sais, tu ne perd pas le temps Non non il faut pas talk comme ça le pater est en sale le pater est en salle
B- Le pater même ne ya pas moo les ways comme ça mon frère!
C- Le vieux doit ya que non son époque est déjà dépassée
A- Non dépassée comment? Faut respecter le vieux , le vieux est en salle il ne faut pas déranger
Délégué!
B- Hé délégué how non?
A- Tu viens d'où ça?

D- Mais les gars vous faites quoi avec la Don nga-ci non? vous me laissez là-bas...

A- Don mon frère donc elle est Don elle est Don la mort seulement Mon frère, il y'a plus Don que toi?

B- On voit une panthère comme ça

C- La délégué même me dit déjà que tu as... c'est aussi ta nga?

A- Laisse seulement mon frère ça ne te regarde pas; lep lep je suis dans toutes les regions les cultures les aires culturelles

B- Mon frère laissez-nous les modèles là

C- Waouais gars, laissons même l'affaire des ngas là
Comment hier tu me joss de came te chercher à Santa Lucia

B- Pourquoi tu veux nous evor, pourquoi tu veux nous évor? Il y'a quoi non?

C- Je came tu n'étais pas là

A- Mon frère, hier la journée étais longue, hier

C- Mais c'est quoi avec les ngas non? Moi je parle maintenant des ways du mboko,

B- Mon frère nous on a les vrais ways

C- Tu me demandes de came, je came là tu n'es pas là

D- Mais les gars mettez-moi dans le parfum non? c'est comment? Je ne comprends rien

B- C'est eux non?

A- On parle du djocka d'hier là du djocka d'hier

C- On parle du djocka d'hier

A- Tu étais là? Le djocka qu'on nous a invité à Mokolo Elobi là

D- Ah ka moi j'ai passé toute la nuit à nang mieux de vous

B- Tu nang quoi ? tu nang ta vie dors

D- Mais est-ce-que vous m'avez appelé? Vous ne m'avez pas call moi je suis moi rester chez moi

A- Tu nang ? Tu nang la nang que tout le monde know ou l'autre nang encore?

D- Gars c'était la vraie nang

C- Tu étais avec quel gars hier?

D- Ah vous ignorez quoi?

B- Dis-nous non? tell nous non frère nous on know quoi

A- Ça change déjà

D- Celui que toi tu connais, celui que toi tu know

A- Tu étais avec qui? Le zébré?

D- Héé humhum
Il a les dos?

D- En tout cas, ça ne vaut pas la peine chibayons seulement sur le sujet

B- Il a les dos mon frère? Dis-nous!

D- Ah les dos quoi même non?
C- Toujours entrain de marquer les dos les dos s'il n'ya pas les dos il n'ya pas ndolo?
B- Il ya pas
 Nooo
A- Il a les dos non? Il a les dos hein cousine, il a les dos non?
B- Mon frère il n'ya pas de ndolo sans dos
D- Gars elle a raison sans les dos il ya pas de ndolo
A- Bon parlons sérieux, parlons sérieux on doit go voir le muna de Magne samedi on do comment?
D- Gars cotisons seulement les dos là,
B- On a demandé de cotisé non?
D- là on achète un peu le savon et donc on chiba là-bas.
A- Cotiser comment mon frère? Tu sais comment Magne me doit? Magne me doit mon frère donc c'est elle qui doit cotiser (rire)
B- Non
D- Gars toi aussi!
 Le tour-ci on fait un genre, on fait un genre
D- Il faut forget tout ça
A- Moi-même quand ce sera pour moi on va faire comme ça
 Non c'est pour le muna non?
A- Pour go d'abord là-bas tu payes le tako pour go à Ekounou, tu vas encore cotiser....non
B- Mais il y'a Binélé non, il y'a Binélé on take sa bougna on go
D- Hey n'oubliez pas aussi qu'on doit aussi voir notre pot
 Dans la bindi bougna là tout le monde va djoum?
A- Ah ah tu veux aussi que Binélé sat sur le.. ça ne va pas déranger?
B- On va sauff que se superposer là-bas on va faire comment?
A- Qui? les filles portent les garçons les garçons portent les filles
B- Non
A- Non quelqu'un doit tchomber l'autre
D- Et après la visite chez Magne on doit aussi go ya Owona
A- Voilà , la voilà même qui came, je t'ai tell non? chacun doit tchomper l'autre..
B- La go est alors nerveuse...

