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UNITE DE RECHERCHE ET DE
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LANGUES ET LITERATURES**

**FOSSILIZED LEXICO-SYNTACTIC ERRORS IN CAMEROON ENGLISH: A
CASE STUDY OF THE GUARDIAN POST NEWSPAPER, CRTV NEWSCASTS
AND SECOND CYCLE FINAL YEAR STUDENTS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF
ENGLISH MODERN LETTERS OF HTTC BAMENDA**

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DEDICATION

To my grandmother, Euphrasia Yunsai.

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ABSTRACT

This work seeks to study the lexico-syntactic innovations in Cameroon English. This research emanated from the observation that the lexico-syntactic structures in Cameroon English are deviant from those of Standard British English. This deviance is liable to blur or hinder mutual intelligibility between Cameroonian and non-Cameroonian speakers of English. The framework used in this study is Interlanguage, propounded by Larry Selinker. Interlanguage looks at deviant features in a second language as positive attempts to fill gaps and avoid breaks in communication. To effectively carry out this research, data was obtained through participant observation of second cycle final year students of the Department of English Modern Letters in HTTC Bambili, recordings of news broadcasts on the Cameroon Radio and Television (CRTV), and reading of a number of *The Guardian Post Newspaper*. After analysing the data, the study reveals a number of things: a) speakers of Cameroon English use lexico-syntactic structures which are not Standard British English -- a result of fossilization; b) Cameroon English has lexical and syntactic features which make the language qualified to be a variety on its own; c) recent events such as Boko Haram insurgencies, Anglophone Crisis, Scientific and technological innovations, the Covid-19 Pandemic and AFCON 2021 have brought to prominence many new lexico-syntactic structures; d) lexical innovations in Cameroon English stem from interference from French, pidgin English and ethnic languages; e) confusion in word usage, shifts in meaning, reduplication, compounding, extension of meaning, eponymy, conversion, clipping, coining and buzzwords are different categories of fossilized errors. Syntactic innovations, in particular, stem from adjectivisation of adverbs, adverbialization of adjectives, adjectivisation of nouns, nominalization of adjectives, violation of the echo question rule, reflexive elision, random transpose subject concord, conjunctive juxtaposition, determiner clustery, the 'that' clustery, and lexical repetition.

Keywords: fossilisation, lexis, syntax, deviation, nativization.

RÉSUMÉ

Ce travail vise à étudier les innovations lexico-syntaxiques en anglais camerounais. Cette recherche est née du constat que les structures lexico-syntaxiques de l'anglais camerounais sont déviantes de celles de l'anglais britannique standard. Cette déviance est susceptible de brouiller ou d'entraver l'intelligibilité mutuelle entre les locuteurs camerounais et non camerounais de l'anglais. Le cadre utilisé dans cette étude est Interlangage, proposé par Larry Selinker. Interlangage considère les caractéristiques déviantes d'une langue seconde comme des tentatives positives de combler les lacunes et d'éviter les ruptures de communication. Pour mener à bien cette recherche, des données ont été obtenues grâce à l'observation participante d'étudiants de dernière année de deuxième cycle du Département des lettres modernes d'anglais à HTTC Bambili, à l'enregistrement d'émissions d'information sur la Radio et Télévision camerounaise (CRTV) et à la lecture d'un certain nombre de journaux The Guardian Post. Après avoir analysé les données, l'étude révèle un certain nombre de choses: a) les locuteurs de l'anglais camerounais utilisent des structures lexico-syntaxiques qui ne sont pas l'anglais britannique standard - résultat de la fossilisation; b) l'anglais camerounais a des caractéristiques lexicales et syntaxiques qui rendent la langue qualifiée pour être une variété à part entière; c) les événements récents tels que les insurrections de Boko Haram, la crise anglophone, les innovations scientifiques et technologiques, la pandémie de Covid-19 et la CAN 2021 ont mis en évidence de nombreuses nouvelles structures lexico-syntaxiques; d) les innovations lexicales au Cameroun l'anglais provient de l'interférence du français, de l'anglais pidgin et de la langue ethnique; e) La confusion dans l'utilisation des mots, les changements de sens, la reduplication, la composition, l'extension du sens, l'éponymie, la conversion, l'écèlement, la frappe et les mots à la mode sont différentes catégories d'erreurs fossilisées. Les innovations syntaxiques, en particulier, proviennent de l'adjectivisation des adverbes, de l'adverbalisation des adjectifs, de l'adjectivisation des noms, de la nominalisation des adjectifs, de la violation de la règle de la question d'écho, de l'élision réflexive, de la concorde aléatoire du sujet transposé, de la juxtaposition conjonctionnelle, du cluster déterminant, du cluster « that » et de la répétition lexicale.

Mots-clés : fossilisation, lexicale, syntaxe, déviation, nativization.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CamE	Cameroon English
CRTV	Cameroon Radio and Television
CSE	Cameroon Standard English
EBL	English as Basic Language
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EIAL	English as an International Auxiliary Language
EIIL	English as an International and Intranational Language
EIL	English as an International Language
ENL	English as a Native language
ESL	English as a second language
ESOL	English as a Second Official language
L1	First Language
HTTC	Higher Teacher Training College
L2	Second Language
LFE	Localized Forms of English
LO1	First official Language
LO2	Second official Language
NE	Nigerian English
NNE	Non Native Englishes
NNV	Non Native Varieties
NP	Noun Phrase
NV	Native Varieties
NVEs	Native Varieties of Englishes
PE	Pidgin English
SBE	Standard British English
SE	Standard English
SL	Second Language
Wh	Words beginning with Wh

INTRODUCTION

Language has always been central to the study of man in his environment. It is a dynamic construct which has social relevance, especially in its environment of usage. The greater value of language lies in its communicability, which is the individual's ability to use words in a given context (Njemanze 2012) in Fonchenallah (2021: 5). The goal of communication is to convey information and to understand information from other people. The process of communication involves the development of the idea in the sender's mind which is then put into language or style that suits the message and the interlocutor. The message is passed across to the receiver through methods of either speaking, writing or gesticulation. The receiver gets the message either through listening, reading or watching. All of these entail that appropriate language be used by the speaker to pass across a given message. Feedback is an important style in communication which is expected from learners. This feedback will be appropriate if the language used in sending out the message was appropriate. Thus, using language appropriately in a situation will ensure the right pragmatic and semantic interpretation which act as evaluation to successful communication.

Speaking and writing a language is not as easy as it may appear. It is a complicated exercise which requires the selection and the organization of appropriate words or lexemes and their proper pronunciation in order to create semantically correct sentences. Words are not just scattered haphazardly in a sentence but they are appropriately arranged following the syntactic rules of a language in order to have sentences that are grammatically correct and semantically acceptable. Second language (L2) learners are always confronted with the challenge of selecting the right words and their appropriate syntactic structures, let alone the challenge of right pronunciation when speaking.

Motivation to carry out this study

The motivation to this study stems from the fact that what is generally considered as *Cameroon English* is not accepted in Cameroonian academia. Besides, David Tiomajo started a corpus project for Cameroon English in early 1990s which he did not complete (Bambose et al 1995). Other attempts were made to produce a Cameroon corpus of English. For example, Paul Mbangwana, the then Head of Department of English, and Stephen Mforteh, a lecturer in the Department at the time, went to the University of Birmingham to study how to create a

corpus for Cameroon English (henceforth CamE). This was a collaborative effort between the Universities of Yaoundé and Birmingham. Their work too, did not come to a final conclusion. Despite this, CamE is not officially accepted and used in academia, neither is it tolerated in schools. The motivation for this research is to continue describing aspects of this variety of English so as to take the argument for CamE further, with the hope that the language will eventually be accepted as a variety in its own right, like Indian or Singaporean Englishes.

Statement of the research problem

A primary means of human communication is language. According to Jackson (1998:49), the broad system of communication includes both the speaker who uses sounds to express his or her thoughts and the hearer who ‘decodes’ the sounds in order to understand the speaker’s meanings. What happens then when language cannot be used accurately? There is no communication, as Wilkins (1972) postulates that without grammar very little can be conveyed and without vocabulary nothing can be conveyed.

The above phenomenon is often evident in CamE where speakers use lexico-syntactic structures which are different from those found in the English language. In settings where the primary goal is communication, this may tend to blur or completely hinder mutual intelligibility between a Cameroonian speaker and a non-Cameroonian speaker of English, or even among Cameroonian speakers of English themselves. This is because a Cameroonian speaker may often use lexico-syntactic structures which are only common to the socio-cultural realities of Cameroon or other specific contexts in particular regions of the country. Some standard British lexes and syntactic structures could also be used, but with errors which have become the norm within the Cameroonian context. All these may completely hinder or blur the communication process.

Research questions

In order to seek for solution to this problem, research needs to be carried out to confirm or infirm a number of things pertaining to good language usage. Hence, this study will seek to answer the following questions:

- What new lexico-syntactic structures are evident in the English used in Cameroon?
- What accounts for these structures?
- How can the situation be reversed?

Objectives of the study

This work sets out to look at the various lexico-syntactic structures that are innovative in CamE, including how they come about, and if they can be reversed. If they cannot be reversed, it means that they have become part of the characteristics of a new variety of English: Cameroon English. An investigation of this situation leads to discovery of some development of CamE lexicology and syntax which will contribute to the debate of a possible standardization of CamE to meet up with other standardized varieties of New Englishes in the world such as Ugandan English, Singaporean English and Nigerian English. It is hoped that if this is achieved, then Cameroonian academia and secondary school teachers would no longer reject the new variety and condemn it in students' writings. The objectives of the research include making an inventory of the deviant lexico-syntactic structures in the English usage of Cameroonians and examining the processes involved in the creation of these new structures.

Hypothesis

The English spoken in Cameroon encompasses some aspects of lexico-syntactic features which differ from those of Standard British English. English is a second language to Cameroonians learned after they had acquired their mother tongues. It is, therefore, expected that as Cameroon has diverse socio-cultural and ethnic realities, plus a new geographical and cultural environment, her English would be impacted by these realities.

Significance of the study

This study is very important because it is going to supplement the existing literatures on the field of study of Cameroon English being one of the New Englishes of the world. It would also help other researchers interested in New Englishes to have material to read to increase their knowledge in the field. Finally, teachers, journalists, press writers and Cameroonians in general would hopefully find the work useful to them as they will be able from this work to draw a dichotomy between Cameroon English and British English. This would be of paramount importance to them when they are invited to foreign TV channels like BBC and CNN, where they would be conscious that they are supposed to use British English (or American English as the case may be) to ease intelligibility and avoid breaks in communication.

Scope of the study

Though there are different levels of linguistic analysis such as phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. This dissertation focusses on lexicology and syntax. To effectively carry out this academic project, the work will limit itself to direct participatory programmes on Cameroon Radio and Television (CRTV), *The Guardian Post Newspaper*, and Level Six Hundred students of the Department of English Modern Letters in the Higher Teacher Training College (HTTC) of the University of Bamenda.

Structure of the work

This work is presented in four chapters, after this introduction. Chapter one contains a background to the study, the linguistic background of Cameroon and definition of some key terms. Chapter two comprises theoretical considerations and review of related literatures. It examines, summarizes and evaluates what other authors have written on lexicology and syntax in the world at large, and then in Cameroon English. The third chapter describes the methodology used in the study. Here, the description of activities and procedures carried out, a description of the target population for the study, data elicitation tools, techniques used and data presentation will be provided. Chapter four comprises analysis and interpretation of the data collected for this study. The dissertation ends in a conclusion in which implications of the results of the research findings are explained. In addition, some recommendations and suggestions for further research will be given, not forgetting a note on the difficulties encountered during this research.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

This research endeavor falls within the realms of investigating the lexico-syntactic features of the variety of English spoken in Cameroon, popularly known as Cameroon English (CamE). This chapter presents the background information which places the study within a given context, for easy understanding of the rest of the chapters.

1.1 A note on Cameroon

Cameroon is an economy of about 20 million inhabitants. Cameroon was first discovered by the Carthaginian navigator named Hannon. As he was sailing down the West African coast, he witnessed the eruption of mount Cameroon (Todd, 1984). It is worth noting that not much is known about this period. However, the country is noted for its ethnic diversity. In the early fifteenth century, European maritime exploration received a boom which was made manifest through Europeans rushing to annex countries in Africa and Asia to establish trade treaties with them. The first person to establish such treaties with Cameroon was a Portuguese named Fernando Po, who discovered a rich supply of prawns at the Douala coast while sailing towards the island of Fernando Po. For this reason he named the country “Rio Dos Cameroes” which means river of prawns (Todd 1984).

In as much as the Portuguese were engaged in trading activities with Cameroon, they never settled in the area because they did not have interest in Cameroon. Because of this lack of interest coupled with health hazards, in 1498, the Portuguese cut off every trade dealings with Cameroon (Ngoh 2019). During this period, the Douala chiefs of Cameroon got involved in trade with the British and wanted the British to annex them. The British however were reluctant but when they decided to launch the annexation procedures, they were overtaken by the Germans who annexed Cameroon as a German territory in 1884.

After the first world war ended in November 1918 with the defeat of the Germans, Cameroon was handed to Britain and France as mandated territories and as a trusteeship territory after the Second World War. This led to the splitting of Cameroon. The French however decided to use the system of assimilation (which is a system of administration wherein the colonies were made to believe that by adopting the French language and culture they

become French citizens) to govern their section while the British used the system of indirect rule placing their section under Nigeria (Nghoh 1996).

In July 1960 French Cameroon obtained her independence and a year later, 1961 a plebiscite was held in British Cameroon to decide whether they will unite with French Cameroon or with Nigeria. On October 1, 1961, the Federal Republic of Cameroon comprising English and French Cameroon was born with English and French as the official languages. It was not until June 2, 1972 that the Federal Republic gave way to the United Republic of Cameroon (Todd 1984)

1.2 Linguistic background of Cameroon

Cameroon is a multi-ethnic, multicultural and multilingual country with French and English as its official languages and other indigenous languages completely different from these two languages (Ngule 2008). The linguistic background of Cameroon is very complex because it has no national language. As such different languages are spoken in the ten regions of Cameroon. Todd (1984) citing Tadjieu (1975) mentions that there are over 248 languages and an indefinite number of vernaculars in Cameroon. Neba et al (2006) Made mention of 286. No fixed number has been determined but it is approximated at 240 to 300. Neba et al (2006) further remark that 279 of those languages are living languages while 3 of them are second languages with no native speakers. Nkwetisama (2017) says that as for the official languages, French is the dominant official language in Cameroon given that it is used in eight of the ten regions of the country. Nonetheless, English in recent years has been noted to exert some influence on the French-speaking Cameroonian population as a result of government policy, evident in the creation of the National Commission for Bilingualism and Multiculturalism, popularly known as Musonge's Commission. This is seen from the number of French speaking Cameroonians attending English language medium of instruction (Nkwetisama 2013).

One can notice the remarkable influence of English and French not only on other languages in Cameroon but also mutually on French and English languages themselves. This melange has given rise to a new kind of language known as Camfranglais which is a word considered to have been coined first by Ze Amvela (1989). Kouega (2009) argues that this language is restricted to education and age. Apart from French, English and Camfranglais, there are other auxiliary languages used for day-to-day communication such as pidgin English (Neba et al 2006).

The English lexicon is one of those areas where flexibility is experienced and this has greatly enriched the vocabulary of the language. This rich vocabulary has made it possible for English users to communicate and express social realities with each other. For this reason, English is considered an international language because it has spread to other parts of the world including Cameroon. The Guinness book of records considered English as the spoken language in the world till date. This is because it is spoken by more than half of the world's population and is used in almost every domain of life ranging from science to technology. Commerce and trade just to name a few.

Many reasons account for the spread of English in the world which include trade, annexation, the quest for new settlement for political refugees and criminals and colonization. This spread led to the emergence of new varieties to deal with the realities of the settings in which the language is spoken. Some of these varieties include American English, Australian English and West African Englishes (Howard and Ze Amvela, 2006). Also it is said to have contributed to the formation of Pidgin English which is considered as a contact language used to bridge communication amongst people of the different linguistic backgrounds.

Aside from French and English in Cameroon one will commonly hear pidgin as one of those languages spoken by a cross section of the population not considering the persons social class, academic level, professional background, ethnicity, age or sex. Pidgin in Cameroon transcends all regional barriers and today we find it on places one would have least expected, such as administrative offices and even in the media. It is the only language spoken in the ten regions of Cameroon without being tagged. This language is considered to be intelligible to both the Francophones and the Anglophones. In fact, pidgin has become too present in the Cameroonian society so much so that it has given rise to its own varieties. Some of these varieties of pidgin include Mboko pidgin, Hausa pidgin and the Anglophone variety of pidgin (Fonka, 2011). These pidgins vary in each geographical settings. They constitute what is known today by some scholars as Cameroon pidgin (CamP). Even though Cameroon pidgin is there to bridge the communication challenges in Cameroon, there exist mother tongues that are used by indigenes from the different tribes that make up the country Cameroon to identify themselves.

These languages vary from regions and tribes. We, therefore, have languages such as the Hausa and Fulfulde amongst others spoken mostly in the North, Far North, and the Adamawa regions; the Ewondo and Etone spoken in the Centre Region, the Mungaka and Lamso spoken in some tribes of the North West region, the Akose and Bayangi spoken in the South West region and the Bassa spoken in the Littoral Centre regions. As mentioned earlier, there are many other languages spoken in Cameroon's linguistic sphere that are not mentioned here.

It is important to mention that with this rich linguistic background, Cameroon does not have a national language yet. Different languages are being used by Cameroonians as suits the setting or occasion. Given that this work's focus is on English language, it is important to look at a brief history of the English Language.

1.3 A brief history of the English Language

English language is a West Germanic Language that originated from the Anglo-Frisian dialects brought to Britain in the mid-5th century by the Anglo-Saxon migrants from present day Germany, Southern Denmark and the Netherlands. The Anglo-Saxons settled in the British Isle from the mid-5th century and came to dominate part of Southern Great Britain. Old English came from a group of Anglo-Frisians dialects which were spoken by the settlers in England, Southern and Eastern Scotland in the middle ages displaying the Celtic Language that was spoken before their arrival. Jackson and Ze Amvela (2001) report that the old English literary age began only after the arrival of the Christian Missionaries from Rome in AD 597. They added that the first Old English manuscript dating from around 700, are glossaries of Latin words translated into English and a few early inscriptions and poems. The most important literary work which survived in a copy was the poem Beowulf, written around 1000 but there were also some short poems concerned with Christian subject. Crystal (1995;15) points out that "the number of words in corpus of Old English compiled at the University of Toronto, which contains all the texts, is only 3.5million - the equivalent of about 30 medium-sized novels".

Old English vocabulary was further influenced as it came in contact with Northern Germanic languages spoken by the Scandinavian Vikings who conquered and colonized parts of Britain during the 8th and the 9th century which led to much lexical borrowing and grammatical simplification. The Anglian dialects have a greater influence on the Middle English. Old English was replaced by Middle English after the Norman conquest of 1066. Many Norman and French loanwords enter English language in this period especially the

government and the court system. Middle English was spoken till the late 15th century. The system of orthography that was established during the Middle English is largely still in use today. Later changes in pronunciation, however, combine with adoption of various foreign spellings, means that the spelling of modern English words appears highly irregular with so many confusable words. The early Middle Modern English used by writers like William Shakespeare is dated from the 1500. The Middle English period was graced with much richer documentation than the Old English. Crystal (1995:34) explains that this is partly due to the fact that the newly centralized monarchy commissioned national and local surveys which resulted in a marked increase in the number of public and private documents. Old English incorporates many renaissance era loans from Latin and Ancient Greek, as well as borrowing from other European languages including French, German and Dutch. Significant pronunciation changes occurred during this period including the Great Vowel Shift which affected the quality of most vowels we have today. English language properly similar in all aspect to what we have today was put in place by the late 17th century.

English language as spoken in most parts of the world today was exported from Britain to those places through colonization. Anglophone Cameroon happens to be those people that were colonized by Britain, though with a peculiar history of how English came there and gained an official status.

1.4 English in Cameroon

The history of the development of English in Cameroon dates as far back as the 15th century when the presence of British privateers in Portuguese boats was reported (Mbassi Manga 1973). The British really consolidated their stay in Cameroon during the second half of the 19th century when they virtually become sole masters leading the other colonial powers on the Cameroonian coast.

However, their influence did not last for long because a few years after, they were defeated by the Germans and a treaty signed with the kings of the coastal area of Cameroon to make the country their protectorate in 1884. English and particularly PE that was used in trade, nevertheless, remained after the British withdrew. The Germans themselves did not stay in Cameroon for long as they were to be defeated in the First World War in 1916 and in 1919 at the treaty of Versailles, the country was partitioned between the British and the French. The

two territories, that is British Cameroon and French Cameroon, stayed apart till 1961 when one year after the independence of French Cameroon, the southern Cameroon, the southern part of the British side, “southern Cameroon”, opted in a plebiscite to join La Republique du Cameroun to form the Federal Republic of Cameroon as two semi-autonomous states. The Northern part of British Cameroons opted to become part of Nigeria.

The 1972 referendum led to a unitary state in Cameroon known as the United Republic of Cameroon with French and English as official languages to be used according to the law of the land everywhere in the country (Ngho 1996).

