

Language Contact in a Postcolonial Setting

Language Contact and Bilingualism 4

Editor

Yaron Matras

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Language Contact in a Postcolonial Setting

The Linguistic and Social Context
of English and Pidgin in Cameroon

edited by

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for
Margaret Anyangwa Aka Anchimbe
my mother

Preface

Investigations of language contact and language contact phenomena in postcolonial settings have revealed the complex nature of these spaces and the innovative ease with which the predominantly multilingual speakers cope with switching across languages and identities, in different contexts and for a multitude of reasons. It has been established that bilingualism or multilingualism both at societal and individual levels is the norm, and that the many languages spoken do not constitute sources of sociolinguistic dispute. Also, the nativisation of ex-colonial languages has been clearly documented in the literature. Studies of Pidgins and Creoles in these areas have also illustrated their origins and patterns of their lexical and grammatical evolution. As far as indigenous languages are concerned, the earlier focus on typology and classification has gradually been expanded to include sociolinguistic and pragmatic descriptions of social interactions in these communities. While these directions of research continue to project realities of these areas, new developments have come up which need to be captured in research. The major development focused on in this volume is the emergence of native speakers of English and Pidgin in Cameroon. The overall aim of the book, therefore, is to identify linguistic features and social processes as well as ecological influences in the evolution of two Englishes in Cameroon: the educated, institutionalised, indigenised variety commonly called 'Cameroon English' (CamE) and the expanded pidgin 'Cameroon Pidgin English' (CPE). The history of colonialism and its linguistic policies especially towards CPE have left marks on the current system of the language. This history, along with the local sociocultural ecology, is investigated in terms of its role in directing the evolutionary trajectory of these two languages.

A significant development in the evolution of CamE and CPE in the last three decades is the emergence of L1 or native speakers of these languages. In the 1980s and 1990s some authors (e.g. Koenig et al. 1983, Mbangwana 1983, Alobwede 1998) surveyed children who were acquiring English or CPE as their first language. Today, over thirty years after, these two languages have established themselves deeper into the local ecology of the multilingual Cameroonian context and are further acquired as first languages. English is not only acquired as L1 by anglophone Cameroonian children but also by francophone children in urban multilingual areas. What challenges do these sociolinguistic changes constitute for linguistic

research on CamE and CPE? Are the analytical frameworks used to describe them in the past still sustainable today? The chapters in this volume seek to propose answers to these questions as they advance new interpretations for phenomena in, and properties of, the current systems of these languages. Some recent frameworks are applied to contemporary CamE data with the aim of illustrating the further stabilisation of the norm through the emergent native speaker population. These frameworks include Simo Bobda's (1994a) *trilateral process*, Anchimbe's (2006a) *filtration processes*, and Wolf's (2008) *cognitive sociolinguistic approach to World Englishes*. While some properties of CamE and CPE are elaborately described here, this volume is ultimately a call for further in-depth investigations of the varieties as codes with generations of native speakers.

A volume like this cannot be the fruit of individual effort. First of all, I wish to thank all the contributors to this volume for their active participation and patience during the editing process. I own a debt of gratitude to an anonymous reviewer who made very succinct proposals on both the form and content of many chapters in this volume. My sincere appreciation goes to Loreto Todd for encouraging me all through this project and for reading through and making comments on some of the chapters. With her over five decades of research on Cameroon, she helped me get a longitudinal picture of the history of CamE and CPE over a 50-year period. In the initial stages of this project, I benefited from contact with Paul N. Mbangwana and John Spencer, to whom I say thank you.

Several other people read and commented on some chapters in this book. I am highly indebted, in this regard, to Hans-Georg Wolf, Augustin Simo Bobda, Susanne Mühleisen, Ulrike Gut, Lisa Lim, Chikas Danfulani, Hugo C. Cardoso, Bettina Migge, Thomas B. Klein, Chinedu Uchechukwu, Bonaventure M. Sala, Shelome Gooden, and Magnus Huber.

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Lastly, my wife Joyce and daughter Thalia-Favour have been a great source of inspiration. They endured my long stays in the office.

Eric A. Anchimbe
June 2012

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Introduction



Signpost at the University of Dschang, Cameroon

Chapter 1

Language contact in a postcolonial setting: Research approaches to Cameroon English and Cameroon Pidgin English

Eric A. Anchimbe

1. Overview

All communities of people and their languages have known contact in one way or another in the course of their histories. Though to varying degrees, such contacts often leave traces on the communities and on the structures and uses of their languages. Cameroon has a special linguistic history typified by contacts of people and languages from various parts of the world. From the period of European trade on the coast of West Africa in the 14th and 15th centuries to colonialism in the 19th and 20th centuries, the contact of several peoples and languages has been attested in what is today called Cameroon. These peoples include Portuguese ivory and spices merchants, European slave traders, European and American religious missionaries, and of course, German, French and British colonialists in the last quarter of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century.