17. Transcription 4 on Camfranglais

Je dis hein mbom...!

- A-** Je dis hein mbom c'est how?
B- Je suis là gars
A- Comment tu as passé les derniers jours là?
B- Haaa je dis que le sommeil là, ça ne veut même pas came ça ne veut même pas came boy
A- Gars, ça m'a killam hier j'ai recommencé à jong le feu sort
B-Haaa tu goyais même où avec le jong où non mon ami tu go avec le jong où?
A- Mbom hier j'ai jong il y'avait le njocka au qwatt man , il y'avait les munas là qui ce sont communiés là
B- Gars un jour le njocka va te ndem
Ah ka easy ndem moi le way là man
A- Je dis hein la go c'est how non?
C- Ça va, vous avez do les njocka sans m'inviter!
B- Les gos pèmpeux
A- Ah ka est-ce-qu'on go dans les njokas avec les bois morts?
B-Toi même tu know que tu es un chat mort
C-Donc tu tell que je suis un chat mort hein?
A-Ah ka, moi je know que tu es une nga for school est-ce-que tu es dans les ways là
C- Oh fallait d'abord me call avant de voir, fallait me call d'abord
B-Ah moi je ne knowyais pas
A-Prochainement on va te call
B- que tu know les ways comme ça
D- How gars, comment tu me chiba devant le muna-ci non?
B-Yes la go
A-Tu es une go pimpante came non? Came came nyè quelque chose tu ndem comment?
B-Tu ndem les ways là comment non?
D-Gars laissez ça, laissez ça
A-Il n'y même pas une là?
D- Héhéé une?
A-Ton gars ne t'a pas chou les dos hier?
D-Mon gars est nguémé
A- Nguémé avec quoi?
Un gars qui tickam les les gens partout là au marché là il est ngémé comment?
B- Il a même véré les telephones là l'autre jour, tu veux joss qu'il ne t'a pas gi les dos là? Il a véré les sim là-bas dans notre qwatt
A-Ton gars tchakam les telephone là-bas à Kennedy est-ce-que j'ignore?

D- Héhééé
A- Gars je ask hein
B- Waï!
A- Le genre de school qu'on fait même ici-là c'est how non mon frère?
B- Gars ndem seulement ça sort on va sortir non gars? ndem seulement
D- Gars ça sort comme ça sort
 En tout cas hein,
B- On gère non mbom on gère,
A- Les ways là parfois même me dépassent
C- On do d'abord non on va voir
A- On do quoi?
C- On va voir ce qui va
B- Commot
C- Ce qui va commot
A- On do quoi?
C- On do la school non?
D- On do le way là non?
B- Quel way? Hmm! Tu gères déjà les ways?
C- Quel ways? Quels ways pardon mettez-moi...
B- Moi je te croyais muna tu gères déjà les ways?
A- Wouais la nga-ci a les munas le feu sort
D- Quels munas non c'est comment ?
A- Tu as déjà les munas non?
B- Est-ce-que le muna do le muna gars?
A- Elle est née de from
B- Elle est née de from hein?
A- Elle est née from
D- Est-ce-que le muna do le muna?
B- Le muna moi je know que le muna ne do pas le muna
A- Ça c'est le bois dur voilà l'autre bois mort voici le bois dur
D- Ah laissez-moi ça
C- Les gars hmm laissez d'abord ça comme ça, vous avez déjà assez chiba ma copine, vous-mêmes
A- Quoi on a do quoi?
B- Nous on ne chiba pas
A- Quand tu me nyè qu'est-ce que tu peux me dire moi?
D- Regardez-moi les papas des munas comme ça ils sont là seulement là à l'école ils marchent comme si, ils waka comme si...
A- Noo on sofa pour eux non, on sofa pour eux demain on va wok, c'est eux qui vont tchop