Talking about how English language came to Cameroon, Fonlon (1969:30) says “The first vehicle that brought English to Cameroon was trade”. In 1842, the British traders along the coast of Cameroon could bargain with the coastal chiefs in Cameroon for exchange of slaves with British goods. On the heels of these British traders were Joseph Merrich and Alfred Saker who arrived Cameroon as missionaries in 1884 and 1885 respectively. All these missionaries were English speaking and they opened schools where English was taught. Fonlon (1969:31) says the proof in the early spread of English is seen in that the number of words assimilated by Cameroonian languages like Ewondo, Bulu and Douala though in French speaking Cameroon zone are derived from English for Example “sekulu” and “sleepers” in Ewondo which rhyme with English School and Slippers.

Although the German annexation of Cameroon in July 1884 has a negative influence on the spread and growth of English in Cameroon as English was replaced by German language in Education and administration, English was not completely wiped out as it was still used along the coast of Cameroon by traders. English could have remained the only official language in Cameroon if Germany did not annex Cameroon. During the First World War, Britain and France defeated Germany in Cameroon and Cameroon was partitioned between Britain and France. English gained grounds in West Cameroon that was administered by Britain and France in East Cameroon under the French. After the Fomuban conference of 1961 and reunification of East and West Cameroon, English was adopted alongside French as the two official languages in the Federal Republic of Cameroon. English language was then used as the main official language in Anglophone Cameroon. English as a second language in Cameroon is taught from the nursery school level right to the university. It is one of the compulsory subjects in Secondary school alongside French and mathematics. In 2015 English language was

introduced in the high school as a way to remedy what has been termed by Ayafor (2015) as “the falling standards of English in Cameroon”.

The English language which our study is focused on, is predominantly spoken in the Northwest and Southwest Regions of Cameroon which are the only two Anglophone regions among the ten regions in the country as seen on Figure 1 and Figure 2 below.

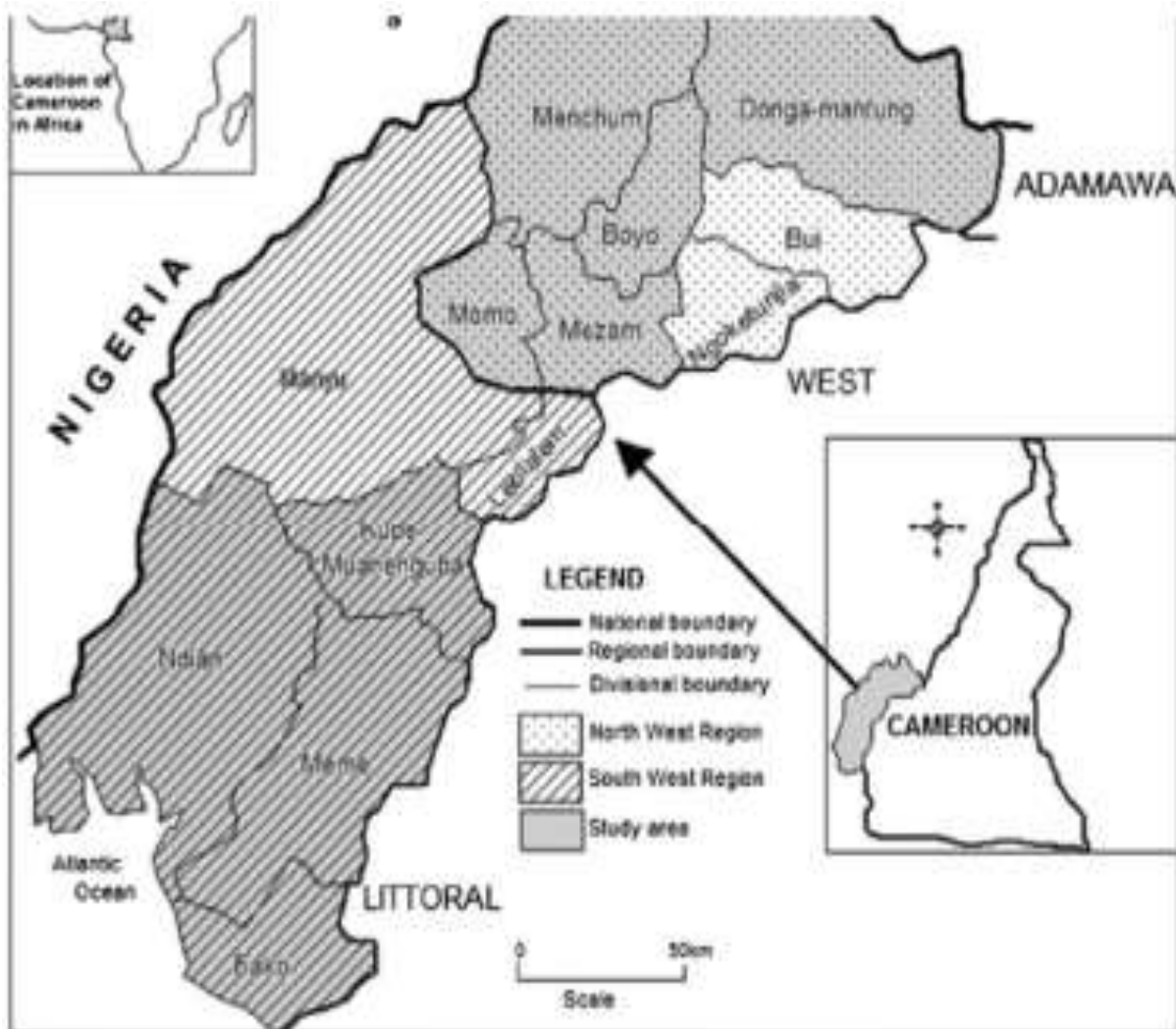


Figure 1: Situating the language area (Fonchenallah 2021)



Figure 2: Location of the Anglophone regions on the Cameroon map (Fonchenallah, 2021)

Given that this work has audiovisual media as its case study, it is important to look at the background of audiovisual media in Cameroon for a better understanding of this project.

1.5 Audiovisual media in Cameroon

The history of television in Cameroon is as important as the influence it has on Cameroon English. According to Francise Nyamnjoh (1996) in *Mass media and democratization in Cameroon*, plans for setting up television began since 1962. But there were two reasons for the slow development of the media that made Cameroon to have TV as late as 1985. In a public statement on the 29th May, 1962, President Ahidjo called for caution and stressed the need to proceed with the realization of TV project methodically. According to him, it was necessary to have complete coverage of the country by radio before introducing TV. Again, Cameroon had to reflect the system it has to use (Anglo-German Phrase Alternate Line (PAL B/G-Used in the Tropics) or PAL 1 (used in Temperate Zones), French sequential color and memory (CICAM, North Africa National Television Standard Committee NTSC)

In 1963, a study was carried out by a French man called Menard. He suggested that a single transmitter should be set up with antennas at the summit of mount Cameroon so that it could be received throughout the country. It was rejected because it was too expensive, and Ahidjo thought it was best to use the money in the development of the whole nation than to install cables only for city dwellers since television then was an urban medium. The unfavorable climatic condition up the mountain and the unpredictability of the volcanic site was another reason (Nyamnjoh 1996).

It took another six years before any public statement was made about TV. In 1975, the government opted to set up a color TV system. A commission was set up to do a study on an education TV system of Cameroon. This study was called ESOPE 1. Its centres were in South, Littoral and North Province with possibilities of extending to the rest of the provinces. Its purpose was to provide a TV service to both Rural and urban dwellers. In December 1976, five Cameroonian engineers were asked to do a feasibility study and their findings based on the mode of transmission, the color system, the equipment to be used and the drafting of technical contracts. Programme content which is the essence of TV Broadcasting was ignored.

On May 16th 1979, the government called for tenders for the following system, PAL or SECAM and to include costing, technical assistance and staff training. The international telecommunication union (ITU) was invited to analyse the tenders. Four of them were short

listed and requested to make new proposals, which will include programme production. Cameroon tribune (2000).

In December 1981, two companies were awarded the contracts. French Thomson CSF had to build all the transmitters and relay stations while German Siemens had to construct the production and transmission centre. Work started on the project in 1983 and was completed by 1985. On 20th March 1985 on the occasion of the CNU party congress in Bamenda, the first pictures were broadcast. This broadcast lasted for five days. Another trial broadcast was on May 20th 1985 and then in August 1985 on the first pontifical visit to Cameroon. An Experimental programme scheduled was launched on December 25th 1985 which marked the official beginning of TV broadcast in Cameroon.

The first radio in Cameroon was started in what was the French sector of the country in the early 1940's. This was located in the main sea port of Douala with just 150 watts. After a break, it was revived in 1946 and continued its low power operation until upgraded in 1955. From 1955, broadcasting in Cameroon was centred on the political capital, Yaounde, and other provincial towns around the country. These were located as follows: Yaounde radio was established in the capital in 1955 by SORAFOM, the French agency responsible for implementing broadcasting aid projects overseas. A shortwave transmitter was installed in Douala by SORAFOM in 1955. SORAFOM set up a radio station in Garoua in 1958. Bertoua station was also set up in 1977 when a 20 kw transmitter was installed. Bafoussam provincial station was set up in the early 1980 broadcasting in Anglophone Cameroon had always depended on Nigeria until 1966 when a radio station was set up in Buea (Nyamnjoh 1996).

1.6 Background of the University of Bamenda

The University of Bamenda was created by Decree n° 2010/371 of the 14th December 2010 and Prof. Tafah Edokat Edward, was the five-year-old institution's pioneer head. On the 15 Dec 2015, he was replaced by Professor Theresia Nkuo Akenji, who still serves as the Vice Chancellor. It was the last of the eight state Universities in Cameroon as primary concern, to achieve the goals attributed to all the state Universities which include: teaching, research and outreach. This University has six schools: Higher Teacher Training College (HTTC), Higher Technical Teacher Training College (HTTTC), Higher Institute of Transport and Logistics (HITL), College of Technology (COLTECH), National Higher Polytechnic Institute (NAHPI), and Higher Institute of Commerce and Management (HICM). Faculties in this University include: Faculty of Arts (FA), Faculty of Science (FS), Faculty of Economics and Management

Sciences (FEMS), Faculty of Education (FED), Faculty of Health Science (FHS) and Faculty of Law and Political Science (FLPS).

The University of Bamenda, The University of the Future, (UBa), is a distinctive Anglo-Saxon university with future international reputation for higher standards of achievements and innovations in all areas of professionalism, arts, sciences and technology. The mission of UBa is to equip students with universal knowledge in the arts, sciences and technology. It strives to imbue in the students an overt spirit, reflective of critical and constructive thinking, spontaneous to initiatives and enterprise. The university, to this end, brings the students to sanity as they imbibe, exchange and value ideas within a context of moral integrity and associative life. Its critical agenda is to pursue personal and collegial excellence in teaching, training, research and outreach in the spirit of the Anglo-Saxon tradition without sacrificing the advantages of cultural dialogue. The learning experience which the university provides to students is the basis upon which students should demonstrate responsible leadership and subscribe to the core values of intellectual insurance responsive to the exigencies of the contemporary environment. The university, conscious of the dynamic character of science and technology, continues to strive for innovation in its quest to meet with the ramified demands of our contemporary times.

The Higher Teacher Training College (HTTC) at Bambili is a School of the University of Bamenda. Before becoming part of the University of Bamenda, the HTTC was a school of the University of Yaoundé, and as only a first cycle teacher-training institution. This means that the school had a three-year programme which took in A'Level GCE holders. Graduates from this school could only teach the first cycle secondary schools. However, the present HTTC, Bambili, is a five-year programme, including not only the first cycle, but also a second cycle programme which recruits degree holders, and whose graduates teach the second cycle of secondary education. HTTC Bambili is no longer an “Annex” of the Advanced Teachers’ Training College of the Federal University of Cameroon, Yaoundé.

The HTTC Bambili is a partner to the nation’s efforts to improve standards of teaching and learning and to professionalize the education sector. HTTC Bambili advances the general mission assigned to The University of Bamenda and specifically ensures scholarly and innovative approaches to teaching, learning and curricular practices. This prestigious

institution of the University of Bamenda has eleven departments for first cycle and thirteen for second cycle. Departments for first cycle include: English Modern Letters, Mathematics, Chemistry, Biology, Physics, Economics, History, Computer Science, Geography, French Modern Letters and Bilingual Letters. Departments for second cycle include: English Modern Letters, Mathematics, Chemistry, Biology, Physics, Economics, History, Computer Science, Geography, French Modern Letters, Bilingual Letters, Science of Education and Guidance and Counseling. The University was created by a presidential decree no. 2010/371 (in 2010).

Having described all of the above, it is deemed necessary to also discuss some characteristics of non-native varieties of English as background information to the present research.

1.7 Definitions of Non-Native Varieties of English

The spread of the English language has been so rapid that in less than three hundred years, the language has taken roots in all the continents of the world. The many reasons that have been given for this include: the world-wide influence exercised by Britain as a colonial and economic power for roughly two centuries, and the domination of world business, scientific and technological scene by English.

However, Fishman (1983) thinks the spread of the language has been accelerated by the fact that societies and people to whom English is not a mother-tongue seriously encourage its use. This is because the different forms of English that exist in the world today arise from the fact that its spread was unplanned and largely uncontrolled. The native varieties (NVs) are those spoken in contexts where English is the mother tongue of most, if not all, the people. The (NNVs) are spoken in countries with mother-tongues other than English. In spite of this, a wide gap continues to separate one native variety from another just as it does between NNVs.

The spread of English has gained considerable interest among scholars, and they consider description and typology as being the most crucial tasks at the moment. That is why the present research dwells on the description of the syntax of the English used in Cameroon.

The insertion of English into new socio-cultural contexts has led to a process that has been described as *indigenization*. Moag (1983: 211) defines indigenization as a “process of language change by which the new variety of English becomes distinct from the present imported variety and from other indigenized varieties elsewhere”. Kachru (1983a) referring to

the same process as “nativization” points out that nativization at the level of phonology and lexis has been studied in the past under the guise of contrastive analysis or error analysis. He says that nativization goes beyond such labels using productive processes for collocational innovation in syntactic simplification or over-generalization in the use of native stylistic devices. In short, a new ecology is an environment for the creation of non-native (NN) languages.

Kachru (1983b) stresses the need to distinguish between features that can be described as “mistakes” and those that constitute “deviations” from native English norms. It is only after such a distinction is clearly made that one can attempt to isolate and describe the defining features of each variety of English. A “mistake” is a feature that violates the native norms of English and fails to justify its existence by subscribing to a contextually determined NN “norm” of a particular variety. The deviation violates the linguistic norm of native English but when placed in its socio-cultural context, it assumes the status of a localized NN norm.

To Kachru (1983b: 45), a deviation is the “result of the productive process which marks the typical variety-specific feature: and it is systematic within a variety and not idiosyncratic”. As he further explains the context of situations for each deviation. But this is not the case with mistakes which are non-systematic, characterized by individual speech and is consequently said to be idiosyncratic.

Many scholars have attempted to classify various English-using societies and identify some of the features that characterize NNVs of the language.

1.8 Classification of English-Speaking Societies

Moag (1982) in his taxonomy of English-using societies comes up with two different features which he later regroups into eight composite features. This finally gave him four types of English-using societies. Societies using English as a foreign language (EFL), societies in which English is a second language (ESL), those in which English is a native language (ENL) and those which use English as a basic language (EBL), Moag explains that, unlike in the English native language societies where English is the dominant language, English is used as a basic language in context to an area where another language is dominant. Of all his features, Moag considers language use to be pivotal because it affects other features and it alone can distinguish most of the language variety types.

Stevens (1981) is one of the writers who have attempted to distinguish between various types of world English. In his work he draws a distinction between EFL and ESL communities

on the basis of status, use, and choice of model. To him, English in EFL communities also have a native English model. But in his ESL communities, English has a high status as it is the language used in the courts, the media and as a medium of instruction at schools. It tends to have a local standard as a model rather than a foreign one. Here, one noticed that Moag and Stevens are parallel in their use of EFL and ESL labels.

In another work of his Stevens (1983) introduces the concept of localized forms of English (LFE.). Stevens (1983:24) “is an identifiable version of English associated with a given community of English users. Its identifiable characteristics may lie in any combination of lexical, syntactic, phonological, discourse or semantic feature” on the broad basis of needs and functions. He identifies two main types of LFE communities that is international LFE countries and intra-national LFE countries. While the latter uses English for contact with the outside world, for communication with individual English-speaking societies and for getting access to science, the former uses English for international communication like the international LFE type, uses the language for interaction between and among the members of these communities.

Stevens further defines and differentiates between the LFE types using six parameters such as: lectal range, discourse rules, presence or absence of a local standard, status and domain of use.

As a summary, therefore, one realizes that Stevens’ LFE of the intra-type more or less corresponds to Moag’s other three types: ENL, EBL and ESOL in his two works Smith (1983a, 1983b) questions the use of the label EFL, ESL, ESOL on the grounds that they are classroom concepts that tend to be used in confusing manner outside the classroom. He prefers terms that will truly describe the language as it exists in real situations. To support his argument, Smith (1983a) suggests the label English as an international auxiliary language (EIAL). English has been given an international status because it is used by people of different nations to communicate with one another. It is also “auxiliary” because it is a language other than the first language used by nationals of many countries for internal communication. Smith thinks that such a change will represent more than a change of label. It means that it will also bring about change in attitude on the part of those natives and NN users.

In his second work, Smith (1983b) introduces the concepts of English as an international and intra-national language (EIIL). Like EIAL, EIIL is intended by Smith to replace the previous concepts of EFL, ESL and ESOL, but the author fails to relate EIIL to the earlier concepts of EIIL. In the EIIL concepts, Smith introduced the notion of English as an International language which was absent from his earlier concepts of EIAL. Smith’s English

as an international language closely resembles Moag's (1982) ESL. With the difference that some of the features Moag attributes to ESL are assigned by Smith to EIL as an international language. Smith's concept of EIL largely rejects the notion of English as a foreign language. Hence the functions attributed to EFL by Moag are assumed by EIL (international) along with those stripped from ESL. EIL however, goes further to include as a part of its student population both native and NN learners of English. The EIL concept identifies two main varieties of English in both native and NN societies.

Moag's (1982) taxonomy, therefore, seems to remain the most complete and feasible typology for describing English as a world language. Besides, Smith's concept of EIL can hardly be described as a typology, as it tends to describe an ideal rather than a real situation.

1.9 A note on the use of words

According to Lenenberg (quoted in Robinette 1978:110), a lexicon is like a photograph that freezes motion. When changes take place in our experience, additional "photographs" different lexical items are added. Vocabulary is a combination of all the lexicon of a language. As just stated above, it is only recently that vocabulary has assumed a more prominent status prompted by corpus studies and awareness of the role of lexical units in learning and communication. Schmitt one of the active groups of scholars whose research has put vocabulary at the fore-front of contemporary applied linguistics (2000; xi), thus points that lexical knowledge is central to communicative competence and to the acquisition of a second language. Vocabulary and lexical units are at the core of learning and communication. He thus adds "indeed vocabulary and lexical expression can sustain a great deal of rudimentary communication without much support from other aspects of the language system". Macaro (2003:62) shares the latter view. He focuses on the dictionary as the most often used source of language learning and use. He distinguishes two major reasons why vocabulary is important in language learning:

- The first reason is that words are complex things in relation to other words and to us humans that use them. Words may even trigger our thought processes and therefore the utterances and sentences we produce. That is, words imply and entail other words.
- The second reason is that vocabulary helps you to achieve things, for instance, the more words in a spoken or written text that you can recognize, the more you can use tricks to help you understand the bits that you do not recognize (Macaro 2003:63).

Words are herein seen as central elements in the social system of communication. In fact, how can communication take place without any use of vocabulary? So any study carried out needs the expansion of the lexicon as a key to educational success. In the same view, Schmitt (2000: xi) says no account of grammatical or other types of lexical knowledge can be employed in communication or discourse without the mediation of vocabulary.

Barrass (1982:53) on his part says that human interest and pleasure in words is not surprising, because when they speak or write they are trying to put their own thoughts into words. He thus argues that “without words we cannot think. We are limited in our ability to think by the number of words at our command. If we have a sustained vocabulary, we are better able to think and to express our feelings”. Barrass (ibid) later added that we write in order to tell others what we think, but if we use words incorrectly, or use words that our readers don't understand, we will be misunderstood. This is a striking problem frequently encountered by many students learning English as a foreign language, who always use the right words at the wrong place.

Allen (1983:5) thus points out that in many ESL classes, “even where teachers have devoted much time to vocabulary teaching, the results have been disappointing, for through research, scholars are finding that lexical problem frequently interferes with communication”. Allen (ibid) concludes “communication breaks down when people don't use the right words. Communication lacks when learners lack the necessary words.” It would therefore be difficult to communicate without a strong knowledge of vocabulary (Macaro 2003:65). This idea of knowing the vocabulary of SL arouses the issue of how many words the learners must know to successfully achieve their academic goals? A response to this question would be that it depends on the field of study, and other factors.

However, this issue seems to be a delicate one, for Rivers (1968:208), in carrying out research in the teaching of vocabulary, found that “an extensive vocabulary is not an important aspect of foreign language learning, if one is to speak fluently”. He argues that in some teaching methods great store is set by the learning of many foreign language words, where students learn lengthy bilingual vocabulary lists by heart; whereas in an audio-lingual approach, vocabulary learning is given a minor role until the student has a sure control of the structure patterns and is able to express himself freely within a limited area of language. Rivers (1968:208) goes ahead to say that this reduced emphasis on vocabulary learning is due to many reasons:

- The number of words one can learn in a foreign language is seemingly endless, and it's difficult to know exactly which word one will need next.
- Excessive vocabulary learning gives students the impression that the most important thing about learning a language is the accumulating of foreign words as equivalents for concepts which they can already express in their LI.