The linguistic outcomes of these contacts are many and have been extensively investigated. For instance, Portuguese words are still used in Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE) today, and several traces of German, as Weber's chapter in this volume explains, are also still found in contemporary CPE. The indigenous languages have also been influenced by English and French and vice versa. Today, the languages co-existing in Cameroon are the two official languages, French and English, the widely spoken CPE (referred to by Mufwene (2001) as an expanded pidgin, and by Atindogbé and Chibaka in Chapter 10 as a Creole), and the over 270 indigenous languages. This book focuses on two of these languages, English and CPE, with the aim of illustrating the contemporary linguistic and social context of their evolution in Cameroon.

The history and evolution of English in Cameroon and its contact with other languages, i.e. indigenous local languages, French and CPE, has been the topic of many publications since the 1960s, shortly after Cameroon

gained independence from France (1960) and Britain (1961). However, the focus on Cameroon English (CamE) as a variety of the language only started in the 1970s with the appearance of Mbassi-Manga's works (Mbassi-Manga 1973, 1976b). Before the 1970s, attention was mainly on the classification of indigenous languages (e.g. Ardener 1956), the English-French state bilingualism policy, and multilingualism (e.g. Fonlon 1963, Mbassi-Manga 1964), the so-called 'language problem' in Cameroon (e.g. Ngijol 1964, Fonlon 1969), and the functions, structure and status of CPE (e.g. Kerkvliet 1957, Schneider 1960, 1963). There has been a strong focus on language contact and the linguistic phenomena resulting from it. All of the foci above have been significantly expanded upon in later linguistic research on Cameroon. Although some approaches and analytical frameworks seem to have remained static for a while, the amount of work done so far is commendable. Interestingly, CPE received far more research attention before CamE did, perhaps due to the fact that it was introduced in Cameroon long before educated English was.

After Mbassi-Manga's (1973, 1976a, 1976b) pioneering investigations on the emergence of CamE, a few other studies came up in the 1980s that placed the spotlight on the status, standards, distinctive features, and accents of English in Cameroon. One of those studies is Loreto Todd's *Cameroon* (1982a). Todd's volume was for long the only book length discussion of the contact history, varieties, and features of CamE. One other study that helped in the definition of CamE in terms of accepted speakers is Masanga's (1983) doctoral thesis, which set the baseline for accepted CamE speakers as people who have completed secondary education. Masanga's work is often quoted as a milestone in the debate on the emergence of a distinct variety of English in Cameroon. Other publications on the internal system of CamE in the 1980s include articles and book chapters on several facets of the variety, among them, Simo Bobda's (1986) study of syllable stress in CamE and Mbangwana's (1987) illustration of CamE phonology. On the sociolinguistic level, most of the chapters published in Koenig et al. (1983) focus on the place of English and CPE in the sociolinguistic landscape of the country.

Todd's (1982a) book traces the history of English in Cameroon and its development both before and after British colonisation. It provides many texts in CamE and CPE produced by Cameroonians. After each text, localised features which she refers to as Cameroonianisms are identified and explained, in some cases with standard British English (BrE) equivalences. Though in passing, the book also illustrates how deep-rooted English already was in Cameroon by 1884 when Cameroon was annexed by

Germany. As Todd (1982a: 9–10) says: “By 1884 the Baptist missionaries had established... 5 English-medium schools, which were highly regarded by Cameroonians and where the aim was to teach standard BrE”. Taking this aim into consideration, is the emergence of CamE, therefore, an accident of history? Had the Germans not overtaken the British to annex Cameroon in 1884, would standard BrE have been learned and spoken in Cameroon? Whatever answers we give here make no difference now because, far from this aim, a new variety of the language has taken root and is thriving in its new ecology. Its speakers speak it without remorse, and many of them already have it as first language. Since 1990, ten full length books have been published¹ on various aspects of the variety, namely: Simo Bobda (1994a), Wolf (2001), Anchimbe (2006a), Ouafeu (2006a), Atechi (2006a), Kouega (2006, 2007), Ngefac (2008a), Mbangwana and Sala (2009), and recently, Nkemleke (2011). In 2007, Kouega published *A Dictionary of Cameroon English Usage*, which indicates that the variety has achieved substantial stability.

Today, we could say that Wolf’s and Anchimbe’s worries in the following excerpts about the number and salience of publications and theoretical frameworks on CamE within New Englishes research are being taken care of: “Cameroon English has been somewhat neglected in this field of New Englishes” (Wolf 2001: 15); “It would perhaps not be inappropriate to note here that up to date, no outright theory exists for discussing IVEs [Indigenised Varieties of English]” (Anchimbe 2006a: 18). The findings reported thus far are spread out both in entire books and (multi-focus) journals around the world. The authors in this volume have been involved in research on one or more aspects of CamE and/or CPE. As much as the work done so far is fascinating, I think studies are still needed that should give easy-to-access details about the current state, functions, acquisition patterns and statuses of CamE and CPE in Cameroon. Equally, we need new approaches and frameworks designed for postcolonial varieties of English with a focus on the mix and hybridising structure of their ecologies

1. I have not included unpublished PhD theses here. Many solid unpublished PhD theses have been written on specific aspects of CamE, for instance, Sala’s (2003) *Aspects of the Cameroon English Sentence* (University of Yaounde I). Sala’s work was the first extensive study of CamE syntax. In 2009, Sala co-authored *Cameroon English Morphology and Syntax* with Paul Mbangwana. My decision not to include theses in this classification of published works should not be taken to mean that I don’t find them important in the description of CamE.