B-Gars on finit de wok on arrive en route les shwas arrachent les dos
A- Il y'aura les les panthères qui vont nous gratter demain
B- Les panthères arrachent nos dos tu vois non?
A- Elles vont nous appeler bébé alors que c'est le ndem
D- Vous jossiez même quoi là non? donnez-moi même une
A-Je t'ai dit que donnez-moi une jong moi je..tu jong déjà?
D- Sans jong?
A- Ha! Heumm j'espère que tu n'es pas quelqu'un qui jong une bouteille tu commences à tartic hein?
B-Elle begin na joss comme une palapala
A-Tu commences à faire l'acte de confession ici-là
D-Tartic quoi non?
A- A sei hein la go ta copine est go où non?
D- Tu as oublié que je suis une wanted?
C-Elle est back
A-Elle est back comment non?
C-Elle est back elle était malade
B-Elle nyongo déjà les cours hein?
Elle nyongo le sukul
Hum elle nyongo le sukul
A- Ah, elle a le rencart
C- Elle n'a pas le rencart elle est sick
B-Elle est sick qu'elle a quoi?
Elle a tchop quoi?
A-Ou bien c'est le way là qui est came?
C-Non elle n'a pas le bèlè elle n'a pas le bèlè c'est comment?
B- Ah espérons que ce n'est pas le bèlè parce que si c'est le bélé
hmmhmm je vais me poser qui as fait ce dégât ce dégât là?
A- Est-ce-que elle ne touma pas encore?
B-Hein?
A-Elle ne touma pas encore
D-Non est-ce-que le muna touma? Mais qu'est-ce-que tu peux même dire comme ça?
A-Que quoi? Tu know même les gos de dehors ici là?
Treize and hein, les petites filles ont déjà les bèlè, ells ont les njos au qwatt
B-Les bigs njos hein
A-Tu vois un njo est barraqué comme les caterpillars...

18. Lyrics of the song of Koppo

Lyrics of the song of Koppo “Si tu vois ma go”

Si tu vois ma go,
dis-lui que je go
Je go chez les watts nous falla les do
La galère du K-mer, toi-même tu know
Tu bolo, tu bolo, mais où sont les do ?
Mon frère, je te jure, je suis fatigué
J'ai tout fait, j'ai tout do pour chasser le ngué
J'ai wash les voitures, il n'y a avait pas moyo
J'ai toum les chaussures, il n'y avait pas moyo
Le poisson, les chenilles : est-ce qu'il y avait moyo ?
Alors j'ai tchat que c'est trop, il faut que je go

Si tu vois ma go, dis-lui que je go (bis)
(Si tu vois ma go)
Si tu vois ma nga,
dis-lui que je pars
La galère du k-mer, toi-même tu know
Tu bolo, tu bolo, mais où sont les do ?
Le pater, la mater, et les mbindi ress
Ont dinaï que je go, mais je go vitesse
Il ne faut pas qu'ils know
que j'ai envie de go
Je veux seulement qu'ils know
quand je suis déjà go
Dès que je go,
va leur tchat à tous les gars du kwatt
A toutes les go du kwatt que ça gâte ça gâte

19. Le "corbeau et le renard" in Camfranglais

CORBEAU ET LE RENARD en camfranglais...

Até!!!

Titre : le don man, et le di man

- Le don Corbeau, tchombé sur un arbre, noua dans son possa un fromage.

- Le wise Renard, en bon ndock, lui makam un puissant atalaku :

- Oya Papa Corbeau... Tu es le ndolè des ndolè, la mort du swag alors ! Ne ya pas, si tu topo aussi mo que tes kako, molla, ce sera la chimpate, ASHOUEEEE !

- Dans tous ses mimba, le Corbeau baisse la garde. La tête percée, le mougou obéit au kata, et lep fall le gnama.

- Le di renard l'ashoua au calme et lui djoss : A say hein mon petchi, faut no qu'ici dehors "ova don na mbout". Perika, je t'ai pris dans un monchone, tu m'as buy le gnama.

Nyeman !