This, unfortunately, is a misleading approach, for students often fail to realize that meaning is expressed in groups of words and in combination of language segments, and that the meaning of an individual word is usually difficult to determine when it is separated from context of other words and phrases.

1.10 Users and uses of English in Cameroon

English, like French, is an official language in Cameroon. Hence it is used by every educated Cameroonian of at least secondary school level. The language is expected to be used by every government worker, and by people in the private sector who have interest in selling their products to the whole nation. In addition, with the increasing importance of English worldwide in international relations, trade and science, many Cameroonians of originally French-speaking backgrounds have developed new interests in learning and speaking the language. Nowadays, in purely so-called Anglo-Saxon schools in the country, several Francophones are found – children whose parents are not English-speaking. The number of bilingual schools in the country has greatly increased in recent years, still for the same reason as mentioned above. So, who are the users of English in Cameroon? One is tempted to say a majority of Cameroonians, especially those who are social climbers.

As far as uses are concerned, English is used as a language of instruction in Anglophone schools, while it remains a compulsory subject in all francophone schools. Note should be taken that even in the Anglophone schools, English is compulsory subject too. English is also used in the government and in the media. That is why every presidential decree and other important documents are provided in English as well as in French. The official gazette of the country is bilingual in English and French. Newscasts are in both official languages; in both the upper and lower houses of the parliament, discussions are translated from English to French and vice versa. Both official and private newspapers use the English language. Not to belabor the point, English language is a language to reckon with in Cameroon.

Language is communication. For a language to be communicative enough, appropriate words should be used. That is why it is deemed necessary to briefly talk about vocabulary in this introductory chapter.

1.11 Vocabulary and communication

For communication to be effective, there must be an appropriate use of vocabulary. When speakers fail to use appropriate and accurate vocabulary, this will hinder intelligibility. For effective communication to take place, to be able to exchange ideas, to describe emotions and express opinions in a language, it is necessary to know its vocabulary which is an important tool for communication. The lexicon of a language is the stock of words existing in that language; it is the vocabulary of the language (Howard and Ze Amvela 2006). Therefore, to master and effectively use any word in a language for whatever purpose one needs to understand the different formation processes of these words.

1.11.1 Word formation processes in English

Before describing the word formation processes in the English language, it should be noted that there are inflectional and derivational affixes. Inflectional affixes do not bring about new words because they only change word form. For example: complete –completes-completing – completed. These are three forms of the same word *complete*, but the meaning of *complete* has not changed. It is the tenses that have changed through inflections. The different forms of inflections here are: *-s*, *-ing* and *-ed*. On the other hand, derivational affixes bring about new words by either changing word meaning only, or by changing word meaning and word class. English Word formation processes are derivational. This means that new words are formed by adding affixes which completely change the meanings of words. Derivational word formation processes are discussed below.

- **Words formed through affixes**

These can be also called derivatives. Derivatives are words that come from adding affixes to existing words to create new lexical items. Affixes can be a morpheme which is added to a base, a stem or a root. That is, an affix (a bound morpheme: a word which contains meaning but cannot stand on its own) is added to another word (a free morpheme: a word which can stand on its own and still make meaning) so as to form a new word.

- **Conversion**

According to the Macmillan dictionary for advanced English, conversion is defined as a process by which a word belonging to one word class is transferred to another word class without any concomitant change of form either in spelling or pronunciation. That is, a verb can be used as a noun without an affix of any kind added to it. For Quirk and Greenbaum (1973: 441) conversion is a derivational process whereby a word changes its word class without the addition of an affix.

This definition is supported by Bauer (2002: 32) who terms conversion as zero-derivation. That is a derivational process without the presence of a derivational affix of any kind. In fact, Bauer (ibid: 32) defines conversion as a change in class of a form without any corresponding change of form. For example, if we consider the word *play* in the following sentences:

- *The play was very short but we enjoyed it.*
- *Children play a lot during the holidays.*

In the two sentences, *play* is used in the first sentence as noun while in the second sentence it is used as a verb. That which should be considered is the fact that, *play* is used as a verb and as a noun without any remarkable change in word-form.

The exact status of conversion within word-formation is unclear. For some scholars, conversion is a branch of derivation while others argue that conversion is a separate type of word-formation process at the same level as derivation and compounding. There is no clear fact to prove the points of these scholars who are in support of conversion being a separate process of word-formation or a branch (Bauer, ibid: 32-33). Nevertheless, consider conversion as a highly productive process of word-formation in English (Bauer ibid: 226, Howard and Ze Amvela 2006: 86).

- **Back-Formation**

It is defined by the Macmillan English Dictionary of advanced Learners as a new word that is formed by removing a part of another word. Part of a word is removed so as to form a new word. Howard and Ze Amvela (2006) refer to back-formation as making a new word from an older word which is mistakenly assumed to be its derivative. It is the shortening of a larger word through the subtraction of a morpheme. Mbangwana (2002) defines back-formation as a process that deals with the shortened verbal forms of words derived from the minimal forms.

Bauer (2002: 232) defines back-formation as the process of word-formation that forms new lexemes by the deletion of actual or supposed affixes in longer words. In fact, back-

formation is a special type of clipping given that it creates new word through the deletion of some parts of the word. The difference that exists between back-formation and clipping is the fact that, back-formation focuses on the deletion of affixes from word forms while clipping deals with the reduction of syllables. A good example of back-formation is in the following words; *babysit* from *babysitter*, *benefact* from *benefactor* *back-form* from *back-formation*, *biograph* from *biography* and *beg* from *beggar*.

- **Acronyms**

An Acronym is defined as a word formed from the initials of a set of words. They are usually written in capital letters, but at times, they can lose their capitals and become like other words (Latingafor, 2002). The Macmillan Dictionary of Advanced Learners defines acronym as an abbreviation consisting of letters that form a word. Quirk and Greenbaum. (1973) define it as a word formed from the initial letters of a series of words. That is, the first letters of a series of word are put together so as to form a new word.

Howard and Ze Amvela (2006) stand by the definition that an acronym is another form of a clip given that it entails the clipping of the rest of the word while retaining the initial letters and joining them together to form a new word. The difference that exists, between clipping and acronym is the fact that, acronyms focus on cutting the initial letters of a series of words and using them in the creation of the new word while clipping cuts syllables or a syllable of a word only and it is the remaining syllable that forms the word and not the cut syllable. It is worth mentioning that this process of word-formation is very present in the creation of new or complex and different forms of words in CamE:

After taking a look at all these different processes of word formation, we realize that a language has a variety of ways to enriching its vocabulary. Applying these methods of word formation to CamE will prove the fact that this language as well has numerous ways of enriching its vocabulary. Nevertheless, if we have to focus on these processes alone, we will notice that there are some processes of word formation which are not mentioned. Kouega (2006) and Howard and Ze Amvela (2006f) make mention of these processes which will be discussed below.

- **Semantic Shifts**

This occurs when a word acquires a meaning completely different from its original meaning in a language. Bauer (2002) comments that the creation of new forms vocabulary

expansion can take place by giving new meaning to old forms. Kouega (2006) quoting Crystal (1987: 330) defines semantic shift as a process by which “a word moves from one circumstance to another”. That is, it moves from a meaning once attributed to it to another, completely different from the meaning it used to have.

Semantic shift in most cases brings in derogative meaning. Kouega (ibid) quoting Potter (1976: 113) notes that such a shift occurs when words fall away from their better shelves and show deterioration. He gives an example of the English word *villain* which once meant a slave serving in a country house or a man occupying a lowly station in life to mean a evil doer or criminal (2006: 33). This means a situation where a word leaves its meaning and with time adopts a derogative meaning as is the case with our example above.

Nonetheless, not all words which undergo the process of semantic shift acquire a derogative meaning. Some words just acquire new meanings that are neither pejorative nor derogative. For example, the word *half-dead* which literally means something at the point of death, is taken to mean anything difficult. *Difficult* here is not necessarily negative given that *difficult* is not impossible and there is a possibility to realize difficult situations or carry to accomplishment difficult tasks.

This concept of semantic shift is also noticeable in Cameroon English. It is used to increase the vocabulary of the language so as to provide variety for the users. With regards to CamE, it is important to note that semantic shift is very common in the area of business transactions where customers use this technique to advertise their goods and attract customers through humor and flatter (Kouega, 2006). An example is the word *gari boy* which literally stands for a boy who makes gari or sells gari. However, in CamE this word is taken to mean an irresponsible adolescent boy.

- **Semantic Extension**

While some words acquire a completely new meaning (semantic shift), others get additional meaning to them. This occurs when they are used in different contexts. Kouega (2006: 67) defines semantic extension as a process whereby, the original meaning of an existing word is retained but, some other shades of meaning are added to it. This process is also commonly used by CamE to enrich its vocabulary. Kouega (ibid: 67) uses the word *uncle* which means the brother of either one’s mother or father. However, in CamE, this word has acquired more meaning such as any male brother, half-brother or cousin of one’s mother or father or any male person acquainted to one’s father or mother or elderly person.

- **Echoic or Onomatopoeic**

Apart from the processes of word-formation mentioned above, Howard and Ze Amvela (2006: 43-44) add that there are other means by which a language can increase its vocabulary. One of these ways is through echoic words. These are defined as those words which find their origin in the specific sound which they are meant to represent. Some examples of echoic words also known as onomatopoeic words include splash, boom amongst others. Howard and Ze Amvela (ibid) add that echoic words can be divided into two different types which include imitative and symbolic echoic words. Imitative echoic words intend to imitate the sounds that they represent. An example is the meow of a cat. The second type includes words which have less direct association with the sounds they represent. An example includes the bump sound. There is the need to mention the fact that symbolic echoic words often come in sets. Nevertheless, this work will not treat echoic words into its different types but as one. This work will treat aspects of echoic words as a process of word formation in CamE.

- **Ejaculation**

Ejaculations are words that attempt to imitate instinctive vocal responses to emotional situations (Howard and Ze Amvela 2006: 44) citing Pyles and Algeo (1993). That is, these words seek to describe emotive reaction vis-a-vis certain situations. These words can express disdain, impatience, surprise, irritation and bad smell amongst others. Some examples include aakaah! Cha! Ekie! Hei! among others.

- **Neologism**

According to Kachru (1989:156) "neologism is the forming of new words by utilizing the local language material and concepts from the English Language". Kishe, (1994) gives abbreviation as a good example of neologism. In Kiswahili, abbreviation is the process of shortening a phrase to compose a word denoting an English meaning. This is his example:

Ukimwi (AIDS) ukosefuwakingamwilini (lack of immunity in the body).

- **Inversion**

It is defined as a type of word-formation which consists in creating a new word by reversing the syllables of an existing two syllable word. The word is reversed so that all the syllables are maintained but with a different pronunciation. This process of word-formation is

common in the production of new words in CamE (Kouega, 2008).

- **Compounding**

After a close look at affixation and the different components that characterize it, we will look at compounding which is considered by Bauer (2002) as one of the major processes of word-formation. Bauer (ibid) defines a compound as word-form where two or more elements which could potentially be used as stem are combined to form another stem. In few words, she sees a compound as a lexeme containing two or more potential stems.

On the other hand, Cipollene et al (1998:455) define a compound as a word-formation process whereby new words are formed by combining two or more independent words. Quirk and Greenbaum (1973) define a compound as a unit that consists of two or more bases. Mc Arthur (1973) sees a compound as a unit that consists of two or more bases for example the word play boy. All these definitions go to say that the words that constitute compounds cannot longer be analyzed in terms of inflectional or derivational morphemes because the entities involved in compound are all dictionary entries and can stand as individual words.

Bauer (2002:28-29) defines a compound as limited because, if one has to consider a compound as two words joined together to form a new word, then one can consider that some words formed by affixation are compounds. This is because some words formed from double roots can accept derivational affixes such as red-headedness. When we look at this word, we will not talk of a compound but of a derivative given that some words formed from double roots can accept derivational affixes and so can be analyzed in terms of inflectional and derivational affixes. In this situation, the word will be the base for the affix and not a compound.

Therefore, according to Bauer (2002:29), a compound should be considered “as a lexeme containing two or more potential stems that have not subsequently been subjected to a derivational process”. This is a bit to say that a lexeme considered as a compound should not be subjected to any process of derivation or inflection. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that while derivations could be applied to words containing more than one root, the presence of two roots is not however a criterion for derivation as it is for a compound.

Furthermore, some compounds can be self-explanatory while others are not. That is some compounds directly define the entity they represent. For example, Bauer (2002) propose wheelchair, armchair and beehive. Wheelchair and armchair are both kinds of chairs as well as beehive is a kind of hive. With this type of compound, the words that are combined to form the single word are clear and they provide in case a good deal of information about the word

formed. In fact, the first word in the combination can be looked as an adjective which describes the head word as in wheelchair where wheel qualifies the kind of chair.

On the other side, some compounds are not self-explanatory. One cannot really deduce the meaning from the combined words. You have to run the background knowledge of the language. In this case, the head word is not qualified by the qualifying word. The two words together are no reflections of themselves as in explanatory compounds. Here, these words carry different meaning such as in *highbrow* and *redskin*. Hence *highbrow* is not a kind of *brow* which is *high* but a person who studies a lot and *redskin* is not a kind of skin which is *red*, but a group of people most specifically the Red Indians. In a whole, a compound is a unit that consists of two or more bases for example, *playboy* (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1973). They are formed by putting two or more root morphemes together or combining forms into a single lexeme. These two independent lexemes combine to form a new lexeme with a specialized meaning. Kouega (2006) sees compounding as juxtaposing existing words, generally two, to form a new one. Thus, 'compounding in line with this study will be considered as a process that forms new words not from bond affixes but from two or more independent words. Kouega (2009) captures the way compounds are manipulated in the following lines structurally. These components may consist of noun+noun; book-work (studies) brain-box (an intelligent person) verb+noun; clear-coast (a casual girlfriend) flying-shirt (a poor boyfriend); adjective+noun; Japanese-handbrake (a selfish person) slow-boy (snail) numeral + adjective; twenty-hungry (to be broke) numerals and mathematical expressions; seven-plus-one (AIDS)

- **Borrowing**

Borrowing is a process by which one language adopts words or phrases from another language. Borrowing can be lexical (that is borrowing of word) or structural (borrowing of phonological, morphological or syntactic items). According to Batibo (2005: 529), borrowing is the adoption of a word from another language.

Borrowing entails the adoption of the phonological and morphological modes of a target language in to a destined language (Howard and Ze Amvela, 2006). Borrowing is a situation where speakers imitate words from a foreign language and partly or totally adopt this sound or grammar into their native language. In other words, borrowing is adopting aspects of words, sounds and expressions from other languages into another language.

Nevertheless, lexical borrowing will be our area of concern but in either case, other

types of borrowing will be mentioned where necessary. Lexical borrowing is seen as the adoption of individual word items into a language from another language. The borrowed words are known as loans or loan words (Latingafor, 2006). He considers it as one of the most prolific sources of increasing the vocabulary of a language. CamE which is our area of concern in this work has had to borrow extensively from other languages.

In Cameroon English, there exists a kind of borrowing where the structural form of the word from the source language is maintained in the target language version. This type of borrowing is known as calque (Kouega, 2008). It can be defined as direct translation of- words from a language into another language. That is, a word acquired from a word for word translation in to native morphemes.

- *Good appetite!* From French bon appétit meaning happy feasting
- *Bush dog.* Meaning a wolf

The words are borrowed from one language and translated word for word in to another language. A great variety of such words exist in CamE and these loan translations come from a variety of languages.

- **Reduplication**

Reduplication refers to a situation where lexical item are reduplicated (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1973). Reduplication may modify or cause a change in meaning of the original item. They are very common in areas of imitation of sounds, Example, *tick-tack*. Cipollene et al (1998: 145) see reduplication as the act of forming new words either by doubling an entire free morpheme as in *tick,tack* above and *nayonayo* a Pidgin word which means *gently*. In fact, Todd and Ancock (1986: 403) refer to reduplication as a complete or a partial repetition of a word. This is to support what was said by Quirk and Greenbaum (ibid) and Cipollene (ibid) that part of a word or the whole word is repeated in order to form a new word.

Kouega (2006) defines reduplication as a type of compounding where the elements (generally two) are identically or slightly different. Kouega (2006) goes further to present the fact that functionally, reduplication is rather used in informal situations to imitate natural sounds such as the word *tick-tack*. This process of reduplication is very common in CamE which is our point of interest where it creates a feeling of intensity as in *long-longhair* which means very long hair (Platt et al, 1984:114) cited by Chick (2007).

Furthermore, reduplication also expresses distribution. In this case, the words repeated are exclusively numerals indicating quantity. A fair example is the *two-two* which means, “*two each*” mentioned by Ayafor (2004) who further points out the fact that reduplication as a process sometimes results in change of word class from that of the lexical item that makes them up. This means that reduplication in most cases creates words with new meaning and a word class different from its root word.

In normal circumstances, ‘*so*’ is a conjunction (used to indicate a large extent or degree of something) but here, it becomes an adverb to indicate manner. In our study of the processes of word-formation in CamE, reduplication will be looked in this light: a process of word formation which deals with the repetition of a word so as to yield another word containing a new meaning or varying form of a word so as to create special effects.

- **Blending**

The Oxford Advanced Learner’s dictionary defines blending as the act of mixing different types of something so as to produce the quality required. In relation to word-form, the Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners defines blending as a word formed by combining parts of two other words. This means the forming of a new word through the fusion of elements of two separate words (McArthur, 1992).

Blending can also be considered as a process which consists of combining two separate forms to produce a single new item. Blending is typically accomplished by taking only the beginning of one word and joining it with the end of the other word (Yule 1996:69). This definition is backed by Ubanako (2007) who says blending is a process of word-formation which involves the combination of fragments of two words to form a new one. In this case, the sounds and meaning of the two original words are combined and expressed in a new word.

Howard and Ze Amvela (2006), on their part, define a blend as a new lexeme built from parts (two or possibly more words) in such a way that the constituent parts are usually easy to identify. This is to say the fragments used to form a blend word are usually easy to be identified by the users of the word. However, in some cases, only one of the elements is identifiable.

Some examples of blends include; *motel* derived from *motor* and *hotel*, *brunch* from *breakfast* and *lunch* amongst others. From the discussion of the different processes of word-formation, it is realized that there are so many ways by which the English language can increase its lexical landscape.

Having discussed word formation processes, we will now look at Cameroon Pidgin English because it is believed that some of the fossilized syntactic errors in CamE stem from Cameroon Pidgin English.

1. 12 Cameroon Pidgin English

Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE) is an English lexified pidgin spoken in Cameroon. This Pidgin has greatly influenced CamE as Cameroon English speakers usually code switch between Cameroon English and Cameroon Pidgin English, and even between British English and Cameroon Pidgin English.

After comparing the extent of PE usage with that recorded for other dominant languages in these multilingual settings, Povey (1983: 15) concludes:

If one examines the overall figures provided in this report. It is not French, it is not Fulfulde, and it is certainly not Standard English that has established itself as the most widespread. Therefore, the single most useful means of communication in Cameroon is Pidgin English.

PE which has English language as its lexifier is accessible and effective as a means of communication between people who do not share a common “home language” or “received language”. It complements “Standard English” in a wide range of situations that do not call for much formality or in which the other languages cannot function because they are not known by all the participants. According to Mbangwana (1983) PE is a language of culture used in musical composition. Folk-tales, and other popular literature. It is one of the main languages used in out-of-group interactions and for that reason it is frequently used during political campaigns, “chicken” and “beer-parlor”, “football fields”, “njangi houses”, in prison cells and by men of the under-world. It is the trade language mostly used in all local markets bringing together people from various linguistic backgrounds. It is a language of evangelization and worship, as well as the language of the local craftsmen, mechanics, radio repairers and builders, just to name these. To be brief, it is the language of everybody.

There are a multiplicity of ethnic languages in Cameroon. Some scholars put the number to be above 270. This would definitely have an influence on the use of English Language transfer, language interference, and the like is deemed necessary to be discussed in this work whose main theme is fossilization of lexico-syntactic errors.

1.13 Linguistic interference and language transfer

Linguistic interference refers to a situation in which one uses features belonging to one's language, while speaking another language. Such an interference is idiosyncratic as well as unconscious. Non-native speakers of English use features of their first language while speaking the English language. In such a situation, we find aspects of the two languages coming in contact, leading to a misconception of rules. The rules that exist between one language and another are uneven, therefore to master a language, all its linguistic aspects should be treated following the rules of the language (Crystal 2003).

Language transfer is a phenomenon in a bilingual or multilingual situation, where patterns of one language are taken over to the structure of another language, as a result of the individual's exposure to the different languages. For example, a speaker, having pidgin as his first language uses what he already knows in order to make sense of new experiences as a means of ordering sentence elements in a second language (English Language). This results to wrong ordering, meaning a misuse of the semantic, syntactic, phonological, morphological and lexical rules of the English language.

Finally, it is necessary to discuss in this background chapter the issue of whether there is actually a New English called *Cameroon English*. If so, is it nationally recognized? Is it internationally recognized? Is it accepted in academic circles and in education in Cameroon? That is the theme for the next section of this chapter.

1. 14. The debate as to whether there is a Cameroon English

Talking about Cameroon standard English (henceforth CSE), it is worthy of note that a language can be said to be standard when it has been subjected to scrutinized standardization. By standardization one means to say that such a language has been codified and documented in dictionaries and other reference documents such as textbooks and others. There is no formal standardization or codification such as dictionaries, textbooks or grammars of CamE (Todd

1982:130). Based on Todd's view, if there is no formal codification or standardization taking place in it, by implication, it is an acceptance to the fact that CamE is undergoing codification, though informally. Bobda and Mbangwana (1993).Sala (2003), (1986, 1996, 2002),

Mbangwana (1987, 1999, 2002), and Menang (1996), will bear testimony to this. In my opinion, CSE and CamE Educated speech, (henceforth CEES) mean the same thing because any one who is said to have control over academic competence, can be said to be academically ripe.