(Mufwene 2001), internal systems, and evolutionary history. With such theoretical frameworks, these varieties will be studied as fruits of socio-historically consistent societies and not as deviations or errors in the acquisition process, as much of the research in the 1990s seems to suggest.

2. Aim and scope of the book

The aim of this book is three-fold: First, to investigate and account for various properties (grammatical, phonological, lexical and cognitive-sociolinguistic) of CamE using new frameworks proposed within the field of New Englishes, e.g. the trilateral processes (Simo Bobda 1994a), the filtration processes (Anchimbe 2006a), and the cognitive sociolinguistic approach to World Englishes (Wolf 2008, Wolf and Polzenhagen 2009). By using these frameworks to analyse data from Cameroon, this volume adds a fresh dimension to research on CamE, since most previous studies concentrated on sociolinguistic and contrastive aspects and generally used only approaches based in language contact, bilingualism and multilingualism. Second, to identify and describe some grammatical properties (tense, aspect, reduplication and pronouns) of CPE, and to trace its use in both oral and written forms over time, stretching from German colonisation (1884–1916) to present-day Bible translations. And third, to provide illustrative contemporary, naturally occurring CamE and CPE oral and written texts produced by Cameroonians. These three objectives are reflected in the three parts of the book: I) Cameroon English: properties and frameworks, II) Cameroon Pidgin English: properties and history, and III) Texts and more texts.

Furthermore, the volume is intended to serve, however partially, as an update to Loreto Todd's (1982a) pioneering volume, and also to encourage further research that approaches CamE and CPE in the light of current descriptions of World Englishes, New Englishes or Postcolonial Englishes and Pidgins and Creoles respectively.

3. Research approaches to Cameroon English

Research on CamE only recently moved considerably away from the Anglo-centric normative approach which consists in identifying and classifying those features in CamE that make it different from especially BrE. Although a few scholars still use this approach today, the field has expanded to include

systemic feature analysis involving intonation, morpho-syntax, lexical creation and innovation, phonological variation, and pragmatic choices. Several different approaches have been used in describing these and other aspects of CamE. I have tried to explain some of them here, but this is far from being exhaustive because some of the publications belong to more than one approach.

As the discussion below illustrates, eleven major approaches can be identified in the general research on CamE. Some of the categories used below are based on Bolton's (2005) classification of approaches to World Englishes (see also Wolf and Polzenhagen 2009).

The first major approach is the English studies or Anglocentric (*Anglistik*) approach whose aim is to describe varieties of English by predominantly using methods in monolingual English analysis. It also uses terminology and analytical frameworks already established for native English in the study of non-native varieties. Bolton (2005: 70–71) links this approach to Randolph Quirk and David Crystal. In Cameroon, one could cite Todd (1982a), Mbangwana (1987), Simo Bobda and Mbangwana (1993), and Ngefack (2008a). In these studies, although to differing degrees, statements on CamE are made in reference to what obtains in standard BrE.

The interference approach was and is still highly used today. It treats CamE as a second language that is acquired with several complex substrate influences from the mother tongues. Most works in the approach have studied the impact of ethnic accents or ethnolects in the acquisition and production of CamE. Masanga's (1983) work on Moghamo speakers could be said to be the major pioneering effort in this approach. It was followed by many others, among them Tamfu (1989), Song (1996), Sala (1999), and Fonyuy (2003, this volume).

Given that the search for a standard has been ongoing, a few studies (mostly dissertations) adopted the error analysis approach, which consists in identifying errors in the production of English by Cameroonians and proposing BrE corrections for them. Simo Bobda's (1994b, 2002) *Watch your English* is a perfect example. It has been positively received by Cameroonian linguists and students alike. Other smaller scale works include Bafuh (1988) and Anchimbe (1998).

In the early years of research on English in Cameroon, the Pidgin and Creole studies or creolistics approach was used. As mentioned above, Pidgin English in Cameroon attracted linguists' and also non-linguists' attention even before educated English was introduced in the country. There was, therefore, already a research tradition based on the study of mixed or contact languages when English was introduced. Moreover, it

was perhaps easier to look at English at the time as a form of ‘mixed language’ since as Mbassi-Manga (1976b: 62) says, CamE was basically Pidgin English + educated English. A few works in this approach are Mbassi-Manga (1973) and Todd (1982a).

A further important approach is the sociology of language approach generally identified with Joshua Fishman. As Bolton (2005: 71) explains, it involves “research on English in relation to such issues as language maintenance/shift and ethnolinguistic identity”. As early as 1964, Ngijol identified CPE as having a negative influence on Cameroonians’ acquisition of both English and French. Similar complaints have been heard recently but rarely in research publications. The most glaring of them are the placards banning CPE on the campus of the University of Buea – one of them the cover image of this volume.