...shoutman shiba par son ndèm,

20. Pictures against discrimination 1



21. Pictures against discrimination 2



21. Linguistic and cultural diversity policy in Cameroon.



INDEX OF AUTHORS AND LEXICON

A

Aalto.....	57, 59
Abric.....	44
Abu.....	55
Ajzen... 118, 121, 124, 126, 127, 128, 131, 138, 142	
Alanen.....	55
Alby.....	199
Alderson.....	52
Al-Hejin.....	34
Allport.....	44
Allwright.....	106
Anderson.....	22, 23
Andrade.....	294, 295
Andrews.....	52, 107, 108
Appel.....	122, 123
Aranoff.....	170
Armand.....	32, 63, 98
Armstrong.....	294
Arno.....	107, 109
Ashburner.....	299
Athanasopoulos.....	293
Atindogbé.....	13
Atkinson.....	38
attitudes ..v, vi, 1, 2, 11, 12, 14, 17, 19, 21, 23, 27, 29, 30, 32, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 88, 90, 94, 95, 96, 97, 104, 105, 112, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 155, 159, 176, 180, 181, 182, 186, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 198, 199, 215, 216, 217, 231, 237, 240, 288, 289, 292, 314	
Auer.....	170, 172
Awareness .xiii, 19, 20, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 36, 49, 56, 63, 64, 75, 81, 100, 101, 105, 111, 199, 215, 292	

B

Backus.....	88
Bain.....	59
Bak.....	297

Baker..... 45, 118, 119, 120, 121, 123, 125, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138, 141, 142, 157, 158, 159, 160, 162, 163, 234, 300	
Bakhtin.....	57
Bamgbose.....	300
Bartels.....	108
Bastian.....	293
Beacco.....	144, 188
Ben Zeev.....	292
Ben-Rafael.....	98
Bernaus.....	38
Berry.....	52
Bhatia.....	133
Bhatt.....	104
Bialystok.....	18, 147, 292, 293, 297
Bilash.....	64
Biloa.....	iii, 9, 98
Bitja'a.....	iii, 240, 242
Biya.....	242
Blackledge.....	159, 165
Blommaert.....	88, 165, 217
Bohner 118, 120, 123, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129, 136, 137, 138, 139, 141	
Bokamba.....	169
Bolitho.....	51, 54
Bonardi.....	43
Borg.....	51, 52, 53, 54, 103, 108, 109
Boudreau.....	46
Boum.....	2
Bourdieu.....	1
Bourhis.....	98, 217, 234, 235, 236
Boyer.....	48
Bradac.....	119
Breckler.....	124
Brehm.....	118
Breidbach.....	156
Bruck.....	294
Bunton's.....	108
Burley.....	109
Burns.....	108
Buttjes.....	153
Byram.....	11, 110, 112, 153, 154, 155, 188

C

Cain.....	142
Cajkler	107, 109
Calvet.....	1, 47, 48, 49
Campbell.....	294
Canagarajah	165, 166
Candelier.....	11, 31, 38, 39, 44, 63, 79, 80, 148, 149, 314
Canut	49
Carpenter	295
Carter.....	105, 106
Castellotti.....	41
Cenoz	98, 146, 147, 218
Chaiken.....	118, 122, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 136
Chavez	108
Cheshire	76
Chiappe	32
Chiatoh	7
Chibaka	12
Chomsky	34
Christian.....	4, 159
Chumbow	iii, 300
Clark.....	103, 104, 105, 106
Coleman	124
Collier	292
Cook	146, 147, 188, 292, 294
Cooke	126
Corson.....	103, 104
Coste.....	152
Cots.....	107, 108, 109
Coupland.....	133
Crano.....	117
Creese	159, 165
Crinion.....	299
Crombie.....	305
Crystal.....	119, 168, 171, 198
Cummins.....	32, 149, 162, 292, 296
Curtain	293, 296

D

Dagenais.....	31, 63, 90, 98, 236
Dahlberg.....	293, 296
Damen.....	155
Darquennes	70
Davies	12, 88, 89
De Feral.....	97, 98
De Houwer's	196
Deci.....	38, 39
Diaz.....	293, 294
Dietrich.....	191, 192

Dieu	v, vi, 2
Dodd.....	155
Doise	44
Donmall.....	23, 24, 25, 76
Dörnyei.....	120, 134
Doughty.....	55
Drury	162
Dubois.....	46
Duff	104
Dufva	23
Dumas.....	292
Durkheim.....	42, 43