Cameroon English

It is difficult to argue the fact that Cameroonians speak a variety of English or one of the World's Englishes known as CamE. Evidence to this are the studies that have been carried out on it. At the levels of lexis, see Bobda (1986), Bobda and Mbangwana (1993), phonology by Bobda (1992), Masanga (1983), at the social-linguistic levels see Mbangwana (2002), Jikong (1996), Kouega (1991), Atanga (2003) and many others.

As a follow-up to this, much has been written in an attempt to identify CamE. In fact, Wolf (2001) does not only see it as a "national variety" but also as "the variety that is used in Cameroon media, literature and educational system and some official domains" Thus, Wolf's view of CamE is directed towards the functional characteristics. Wolf's definition comes close to Mbangwana's (1992:93) who sees it as: "The type of English that is used over the Cameroon radio and television (CRTV), *Cameroon Tribune*, *Cameroon Post*, in literary works, in education, in government and so forth."

In their effort to situate CamE, Bobda and Mbangwana (1993), distinguish it from Pidgin English. They contrast it with the speech of uneducated speakers of English and again with the speech of Francophone Cameroonians who might have high command of English but who can hardly serve as a reference because they are merely users of a performance variety. Finally, they draw the line on those Cameroonians who have been highly absorbed by other varieties and consequently cannot speak for Cameroon. On reading this definition one remains puzzled as to what in a nutshell CamE is.

Masanga (1983) pins it down to the speech that obtains between the secondary school leavers and university graduates. The problem here is what about those who have never attained

the level of Secondary school but who command a high manipulation of CamE. Further, Sala (2003:12) believes that “what can be called CamE is what is used spontaneously and unconsciously by Cameroonians and not what is used under prescription and therefore consciously at the level of institution”. Bobda (1992) stresses that it is logical to consider Cameroon Standard English as that variety of English spoken by the Anglophone Cameroonians who have at least attained and completed the secondary level of education.

From all of the above, therefore, one can summarize that CamE refers to that English spoken by the Anglophone Cameroonians who command an acceptable manipulation of it, irrespective of their level of education, status or class.

Definitions cited above, the one by Mbangwana (1992) and that by Sala (2003) are particularly informing for this work. But more, the former’s because of its edge over the latter with the use of three small but decisive words. This is so because this study deals with people of all levels within the target regions. At this juncture, it may be necessary to define just two key words concerning this research.

1.15 Definition of key terms of the research topic

This research is out to study fossilization of syntactic errors in the English of educated Cameroonians. It is therefore deemed necessary to attempt an explanation of what syntax and what fossilization are all about.

Syntax deals with the rules governing the combination of words in sentences. Etymologically, syntax comes from a Greek word which means "putting together"(of words in a sentence). Syntax is the part of Grammar that studies word order in phrases and clauses within the sentence. Since lexicology studies the stock of words, syntax studies how these words can be combined to form correct sentences. Without the knowledge of syntax, we might-know all the words in the dictionary and still be quite unable to speak and understand the language properly (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973).

Wekker and Haegeman (1985) agree that syntax examines how lexical items may be combined to form sentences. Words do not just occur in a sentence without control. A sentence comprises of a single word or group of words which are structured into successive components. These groups and single words are the constituents of a sentence. When these words follow successively, they can be termed the immediate constituents of the sentence, meaning that,

sentences are not just stretches of words in a given order. This immediate constituent is the basis for the formulation of longer sentences in English. The formulation of longer sentences is by expansion, and it must conform to the rules of syntax, which accounts for the means by which sentence structures are patterned in a regular way.

English has basic sentence structures, through which longer sentences can be easily analyzed. Examples of these basic structures include: 'what time is it?', 'have you understood', 'do you hear'. The above examples show the way longer sentences can be structurally formed. Other sentences can be reduced by replacing a group of words by a single word, for example: 'The boys play football', the stretch, 'play football' which is a verb and a noun respectively, occur in a position that can be replaced by only a single verb, for example 'the boys play'. Also in a sentence like 'they play', it can be replaced by a single verb 'play'. This accounts for the discontinuity in the constituents of a sentence. 'play' in the above example is the component word (Radford 1988).

Immediate constituents show the successive way in which words are ordered in a sentence, There is a complete and even sequence of words, for example: 'the old bull dog keeps barking all the way'. These immediate constituents can be replaced by component words, for example 'old bull dog' could be substituted for 'dog' alone, while 'keeps barking all the way', could be substituted for 'keeps barking'. Thus, the reduced sentence would run 'the dog keeps barking'. Immediate constituents also account for the fact that longer sentences can be formed from shorter ones. These short sentences are usually exclamations, for example, 'terrible! '. (Radford 1981).

Fossilization, on its part, is a phenomenon where by linguistic items particularly erroneous ones become permanent in a learner's interlanguage. In other words, it refers to a situation where one becomes comfortable with the level of one's language and sees no need to improve it. Selinker (1972) refers to it as a process of 'levelling' (lack of forward movement) or 'regression' (backsliding). According to Cunningsworth, (1984: 98), fossilization occurs when a learner's use of the target language ceases to develop and therefore his errors become permanent. This usually happens when the learner has attained his or her goal (e.g. easy communication in every face to face situation) and there is no longer any real motivation for further development. These types of people are found in all languages including CamE.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided the background knowledge needed for the full understanding of this research endeavor. This includes: a note on Cameroon, linguistic background of Cameroon, a brief history of the English language, English in Cameroon, audiovisual media in Cameroon, a background of the university of Bamenda, definitions of non-native varieties of English, classification of English-speaking societies, a note on the use of words, users and uses of English in Cameroon, vocabulary in communication, word formation processes in English, Cameroon Pidgin English, linguistic interference and language transfer, the debate to as to whether there is a Cameroon English, Cameroon English and definition of key terms of the research topic.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMWORK AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter states the theoretical consideration that is used in this study. It also looks into the views of other researchers, as far as lexico-syntactic deviations or innovations are concerned. Works done by both Cameroonians and by foreigners are reviewed.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

A theory is a lens of analysis. The theory that was found appropriate for this study is the theory of Interlanguage by Larry Selinker (1972). Since this theory talks about the permeability of the second language (L2) learner's language, we found that most features of the data we collected are interlingual. Our respondents are second language learners; thus their English is a reflection of their setting.

2.1.1 Interlanguage

The framework that was found suitable for this act of scientific investigation was based on the notion of: 'Interlanguage'. The term 'Interlanguage' was coined by the linguist Selinker (1972), in recognition of the fact that there is a 'psychological structure latent in the brain' which is activated when one attempts to learn a second language. Larry Selinker proposed the theory, noting that in a given situation the utterances produced by the learner are different from those native speakers would produce if they had attempted to convey the same meaning. This comparison reveals a separated linguistic system. This system can be observed when studying the utterances of the learners who attempt to produce a target language norm. A learner's interlanguage is therefore, a unique linguistic system. Selinker goes on to say that this concept of interlanguage involves the following premise of L2 acquisition (Ellis 1997:33-35):

The learner constructs a system of abstract linguistic rules which underlie comprehension and production of the second language (L2). This system of rules is viewed as mental grammar and is referred to as an 'interlanguage'.

So far, the forgoing discussion on language acquisition theories has assumed two extreme polarized considerations;

- 1) That language acquisition is a result of externally determined factors: stimulus or input that learners imitate and reproduce during communication.

2) That language acquisition is innately determined; it is a creative process in which input only triggers the built in device to process and produce language hitherto unheard.

The two extremist positions with all related theories have had considerable shortcomings just like any extremist policies. Even though absolutism is not usually the goal of linguistic theory, it can be observed that these two extremes fail to answer burning issues in both second and first language acquisition.

Larry Selinker seems to have at least for now given a satisfactory explanation of SLA in his theory of Interlanguage propounded in 1972 and subsequently developed and broadened. Unlike other theories that concentrated mostly on language acquisition as a whole from where SLA could then be extrapolated, Selinker's theory of Interlanguage is essentially on SLA. This theory as shall be proven later is definitely going to be significant in this study not only because it focuses on SLA but equally because it traces second language development from initial stages to final near native stages as well as its inherent characteristics. Equally, that the theory draws from the two extremist behaviourist and mentalist positions discussed previously, makes it even more solid and quite relevant for this study. What therefore is this theory all about? What are the major tenets and of what significance is the theory to the present research? These are the basic questions to be answered in this sub-section.

Drawing inspirations from linguistics and psychology, Larry Selinker (1972) propounded the theory of Interlanguage to discuss SLA. This theory is basically used "to refer to the intermediate states (or interim grammars) of learners' language as they move towards the target language". It is a creative process "driven by inner forces in interaction with environmental factors and influenced by both L1 and by input from the target language" (Saville-Trioke 2006:41). Interlanguage is the most frequently used of SLA terminologies (Littlewood 1984:33). In the discussion of Interlanguage, White (2003) gives credit to the fathers of this term including; Adjemian (1976), Corder (1967) and Selinker (1972). These linguists as she presents, pointed out that the L2 learner language is systematic and the errors produced by learners do not consist of random mistakes but, rather, suggest rule governed behaviors.

Littlewood (ibid:33) thus defines interlanguage as "a learner's system which is neither that of the mother tongue nor that of the second language but contains elements from both". If

a continuum is imagined between the L1 and L2 systems, she argues that at some point, the L2 learner speaks an interlanguage. According to Crystal (1997), this is a fundamental stage in second language development especially as it reflects the learner's evolving system of rules. L2 learners of English that constitute the population of this study have definitely reached this stage.

The learner's grammar is permeable'. That is, the grammar is open to influence from the outside (that is, through the input). It is influenced from the inside. For instance, the omission and overgeneralization, transfer are evidence of internal processing.

The learner's grammar is transitional. Learners change their grammar from one time to another by adding rules, deleting rules, and restructuring the whole system. This results in an 'interlanguage continuum' that is, learners construct a series of mental grammars of interlanguage as they gradually increase the complexity of their L2 knowledge. For example, 'painting' and 'painted' 'gradually sorting out the functions that these verbs can be used to perform. The functional notion of interlanguage is also reflected in the sequences of acquisition.

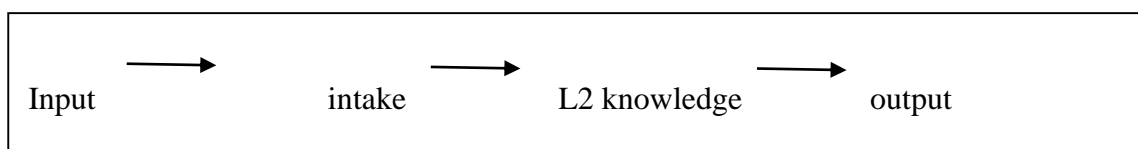
Some researchers have claimed that the system learners construct contain variable rules; that is, they argue that learners are likely to have competing rules at any one stage of development. However, other researchers argue that interlanguage systems are homogeneous and that variability reflects the mistakes learners make when they try to use their knowledge to communicate. These researchers see variability as an aspect of performance rather than competence. The premise that interlanguage systems are themselves variable is, therefore, a disputed one.

Learners employ various learning strategies to develop their interlanguages. The different kinds of errors learners produce reflect different learning strategies. For example, omission errors suggest that learners are in some way simplifying the learning task by ignoring grammatical features that they are not yet ready to process. Overgeneralization and transfer errors can also be seen as evidence of learning strategies.

The learner's grammar is likely to fossilize. Selinker suggests that only about five per cent of learners go on to develop the same grammar as native speakers. The majority stop some way short. The prevalence of backsliding, that is, the production of errors representing an early

stage of development, is typical of fossilized learners. Fossilization doesn't occur in L1 acquisition and thus is unique to L2 grammars.

Thus, interlanguage can be viewed as a metaphor of how L2 acquisition takes place. It implies that the human mind functions like a computer, as represented in the computational model of L2 acquisition (Ellis: 1997):



The learner is exposed to input, which is processed in two stages. First, parts of it are attended to and taken into short-term memory. These are referred to as intake. Second, some of the intake is stored in long-term memory as L2 knowledge: the process responsible for creating intake and L2 knowledge occurs within the learner's mind where the learner's interlanguage is instructed. Finally, L2 knowledge is used by the learner to produce spoken and written output (the learner's language).

This concept of interlanguage offers a general account of how L2 acquisition takes place. For example, the Spanish speaker who says "she name Maria" is producing a form which is not used by adult speakers of English, does not occur in English L2 acquisition by children and is not found in Spanish. Evidence of this sort suggests that there is some in-between system used in L2 acquisition which certainly contains aspects of L2, but which is a variable system with rules of its own.

The interlanguage theory is adopted in this study because the theory discusses the various stages that all second language learners undergo in learning a second language. The theory stipulates that in the process of learning a second language, the learner is bound to commit certain errors like: omissions, overgeneralization, and interference which are part of the deviances identified in the informants' production collected for this study.

Instances of such errors are the omission and addition of morphemes like -Ed, -s, to verbs and to word to mark the plural; which could also be linked to overgeneralization. When we look at some of the characteristics of L2 acquisition elaborated, we notice that they are fully displayed in our learners' productions. For instance, cases of commissions, transfer,

and overgeneralization found in our data show that our information's language is permeable. Moreover, the multiple examples where speakers add, delete and mix up grammatical and lexical rules show that their grammar is transitional.

The theory as examined above thus helps us to have an approach to L2 learner's errors which is different from the behaviorist learning theory. This theory, developed in the 1950s and 1960s, stipulates that second language learning is like any other kind of learning in that it involves habits formation (Ellis: 1997). Habits are formed when learners respond to stimuli in the environment and subsequently have their responses reinforced in that they are remembered. Thus, the habit is a stimulus- response connection. Behaviorist accounts of L2 acquisition emphasize only what can be directly observed and ignore what goes on in the mind of the learner. According to this theory, interlanguage cannot be taken into consideration, since it suggests a process in the learner's mind, not a response to a given stimulus. Unlike the behaviorists, the mentalists shifted from a preoccupation with the role of 'nurture' (how environmental factors shape learning), to that of 'nature' (how the innate properties of the human mind shape learning)

2.1.1.1 Studies of learners' errors

Corder (1981) introduced the distinction between errors (incompetence) and mistakes (in performance). This distinction directed the attention of researchers of SLA to competence errors and provided for a more concentrated framework. Thus, in the 1970s, researchers started examining learners' competence errors and tried to explain them.

Various researchers have concentrated on those errors which demonstrate the influence of one's native language to second language acquisition. Before Corder's work, interference errors were regarded as inhibitory; it was Corder who pointed out that they can be facilitative and provide information about one's learning strategies. Corder note to whom (or in which areas) the study of error will be significant: to teachers, to learners and to researchers. In addition to studies concentrating on error categorization and analysis, various studies concentrated on these three different areas. Corder conducted research not only in order to understand errors, but also in order to use what is learned from error analysis and apply it to improve language competence. These studies amongst many others show a non-native approach to error analysis where he identifies sources of competence errors ; L1 transfer results

in interference errors ; incorrect (incomplete or over-generalized) application of language rules results in intralingual errors ; construction of faulty hypothesis in L2 results in developmental errors (Corder 1974).

2.1.1.2 Error and Error Analysis in SLA

The concept of 'error' is central to all human learning. This is because the acquisition of any skill is characterized by mistakes, erroneous assumptions and miscalculations. Learning takes place when these mistakes are corrected especially through feedback from the environment. When a child stretches the hand towards fire and gets hurt, they learn never to do that because of the feedback. In fact, the significance of errors in language learning is such that Brown (1987:170) believes their absence could impede the process of language acquisition if learners fail to commit such errors and to benefit in turn from various forms of feedback on these errors. Indeed, parents and teachers who have launched severe battles against their children and students respectively, have come to realize that errors are an inexorable and indispensable component of learning.

Dulay et al (1982:170) define errors as “the flawed side of learners' speech or writing”. This view of error is questionable within the description of learner language and even within the New Englishes perspective. If 'error' is faulty language, the question here is whether "'faulty' is according to which norms. Mindful of the limited linguistic scope of the child, must we insist on the errors the child (or the L2 learner) has committed? If a child or an L2 learner's language is considered erroneous within the perspective of adult grammar, (as is often the case) it should be recalled that they have not reached that stage. Brown (ibid) emphasizes that a proper approach to error analysis is primarily to draw a dichotomy between 'error' and 'mistake' which are two technically distinct phenomena. In his opinion, a mistake is “a performance error that is either a random guess or a 'shift' in that it is a failure to utilize a known system correctly”. An error on the other hand is “a noticeable deviation from the adult grammar of a native speaker reflecting the interlanguage competence of the learner”. This is what Burt and Kiparsky (1972:1) earlier called “error for which no blame is implied”

The distinction between error and mistake above does not really solve the problem as the difference is even more arbitrary. It remains difficult distinguishing what Chomsky (1965) calls performance errors (mistakes) from competence errors (errors). When exactly can a mistake become an error? How can it be determined whether a speaker's error is due to fatigue or is

indeed rule governed? At one moment the learner may say "He eat rice everyday" yet a few seconds later, corrects it and still falls back to this. Are these simple hesitations, slips of the tongue, random ungrammaticalities, performance lapses or underlying systems? Glaringly, the subjectivity of distinguishing errors from mistakes needs to be recognized here. This study however pays close attention to both mistakes and errors but uses the consistency variable to select the recurrent errors for analysis. Considering that this is a holistic study that seeks to determine the general characteristics of Cameroonian ESL learners, it is plausible to consider first of all errors that cut across learners; in which case, they will be frequent in their usage.

The shortcomings of contrastive analysis that viewed the first language as the source of L2 errors saw the rise of the error analysis movement. The significance of a focus on error approach is emphasized by Corder (1967:167) in these terms: " A learner's errors...are significant in (that) they provide to the researcher evidence of how language is learned or acquired, what strategies or procedures the learner is employing in the discovery of the language". In the same light, Dulay et al (1982:138) see the importance of errors in two directions.

1) It provides data from which inferences about the nature of language learning process can be made.

2)It indicates to teachers and curriculum developers which part of the target language students have most difficulty producing correctly and which error types detract most from the learner's ability to communicate effectively.

From the premises that learner language is a system full of errors, we believe it is necessary to examine the concept of 'error' in the learning process. Ellis (1997:15) in support of this claim recalls that it may seem odd to focus on what learners get wrong than on the acceptable language they produce. However, she explains that:

There are good reasons for focusing on errors. First, they are a conspicuous feature of learner language, raising the important question of why do learners make errors? Second, it is useful for teachers to know what errors learners make. Third, paradoxically, it is possible that making errors may actually help learners to learn when they self-correct the errors they make. Ellis' explanation above gives more impetus for an evaluation of learner errors in second language research. Equally, given the fact that attitudes towards learner language have changed

since the 1950s as Littlewood (1984:22) postulates, the learner's language is thus no longer considered as a faulty version of adult speech, but as a system on its own with inherent characteristics.

The question one may raise here is how to identify these errors, describe and even explain them. Many of these questions have equally been raised by applied linguists like Douglas Brown, including the question on when these errors should be considered as a reflection of the evolving system and when they should not be considered as such. Another major intriguing issue is the claim that learner errors should not be dismissed as bad language (Mbibe 2015).

2.2 Literature Review

Under this section, we review first, literature on lexical innovations. Later, we continue with review of literature on syntactic innovations.

2.2.1 Review of literature on lexical innovations

At this point, we shall be reviewing works on lexicology which are related or relevant to our topic. This review will be systematically done, starting from works done in other parts of the world to those that have been carried out in Cameroon.

2.2.1.1 Literature on lexical innovations in the English spoken in other parts of the world

Bamro (1994), earlier examined lexico-semantic variation in Nigerian English with particular reference to the novels of three prominent Nigerian authors: Chukwuemeka Ike, Kole Omotoso and Zaynab Alkali. Though, according to Bamro, “the choice of the works of the three authors is significant in that, apart from their vocation as creative writers, all three authors have had distinguished careers as teachers of English in Nigerian universities. As teachers of English, they are supposed to hold up the beacon of ‘decorum’, ‘correctness’ and ‘appropriateness’ in English usage.” Such justifications however lose grip of the fact that these writers, supposed purists, are Nigerians and will likely speak NE unconsciously, especially when in informal settings as family meetings, and the fact that they are even more exposed to NE than the SBE they claim to teach. The constant usage of certain localised innovations in their work, therefore, is the situation that inspired him to hold such assumptions. It is ridiculous

how texts by just three authors could cause scientific generalisations concerning lexical and semantic innovations in the English spoken in Nigeria. However, ten categories of lexico-semantic variation in Nigerian English are identified in Bamro (1994): loan shift, semantic under differentiation, lexico-semantic duplication and redundancy, ellipsis, conversion, clipping, acronyms, translation equivalents, analogical creation and coinage.

More generally, in 1962, Quick carried out a research that hit on both lexicology and semantics. In treating these two linguistic concerns, he observed, firstly the prevalence of vocabulary over all other components of language. According to him, the fact that names sometimes act like synecdoche for language, vocabulary tends to overshadow all the other components of language. Quick (1962) also observed the reason new words are being coined, as well as the power of the word, or what he terms 'word magic'. Quick evaluated words as being evocative, describing this evocative nature of words in relation to the view that words may evoke new meanings in new situation, especially when it is a name.