Related to the above approach is the sociolinguistic approach which seeks to illustrate how people define themselves in terms of the language(s) they speak. A number of studies have shown how Cameroonians construct linguistic identities on English, French, CPE and the indigenous languages (Anchimbe 2006b, Mforteh 2007); how English is becoming a preferred first language for both anglophone and francophone children (Anchimbe 2005, Mforteh 2007, Fonyuy 2010); how social strata have been introduced based on knowledge of English (Ngefah 2007, 2008b); and how indigenous languages need to be used alongside English and French as mediums of education (Tadadjeu 1975, Ndamsa 2004, Tamanji 2008). These studies do not refer directly to CamE but rather to English as an official language in Cameroon.

Also close to the sociology of language approach is the language planning approach. The focus here is, firstly, to call for the equal use of English in national administrative and formal domains with French (I. Ayafor 2001, Echu 2003) as stipulated by the constitution of the country. The argument has been that English is marginalized along with the anglophones for whom it is a first official language. The second focus has been to call for the codification or standardisation of CamE so that it can be used as the reference in ELT in Cameroon. The latter focus has been taken up by Atechi (2006b, 2008), Sala (2006), and Kouega (2007).

The feature analysis approach came much later in the 2000s, and describes specific properties of CamE. Though in some cases reference is still made to BrE, the dominant aim has been to identify features that constitute the core of CamE independent of BrE. Initiated by Simo Bobda’s (1994a) phonological investigation, this approach has been used in describing other components like intonation (Ouafeu 2006a, 2007), grammar,

specifically syntax (Sala 2003, 2010), modal verbs (Nkemleke 2003, 2007), lexical restructuring (Anchimbe 2009a), and morpho-syntax (Mbangwana and Sala 2009). Some of these studies have also used a corpus linguistic approach, e.g. Nkemleke (2003) to identify and describe CamE features as they are used in natural situations.

Another recent line of research in CamE research and also in New Englishes research is the design of theories or analytical frameworks to explain their features and structures. As noted earlier, because New Englishes generally lack clearly designed frameworks for describing their properties, frameworks designed for monolingual English-speaking contexts have often been used to account for phenomena in these multilingual settings. This notwithstanding, three recent frameworks have attempted to describe them from emic perspectives. These are Mufwene's (2001) 'competition and selection hypothesis' and the 'feature pool idea' (Mufwene 1996), Schneider's (2007) 'dynamic model of postcolonial Englishes', and Wolf's (2008) 'cognitive sociolinguistic approach to World Englishes'. In Cameroon, a few frameworks have been proposed that focus on the specificities of the ecology in the evolution of CamE. These are Simo Bobda's (1994a) 'trilateral process', revisited in Chapter 4 of this book, Sala's (2003) 'grafting-over-transfer hypothesis', and Anchimbe's (2006a) 'filtration processes' discussed in Chapter 6. These frameworks highlight the consistency of certain major linguistic processes in CamE.

Neglected for a long time in New Englishes research is the social interaction approach, based on pragmatics and discourse analysis. Only a few studies have consciously adopted this approach, e.g. the papers in the symposium section of the journal *World Englishes* Vol. 10, No. 3, edited by Yamuna Kachru in 1991 entitled *Speech Acts in World Englishes*, and articles on requests in varieties of South African English by Kasanga (2003, 2006). These are too few compared to the amount of literature on the other linguistic components, e.g. lexis, phonology and semantics. Recently, a new impetus was given to this approach in Cameroon by the publication of Mulo Farenkia's (2008) edited volume *Linguistic Politeness in Cameroon* and Anchimbe and Janney's (2011) *Postcolonial Pragmatics* (*Journal of Pragmatics* 43,6). Other publications in this approach include Ouafeu (2006b) on pragmatic particles in CamE, Mforteh (2006) on hedging and the construction of social distance in political discourse in Cameroon, Echu (2008) on address strategies in CPE, and Anchimbe (2008, 2011) on naming strategies and the negotiation of respect and deference in CamE.

The lexicographic approach which involves the compilation of dictionaries and encyclopaedias only recently started in CamE with the publication of

Kouega's (2007) *Dictionary of Cameroon English Usage*. Though the dictionary is not elaborate and does not take into account regional variation, it at least indicates that progress is being made in the description of the variety. While much is still left undone, the inclusion of the cultural and conceptual background in dictionary or encyclopaedic compilations proposed by Wolf (this volume) is highly commendable since it resolves the problem in New Englishes research where words identified as having new meanings in specific New Englishes contexts are often attested to have existed in the history of the language in Britain or elsewhere. Such an approach also helps to explain words and meanings for which a clear semantic motivation is not available on the normal linguistic level.

4. Research approaches to Cameroon Pidgin English

The bulk of studies on CPE have been on its history, sociolinguistic status, and attitudes towards it. A few investigations of its structural properties, however, exist; one of the most recent being a PhD thesis by Bazergui (1997). Mbassi-Manga's (1973) PhD thesis entitled *English in Cameroon: A Study in Historical Contacts, Patterns of Usage and Current Trends*, is one of the earliest detailed study of the status and functions of CPE, even though the title rather refers to 'English' and not 'Pidgin'. From this early study to Schröder's (2003a) recent investigation, at least seven approaches can be identified. These range from descriptions of the emergence of a Pidgin in Cameroon to issues of orthography and terminology.