E

Eagly	118, 122, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 136
Ebongue	97
Echu.....	13, 98
Edge.....	107
Education.....	iii, xiii, 2, 5, 6, 14, 18, 30, 63, 84, 86, 87, 101, 104, 145, 148, 157, 161, 163, 164, 175, 246
Edwards.....	76, 119, 132, 237
Egli.....	149
Ellis.....	34, 54, 56
Entremont	46
Erwin.....	124
Estyn.....	163, 164
Ewald	53
Ewert	292

F

Fairclough	24, 100, 101, 103, 104, 106
Fasold.....	122, 123
Fazio.....	127, 128, 129
Ferguson	107
Ferradas.....	152
Ferrin.....	196
Fishbein.....	127
Fishman.....	305, 306
Flament.....	43
Fleming	153
Fonkoua.....	97
Foppa	56
Fortune	52, 53, 55, 159
Fossi	97
Foucault.....	104
Fowler.....	104
Frackowiak.....	299
Freire	27, 57, 103, 104, 306

G

Galambos.....	292
---------------	-----

Garcia.....	55, 157, 158, 159, 160, 164, 165
Gardner.....	38, 39, 122, 133, 134, 169, 195
Garfinkel.....	292, 293, 295
Garrett.....	22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 100, 118, 119, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 128, 130, 131, 132, 133, 136, 137, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143
Gass.....	55
Genesee.....	197
Giles.....	234, 236
Giroux.....	104
Glaser.....	154
Goatly.....	105
Goggin.....	301
Gogolin.....	88
Goldin-Meadow.....	292
Gombert.....	31
Gorter.....	98, 146, 147, 217, 218
Gribkova.....	113
Griffore.....	294
Grojean.....	298
Grosjean.....	147, 158, 295
Guilherme.....	104, 154
Gumperz.....	170, 172
Guthrie.....	32
Guttman.....	138
<i>H</i>	
Habermas.....	104
Haddock.....	118, 121, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 134, 135
Hagen.....	140
Hakuta.....	294
Hall.....	55
Halliday.....	104, 168, 170
Hamayan.....	197
Hancock.....	90
Harmer.....	134
Harmon.....	299
Harris.....	105
Harter.....	97
Hawkins.....	2, 16, 20, 22, 28, 29, 30, 36, 75, 76, 107
Hedge.....	54
Heller.....	31, 172
Herbas-Donoso.....	167
Hewstone.....	121
Hislam.....	107, 109
Hite.....	196
Holec.....	56
Holland.....	112, 126
Holmes.....	22
Hong.....	107, 108, 293

Hooper.....	52
Hopkins.....	54
Hornberger.....	166
Horstmann.....	293
Horwitz.....	120
Hoshino.....	158
Houdebine.....	49
Howard.....	159
Howatt.....	52
Howe.....	59
Hughes.....	105
Hume.....	309
Hyland.....	106
Hymes.....	75

I

Iowa.....	294
Ivanic.....	103, 104, 106
Ivanic~.....	103, 104, 106

J

Jacobs.....	22
Jacobson.....	160
Jaeger.....	154, 155
James.....	20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 100, 132
Janks.....	103, 104, 105, 106
Janssen.....	132
Jessner.....	29
Joans.....	121
Jodelet.....	44, 45
Johnson.....	293
Jones.....	51, 131, 132, 133, 134, 158
Jourdenais.....	55

K

Kamdem.....	97
Kasanga.....	98
Kasper.....	108
Katz.....	41
Kemppainen.....	196
Kennedy.....	295
Kinnear.....	162
Kirkness.....	305
Knippenberg.....	126
Knops.....	134, 135, 136, 137, 140
Knox's.....	108
Kosmidis.....	293
Kosonen.....	241
Kouega.....	97
Kovack.....	298
Kowar.....	70

Kramarae 137
 Kramsch 52, 113, 152
 Kramsh 152
 Krashen 23, 28, 33, 36, 197
 Kraus 125
 Krauss 198
 Kress 53, 104, 108
 Kumar 169