Bamgbose notes the existence of direct lexical transfers in Nigeria English (NE) such as eba, amala, dodo, two, agbada, abiku, etc. from Nigerian mother tongues into English because of the lack of precise equivalents in English and also loan-blends such as kia-kia bus, akara balls, and bukatena. Such lexical transfers and blends are lexical features of Nigerian English. Somehow, it is such NE lexico-semantic peculiarities as eba, agbada, abiku, and dodo are also perceived in the speech of most Anglophone Cameroonians in Cameroonians.

It is preponderant to glance through works that have been carried out in a strive to elaborate on the nature of English in other English speaking parts of Africa, as well as in other parts of the world. Anchimbe (2015) reports, focuses on differences in meaning that are current in English as it is used along the West African coast. The reason for such a diachronic study, is for the fact that basically, all regional varieties of the English language have witnessed changes given that "languages are constantly evolving as human beings and societies evolve"(Anchimbe, Ibid).

Anchimbe (ibid) basically focuses on semantic processes that lead to change in meaning of English words in West African English (WAE). Given that language is generally coined to identify with the realities of its speakers, WAE speaks of common experiences of African

countries along the African coastline such as Gambia, Nigeria and Cameroon. Such similar experiences is as colonialism makes the English spoken in these countries to have almost the same semantic specificities. Anchimbe (ibid) quotes that, “Since nouns name things, and many things in West Africa do not have the same cultural implications as in Britain, the home of English, it is easily imaginable that meaning changes can occur.” Common words with extended meanings are identified, such as: balance, to mean change (after you have paid for something); compound, to mean a group of houses, a fenced-in yard; ground, to mean earth or soil; and stranger, to mean a guest or visitor. Peculiar to WAE is the fact that “some verbs have been attributed the meanings of different verbs while others have new meanings for actions and states defined by the West African context”. Anchimbe discovers, for example, that verbs as to kill, to post, to paste, and to eat have been localised in WAE to mean to slaughter (a goat, pig, etc.), to send graduate workers to their places of work, to clean the mouth with tooth paste, and to spend money. The processes that lead to such meaning realisations may be indescribable, but could be likened to the same processes that are responsible for new realizations in the English. According to Anchimbe (ibid), “Some nouns are used as verbs, as for example to chairman a meeting”, and such is the case in the present situation of the country.

2.2.1.1.1 Literature on confusable lexes

Popescu (2018) termed this words that look the same as ‘lookalike’ words and words that sound the same as ‘soundalike’ words. She equally states that these words confuse learners. These words that sound alike or look alike often confuse students especially those using spelling checker. Their focus was only on the confusion that learners have when writing using these words, especially those who used spelling checker. They equally brought out a list of common ‘confusable’ lexemes in English with their meanings but pay less attention to provide a guide on how the lexemes differ phonologically.

Still on the issue of spelling, Biloa, Foualeng and Kamtchueng (2009) in comparing and contrasting some aspect of English and French orthographic system state that:

A proper reading or writing of a given discourse in a particular language is governed by the observation of some orthographic conventions which are necessary for the understanding of a message. The non-observance of these orthographic conventions can lead either to misunderstanding or to a complete breakdown in communication or to misuse. This assertion

shows that many writers and especially learners of English in particular have some orthographic problems that can sometimes be solved by relevance on spelling rules.

From the above quotation, it is clear that wrong spelling which is sometimes caused by the misuse of ‘confusable’ words can impair communication and bring about misunderstanding or breaks in communication. This work will go a step further to examine the lexico-syntactic challenge Cameroonian speakers face as a result of their misuse of these lexemes and the grammatical and semantic errors that it causes in their writing.

Popescu (2018) defines paronyms (words derived from the same root or stem as another word) and other ‘confusables’ in English language as “The relationship that exists between two or more words partly identical in form or in meaning, which may cause confusion in reception or production”. She added that “In the narrow sense the term refers to ‘soundalike’ words (congnate near- homophones such as affect/effect or feminine/feminist, but in a wider sense, it conveys any ‘lookalike’ or ‘mean alike’ words.

Popescu (2018) builds her study on the premise that paronyms and other ‘confusable words’ in English pose a serious problem to translators who often commit errors when translating documents or speech from one language to the other (especially from Romania to English or vice versa). In her case study, she took the shipbuilding industry in Romania and observed how translators translate the various documents from English to Romania. At the end of her studies, she came to the conclusion that ‘Confusable lexemes’ remain a problem to translators although the level of challenges vary depending on the type of confusable. She reports that Homonyms pose a serious problem to translators than homophones. She outlined some ‘confusables’ that remain a challenge to translators which include:

Human /humən/ humane /humein/

Rationale/ræʃnəl/ rational /ræʃneil

Moral /morəl/ morale/mo reil/

Preceed, proceed

2.2.1.1.2 Literature on innovative lexical registers

Debora Figueiredo (2010) carried out a study from a Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) perspective, to explore the relation among the concepts of ‘context’, ‘register’ (Halliday&Hasan, 1989; Halliday, 2004) ‘genre’ (Martin, 1992, 1997, 2000) and language education with a particular interest in presenting and discussing theoretical and analytical resources produced within a discursive-functional perspective. Her reason for exploring these concepts was to find the appropriateness of linguistic forms to achieve specific communicative purposes (linked to the paradigm of analyzing language in use) and the relation between text and context. To effectively carry out her analysis through the SFL framework, a reader’s letter published by Newsweek magazine was analyzed. Her interests with language and context led her to the inclination that one has captured the message of a speech or text based on the context or situation in which it is all about and it will be difficult to understand without taking context into consideration which is why she goes on to back this claim with the statement; if we can understand what our interlocutor writes or says, we can also draw conclusions about the context of situation (Martin, 2001).

In the course of her work, Figueiredo (2010) in relation to her notion about registers states that: In Martin’s view (2001), register and genre are semiotic systems distinct from other semiotic systems such as language, music, dance, images, etc, in the sense that register and genre are kinds of ‘parasites’. That is, they do not have a phonology of their own, and the only way they can create meaning is by using words and structures from the semiotic system we call language, a system able to generate its own meanings without making use of resources from another one.

2.2.1.2 Literature on lexical incorporation into Cameroon English

Researchers of Cameroon English have looked into how words and other lexical items have come into CamE (Mbangwana 2001, Janney, 2009 Anchimbe, 2009, Mpoche 2009). Works like Mbangwana (1991) and Kouega (2007) have looked at lexical innovations in Cameroon. Mbangwana (2001) for instance, explores blends and new vocabulary in English of Yaoundé dwellers. Kouega (2007) traces on Camfranglais to the interplay of French and English within academic milieus. Though they have looked into the creativity and appropriation involved in the process of building the CamE vocabulary, a lot is still to do,

especially with the advent of Anglophone Crisis, Boko Haram insurgency, the 2020 AFCON, the outbreak of Corona Pandemic and more advancement in technological development.

2.2.1.2.1 Confusable lexemes of Cameroon English

Bobda (1996) gave a great contribution to knowledge in this aspect of lexicology by sorting out most of the confusable lexemes in English and analyzing them. Nevertheless, he concentrated only on semantics aspects of ‘confusables’ (giving the meaning of ‘confusable’ lexemes and differentiating one from the other). He places less focus on the phonological aspects of these ‘confusables’ and at the same time he never identifies the reasons students commit errors when using these lexemes.

Howard and Ze Amvela (1999) went back to the source of modern English lexemes and studied the development of the English vocabulary over time. They gave an explanation of what constitutes a word and further elaborated on words that look and sound alike, words that have several meanings (homographs).

2.2.1.2.2 Lexes of Linguistic prejudices in Cameroon English

Miller and Swift (1980) in Mbangwana (2002: 173) assert that every language reflects the prejudices of the society that nurtures it. This view is further echoed by Spender, who thinks that males, as the dominant group, have produced language thought, and reality and during the process, Women played no role. This explains why Shire Halle Awah (1996) sees the Woman as the “ undisputable family head “, the leader “, and the Woman as the “ Manager of the home”, Nico Mbarga in his song “ Family Movement “, states that God created the Woman to be under the Man, since the latter is the “ governor of the home”, we can go on and on to Susan Golombok and Robyn Fuvish (1996: 111), Susan Sontag (1987:289), Magdaleine Pelletier (1981), W. Ross Winterowd and Patricia Y. Murray (1983: 289- 290), Mbangwana (2001: 120), just to show the patriarchal nature of English language.

Gender has to do with the male or female sexes. The preoccupation here is to investigate how Cameroon English usage accentuates the former sex to the detriment of the later. Linguistic bias at the level of gender can be attributed to anger, hate and patriarchy as well as ignorance. When linguistic prejudices manifest at this levels, a lot of “Cameroonianism” emerge. These can be found in the domains of neologisms, compounding, ellipsis of sounds, lexical distortions, pidginisations. The end product of this is biased lexical innovations.

Taking a few illustrations, such structures like “ton ton boy” and “san san boy” are good cases of ellipsis, lexical distortions and pidginisation. The following developments explain better.

Table 1: Review of lexes of linguistic prejudices in Cameroon English

Cameroonianism	Denotation	Connotation
San san boy	One who excavates or transports sand for money	Poor, dirty and raggedly dressed persons.
Ton ton boy	Busy person	A lazy person, a thief, a cheat or one who extorts from people.
Truck boy/truck pusher	One who works with a truck for money	People with rough hands and raggedly dressed. People who are poor and dirty.
Motor boy, park boy.	One whose job is to load goods or persons in a bus or truck	People, who are rude, violent, homeless, thieves and dirty,.
Garri boy	One who sells garri in a truck?	The jobless, trouble makers, nuisance, rude, lazy homeless.
Biscuit bone	A soft bone which the teeth can chew.	Women are considered weak and fragile.
Small things	Things that are not big	A person's girl friend
Snakes with two leads	A snake that has two leads	Women are said to be whimsical in nature and evil.
Mami water	The mother of water	A witch, ill intentioned, invisible, devilish in nature which lives in sea.
Mamiachu, mamiwaterfufu	A woman who sells achu or water fufu	Dirty counter on which there is food on sale.

It can be noticed that structures like “gari boy”, “park boy”, describe only the men while mami water, small things and biscuit born, describe women . Hardly can one hear of “gari girl”, “motor” or “san san girl”. Comparatively, this usage is not as prejudiced as when a man is called papa achu or papa water fufu. Connotatively, these mean that the man eats too much.

Lexical distortions and ellipsis of sounds.

San => “san san”

Turn => “ton ton”. The conversion of “ur” to “o”

Observations:

This is ellipsis of the /d/ sound in “san san” and the distortion of “ur” in “ton ton”. It is these changes that cause the semantic change of lexical items to a more prejudiced connotation because “sand sand” or turn turn” does not convey the expected biased meaning.

Compounding or doubling of lexical structures

‘San’ alone means something else. But san + san + boy equals to the results obtained about “san san boy” in the table above. This is true also with “ton ton boy”. It is by compounding that the prejudiced meaning of the structure comes out more glaringly.

Borrowing from Pidgin English

mami water

Gari boy	mamia cra
Truck boy	mami bongo
Truck pusher	mami achu

2.2.1.2.3 Literature on lexical integration into Cameroon English

Recent studies have proven that when words are successfully integrated into a language and are used by people of different classes ages and background, they are subject to various innovative processes (Anchimbe 2009) these innovations reflect their statuses through some works like Simo Bobda(1991) and Anchimbe (2006 2009) who have argued this phenomenon based on the relationship between inner circle English (BrE) and outer circle English (CamE). It is argued in this work that since CamE can be treated as a separate variety just like BrE and AmE, the research into deviant or slang forms, which is the main element that researchers have used to make CamE stand aside from these native English (e.g Simon Bobda 1991) can be comfortably investigated and used as evidence to show the existence of subcultures in the society (the main creators of these slangs terms) and their contribution to the CamE vocabulary.

Some of these features, when they have proven a staying power tend to enter general CamE usage. As speakers innovate, renovate and collocate lexical elements(Anchimbe 2006) in a bit to suit their thoughts, sociophysical and geographical needs some of these expressions and concepts tend to stay so long that they infiltrate into the general vocabulary.

This happens especially when they are developed to suit, not only the immediate subculture in which they are created but the general culture. Mbagwana (1991:53) puts thus:

“language usage is intimately integrated into the social and everyday life of speakers. This is because speakers are guided in their usage by the social realities around them and the meaning they want to express or evoke”

While the common or general culture’s choice may be primarily to communicate, subcultures, in addition to this communicative intention make their choice. Choice of the variety to use speech style, registers and patterns of expression in utterance as strategic communicative tools (Janney 2009) and sometimes as weapons to pursue goals, project identity, signal group affiliation, showing solidarity, excluding non-members (Jackson and Ze Amvela 2006) protecting personal and group interest, negotiating and understanding. In the word of Giles and Coupland (1991:91) “language is seen as an attribute of group membership, an essential cue for ethnic categorization an emotional dimension of identity and a means of facilitating in-group cohesion.

To suit these many purposes, subcultures thus strive to use any means at their disposal to be creative. That is why they do not only create a lexical item but sometimes borrow.

Bobda (1994) says that one may be surprised to get words that people use which are not found in the English dictionary or which deviate from the way they are supposed to be used. The table below better illustrates this view.

Table 2: Review of lexical integration into Cameroon English

CamE	SBE
To agress	To assault
To chairman	To chair
The delayance	The delay
Installmentally	In instalment
To jealous	To be jealous
The downer block	The lower block

To be guested	To have a guest
To precise	To specify
To welder	To weld
Some certain	Some or certain
Should in case	Should or in case
If incase	If or incase
To round up the meeting	To round off the meeting
I can be able	I can or I am able
To pregnant	To make pregnant
To blindfool	To blindfold
To boo at	To boo
To congratulate for	To congratulate on
Grinded pepper	Ground pepper
Clarify	Clarify

2.2.1.3 Literature on sources from which lexical items come into CamE

Generally, the English has been enriched greatly by borrowings from other languages like French, Latin and Afrikaans. This is the same situation with CamE. CamE has borrowed extensively from pidgin English (Schroder 2003, Ayafor 2006) French (Usongo 2009) and some of the over 240 (Dieu and Renaud, 1983. Grimes 2002) local languages. What this researchers are yet to acknowledge is the fact that most of these borrowed items come into general CamE vocabulary through subcultures after showing a staying power within these groups.

Anchimbe (2004) gives a more detailed presentation of how some lexical items enter CamE through naming patterns. Generally, compounding as a word formation process is such a rich and elastic weapon in any language because it allows for the creation of as many words as there are meanings. The naming pattern in CamE is somehow descriptive which consists of compounds with descriptive words that directly point to the referent words. This makes it easy to understand what is being referred to. However a more fascinating realm exists in which the compounding is based on a conceptual analogy built in the socio-cultural traditional or belief system, the word will remain strange. In Cameroon all of these get into play and while some can easily be decoded from their descriptive appellations. Others need knowledge of the

behavioral nature, a contrastive juxtaposition with another element and analogy with other elements.

2.2.1. 3.1 Naming through Color

There exist a good number of items which do not exist in English or whose names are rarely used in English. Color therefore becomes a necessary aid and the most accurate way of identifying things. As Anchimbe (2004) puts it, items named after a given color take after that color very strongly in a way that seeing them immediately reverts to the name. in the following examples, the color adjective expresses what type of item is under reference. The table below presents some examples.

Table 3: Naming using colors (copied from Achismbe2004)

Compound	Real name
red oil	Palmoil
White mimbo	Palm wine
White stuff	Palm wine
Yellow pepper	Types of yellowish pepper

Looking at the above words, they belong typically to the Cameroonian environment which do not exist in the British geography. With the aid of borrowing and color, these words are created with white mimbo, the term mimbo borrowed from Pidgin English means wine and since palm wine is white the appellation white mimbo clearly describes the referent.

2.2.1.3.2 Naming through taste

This applies to things that can be eaten. Taste here suggests that these elements are edible. As earlier mentioned, when a word is either unknown or does not exist, the word has to be identified, in this with the help of its taste. The table presents examples

Table 4: Naming using taste (copied from Anchimbe 2004)

Compound	Description
Sweet herb	Type of herb
Sweet drink	Soft drink
Sweet yams	Species of yams
Bitter leaf	Bitter herbs used as a meal
Pepper soup	Soup with hot pepper and meat

2.2.1.3.3 Naming through Physical Nature

This has to do with items created with the help of the physical composition, the reaction of the item under certain conditions and its uses. The following examples from Anchimbe (2004) describe one of such physical attributes

Table 5: Naming through physical nature (copied from Anchimbe 2004)

Compound	Description
Water leaf	Herbs used as moisturizer in cooking eru
Fever grass	Lemon grass believed to treat fever
Ground beaf	Palm rat (lives in holes in the ground)
Cutting grass	Hedgehog (noted for the way it cuts grass for food and shelter)
Elephant grass	Large herbs in tropical zones

Table 6: Naming through conceptual usage (copied from Anchimbe 2004)

Compound	Description
Born house	Birth celebrations
Cry die	Death ceremony
Open eye	Bossy
Trouble bank	Assistance fund
Book work	Studies, education
Knock door	Betrothal ceremony
Tight friend	Intimate friend

Mostly in the grass field regions of Cameroon, when a baby is born, there is always a ceremony to welcome and give gifts to the new baby. This is phenomenon uncommon to the British and American who own English language. This is because it is not part of their culture as the case with the Cameroonian grass landers. Because of the need to express their culture in a borrowed language, the word “born house” is bound to surface. This is the case with the other words above.

2.2.1.3.4 Contrastive Juxtaposition using Bush

The creation of compounds with bush, which Kouega (1998) describes as a pidgin English equivalent for wilds, follows a pattern of what Anchimbe (2004) term “putting a known element in juxtaposition to an unknown one” the word bush which means forest takes the place of the unknown. This pattern is generally used for certain animals or plants that have similar counterparts in the immediate vicinity. Below are examples

Table 7: Contrastive juxtaposition using bush (copied from Anchimbe 2004)

Compound	Real name
Bush meat	Game
Bush pig	Boar
Bush dog	Wolf or fox
Bush fowl	Partridge
Bush plum	Type of plum found in forests
Bush mango	Wild type of mango

According to Kouega (1998) these compounds “are used to facilitate communication in informal situations. This may not necessarily be the case because most of these compounds do not either have equivalent names In the English language or are unknown by the L2 speakers.

Anchimbe (2006) filtration processes hypothesis examines how lexical item comes to be recognized as potentially reaching standard of CamE they must be used by many people. It is argued in this study that before these elements reach general usage, most of them stem from the creative experimentations within subcultures which later undergo intergenerational filtration.

When these subcultures pick them up from the local language through borrowing or loan translation, the integrated items either retain their source language meaning entirely or users give it new meanings modelled after a certain creative innovation of the community (Anchimbe 2006). This is what Anchimbe calls intergrational processes. Sometimes the borrowing occurs within the same language and the new item takes up a different meaning that is semantic shift.

Drawing from Anchimbe (2006) argument that because of the ecological gap between Cameroon and the foreign English language, most direct borrowing are words about local sociocultural and physical realities (achu, famla, manyi, ndole), it is argued in this work that subculture portray these tendencies. Because the gap with other societies or the societies at large is great (because of seclusion in case of boarding schools) these groups find it easy to borrow from their immediate sociocultural and physical environment. After borrowing. Something has to be done to suit the usage. (anchimbe 2009) puts it thus
 ...a set of rules some of them general English rules and others CamErules get to work on them. Normalization of these elements within the variety seems to be motivation behind most of these rules the major restructuring processes after integration are inflections, derivations and compounding”

Apart from this, speakers also extend, dessemanticise and decategorise and equate lexical items in the replica language which warrants a context induced interpretation that is, they nativise the language (Schneider 2008) and they use it to express local realities. Subculture studies and its linguistic contribution to the English language is not totally absent within CamE. Scholars like ZeAmvela (1986) who coined the term Camfranglais and Kouega (2009) who looked at the slang created and spoken on campus are clear examples of works on lexical innovations within CamE.

Perhaps the closest work and most available work to the best of my knowledge to the line of the vocabulary of subcultures and its enrichment of the CamE vocabulary is Usongo (2009) which examines political vocabulary in a multilingual setting. He argues that language has generated intense political and ideological debates as each political entity or ethnic group has often been vocal in order not to be absorbed by another. Usongo (2009: 191) captures the development of language within different political subcultures thus:

In the face of mounting hostility of the government through arrest and the detention of supporters, Political sabotage over the radio television and the press, intimidation and political intoxication, the opportunity responded in the form of at times coded political oratory intended to portray the inadequacies of the ruling party. The CPDM in turn replied through metaphorical language to prove that the SDF and other opposition parties were incompetent and immature to serve ... the heated political exhortation between these two political camps... resulted in the resurgence of several meaningful linguistic expressions ... tapped from the local activities ... of the local people to lay a foundation for this new language.

The advent of multi-partism brought about fear, distrust and dishonesty. Political parties especially the newly formed opposition thus had to devise the means to communicate amid the turbulence. Each group developed its own special vocabulary which only ardent and staunch militants could comprehend wholly. This was in a bit to flee the threats of the government which was still to accept the fact that multi-partism has come to stay. As the opposition started growing so this special vocabulary started spreading. The opposed (CPDM) itself has to respond to these criticism with its own special vocabulary. The revision of laws and the establishment of freedom of speech and expression helped in ushering in most of these coded linguistic items into general CamE vocabulary. Usongo (2009: 193-95) presents some of the slang items that have become commonly used because of the influence of political parties. Some of them are:

- Standard
- Karangwas
- Bellyticians
- Shumbo
- Yesman
- Themocrazy
- Chopbrokpotism
- Wayo

And expressions like

- Put sand sand for my gari
- Throwe njakri
- Ma voix donne a douala

➤ Ennemi dans la maison.