The first of these approaches is the pidginisation approach. The major aim of studies classified under this approach is to establish that a Pidgin with a describable system of grammar and lexis exists in Cameroon. Most of the early studies of CPE used this approach, and are often credited for the initial descriptions of its grammar, e.g. Schneider (1966) and Todd (1969, 1979). Additionally, they identified general grammatical features of CPE, e.g. the pronominal system and the syntactic structures, and traced the etymologies of CPE words, supporting these with examples from various oral and written sources. Other studies, especially Schneider's (1960) *Cameroons Creole Dictionary*, considered CPE at this early period a Creole. Some more of these early studies looked at CPE as part of the bigger West African Pidgin English, e.g. Schneider (1963, 1966), Dwyer (1966), and Todd (1969, 1979).

The above approach was followed much later by feature analytical approaches that describe the grammatical system of CPE in synchronic

time. Some of them, e.g. Todd (1991) still place CPE within the broader West African Pidgin English language community. But later studies describe specific aspects of CPE using data collected in Cameroon. Among them are Schröder's (2003b) investigation of CPE aspect, Bazergui's (1997) study of CPE syntax, Féral's (1989) description of CPE grammar. But as Wolf (2001) and Schröder (2003a) say, the number of studies on CPE grammar is still limited compared to next door Nigerian Pidgin English.

Another approach that has been extensively used in describing CPE is the Anglocentric approach which entails comparing CPE to Standard English or describing features of CPE in terms of Standard English. This approach uses mostly monolingual English description terminologies and categories and often compares the grammatical system of CPE to that of Standard English. The works of M. Ayafor (2004, 2008), Menang (2004), Atindogbé and Fogwe (this volume), etc. fall under this category.

The most frequently used approach to CPE is the sociolinguistic approach wherein CPE is described in its multilingual context with focus on its functions and status, e.g. Todd (1982b), M. Ayafor (2000), Schröder (2003a), Mbangwana (1983); attitudes towards it, e.g. Kouega (2001), Schröder (2003a), M. Ayafor (2006); and social identification with it, e.g. Chia (1980), Jesse (2001). Negative attitudes towards CPE are noted in these studies which also present CPE as an informal, non-written language.

The pedagogic or language teaching approach has also been used by a few studies that seek to teach CPE. The first of them was produced by Gunther von Hagen in 1908 during the German colonial period and was aimed at explaining common CPE words and phrases used by Cameroonians, the Kru boys and others to German soldiers and colonial officers posted to *Kamerun*. In the 20th century after colonialism had ended, a few other CPE teaching manuals were published for Peace Corps volunteers arriving Cameroon from abroad, e.g. Dwyer's (1966) *An Introduction to West African Pidgin English* and Bellama et al.'s (1983) *Introduction to Cameroonian Pidgin English*. The only other non-Peace Corps pedagogic works on CPE to our knowledge are Schneider's (1963) foregrounding book *First steps in Wes-Kos* and Todd's (1991) *Talk Pidgin: A Structured Course in West African Pidgin English*.

A few works have tried to propose orthographies for CPE. The orthographic approach does not explicitly call for the standardisation of CPE in some form but rather advances ways in which the spelling system could be uniformised and standardised. The two main studies in this regard are M. Ayafor (1996) and Sala (2009). Though M. Ayafor's orthography

appeared over 15 years ago, it has not been used in any major written works in CPE. The recent *Gud Nyus fo ol Pipul* (2000), a translation of the New Testament into CPE published in 2000, rather adopts phonemic spellings and not the mixture of phonemic and English-based spellings proposed by M. Ayafor (1996). For more on the orthography issue in CPE, see Mühleisen and Anchimbe (Chapter 11, this volume).

One of the oldest approaches used to establish the emergence and circumscribe the lexicon of CPE is the lexicographic approach. Hagen's *Handbook* also consists of a glossary along with translations and explanations in German. Schneider's (1960) *Cameroons Creole Dictionary* and Kouega's (2008) *Dictionary of Cameroon Pidgin English Usage* both belong to this category. Although these dictionaries lack phonetic and etymological information, they could be considered as initial steps in a more stable lexicographical tradition.

Finally, a number of authors have been concerned with terminological issues concerning the label 'Cameroon Pidgin English'. Several names have been used by various researchers to call CPE, among them, Cameroon Creole (Schneider 1960), Wes-Kos (Schneider 1963), West African Pidgin English (Dwyer 1966, Schneider 1966), Cameroon Pidgin (CamP) (Todd 1982a, Schröder 2003a), and Kamtok (Ngome 1986, Mbangwana 1991, Todd and Jumbam 1992, Ayafor 1996, 2000). Two terms have, however, been commonly used; Cameroon Pidgin (English) and Kamtok. Alobwede (2009: 80) addresses the issue of names for CPE in the paper "Can Cameroon Pidgin English be re-named Kamtok?" After explaining the suitability of the term CPE, he rejects the term Kamtok on the basis that it "does not reflect the origin, functions and inter-intelligibility of CPE with other varieties of West African Pidgin English" and is, therefore, "too remote to be accepted" (p. 73). Both terms still continue to be used, sometimes by the same authors, e.g. Loreto Todd has used most of these terms in different publications. The naming issue is not, therefore, a controversy within research circles.