L

Labov 46, 47, 48
 Lähtenmäki 22
 Lähtenmäki 111
 Lalonde 122
 Lamarre 98
 Lambert 140, 158, 195, 294
 Landry 98, 217, 234, 235, 236, 294
 Language Awareness... iii, v, xii, xiii, 2, 14, 17, 18, 19,
 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34,
 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 45, 49, 51, 52, 56, 60, 63, 64,
 65, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 82, 90, 98, 100, 101, 102,
 104, 107, 111, 112, 148, 149, 190, 199, 231,
 240, 248, 291
 Lao 196
 LaPiere 125
 Lapkin 51, 53, 162, 199, 293
 Lasagabaster 54
 Leavell 293
 Léglise iii, 199
 Lemmon 301
 Leon 41
 Léon 43
 Levine 3
 Lewis 2
 Leyens 47
 Li 164, 165, 166, 167, 196
 Liebscher 142
 Likert 138, 139
 Lin 170
 Lindholm-Leary 159
Lingi... v, vi, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 267,
 270, 272, 274, 275, 276, 278, 287, 289, 345,
 372, 388
 linguistic diversityv, 10, 16, 18, 25, 29, 31, 63, 68,
 77, 79, 80, 86, 87, 149, 155, 176, 180, 181, 182,
 186, 192, 194, 198, 216, 240, 242, 243, 248,
 249, 250, 253, 257, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292,
 300, 304, 305, 312, 314
 Linguistic Landscape...v, vi, xiii, 25, 63, 98, 174, 183,
 184, 186, 216, 217, 218, 231, 233, 234, 237,

248, 253, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 289, 290,
 291, 406, 416
 Link 124, 166, 250, 251
 Linnakylä 60
 Lippi-Green 74
 Lipton 294
 Lüdi 188
 Ludwig 292

M

Maffi 300
 Mai Hoa 155
 Maillat 163
 Maio 118, 121, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 134,
 135
 Majer 295
 Majority language 73
 majority languages 16, 17, 240, 241, 242
 Makoni 164, 165
 Malcolm 90
 Malmberg 30
 Markova 56
 Marshall-Lee 106
 Martin 104, 111, 147
 Martin-Jones 104
 Martins 53
 Martlew 106
 Masciantonio 293, 294, 295
 Masgoret 134
 Masuhara 113, 114, 115, 116
 Mattinen 60
 Maun 53
 Mazak 167
 Mba iii, 7
 McCarthy 105
 McGroarty 123
 McKenzie 119, 120, 121, 122, 123
 McNeill 107, 108
 Mechelli 299
 Mejía 144
 Men 110
 Messaoudi 48
 Met 159
 Miller 170
 Miłobóg 136, 137
 Milroy 88
 Minority languages 75
 Mitchell 52, 306, 307
 Mohamed 54
 Moore 31, 41, 98, 152
 Morgan 103, 105

Moscovici..... 40, 42, 43, 44
 Muikku 111
 Multilingual Education xiii
 Multilingualism 13, 69, 70, 92, 94, 146, 150, 186,
 188, 292
 Münstermann..... 118, 123
 Mutaka..... iii, 291
 Muysken..... 122, 123
 Myers-Scotton..... 172

N

Nabhan..... 300
 Nassaji 53
 Nayak 293
 Ndongo..... iii, 2, 97
 Neba 12
 Nespor..... 293
 Nettle..... 54
 Ngo Ngok 97
 Ngo Nlend 97
 Nikolov 125
 Njeck..... 9
 Nogueroles 79
 Noppeney..... 299
 Norris 33
 Norton..... 31, 103, 105, 309
 Ntsoke..... 98
 Nussbaum 108
 Nystrand..... 57

O

Ó Riagáin..... 139
 Ogborn..... 53
 Oliver 93
 Olkinuora..... 60
 Olson 121, 128, 131
 Omdal 123
 Oomen-Welke..... 190
 Ortega 33, 148

P

Pasanen..... 60
 Pavlenko..... 31, 103
 Peal 158, 294
 Pennycook 164, 165
 Péntzes 70
 Perregaux..... 31, 63
 Petty 118
 Peyton 105
 Pfaff 302
 Phillipson..... 24