These words and expressions are now common in the speeches of Cameroonians. Emanating from these political groups.

As seen with the distinct feature of lexical innovations, it can be claimed that when dealing with multiple cultures among societies and subcultures within societies, the difference in cultural practices often create tension. For example. Whenever someone travels to another culture they may experience culture shock, which leaves the traveler feeling disoriented and even fearful they may be spoken to using lexical items they have seen or heard before being served foods they have never seen before or they may not understand how to act in social situations. Everything they understand based on their own culture may be completely different sending them into mental and emotional shock.

Kouega (2009) has more detail discovery about youth lexical innovations. He discovered that most of the special lexical items used by youths are terms that makes reference to kin relatives, friends and people sex, physical looks, food and drinks, clothing money and education. These domains are considered in turn.

Youths have special ways of making reference to kin relatives. Friends of the same sex (masa: my friend) friends of the opposite sex (steady), children (Njaka: a child) girls in general (fraicheur: a young girl) and foreigner (oyibo: a white man) there are also words for people's occupations (beret: policeman), their behavior (report card someone who likes to report others to people in authority) physical capacities (water-yam: a weak person) an intellectual capacity (mbut: an idiot).

Sex is another domain that students showcase their secrecy with. Kouega (2009) identified beans, sweetmouth and tango which respectively mean clitoris. Ways of wooing and making love. Also seven-plus-one and godasse which means AIDS and condom respectively falls under this category.

One other domain where youths exhibit their creativity is physical looks. Youths, especially in the university are very interested in maintaining a good impression by their looks. Kouega (2009) opines that.

Girls frequently change their hairstyles: boygeorge this week, bobbybrown the following week and they make sure they are branches (dressy). Some go so far as to lighten the color of their skin (Fanta-coke) which means their skin takes the color of a mixture of Fanta a pinkish drink and coke a brownish drink) others for various reason starve themselves to become slender in shape (mannequin: a slim person). However, they are a few youngsters who do not worry themselves over their look; they do not mind being referred to as juksa (odd: ugly) by their mates nor do they mind using a kumba-bread (an oversized first generation cell phone) so long as it remains an effective communication tool.

With food and drinks these youths mostly blend complement to avoid repetition kouega (2009) identified items like coca fish (Coca-Cola and fish,) pample-pork (pamplemouse and pork) and guinaco (Guinness and cork) words that also prop up here as identified by kouega (2009) are jazz, vente, soya, slow-boy and Jong

The general term used to refer to clothing is djingue. Kouega (2009). Other particular names like spaghetti-wear, apaga, kabila, baggis and pantaloons-trumpet, donka which refer to clothes. Bottilon, salamanda and spice-girls which refer to different shoes which were identified by kouega (2009). Doh is the general name for money. Nkolo-five refers to different amounts. On the domain of education, Kouega (2009) observed that:

Some youngsters are very concerned about their education: generally, they take their book-work (studies) very seriously. They read their caolo (books and lecture notes) during weekends and jar (read continually) everyday till late in the night. Such hardworking students are generally refers to as long-crayon. Instead of reading to acquire knowledge, some lazy students employ mercenaries (impersonators) needless to say when these students are caught. They are expelled from Cameroon state universities and the impersonators are arrested

Kouega (2009) also looks at the word formation processes (borrowing coinage, compounding, phraseological units shortening and affixation) employed in creating and using this special vocabulary by the youths. He says that borrowing, a slang of Anglophones university students in Cameroon is not a new language but a variety of English enriched with nonstandard words drawn from other languages. These donor languages and language variants include Camfranglais, Cameroon pidgin English, French and west African English and pidgins.

To him, Camfranglais a mixture of several languages is most cherished by peddlers, laborers, vagabonds thieves, prostitutes, prisoners, soldiers, and other people of comparable level of education and social status. Other scholars like Ze Amvela (1989), Biloa (1999) Efoua-Zengue (1999) have done an intensive research on the function of Camfranglais.

Kouega (2009) identifies five lexical items borrowed from Camfranglais. Cacao; a beautiful girl, djo: a guy langa: mouthwatering, nanga-mboko: a girl who usually sleeps out of her room or hostel, titulair: a regular partner.

- Pidgin English is another great donor to the slang of youths: identified in Kouega (2009) are
- Chop-bruk-pot: a selfish person
- Jokmasi: free labor
- Pohpoh: true real genuine
- Salamada: a type of high heeled shoes
- Wayo: a cunning person e.g., do not trust that guy, he is a wayo

French being the dominant official language of Cameroon also loans greatly to the Anglophone youths lingua. Kouega (2009) identified some of such borrowed items

- Long-crayon (from French long and crayon)
- Pample-pork (from French pamplemouse)
- Pantalon-trumpet (from French pantalon)
- Boulot; a job, place of work
- Cherie; sweetheart, honey
- Erreur; a mistake info;
- News mode; fashion one

Kouega (2009) also identified borrowed items from Nigerian Pidgin English some of which are:

- Four-one-nine: (a dup, to dupe)
- Johnny-just-come (a newcomer)
- Padiman (someone's best friend)

2.2.1.3.5 Naming through big, old and country

Safotso and Nkwetisama (2013) also identify some ways through which new lexis come in to Cameroon English. The following tables were copied from them.

Table 8: Naming using big

Example	Meaning
Big man	Great or influential person in the community
Big brother/sister	Elder brother/sister
Big papa/mammy	Grandfather/grandmother

Table 9: Naming using old

Example	Meaning
Old market	Former market
Old road	Former road
Old town	Former town
Old park	Former park
Old principal	Former principal
Old school	Former school

Table 10: Naming using country

Example	Meaning
Country fashion	Traditional rites
Country talk	Mother tongue
Country people	Men or women from one's locality
Country mimbo	Palm wine
Country chop	Local dishes like achu, waterfufu and eru
Country cup	A cup made from the horn of a cow and from which palm wine is usually drunk
Country dance	The traditional dance of a people of a given locality

From the three tables above, it is evident that in the Cameroonian variety of English, the adjectives, big and old and the noun country are attached to other words to form compound words, which give meanings which are peculiar to the Cameroonian context. These compound words come about as a result of the sociocultural and linguistic realities of Cameroon.

Tayam (2021) postulates that the Anglophone crisis has also brought in many words into the lexicon of the Cameroonian variety of English. The table below is copied from Tayam (2021).

Table 11: Coinages from Anglophone Crisis

Word/phrase	Meaning
Anglophone crisis	This refers to the ongoing crisis in the North West and South West region
Pre Anglophone crisis Cameroon	This refers to Cameroon before the outbreak of the ongoing crisis
Post Anglophone crisis	Cameroon after the crisis
Solution to Anglophone crisis	Measures to solve the Anglophone crisis
Ambazonian territory	A fictional space claimed by those supporting the Anglophone crisis
Amba land	Synonymous to ambazonian territory
Amba boys	Men who support the Anglophone crisis and have resorted in picking arms against the government
Ambazonian territories	To refer to Amba boys
Ambazonian	Those living in the frictional territory
Ambazonian secessionist	Referring to those supporting the course of the Anglophone crisis
Country Sunday	A day of complete lockdown in the North West and South West regions
Ghost towns	Synonymous to country Sunday
Groundnuts	Semantic reference to cartridges
Black leg	Those people who are not supporting the crisis as referred to by the secessionists
Struggle	A reference to the Anglophone crisis
Ngarbuh	A village in Ndongamantung Division
Ngarbuh incidence	Killings that took place in Ngarbuh
Ngarbuh massacre	Synonymous to Ngarbuh incidence
Ngarbuh genocide	Synonymous to Ngarbuh incidence
Amba crisis	Synonymous to Anglophone crisis
The Grand National Dialogue	A dialogue held in Yaounde with the main agenda of solving the Anglophone crisis

2.2.1.4 Literature on word formation processes through which new lexical items are created

New lexes come into the Cameroon variety of English in different ways. Some of these ways that have been described by most linguists include: borrowing, loan translation, word

deviation, loan shifts, conversion, influence of other languages such as French, PE, semantic extension, compounding, clipping of compounds, neologism, and acronyms.

2.2.1.4.2 Phraseological units

According to Kouega (2009) phraseological unit means a sequence of at least two words operating as a unit; like idioms, clichés, metaphors, proverbs and related holophrases. Kouega (2009) presents some items viz

- Dig a bay of something; have a spoonful of something e.g. let me dig a bay of that gari of yours
- Make girls to mince. Simper, mincing ways e.g. what do you think you are doing, Mary, stop making girls to me
- Romance someone; affect someone, deal with someone e.g. chain has romance your man very badly (poverty has dealt with your man very badly)
- Nearest neighbor to; similar to e.g. Isaac has too much hair on the body: he is the nearest neighbor to animals.
- See me see trouble; an interjection expressing disgust, hatred e.g. see me trouble oh! That poor man living by the shop has talked to me.

2.2.1.4.3 Coinage

Coinage is another word formation process used by Kouega (2009). Anglophones youths coined words like fack (to smoke) dangwa (to limp) mapito (vagina) apaga (trousers) bakala (a hair style) caolo (book and lecture notes)gigi (make love) leriba (a lie).

2.2.1.4.9 Clipping

Clipping is a process of cutting pieces of something or reducing a score or quantity by a small amount. In language study, more precisely morphology, it denotes the subtraction of one or more syllables from a word (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1973: 448). That is, a syllabus or more is removed from a word so that the remaining syllable forms a new word. These new words rarely lead to a change in meaning (Mbangwana, 2002). They retain their meaning with a slight stylistic coloration of informality added to them.

Yule (1996) posits that clipping usually occurs on words with more than one syllable..

According to her, clipping occurs when 'a word of more than one syllable is reduced to a shorter form from an opinion shared by Nizeyimana (2005: 65). According to McArthur (1992) clipping is an abbreviation formed from the loss of word elements, usually syllabic. Here, the element of reduction which is noticeable in blending is even more apparent in the process described as clipping (Yule, 1996: 71).

In all, Bauer (ibid: 233) refers to clipping as a process whereby a lexeme (a simplex or a complex) is shortened while still retaining the same meaning and still being a member of the same form class. Therefore clipping involves the cutting, shortening and the reduction of syllables from words without an actual change in meaning. Thus clipping can be carried out on simple lexemes or lexemes which have undergone a process of word-formation or another. In other words clipping is a process of word-form that creates different forms of a particular word. Kouega (2006: 33) sees clipping as an unnatural process of word-formation because it consists of subtracting instead of adding an element to a word which is a more natural way of creating words in a language.

Kouega (2009) says shortening subsumes acronym as in “laser”. Abbreviation as in Xmas (Christmas) clipping as in lab (laboratory and blend as in motel (motorists’ hotel). In Kouega (2009) the items below fall under the shortening category.

=Bes-bo; best boyfriend e.g. my bes-bo is a fine-looking boy.

=.Guinaco: a mixture of Guinness and Coca-Cola e.g. I am ashamed to ask for a guinaco for it might seem too expensive for him.

As far as clipping is concerned, final deletion is very productive than initial deletion. This is to say that clipping can occur in every area of a word be it at word initial position or word final position. Clipping can also occur at the middle of a word in CamE and this is very common with names. Nevertheless, it is rare to see such formations of clips (Kouega, 2006).

Some of these clips are easily understood, that is, one can immediately notice the process of clipping, while others are not. Some examples include: *prof* for *professor*, *plane* for *aeroplane*, *phone* for *telephone*, *memo* for *memorandum*, and *advert* for *advertisement* amongst others (Bauer, 2002). This process of word-formation is noticeable in CamE and this work will seek to show how CamE uses this process to create and form new words or better say varying forms of existing words so as to enrich its vocabulary.

2.2.2 Review of literature on syntactic innovations

Syntax refers to the whole system and structure of language in general usually taken as consisting of syntax and morphology and sometimes also including phonology and semantics. Syntactic analysis determines the relevant components of a sentence and describing them grammatically. It breaks down sentences into constituents and assigns grammatical labels to each constituent (Wekker and Haegman 1985). For this research, syntax is understood as the level of linguistic analysis that studies the organization of words to form grammatically correct sentences, as far as the English language is concerned.

2.2.2.1 Note on Universal Grammar

Chomsky (1962) averred that within traditional grammar, the syntax of a language is described in terms of a taxonomy (i.e. classificatory list) of the range of different types of syntactic structures found in the language. The central assumption underpinning syntactic analysis in traditional grammar is that phrases and sentences are built up of a series of constituents (i.e. syntactic units), each of which belongs to a specific grammatical category and serves a specific grammatical function. Given this assumption, the task of the linguist analyzing the syntactic structure of any given type of sentence is to identify each of the constituents in the sentence, and to say what category it belongs to and what function it serves. For example, in relation to the syntax of a simple sentence like 'Students protested vehemently', it would traditionally be said that each of the three words in the sentence belongs to a specific grammatical category. 'Students' being a plural noun, 'protested' a past tense verb and vehemently an adverb. Each serves a specific grammatical function.' 'Protested' being a predicate, 'students' being its sole argument and functioning as the subject of protested, and 'vehemently' being an adjunct.

2.2.2.2 Note on syntactic rules

Radford (1997) postulates that when we know a language, we are capable of organizing words to form sentences which express our thoughts. The meaning of a sentence is derived from the composition of words that make up a sentence. For the meaning of a sentence expressed by these words to be intrinsic, they are not just supposed to occur haphazardly in the sentence. Morphemes are carefully organized in a sentence to express a distinct meaning, for example, 'The teacher kicked his student', does not mean the same as 'The student kicked his teacher'. It is even worse to say 'his kicked teacher the student'. This last sentence has no

meaning at all even though it is made up of meaningful elements, because the organization of the words in the sentence does not obey the rules of syntax. The English syntax has rules that determine what words are combined into larger grammatical units to get intended meanings, and how these words are to be combined (Radford 2004).

Investigations have been carried out on all the different aspects of Cameroon English. The little investigation in syntax is echoed by Igboanusi (2006) when he says that while West African Englishes (WAE) attract many Linguistic scholars, enough consideration has been granted to the levels of language analysis but "not" much has been published in the domain of Syntax of West African Englishes.

2.2.2.3 Review of Syntactic innovations beyond Africa

The English spoken in other parts of the world such as Singapore, Malaysia and India, is characterized by varied syntactic features such as overgeneralization of syntactic rules, omission of copula, subjectless structures and omission of articles.

2.2.2.3.1 Overgeneralization of syntactic rules

The issue 'overgeneralization' emerges when ESL/EFL users are more concerned with achieving communication than grammatical accuracy. This first strategy of simplified grammar features refers to an overuse of rules and exceptions of Standard English language forms such as countable and uncountable nouns, prepositions, word order, and subject-verb agreements. Salient examples are based on Malaysian English literature. In a short story, "Haunting the Tiger" (1990), K.S. Maniam adds an inflection into an uncountable noun to form the plural or a 'countable noun'. This is evident in his expression: "before we became peoples?". (Wong and Yong, 1983: 9).

2.2.2.3.2 Omission of copula

Omission is another simplified grammar feature in which main components in sentences are absent such as the copula be, subject and object pronouns, prepositions, auxiliary verbs, determiners, infinitives, as well as marking of plural nouns and present-past tense verbs (subject-verb concord) (Wong, 1983: 131-134; Low & Brown, 2005: 90-107). The verbs 'is' and 'are' are dropped in the following subsequent expressions from a Malaysian English. "Our

friend Ibrahim, he ^ in bad mood today” and “Yes, you men ^ fortunate...” (Saravanan, 1979: 39-41) quoted in Wong and Yong (1983).

Likewise, a Singapore English novel ‘The Space of City Trees’ (2000) by Arthur Yap shows a lack of the copula – “2 mothers (are) in a playground” (Talib, 1996, as cited in Talib, 2003: 150). In this regard, ‘expletives’ - the patterns of ‘there is/are’ and ‘it is’ - are also included in the missing copula. This is seen in Malaysian English colloquial expressions: “There (is) no need to trouble him now”, “There (are) too many people in the room at that time”, and “It (is) raining very heavily then” (Wong, 1983: 132). In literary texts, the deletion of ‘is/are’ is obvious in a Singapore English novel “Rice Bowl” (1984) by Su-Chen Christine Lim and “The Adventures of Holden Heng” (1986) by Robert Yeo respectively – “Then there (is) also corruption, people eat money” (p.172) and “Tonight there (are) only me and you” (p.32) (Wong, 1992: 253). These examples depict the way Malaysian and Singaporean people often drop the copula when using English.

2.2.2.3.3 Omission of subjects

A Singaporean syntactic structure, there are null subjects or a sentence without subject pronouns such as “(You) cannot see we are busy” and “(She) just joined us today” (Low & Brown, 2005: 183). An object pronoun ‘it’ is deleted in a Malaysian English short story ‘Everything’s Arranged’ by Siew Yue Killingley – “She knows your writing and won’t open^” (Azirah, 2002: 86-87). The auxiliary ‘do’ in an interrogative is omitted in Malaysian English too.

2.2.2.3.4 Omission of articles

Many writers of new Englishes ignore the use of articles. For instance, a famous Indian English author Salman Rushdie attempts to omit an article ‘a’ in his novel *Midnight’s Children* (1981) as in the following examples: “My number two cousin,” Lifafa Das says, “is ^ bone-setter” (p.83) and “I am ^ great actress” (p.235) (Gane, 1999: 132). Similarly, Trinbagonian English novels embody the missing articles. *A House for Mr. Biswas* (1961) by Naipaul contains two sentences with the deleted articles ‘a’ and ‘the’ respectively – “You have the money, you want to buy ^ house” (p.11) and “Mother and ^ biggest son on either side” (p.33). Likewise, *The Lonely Londoners* (1956) by Sam Selvon shows the omission of the article ‘the’

in the following expression – “...to tell ^ truth most of the felllers who coming now are real hustlers” (p.24) (Bamiro, 1997: 209).

2.2.2.3.5 Non-marking of past tense

Non-marking of past tense is also evident in *Little Ironies – Stories of Singapore*, “Last Saturday, Madam, no joking, on one day alone I make nearly one hundred and fifty dollars” (p.77). Besides, the omission of verbs in the present tense for third person singular is seen in the novel *Rice Bowl* - “...If supervisor like you and you give him sex,...” (p.172) (Wong, 1992: 229-232). This grammatical style is inevitably used by an Afro-Jamaican English writer, Patricia Powell in her novel *Me Dying Trial* (1993). The following instances indicate that she consciously creates her narrative without marking the past-simple tense: “...Gwennie hang onto the railing, her bag with the potato pudding she bake overnight clutch tight under her arm” (p.1). The verbs ‘hang’ and ‘bake’ here should be changed into ‘hung’ and ‘baked’.

2.2.2.4 Syntactic innovations in other African Englishes

With regard to Nigerian English (NE), Banjo (1995: 217) postulates that ‘empirical contrastive study of the syntax of Nigerian and British English goes back to the era of error analysis and contrastive linguistics’ (e.g. the works of Tomori 1967; Banjo 1969; Odumuh 1981; Kujore 1985). Odumuh (1987: 60 - 65) identifies some ‘typical variations between British English and Nigerian English as spoken by tertiary educated informants’. Some of his examples include:

1. ‘They enjoyed’ for BE ‘They enjoyed themselves’ (Enjoyed occurs intransitively in NE structure while it is usually transitive in BE);
2. ‘He pregnanted her’ for BE ‘He made her pregnant’ (While NE structure uses pregnanted as a verb, the word ‘pregnant’ occurs in BE as an adjective);
3. ‘You like that, isn’t it?’ for BE ‘You like that, don’t you?’ (In BE, while the negative question tag is always determined by the verb, it is often represented in NE by isn’t it?);
4. ‘Give me meat’ for BE ‘Give me some meat’ (Omission of article in NE structure but not in BE structure);
5. ‘I am having your book’ for BE ‘I have your book’ (NE structure uses the ‘ing’ as stative marker);
6. ‘He has been there since’ for BE ‘He has been there for some time’ (NE structure uses an adverbial adjunct while BE structure has a preposition followed by an adjunct).

7. 'He offed the light' for BE 'He put off the light' (p. 112 - functional derivation);
8. 'After the referee might have arrived the match will begin' for BE 'After the referee has arrived the match will begin' (illustrates the use of modals in NE)

2.2.2.4.1 Verbless sentences

Some verbless sentences exist in the discourse of NE speakers. In conversations or exchange of pleasantries, one notices the frequent occurrence of the following verbless sentences:

- (a) 'How?' (How are you?)
- (b) 'How now?' (How are you?)
- (c) 'How things?' (How are things?)
- (d) 'How work?' (How is work?)
- (e) 'How family?' (How is your family?)
- (f) 'How life?' (How is life with you?)
- (g) 'How body?' (How is your body?)
- (h) 'How market' (How is business?)

Although such verbless sentences are more frequently found in the conversation of the less educated speakers of NE, they also occur in the conversations of educated users of NE as a means of expressing intimacy (Igboanusi 2006).

2.2.2.4.2 Subjectless sentences

Igboanusi (2006) postulates that there is a preponderant use of subjectless sentences in the speech of NE users. This practice involves the omission of the subject 'it' in NE structures. Where this omission occurs in the speech of educated users of NE, it is largely influenced by the process of shortening in which the form 'It's' is reduced to 'is', especially in spoken English. Where it occurs in the speech of less educated users of NE, it may be as a result of the influence of Nigerian Pidgin (NP) in which 'na' is transferred as is into NE structures. Consider the following examples:

- (a) 'Is very far' (It's very far).
- (b) 'Is about three hours or more' (It's about three hours or more).
- (c) 'Is about ten dollars' (It's about ten dollars).
- (d) 'Is the woman' (It's the woman).