5. Introducing native speakers of CamE and CPE: Challenges for future research

One criterion that changes the status of a second language is when it acquires native speakers, i.e. when it becomes a first language for many people. The New Englishes have not yet been elaborately described from this perspective, i.e. in relation to those who now speak them as their L1.

A reason for this, Anchimbe (2009b) believes, is the misconception that these Englishes are not yet *mature*. A few studies that grade New Englishes on a scale of *maturation* include Simo Bobda (1994b: iv), Trudgill (1995: 316), and Ngefac (2005: 50). If *maturation* depended only on the emergence of L1 users of New Englishes, then we can now say these Englishes have reached that stage, whatever it is. However, the existence of these L1 or native speakers calls for new approaches to, and perspectives on, New Englishes since most existing approaches highlight language contact, the impact of substratal languages and second language acquisition. Several chapters in this volume adopt this innovative focus and, hence, use data collected from native speakers of CamE and CPE.

Having been used in Cameroon by people of almost all walks of life and in various forms for almost a century now, English has become a first language for a part of the population. Generations of Cameroonians have been surveyed since the 1980s who say English is their first language. I will refer to two surveys to ascertain this. First, Mbangwana (1983: 87) reports on children between the ages of four and ten years who have English or CPE as their first language in five urban centres in Cameroon: Douala, Bamenda, Mamfe, Buea and Yaounde (Table 1). The percentage of children who have English as L1 is low during this period. For instance, in Bamenda, a major anglophone town, it is only 1%. Buea, another anglophone town has the highest percentage (7%), followed by Mamfe (anglophone) and Yaounde (francophone), both scoring 4%. Possible reasons for these percentages are: 1) there were only a few nursery schools and so children only encountered English later in primary schools from the age of six, and 2) the international pull of English as the world's lingua franca was not yet felt; parents, therefore, did not really insist on teaching their children only English as it has been the case since the late 1990s.

A later survey by Anchimbe (2009a) conducted in 2003 (Table 2) with adults in the age range 19–45 years in three towns (Bamenda, Buea and Yaounde) reveals startling results about English as L1. Bamenda scores 39%, a significant increase from 1983.

In all three towns in Anchimbe's survey, there is an increase in the acquisition of English as L1 between 1983 and 2003. In contrast to this, there is a significant decrease in the acquisition of CPE as L1 between the two periods. Yaounde is a case in point: from 31% in 1983 to 0% in 2003. It could be argued that Yaounde is not an anglophone town, but the trend is not different in the anglophone towns either. As above, Buea drops from 26% in 1983 to 2.2% and Bamenda from 25% to 1.5% in 2003. This apparently shows how linguistic identities built on CPE and English

Table 1. CPE and English as L1 for children in 1979–1980 (Mbangwana 1983: 87)

Town	Total population	Pidgin English		Standard English	
		#	%	#	%
Douala	585	131	22	7	1
Bamenda	585	146	25	6	1
Mamfe	128	25	19.5	5	4
Buea	254	66	26	19	7
Yaounde	500	154	31	21	4

Table 2. L1 Speakers of English as L1 in Cameroon in 2003 (Anchimbe 2009a)

Town	Total	English		Pidgin English		Indig. language		English & indig. lang.		Other	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Yaounde	70	23	32.8	0	0	30	42.8	6	8.5	11	15.7
Buea	89	17	19	2	2.2	52	58.4	9	10	9	10
Bamenda	64	25	39	1	1.5	28	43.7	5	7.8	5	7.8
Total	223	65		3		110		20		25	

have swapped between these two periods. Apparently, no one wants to overtly identify with CPE now although it is still exceedingly used by most anglophones. It has become better or more prestigious to identify with English. While these claims tell us something about attitudes towards English and CPE, they should be taken carefully because they may not always reflect actual language use.

The increase in L1 speakers of English indicates that gradually there is a class of people who could effectively stand as reference points for the standard of CamE. What this means is that we could expect to see a further stabilisation of the forms, features and structures of the variety on which codification and standardisation could be based. With increasing attention being paid to lexicography, it is expected that CamE finds its place among other extensively described and documented varieties of the language. The new perspectives presented in this book are intended to facilitate this and encourage more systematic descriptions of features and phenomena in the variety.