Phipps 104
 Pica 55
 Pittard..... 106
 Pomphrey..... 109
 Poplack 169, 170
 Porter..... 155, 309
 Posey 300
 Price..... 299
 Pulverness 115
 Punch 138
 Py188
 Pym..... 295

Q

Quinn 112

R

Rafferty 294
 Rampton..... 165, 236
 Ratte 293
 Reaser 90
 Rempel 41
 Renaud..... v, vi, 2
 Richards 100, 118, 119, 132, 138, 140
 Ritchie..... 133
 Robbins 121
 Robinson..... 33, 52, 53
 Rogers..... 159, 294
 Rokeach..... 121
 Romaine 119, 130, 169, 172
 Rommetveit 57
 Rondal..... 32
 Rouquette..... 43
 Roussiau..... 43
 Rowley-Jovliet..... 106
 Rutherford 23
 Ryan 38, 39

S

Sabatier..... 80, 98
 Sadembouo..... iii, 2
 Saer 158
 Samovar 155
 Samuels 294
 Sarangi..... 53
 Saunders..... 294, 295
 Sayer..... 167
 Scavaglieri 88
 Schadron 47
 Schenk 70
 Schmidt 30, 34, 35, 100, 118, 119, 132, 138, 140

Schmied..... 137
 Schumann..... 22
 Schwarzer..... 296
 Scollon..... 98, 217, 237
 Scott..... 57
 Scotton..... 71, 172
 Sealey..... 104
 Serra..... 163
 Sharwood-Smith..... 55
 Sheeran..... 126
 Shephard..... 55
 Shohamy..... 98, 103, 217, 218
 Shook..... 55
 Siegel..... 32
 Sinclair..... 56
 Skiba..... 171
 Skutnabb-Kangas..... 144, 302
 Smith..... 56
 Smitherman..... 105
 Spolsky..... 237
 St. Clair..... 300
 Starkey..... 113
 Steinman..... 162
 Storch..... 53
 Strasheim..... 110
 Strong..... 197
 Sugarman..... 159
 Svalberg..... 29, 33, 52, 54, 199
 Swain..... 51, 52, 53, 162, 199
 Swords..... 90

T

Tabor..... 292, 293, 295
 Tadadjeu..... 156
 Tajfel..... 47
 Talla..... 97, 209, 291
 Tambi..... 9
 Tedick..... 159
 Telep..... 97
 Tesser..... 131
 Thierry..... 158
 Thomas..... 106, 292, 297
 Thomason..... 70, 71
 Thornberry..... 75
 Thornbury..... 54, 55, 107
 Thorpe..... 52, 55
 Thurstone..... 138
 Ting-Toomey..... 155
 Tocalli-Beller..... 52
 Tomlinson..... 113, 114, 115, 116
 Toncheva..... 22

Toohy..... 103, 105
 Torney..... 295
 Toukoma..... 302
 Trappes-Lomax..... 107
 Truscott..... 90
 Tseng..... 109
 Tucker..... 146
 Tulasiewicz..... 64
 Tylor..... 68

U

Utley..... 153

V

Valdés..... 146
 Vallence..... 42
 Van de Craen..... 293, 294
 Van Essen..... 64
 van Hout..... 118, 123, 134, 135, 136, 137, 140
 van Lier..... 30, 51, 53, 54, 108
 Verma..... 168
 Verplanken..... 126
 Villanueva..... 105
 Volosinov..... 57

W

Walde..... 70
 Wallace..... 104, 105, 106
 Walsh..... 53
 Wänke..... 118, 121, 123, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129, 136, 137, 138, 139, 141
 Ward..... 196
 Weatherford..... 294
 Weinrich..... 169
 Werner..... 111
 Wheeler..... 90
 White..... 55, 241
 Wicker..... 125
 Wiese..... iii, 12, 87, 88, 89, 175
 Williams..... 55, 157, 159, 160, 161, 163
 Willis..... 298
 Wingate..... 60
 Wolf..... 8
 Wolff..... 293
 Wolfram..... 32, 76, 90
 Wong-Fillmore..... 197
 Wright..... 51, 54, 58, 59, 107, 109
 Wu..... 158

Y

Yelland..... 292

Yzerbyt..... 47

Z

Zanna..... 41

Zarate 152, 154

Zech..... 88