2.2.2.4.3 Reduplicative syntactic structures in NE

Igboanusi (2006) observes that the reduplication of items belongs to various word classes. For instance, some English words are often reduplicated or repeated consecutively, either for emphasis, pluralisation, or to create new meanings. Igboanusi (2002) postulates that, while the occurrence of a second numeral denotes ‘each’ (as in one-one, half-half), the reduplication of an intensifier or a quantifier may be for emphasis (as in many-many, now-now, before-before, fast-fast, fine-fine, slowly-slowly) or for pluralisation (as in big-big, small-small). Examples are:

- (a) ‘Please drive slowly-slowly because the road is bad’ (Please drive very slowly because the road is bad).
- (b) ‘Before-before, food was very cheap in this country’ (In the past, food was very cheap in this country).
- (c) ‘Please get me two more bottles of beer fast-fast’ (Please get two bottles of beer for me very quickly).
- (d) ‘I visited my friend’s campus and I saw many fine-fine girls’ (I visited my friend’s campus and I saw several fine girls).
- (e) ‘Give me half-half bag of rice and beans’ (Give me half bag each of rice and beans).
- (f) ‘We were asked to pay one-one hundred Naira as fine for contravening the environmental sanitation law’ (We were asked to pay one hundred Naira each as fine for contravening the environmental sanitation law).
- (g) ‘Do you have small-small beans?’ (Do you have small brand of beans?).
- (h) ‘You put it small small’ (It is put little by little).
- (i) ‘I have small small children in the house’ (I have young children in the house).

2.2.2.5 Review of literature on Cameroon English syntax

There are several syntactic innovations in Cameroon English. These are examined in the subsequent sections.

2.2.2.5.1 Dangling Modifiers in Cameroon English

A dangling modifier is a phrase or clause that either modifies no word in the sentence or refers to the wrong word. Dangling modifiers cause the sentence to lack coherence. Recognize the following types of dangling modifiers and their corrections.

Sala (2005) observed dangling modifiers emanate from the lack of knowledge governing the topicalisation of non-finite clauses in British English. The grammar includes two rules, which are called The Co-indexation Condition and The Restrictive Relative Constraint. According to The Co-indexation Condition, only non-finite modifiers with a PRO co-indexable with the subject NP of their matrix clauses can be topicalised. According to The Restrictive Relative Constraint, restrictive relatives cannot be topicalised. He links non-finite relatives to the concept of Equi-NP-deletion and dangling modifiers are seen to be cases of Non-Equi-NP-deletion. This involves PRO-interpretation. The difficulty of PRO-interpretation in dangling modifiers is due to the general problem of the interpretation of empty categories in CamE. However, dangling modifiers, far from being modifiers that modify nothing in the sentence, are interpreted as modifying specific constituents in the sentence by users of NVEs. To account for the prevalence of dangling modifiers, evidence from the languages in Cameroon show that non-finite modifier topicalisation and, therefore, the two rules governing their grammar are unknown to Cameroonians. This explains the context dependency of the interpretation of topicalised non-finite modifiers in CamE.

2.2.2.5.2 Grammatical extensions in Cameroon English

Ayafor (2022) on the grammatical extensions of the definite article in Cameroon English, postulates that speakers of this variety of English substitute possessive articles for possessive adjectives. She gives examples as follows:

- I went there but **the** wife told me he has left.
- He left when **the** mother died.
- **The** husband told me he will be coming back soon.
- John told me that **the** uncle already travelled.

It is also observed that speakers of this English use a wide range of resumptive pronouns. Example are evident in constructions such as:

- I want to be going **me** home.
- Let's go **us**; it is already late.
- He went **him** and did not come back whereas, he had told me that he was going to come back early.

2.2.2.5.3 WH rules in Cameroon English

Sala (2003) observed that Cameroon speakers violate the linguistic rule of putting the WH-words in initial positions of sentences. These speakers transfer the structure of their

mother tongues (L1), into English language. These are typical examples of interlingual influences. Examples of structures which take the WH-interrogative inversion in the Cameroonian Variety of English include the following:

- You are going to where?
- You have eaten what?
- You are traveling when?
- Your parents are who?
- You prefer which of these?

2.2.2.5.4 Review of the ‘that’ complimentizer in Cameroon English

In one of the few descriptive studies on the syntax of CamE, Mbangwana and Sala (2009) examine the lexical features of this variety of English. They argue that one of the distinctive features of CamE syntactic structure is the complimentizer 'that', which in some cases introduces an adverbial, a complement and a subordinate clause without superordinate clause as seen in the following examples respectively:

- (1) He is going that I did not treat him well.
- (2) The chairman phoned that he is on the way.
- (3) That you should come.
- (4) That he has done what?

In (1), “that” actually introduces an adjunct of reason since it can well be substituted for the adverbial conjunction “because”. In (2), the that- segment of the sentence is the complement of the matrix verb “phone”, which in British English does not admit that- complement. In (3) and (4), the sentences happen to be short forms of longer ones which in that case will include a main clause which could be “he says” . (3) is reported speech while (4) is an echo question.

Chapter summary

Interlanguage is theory that was found appropriate for a study of this nature. This is because this theory gives an in-depth analysis of the lexico-syntactic items that are innovated in the Cameroonian variety of English. These lexico-syntactic items are regarded from an interlingual standpoint given that Cameroon English speakers are second language (L2) learners. It could be concluded that this research is of paramount importance as it seeks to investigate the lexicon and syntactic structure of the Cameroonian variety of English.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter focuses on the research design, the procedure for data collection and the method of data analysis. The aim of this chapter is to delineate the systematic pattern through which the study was conducted. Methodology as Chinelo 2016, cited in Mbibeh 2015) views it, offers the theoretical underpinning for the understanding of which method, set of methods or best practices can be applied to a specific case. Typically, it encompasses concepts such as paradigm, theoretical model, phases and quantitative or qualitative techniques (Chinelo 2016). Methodology is the specific procedures (Singh 2006:26), techniques or steps (Kothari 2004: 8) used to identify, select, process, and analyze information about a topic. The steps in this study, therefore, encompass technique, choice and collection of data, and techniques of analyses of data and presentation of results. Methodology can be understood as methods used for gathering information and the specific reasons for using such methods. Furthermore, Methodology should concern aspects of how gathered information is transformed into data and why the transformed data are relevant in relation to a framework (Skott 2014, cited in Mbibeh 2015).

The process of transforming gathered information into data is done in steps. Gathered information needs to be structured. Structured information is used when generating data. The generated data is then interpreted by using a conceptual framework. This means that there is a relationship between methodology and theory (Gee2014). In a nutshell, this chapter of the work is grounded on three main parts: data collection, data presentation and data analysis, under which are grouped other elements such as the research design, sample and sampling technique.

Soles (2003), argues that the basic purpose of research is to accumulate, classify and systematize experience in to a relatively small number of laws and principles governing the specific categories into which phenomena can be classified. From Soles' definition, we can deduce that nothing may be termed science if it is not systematic or classified following a well fixed pattern. The major difference between science and other domains which are unscientific is in the approach used in the discovery of truth and certainty. Hence, science as a branch of knowledge depends on the methodological approach employed to arrive at given findings. To Greenfield (1996) cited in Mbibeh (2015), methodological description is indispensable in a

scientific research especially as it presents a set of methods, techniques and instruments used by the researcher to achieve certain objectives. Greenfield's method is a description of a scientific method to research.

When one listens to how English is used over Cameroon Radio and Television (CRTV), on *The Guardian Post Newspaper* and by Second Cycle Final Year Students (Level Six Hundred Students) of the Department of English Modern Letters in Higher Teacher Training College of the University of Bamenda, one notices that lexical elements in Cameroon English (CamE) occasionally drift away from those of Standard British English (SBE). Cameroon, just like many other English-speaking countries over the world, has been affected by the development that is taking place in the English language, more especially with the emergence of non-native Englishes (NNEs) whose liberal nature has given rise to so many varieties of English.

As a result of this, a new breed of English is developing in Cameroon that can rightly be termed Cameroon English. It is, therefore, difficult in Cameroon today to find someone who speaks English throughout without making use of some of the Cameroonian lexical or syntactic features. This is more remarkable in impromptu discourse, wherein people express themselves naturally. This lexical situation in Cameroon is caused by many factors, including influences from French, Pidgin English and native languages. New compounds, non-native idioms, restricted idioms, extensions in meaning and shifts in meaning are also observed. The social and political climates of Cameroon have also laid a fertile ground for many lexical innovations in the selected media and school. This climate includes issues like Anglophone crisis, the global pandemic of the Corona virus (Covid 19), the African Cup of Nations (Afcon) and recent developments in scientific innovations.

3.1 The Research design

According to Cohen and Manion (1985), quoted in Mbibeh (2015), surveys are the most commonly used descriptive methods used in education research, and may vary in scope from large scale investigation to small scale studies. Survey research, which is the method used in this study, is distinguished from experimental studies in that surveys gather information regarding a variable under study, from the respondents of the population whereas experimental

studies implies a scientific procedure, wherein the factor under study is isolated to test hypothesis.

A research design is a blue print of the study as it defines the study type. Thus, we can say that it is the framework that has been created to seek answers to research questions (Saunders et al. 2007). According to Rowley (2002), cited in Mbibeh (2015), a research design is the logic that links the data to be collected and the conclusions to be drawn to the initial questions of the study. Gauri and Gronhaug (2005:56) cited in Tayam (2021) see a research design as being the overall plan for relating the conceptual research problem to relevant and practicable empirical research. There are four major types of a research design: exploratory, inductive, casual and descriptive. Since this research work is concerned with the lexico-syntactic study of language used in Cameroonians, the study is therefore designed within the framework of a descriptive method of language analysis in terms of qualitative research methodology. The descriptive linguistic method in this context consists in describing and analyzing how language has been used in the corpus or sampled data, with keen focus on lexico-syntactic elements. Regarding the qualitative and quantitative approaches to data analysis (Biber 1998: 4, cited in Baker 2006) pointed out that corpus-based research actually depends on both quantitative and qualitative techniques, with the association patterns representing quantitative relations and measuring the extent to which features and variants are associated with contextual factors, meanwhile functional (qualitative) interpretation is also an essential step in any corpus-based analysis. Talaat (2002, cited in Sartaj & Behzad 2018:35) shares in this view as he posits that qualitative version of data allows comprehensive analysis of particular instances, whether individual instances or texts. This is in line with our study as it seeks to establish a comprehensive view of the lexical and syntactic structures of the Cameroon variety of English.

In this connection, Baker et al. (2008) cited in Tayam (2021) lay emphasis on mingling corpus-based technique with qualitative scheme to categorize frequent and appropriate linguistic patterns as they supply useful methodology synergy. These patterns and meanings that are genuinely intertwined within a text can be drawn out for a productive scrutiny. Talaat (2002: 36) reinforces the same view arguing out that if the meaning of language lies in the patterns which different linguistic units make together in a given text, then its divergence may also lie

in the way these units are used in a given text. So, the present study is exclusively interwoven within the thread of corpus in order to study the lexico-syntactic tendencies of language used in the Cameroon media, while underscoring the linguistic interpretations involved in it as they are utilized.

In survey research, Cohen and Manion (1985) argue that the researcher does not ‘do’ anything to the objects or subjects of research, except observe them or ask them to provide data. The research consists of collecting data on people as they are, without trying to alter anything.

This study examined the use of English over the audiovisual media (Cameroon Radio and Television), on *The Guardian Post Newspaper* and by Second Cycle Final Year Students of the Department of English Modern Letters of Higher Teacher Training College in the University of Bamenda, with special emphasis on lexical innovations. It brought out some specific markers of some innovations, found in the spontaneous use of language in broadcasting news programmes in Cameroon Radio and Television (CRTV), *The Guardian Post Newspaper* and by Level Six Hundred Students of the Department of English Modern Letters in Higher Teacher Training College of the University of Bamenda. It also identified and described specific examples of word formation process that are involved in the aforementioned case studies linguistic creativity in the Cameroon variety of English.

Though many studies have been carried out on Non- native Englishes (NNEs) much is still to be done to explore specific domains of innovations as it is the case in the present study.

3.2 Sample and sampling techniques

Stratified random, and purposive sampling techniques were adopted for the study. To guarantee that the sampling for this study have certain characteristics that were representative of the key variables, a stratified random sampling technique was adopted. Also, because the target population (channels and programmes) were divided into stratum where data was collected from each sampling unit that was randomly selected from each stratum, a stratified random sampling was preferable. This sampling technique was adopted to suit the academic realities of the understudied students. Besides, a purposive sampling technique was also chosen for the study because features of Cameroonian variety of English were evident in these channels.

Furthermore, stratified and purposive sampling were employed for the collection of data which underlines the consideration that items from a pre-specified group are purposively sought out and sampled which further authenticates the inclusion of rich sources of data that can be exploited to generate or examine the explanatory frameworks.

As far as the population under study is concerned, Cohen and Manion (ibid) quoted in Hunan (1992: 141) suggest that when it is not feasible to collect data from the entire population, the researcher must resort to sampling. This research is therefore carried out on a sample of some programmes over Cameroon Radio and Television (CRTV), samples of news items on *The Guardian Post Newspaper* and expressions of the aforementioned students of Second Cycle Final Year, of the Department of English Modern Letters in Higher Teacher Training College of the University of Bamenda.

Cameroon has several TV stations. Outstanding amongst them is CRTV, Canal2 International, STV, TV max and Equinox TV. But for the purpose of this study we shall only focus on CRTV.

The sampling programmes for this study were on a selected TV station and a radio station. This TV Station has a radio station which is also an integral part of it that is Cameroon Radio and Television (CRTV). The choice of these three different channels was to enable us have variation in the media programmes and consequently in the data. Several programs were selected on both CRTV depending on the number of English and bilingual programs in each channel.

With the selected students, stratified random sampling technique was also adopted. We observed that the population of the Department was already divided into five groups referred to as level two hundred, level three hundred, level four hundred, level five hundred and level six hundred. We purposively chose the highest level, which has 25 students, for sampling because we found that this level could give us explicit data after which we could analyze and draw our conclusions.

3.3 Population of the study

One television and one radio station served in the collection of data for the study. We collected data from CRTV television, CRTV Radio, *The Guardian Post Newspaper* and Level

Six Hundred Students of the Department of English Modern Letters in Higher Teacher Training College of the University of Bamenda. These channels and areas were selected to collect the data because it was observed that most Cameroonians, who are pro-government, like watching CRTV programmes while those who are not pro-government always prefer reading The Guardian Post Newspaper, saying that The Guardian Post Newspaper is realistic and objective. They argued that The Guardian Post Newspaper exposes certain things about the government that CRTV never exposes. In the same light, those who watch CRTV always follow Cameroon tribune, the government press.

CRTV and *The Guardian Post Newspaper* were chosen because they are widely followed by Cameroonians. Another reason is that we wanted to have a sample of both public and private media organs in order to harness both public and private opinions.

Furthermore, we chose Level Six Hundred Students of the Department of English Modern Letters of Higher Teacher Training College of the University of Bamenda, because we found that they are the supposed flag-bearers of what we can call Cameroon English. This is because they are the ones to go and propel English all over Cameroon given that they are English teachers. We thought that our work could be incontrovertible if teachers are the ones to give us the data that we will analyze and draw our conclusion.

3.3.1 Justification of choice of data source

What accounted for the researcher's choice of *The Guardian Post Newspaper*, CRTV and Second Cycle Final Year Students of the Department of English Modern Letters of Higher Teacher Training College in the University of Bamenda as source of data is the fact that, considering the readership of the newspaper, it is widely read both in Cameroon and abroad. These media are also online, although the total number of people who follow them is difficult to determine. This is because apart from the websites which have a counter indicating those who visit the websites (whom we can consider as readers and viewers), there are still many people who go for hard copies and others follow news programmes live with the desire either to keep them or use them to satisfy other needs. *The Guardian Post Newspaper* is one of the leading bi-weekly newspapers with a wide readership. The quantity of the copies published per edition ranges from five thousand to eight thousand, depending on the subject matter. Besides, there are also moments that hundreds of thousands of copies are published, especially during the publication of the results of the General Certificate of Education (GCE). The understudied

students were chosen because they are taught English to teach English. Thus, we thought original data could come from them.

3.4 Method of data collection

Between January 1st 2021 and June 1st 2022, more than twenty programmes were recorded over CRTV. CRTV broadcasts programmes both in English and French. To effectively collect our data, the researcher focused only on English and bilingual TV programmes covered by these channels.

The target population over these channels who served as a direct source of data collection was English and Bilingual programmes anchored and broadcast over CRTV. We also collected data from journalists which was mainly during interviews of citizens over these channels. We also got our data from those involved in debate activities and advertisement programmes.

In addition, we also read broadly newspapers from *The Post* and *The Voice Newspaper* but focused more on *The Guardian post* which was our preoccupation. This extensive reading was to ensure that what obtains in *The Guardian Post Newspaper* also obtains across other newspapers in Cameroon so that our conclusions could be established on generic grounds. Within this same period, we had several group discussions and participant observations with the selected students. These discussions were done with keen observation of their lexical usage. Many programmes were recorded on the selected TV station. These programmes are as seen below.

Table 12: C R TV

Programmes	Days	Time	Language
7:30 news	Mondays – Sundays	7:30pm - 8:00pm	English
Bilingual news	Mondays – Sundays	00:00:30am	Bilingual
Inside the Presidency	Mondays every 2 weeks	10pm – 11pm	English

Women & Development	Wednesdays	16:30 – 17:30	English
Teleteaching	Tuesdays, Thursdays , Saturday	8am 12pm	English
Press hour	Sundays	12pm – 1:30pm	English
Tam-Tam week end	Sundays	1:30pm – 2:30pm	Bilingual

Table 13: Radio

Programmes	Days	Time	Language
News in English	Mondays – Saturdays	6-6:30am	English
Luncheon date	Mondays – Fridays	2:00pm – 4:00pm	English
Bilingual News	Mondays – Fridays	5:00pm – 6pm	Bilingual
Daybreak on CRTV	Mondays – Fridays	4:30am – 6am	English
Beyond the Frontiers	Sundays	6:30am – 7 am	English
Greening the Triangle	Tuesdays	4pm – 5pm	English
Sports Razzmatazz	Mondays	6:05 – 7pm	English

3.5 Instruments of data collection

To effectively carry out this investigation, the researcher needed a tape recorder and a notebook. The audio recorder was used to record programmes over the radio and also on the TV, while the video recorder was used purposely for TV programmes to make videos of visual items. The notebook was to serve the purpose for note-taking. Here, information recorded included the programmes themselves, date of broadcast, duration of broadcast and the various radio and TV stations.

The notebook also served the purpose of transcribing what was observed in the newspapers for eventual analysis. Within the period of observation and interaction with these

students, who were participants of the research, a notebook was also instrumental as it served as a jotter for the various linguistic habits observed.

3.6 Method of data Analysis

The next step in the study was that of the transcription of recording which was immediately followed by selection of lexical items and observation of syntactic structures that seemed to exhibit different features from Standard British English lexis and syntax. To be certain about the selection, the researcher had to do some cross-checking with SBE to ensure that the innovations were indeed ‘deviant’ or purely Cameroonian features. Books on lexicology and syntax were thus consulted in the libraries of the Departments of English, in the University of Yaounde I and in the Central Library of the University of Bamenda. Some Cameroonian specialists in this domain were equally consulted.

We further scrutinized the data transcribed to identify all instances in which lexical and syntactic categories differ. Thus, we classified them under main lexical categories, that is, verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs. We further classified them under different word formation processes involved in the linguistic creativity such as reduplication, back-formation, blending, acronyms, semantic extensions, echoic or onomatopoeic, coining, deviant idiomatic usage, shift in meaning, compounding, French interference, local language interference, CPE interference, clipping, and eponymy. The syntactic categories were also classified such as adverbialization of adjectives, adjectivization of adverbs, deletion of reflexive elements, imposition of prepositions, deletion of prepositions, and verbalization of nouns.

3.7 Data presentation

Data for this study was collected from three different sources. The presentation of this data was done separately, per the various sources. The emboldened sections in the data presented below are the new forms.

3.7.1 Data from the selected students

I told him about it, **what** did you tell him?

Places are too hot. I am feeling **heat**.

I will have to finish this DIPES 11 program so that I can do my masters and enroll into **doctorate** program.

I am going to **go and** give him his book before he gets annoyed

He was a **famous** robber in the town: notorious.

He is a **five-star commissioner**

He will soon carry **Officier**

Please for your **Solo tape**.

He has been **chatting** me but I don't like him.

I said it to the whole class. I don't know why she took it **personal**

You have to concentrate and take your studies **serious**.

There **exists** different problems.

Even if we have issues, do not extend **it** to my family.

Let's continue to search and pray that God **gives** us the best.

He has **gastric**.

Gastric almost killed me yesterday.

You are really ready for the day. You look well **packaged**.

It not easy in this country now. You must **choko**, else you will never succeed.

She is **at** the hospital. She is not feeling fine.

We are going out for **njoka** this weekend.

He has been president of National Assembly for **donkey** years.

She went for antinatal, that's why she could not come to school.

He is a good teacher. He really **impacted** knowledge to us.

Auntie Lucien's **own** book is missing

Please for **1k**; I will give you back later

You went there and **was** saying nasty things about me

I was lying **helpless** in the hospital without anybody to assist me.

My dear you have to leave the hospital and see how you can consult a **Baba**. This your illness is not natural.

I received a **summon** last week to appear in court.

She **text** me yesterday and I understood that she wanted to come back.