6. Structure of the volume

This book is structured into three parts that focus on each of the major objectives set above: properties of, and analytical frameworks for, CamE (Part I); properties and uses of CPE over time and in different forms (Part II); and illustrative naturally occurring oral and written texts in CamE and CPE (Part III). Bringing together investigations of and sample texts in these two languages, this volume wishes to illustrate how distinctly they have developed over the past 35 years, especially given that Mbassi-Manga (1976b) described CamE as a continuum from Pidgin English to educated English. However, the increasing number of native speakers of these languages and the scope of the innovative investigations of their properties in this volume signal the necessity for more emic, variety-specific descriptions of both their sociolinguistic context and grammatical systems. The chapters contribute to this goal but are far from covering all aspects of the grammar of CamE and CPE.

6.1. Part I. Cameroon English: Properties and frameworks

The six papers in this part evaluate the use of modals in CamE, describe certain grammatical, phonological and lexical properties of CamE, apply recent analytic frameworks pertaining to New Englishes to CamE, and position the variety in its multilingual context. The conclusions are based on the use of corpora, e.g. the under-construction ICE-Cameroon corpus (see Nkemleke 2009), and surveys of the use of CamE in various institutional and non-institutional settings including the parliament, schools and the radio.

In chapter 2, *The expression of modality in Cameroon English*, Daniel N. Nkemleke demonstrates that modality is less frequently expressed in CamE when compared to BrE, and that from a general point of view “there appears to be strong tendencies for specialisation and/or restriction in the use of these modal forms”. These conclusions are arrived at after a corpus-based investigation of central modals, epistemic adverbials, adjectives and lexical modal verbs in the 820,554 word corpus of CamE.

Hans-Georg Wolf in Chapter 3, *The cognitive sociolinguistic approach to Cameroon English and other World Englishes: A lexicological application*, offers a cognitive sociolinguistic analysis of certain CamE words and concepts, illustrating how these could be integrated as entries into a CamE variety dictionary or thesaurus. The aim of the approach, he says, is to resolve the “lexicological problem of representing conceptual information

and making such information maximally explicit in a variety dictionary". The sample dictionary he proposes is made up of two components: 1) the standard description and the underlying conceptual domain of an entry and 2) a thesaurus-like section with key domains and salient conceptualisations of an entry.

In Chapter 4, *Reading the phonology of New Englishes through the trilateral process: Focus on Cameroon English*, Augustin Simo Bobda revisits his notion of the 'trilateral process' initially proposed in Simo Bobda (1994a) and further explained in Simo Bobda and Chumbow (1999), but extends it this time to other New Englishes. Applying it to CamE using words like *increment*, *tempest*, *poetry*, and *tomorrow*, he concludes that the trilateral process highlights the autonomy of New Englishes by offering innovative and illuminating accounts of their phonological systems.

Chapter 5, *One variety, different ethnic tongues: A phonological perspective of Nso' English* by Ernesta Kelen Fonyuy, is a description and categorisation of ethnic varieties of English in Cameroon. It focuses on the resilience or retention of certain Lamnso'-based phonological features in Nso' English and the sociolinguistic attitudes that go with this ethnic variety. Using data gathered from Lamnso' native speakers of various ages, Fonyuy identifies certain stable or stabilising vocalic features which are attributable to a Nso' ethnolect of CamE. From a predominantly sociolinguistic perspective, she makes a case for the recognition of ethnic varieties because, as she insists, "ethnic accents can neither be homogenised nor can they be completely extinct".

Eric A. Anchimbe in Chapter 6, *The filtration processes in Cameroon English*, applies his notion of the 'filtration processes', specifically the '(linguistic) integrational filtration' initially proposed in Anchimbe (2006a), to certain CamE words. This framework shows how speech patterns (attitudinal) and linguistic forms (integrational) are filtered into the standard of CamE in such a way that "those features that finally enter the norm of the language or variety are describable as belonging to the standard". He makes the distinction between additive and replacive elements and illustrates that words like *manyi* (mother of twins) and *ekwang* (local food) easily become part of the standard because they are additive, i.e. they are present in the ecology in which English now exists. But others like *stranger* for *guest* have to compete for a place in the semantic repertory of the variety.

Moving away from specific grammatical features of CamE, Lem Lilan Atanga in Chapter 7, *Language choice, identity and power in the Cameroonian parliament*, examines language choice in parliamentary discourse in

Cameroon from a critical discourse analysis perspective. She links the linguistic choices (between English and French) of parliamentarians to the identities they attach to these two languages, their political parties, the topics they cover, and the power positions or relations they want to exercise. These identities, she explains, are not static since the MPs keep switching between them for one reason or another each time they decide to use English rather than French or vice versa.

6.2. Part II. Cameroon Pidgin English: Properties and history

Given that many negative attitudes are still being expressed towards CPE, this part is dedicated to investigating its internal grammatical system, specifically its tense and aspect system (Chapter 8), its reduplication system (Chapter 9), its pronominal system (Chapter 10), its lexical and syntactic elaboration in written form (Chapter 11), and German colonial influences on it (Chapter 12). This focus also aims to show how the systems of CPE and CamE have drifted apart in spite of Mbassi-Manga's (1976b) claims of a continuum between the two, and how they have also stabilised into an independent Creole and a variety of English respectively. It is hoped that this would initiate further typological research on this Creole which up to now, as shown in section 4 above, has not received significant investigation beyond sociolinguistic descriptions of its functions and spread.

Anne Schröder, using the TMA questionnaire designed by Dahl (1985), carries out a profound investigation of the tense and aspect system of CPE in Chapter 8 entitled, *Tense and aspect in Cameroon Pidgin English*. Taking off from the premise that "concepts of time and thus of the tense and aspect systems of a language are culture specific and therefore should be described using language-independent methods", she comes up with a classification of the tense and aspect system of CPE as consisting, among other things, "of four preverbal markers of tense and aspect" namely *go*, *bin*, *di* and *don/neba*.

In Chapter 9, *Reduplication in Cameroon Pidgin English*, Bonaventure M. Sala uses both formal and functional perspectives to explain the different patterns of reduplication in CPE and the grammatical and semantic functions they play. The analysis is strengthened by the identification of the tonal patterns that mark the various classes of the reduplicated words and the functions these play in CPE. In conclusion, he states that categories such as intensification, limitation, aspect, and one-to-one mapping, which in English are normally lexicalised or marked by clear-cut morphemes and expressions, are rather realised in CPE using reduplication.

An illuminating description of the pronoun system of CPE is offered by Gratien G. Atindogbé and Evelyn Fogwe Chibaka in Chapter 10, *Pronouns in Cameroon Pidgin English*. Although they make references to the pronominal system of English and use terminology related to traditional English syntactic analysis, they, however, illustrate clearly that CPE has a distinct pronoun system in which, for instance, interrogation is not often marked by the use of an interrogative pronoun but by a combination of tonal and sentence structure elements. From a classificatory stance they treat CPE as a Creole since it already has generations of native speakers and a sufficiently stable grammatical system.

Chapter 11, *Gud Nyus fo Pidgin? Bible translation as language elaboration in Cameroon Pidgin English*, by Susanne Mühleisen and Eric A. Anchimbe deals with CPE in writing and illustrates how several aspects of the language have been elaborated in the course of the CPE translation of the New Testament. Language elaboration, the chapter explains, takes place when existing literature from other cultures has to be translated into a language that is fundamentally oral. Using the *Gud Nyus fo Ol Pipul* (2000) New Testament, they illustrate processes of elaboration at the level of orthography, lexical creation, and grammar.

The last chapter of this volume by Brigitte Weber, *German colonial influences on, and representations of, Cameroon Pidgin English*, takes us into history to situate the place and impact of German and the Germans in the evolution of CPE lexicon and grammar. Using several examples from German missionaries and colonialists in Cameroon, Weber captures the attitude of the Germans towards CPE, their use of the language, and how they influenced its evolution and development at this stage. Her examples are mostly drawn from Hagen's (1908) *Handbook*. Loosely called 'Neger Englisch' (Negro English) by the Germans, CPE maintained a relatively consistent existence during the German colonial period. Weber provides certain surviving influences at the level of phonology, lexis and syntax. Such historical typological investigations are important if we have to trace the changes which CPE, just like CamE, has undergone in the course of its evolution.

6.3. Part III: Texts and more texts

This part contains present-day spoken and written CamE and CPE texts. They are included here to help us understand the changes that have taken place in these languages over time, e.g. since Todd's (1982a) text-based volume on CamE in the "Varieties of English around the World" series.

The oral CamE text is a transcription of a group interview involving two people: a male teacher (38 years old) and a female journalist (27 years old) I conducted in Bamenda (September 2009). The written CamE text is culled from the interactive website of *The Post* (No. 003/2009 of Monday 2 March 2009) – a major English-medium bi-weekly private newspaper in Cameroon. The text includes readers' comments on the news story and reactions to other readers' comments. This gives us a twin perspective: the reporters' and the ordinary Cameroonians' as they use CamE in written interaction.

The oral CPE text is a transcription of the Radio Bamenda 15 minute programme "E Fine for Sabi" (It is Good to Know) of 10 August 2009, hosted by Grace Che. Two written CPE texts are also provided here, the first from the religious domain taken out of the CPE New Testament, *Gud Nyus fo Ol Pipul* (Matthew 7: 1–20), and the second from the literary domain, a poem "Wata pass garri" by Peter Vakuntah (2008). These are the two major written domains in which CPE has been used extensively.

7. Concluding remarks

A volume like this one can hardly be an exhaustive description of CamE and/or CPE. In spite of the attempts made to cover as many areas as possible, much is still left uninvestigated or under-investigated. However, I hope the perspectives adopted and the frameworks proposed here will offer readers a glimpse of the rich background in which CamE and CPE exist. It is also hoped more in-depth studies will follow those presented here, and that we will have a better grasp of processes and phenomena in not only CamE but also other New Englishes.

It is true that several chapters in this volume still make allusion to, or compare features of CamE to BrE, when it was thought they would diverge completely. This is normal for the stage which research on CamE is at. At a later stage when the frameworks presented will be applied to specific data and specific language use domains, this umbilical reference to BrE will be cut. It simply tells us that much is still to be done as far as analytical frameworks and patterns of data analysis are concerned.

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