There is **Mengwin** everywhere. I will buy some when I am going on holiday.

You have to be very careful. That man is a **dealer**.

She is behaving as if she has already **arrived**

I cannot travel **hungry**

She left this place saying we did not inform her about our last **njoka**.

You should have said it **clear**. Just that I did not understand.

He always **tell** lies that is why I don't want him around me.

Say it **clear**

I didn't get it **clear**

I traveled **safe**

He was paid very **expensive** to do it but he did not do it well.

If in case he comes, tell him I came looking for him.

Bring your book **alongside with** mine.

Did he even tell you that his **gros loan** has passed?

There **has** been a lot of arguments on this issue.

He did it for reasons best known to **him**.

You have spelled it **wrong**.

U are sitting **sideward**

The match of today will be at **Stade Fandena**

I feel as going to the **urinary**.

Avoid sleeping with **earphones** plugged.

She is making a lot of **nyanga**.

We are the android generation and you are still using **choronko**, my brother?

This is **generation android**

He came here yesterday in a machine. Like play like play that guy has just **made it** like that.

That my name **that** I wrote on that list was cancelled.

I did my **almost** best **still yet** he did not appreciate.

It's **gradually** and progressive. Let's not hurry.

I just want to say **thank you** for your efforts.

She said **that that** man was **chatting** her.

He **wants** that the man **should not** come.

She said **that that** man **that** came here yesterday like **that** gave her 2k.

We didn't know that Cameroon was going to **win** Algeria.

How do they call it?

Real **won** Atletico through a **Head to head** play.

The exam was too difficult. If intelligent people like you failed, what more of me.

When I insisted, **now** he said to me that he was going to come.

He scored a **nzolo** goal.

She is a **Slay queen**.

Look at this **slay mama**.

I don't believe in **odeshi**. Even if it was working in the past like it cannot still work now.

She wants to **slay** all the men in this Bili.

She very good at **bedmatics**.

Live is not moving well in this **Ground Zero**, so one has to be very careful.

You are the one who accepted. I cannot do **njongmasi** work.

Read it **one by one**.

He is **la République** from the way he is sounding.

I want to go to **la République**.

He is not in Cameroon. He is in **mbeng**.

Her guy is a **mbengis**.

She got married to one **Sara**.

She is in love with one **Sara man**.

I am so happy because he **dashed** me something very precious.

Chelsea **is** my best team.

The failure was **because** of the fact that we don't prepare well.

He did not come to school **due to** the fact that he was ill.

Algeria **is** not going to win this match.

He **absented** from school saying he was not feeling fine.

That was a sanction for **delay** tactics of the goalkeeper

He is **nchinda**.

It was an excellent **remontada** that Cameroon **won** Burkina Faso when we least expected.

You have to be very careful in this Bamenda, else they will **remove you from game**.

You have to **climb up**.

Transfers in MINESEC are purely **doki**.

If you want a good line,, look for a clear **doki man**.

You received **momokash** loan worth 5k

Let nothing **not** disturb my plans.

She likes **burning fish / roasted** fish a lot

Women love **tying their face** when you do not give them enough money.

Run **fast fast** and meet her.

Sit **two two** per bench.

Just saw **my own** results.

Give me **my own**.

My own money hasn't yet been sent.

We sat there and we were just **wining** time.

He has been **chatting** me; I don't like him.

I think this guy only wants to be playing pranks with me. He is seemingly **not legit**.

I enjoy playing **long tennis**.

He has been **crushing** on me, but I do not even like him.

He never wants to see **skirt** passing.

I said it to the whole class. I don't know why she took it **personal**

You have to concentrate and take your studies **serious**.

There **exists** different problems.

Even if we have issues, do not extend **it** to my family.

Examiners are still waiting for their **outstation allowance** to be paid.

You have to be careful with your husband because there are many girls out there with

Kayamata.

Students spend time **facebooking** and **whatsapping** instead of reading.

You are really ready for the day. You look well **packaged**.

Gastric almost killed me yesterday.

It not easy in this country now. You must **choko**, else you will never succeed.

3.7.2 Data from CRTV

The Fon of Mankon is **missing**.

Nkeng is of great significance in African cosmology.

People pay **popularbloggers** with many followers to advertise their businesses for them.

Some few people didn't do it.

The match of today is in **Paul Biya** stadium

He lives just a **stone throw** to where I live.

She didn't come for reasons best known to **her**.

I went to **see him off**, but was held somewhere for a drink.

There is **come- we- stay** now everywhere. In the past, it was rare.

Take it **over again**.

They want to take a **Cooling break**

I out really **stressed up**. I had a lot of things to do

Let's continue to search and pray that God **gives** us the best.

Either Aboubaka or Ekambi would score a **hat-trick**.

He lives just a **stone throw** from my place.

She didn't come for reasons best known to **her**.

We are going out for **njoka** this weekend.

He has been president of National Assembly for **donkey** years.

She went for **antinatal**, that's why she could not come to school.

He is a good teacher. He really **impacted** knowledge to us.

There are **some little** mistakes that we make that can mar many things.

That **my brother** who came here yesterday is very stingy. He can't even give somebody something.

There are **some certain** things that we should avoid.

Nowadays, you people living with women when they have not yet paid their **dowry**?

On what **premises** are your arguments based?

There are women who **can talk**.

That match **will play** so the Indomitable Lions have to prepare well.

You have **hammered** my dear. You really have to be grateful to God.

If you are **d' accord** with it, fine.

3.7.3 Data from The Guardian Post Newspaper

Drama at **amba checkpoint** in Kumba

Dare-devil soldier killed in attempt to capture amba fighters with bare hands.

Wife clashes with husband's **side chicks** for rushing him to hospital after accident.

Achidi Achu and his **scratch my back I scratch ya back** political philosophy.

Human Rights watch wants **amba** fighters prosecuted.

Cameroon's Mankon people mourn **missing** king and welcome successor.

Very soon **bushfallers** will be landing in airports.

CONAC boss tells Parliament.

Anti-Biya diaspora movements plan **Ambazonia-type** interim government.

France to shut down **ENAM-type** Biya alma mater.

North West mourns the **missing** Fon of Mankon.

Yahoo boys posing a threat to our society.

Coro is too deadly; we have to be very careful and constantly put on our **facemasks**.

Family launches **Achidi Achu Foundation**, designates Achidi Judith Chairperson.

Three civilians, senior **BIR** officer killed in Amba, military crossfire.

Disaster manag't expert, Dr Henry Bang, engages **IDPs** in sustainable livelihood project.

Chris Anu predicts doom for **Ambazonian independence struggle**.

Military, Amba clash reportedly leaves three dead, several injured.

Okada riders narrate how they help married women cheat on husbands.

Trade the financial markets with EXPRESS Using **MOMO**.

Chapter summary

This chapter of the work that is dedicated entirely to methodology could be considered as the manual or guide for the conduct of this research. It answers two main questions: how was the data collected or generated? How was it analyzed? In fact, it spelt out the procedures pursued from the construction of the corpus (data collection) and method of data analysis. In this chapter, important elements of methodology such as the research design, sample and sampling techniques, method of data collection, instruments of data collection, method of data analysis and data presentation are made.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

As English is adapted to meet the communication needs of its new users in the new English-using communities, its lexico-syntactic tentacles are undergoing changes which enable it to convey new meanings in non-native socio-cultural contexts. Many of these meanings have for long been conveyed through the many indigenous languages used in the country before the introduction of English. In Cameroon, English also shares functions with French as a language of formal education, of government and administration and of science and technology, among others.

4.1 Analysis of the lexical items

It will be noticed in the course of the discussion that many features of usage are the results of contact with French and influence from native languages. This does not, however, suggest that other factors have not influenced any of the changes the English language is currently undergoing. The multilingual setting in which English is being used in Cameroon has influenced lexical development in many ways. Words have been borrowed directly into English from other languages. Whole expressions from other languages have been translated into English, producing both patterns and meaning that are not known in native varieties of the language. Consequently, this blurs or hinders mutual intelligibility in communication between a Cameroonian speaker and a non-Cameroonian speaker of English.

4.1.1 French loans

The bilingual nature of Cameroon and more especially as almost four fifth of its population potentially has as second language French, makes it very easy for the Anglophones living in the Francophone regions to be tempted from time to time to use words or expressions from the French language in the English. Weinreich (1964:12) defines “interference” as [Those instances of deviations from the norms of either Language which occurs in the speech of bilinguals as the result of familiarity with more than one language.]

He goes further to say that the interference occurs at level of lexicology and syntax, but it is greatest at the phonological level because of the tendency that the foreign learner has to transpose his native sound in to the other languages he acquires. The degree of interference,

according to him, depends on a number of variables which includes: age of learning, teaching methods, personal ability and social functions of the language in question.

It was discovered after the collection of the data that there are cases of French interference on the English of broadcasting media either from the journalists or guests. From an interlingual standpoint, Selinker talks about the permeability of the learner's language. With this, he means that the L2 learner's language is prone to the influence of other languages. In the examples below, all the words and expressions are loans from the French commonly used by speakers of English in Cameroon.

Table 14: French loans

Loan word /phase	Meaning
D' accord	Okay
Moulinette	Blender
ENAM	NSAM
Five-star police commissioner	Senior superintendent
Perders	Homosexual
Officier	Assistant superintendent
BIR	Rapid Battalion Intervention
CONAC	National Anti-Corruption Commission

It is observed that a majority of the non-English items are transferred into the English equivalence, producing an expression that may look un-English in a Standard British English context.

4.1.2 Loans from native languages

Unlike Nigeria where Yoruba, Igbos and Hausa have a national status, Cameroon has so many local languages with none of them having a national status. As a result of this, there are so many languages in contact with the two official languages which are French and English. It should be noted also that before the Europeans ever came to Cameroon, the people effectively communicated among themselves in their various local languages. Menang (1990) remarks that most of these direct loans that come from the "home language" refer to local cultural organizations such as tiles, rites, dishes and items of dressing. But with the introduction of

French and English in the country, there were and they are still certain features that are difficult to be described in English, which explains the presence of some local words or expressions in English language which can also be analyzed from an interlingual perspective. Local language interference include:

Table 15: Loans from native languages

Word /phase	Meaning
Chacha	A locally produced balm that cures muscle cramps
Fulere	A locally produced juice from the combination of pineapple, watermelon, cucumber and many other combinations.
Atogho	It refers to a type of traditional regalia that Foncha used to put on with a type of traditional cap. ‘ Atogho’ is often referred to in Cameroon as a dress of national unity presumably because Foncha wore it on the day of the plebiscite.
Kebaranko	It refers to a very wild juju found in palaces in North West Region like in Nso, Oku, Nkar and Mbiame palaces.
Nchinda	It refers to the servant of the fon.
Sanga	It is a traditional dish of the Ewondo clan which comprises cooked corn mixed with cassava leaves. It should be noted that the dish is eaten without salt but those who are not used to the dish are always advised to use sugar.

4.1.3 Reduplication

Reduplication is a word formation process whereby a new word is formed from repeating a word. It can be partial or complete or complete reduplication. A complete reduplication is when the whole word is repeated while a partial reduplication occurs when only part of the word is repeated. In our investigation, we found mostly complete reduplication in the linguistic creativity in Cameroon as shown below:

Table 16: Reduplication

Word /phase	Meaning
Coro Coro	It refers to the Covid-19.
Yahoo yahoo	This refers to young guys who are always ready to use fraudulent means to make money. Another word synonymous to yahoo yahoo is scammer or swindler.

4.1.4 non-mastery of phrasal verbs

Confusion in the usage of confusable accounts a lot in cases of misuse of words by most broadcasters, and teachers of English. By native English speech habit, most of the words that are confused are not homophones. NNS speech habits tend to give rise to more homophones that do not exist in native speech. Earlier studies (Todd 1982, Bambose 1983, and others) have reported the production of fewer voice contrasts by speakers of English in the West African regions. This seems to account for the existence of more homophones in the speech of these users, but some teachers and users of the media also confuse words which are phonologically so distinct that one wonders why the confusion arises. Confusables abound in the linguistic creativity in CamE. These confusables are understood in Cameroon context, but may turn to give completely different meaning to a native speaker.

Table 17: Non-mastery of phrasal verbs

CamE	SBE	Meaning
Consists of	Consist in	To have something as a main or part of a feature
Shoot	Shoot at	To scare something
See off	See out	To accompany a guest as he or she lives
Stressed off	Stress out	To inflict stress on

The above type of expressions pose a lot of problems to L2 learners who are said to be performant in the Language. The right word to use in this context is ‘consist in’ which means to have something as a main or part of a feature. This is opposed to ‘consist of’ which means to be made up of. We also have ‘shoot at’. This is because lexically, we shoot something to kill it and we ‘shoot at’ something to scare it. It is, therefore, evident that L2 learners have the tendency to interchange confusables or to use them interchangeably. The right word in this

context is ‘see out’. This is because we see of people who are traveling and ‘see out’ people or friends who came visiting us from the same town or area. The right word we are supposed to use is ‘stressed out’. ‘Stressed up’ is a Cameroonized form. ‘Stressed out means to experience stress. ‘Stress up’ means to suffer from some physical stress whereas ‘stressed off’ does not exist.

4.1.5 Cameroon pidgin English interference

The use of PE continues to spread in Cameroon. In most house hold, and local settings, it is the only language spoken and understood by all. One can say that it is the language widely spoken in Cameroon, especially where both Anglophones and Francophone’s are found together like in the markets, churches, public offices and many more. Since the media in most countries have as their principle role to educate, inform and entertain the public, it is, therefore, not surprising that the language used by these teachers and media is a reflection of what is used in the society where they operate. That explains why one hears utterance such as:

Table 18: Cameroon pidgin English interference

Word /phase	Meaning
Come-we-stay	This refers to an emotional and physical intimate relationship which includes a common living place and which exists without any legal or religious sanction
Dashed	Offer
Njongmasi work	This is to refer to work done at little or no payment
Mecsin man	Witch doctor
You crash my back I crash ya back	This means that if you vote for my party, I will give you assistance. This expression was very common on Cameroon media during and after the death of the former Prime Minister, Simon Achidi Achu. It was said this is what he used in his political speeches in the 1990s.
Small no be sick	This refers to a small locally made balm which cures catarrh.
Politics is a game of you chop I chop	This expression means politics is a game of interest

Neighbor help Neighbor	This expression is used to refer to a neighbor who is going out with their neighbor's wife or husband
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4.1.6 Semantic shift

Cameroonian speakers tend to misuse certain words which are liable to make completely different meaning to non-Cameroonian speakers. This shift in meaning occurs in CamE when an English word acquires a meaning altogether different from its meaning in SBE, like in the examples below:

Table 19: Semantic shift

CamE	SBE	Meaning
Chap (a girl)	Chap (a boy)	A chap according to Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary refers to a man; the meaning has been shifted from a man to mean a woman. This phenomenon is extensively observed in Cameroon English.
Trouble-shooter	Trouble-maker	Rather, the right word to be used is trouble-maker. This is because a trouble-shooter avoids and settles problems, while a trouble maker always remains troublesome. It was found that in CamE, the meaning of trouble-shooter has been shifted to mean someone who looks for trouble.
Dowry	Bride price or bride wealth	The correct or appropriate word to be used here, is bride price or bride wealth. Dowry is rather paid by the bride's family to the groom or his family.

4.1.7 Compounding

Compounding uses elements of English only, generally without the influence of other languages. This process is very common in the English of Cameroonians, especially, where people speak spontaneously. The following are good examples of compounding:

Table 20: Compounding

Word /phase	Meaning
Side chicks	This means a concubine. People only have ‘side chicks’ when they are married. So, the woman at home (the wife) is the ‘main chick’, while the one kept by the man outside his home is the ‘side chick’.
African Panacea	It refers to some concoctions made from natural herbs. This concoction is said to be a cure for many diseases such as hypertension, cough, catarrh and fever.
Livescore	This is to refer to work done at little or no payment
Yahoo boys	They refer to young boys who use unorthodox means to enrich themselves.
Okada Union	This refers to the organization or group of bike riders in Bamenda.

4.1.8 Semantic extensions

They focus on those words that are taken from the English language itself but their meanings are those of other words in the language (Simo Bobda 1994a) calls this intra-English extension. The following are some good examples:

Table 21: Semantic extensions

Word/phrase	Extended meaning
Got missing	Died
Can talk	Talk a lot
Final bus stop	A person one intends to spend the rest of their life with
Text	Texted
Has arrived	Has made money or is very rich
What more of me	What less of me
Remove from game	Kill
Premises	Premise
Hammer	Get rich
Well packaged	Well dressed
A good shooter	To be sexually vibrant or agile
Skirt	Woman
Chatting	Wooing
Crushing	A white man
Dealer	Duper

From the above expressions, it is evident that the some words are employed with semantic extensions to avoid obscenity or vulgarity. All these words are above SBE words; in the above situation in Cameroon English, they have been given completely different meanings that may raise the threshold for understanding of a native speaker.

4.1.9 Eponymy

It refers to a person, place, or thing after whom or which someone or something is, or is believed to be named. Eponyms abound in Cameroon English.

Table 22: Eponymy

Word /phase	Meaning
Paul Biya Stadium	A newly constructed football stadium, in Yaounde at Olembe
Dangote Cement	Cement company owned by Dangote
Chantal Biya Foundation	It is a foundation named after the first lady of Cameroon, Mrs Chantal Biya.
Biya Covid Aid Caravan	It is an establishment named after the Head of State, Paul Biya, which was created to combat Covid-19.
Anty-Biya	Those opposing the president of Cameroon, Paul Biya.
Achidi Achu Foundation	A Foundation created by the family of the first Anglophone Prime Minister, Simon Achidi Achu, after his death to honor him.

Eponyms are frequently created because of the close association between the person or place and the word. In modern usage, it can also be when a brand name becomes synonymous with that item. Eponyms have also expanded the lexical landscape of the variety of English spoken in Cameroon.

4.1.10 Conversion

Conversion is one of the word formation processes evident in the linguistic creativity of lexical items in Cameroon English. Conversion is as seen below.

Table 23: Conversion

Word /phase	Meaning
Facebooking	To browse or text on Facebook
WhatsApping	To type or text on WhatsApp
Momo	To send money using either MTN or Orange Mobile money services
Emo	To text on emo

From the above points, it is visible that Facebook, WhatsApp, Momo and Emo are nouns; but in Cameroon usage, there is a zero derivation that occurs. This zero derivation brings about the linguistic process known as *verbing*.

From the speeches of Cameroonians, one can get expressions like: I am facebooking. I like WhatsApp. I whatApp every day. My Emo is too slow, but I Emo every day. I prefer MTN momo to ORANGE momo. I momo daily through MTN. From the above descriptive explanations, it is seen that these words are used both as nouns and as verbs.

4.1.11 Clipping

Clipping is a word formation process of forming a new word by dropping a syllable or syllables from a polysyllabic word. It was also found from the data collected that this process of linguist creativity is also conspicuous in Cameroon English. This can be seen in the following words below.

Table 24: Clipping

Word/phrase	Meaning
Boko	Boko Haram
Coro	Corona
Covid	Covid-19
Specu	Speculation
Bili	Bambili
Amba	Ambazonia

From the above constructions, it is evident that the word ‘coro’ is clipped from ‘corona’, ‘boko’ from boko haram, ‘covid’ from ‘covid-19’, ‘specu’ from speculation, ‘Bili’ from Bambili and ‘amba’ from ‘ambazonia’, a fictional territory described by secessionists. These are clipped forms used and understood by Cameroon speakers of English.

4.1.12 Lexes emerging from the ongoing Anglophone crisis

With the ongoing Anglophone crisis in Cameroon, many words related to the crisis have come up to broaden the lexical landscape of the Cameroon variety of English.

Table 25: Emerging lexes from the Anglophone crisis

Word /phase	Meaning
Ambazonian-type	Related to the fictional Ambazonian territory
Amba checkpoints	Places where those of the fictional ambazonian territory perform checks
Struggle	Used to refer to the ongoing Anglophone crisis
Ambazonian independence	Claims of possible independence by those in support of the Anglophone crisis
Military-Amba	This refers to encounters between the Cameroonian military and supporters of this crisis who have taken arms against the Cameroon government
IDPs	This means internally displaced persons from as a result of the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon

4.1.13 Buzzwords

These are words or phrases, new or already existing that become very popular for a period of time. Buzzwords retain their meaning when used in a given context. The outbreak of Covid-19 has led to the emergence of buzzwords which have greatly enriched the lexical landscape of Cameroon English. These buzzwords include: quarantine, lockdown, social distancing, masks, sanitizer, Covid immunity, hydro chlorine, isolation, pandemic, covid vaccine and hand washing.

4.1.13.1 Buzzwords from the African Cup of Nations

AFCON 2021, that was played in Cameroon also expanded the linguistic landscape of Cameroon. This is evident in the stock of words and buzzwords it brought about. These words are as seen below:

Table 26: Buzzwords from the African Cup of Nations

Word/phrase	Meaning
Remontada	This refers to a bouncebackability in a football match that makes the losing team to win a match when no one expected. A good example is the match between The Indomitable Lions of Cameroon and Burkina Faso. Burkina Faso was leading 3:0, but at the end of the second half the Lions scored three goals and ended up beating Burkina Faso.
Nzolo goal	This is used by Cameroonians to mean nutmegging or scoring the ball between the legs of a goalkeeper.
Head to head play	This is a phenomenon in sports whereby two teams can be at a draw at every level and the team that dominated in the to and fro matches between the two teams is given the pride of place.
Hat-trick	It refers to a phenomenon whereby a single player scores three goals in a match
Cooling break	This is used to refer to three minutes of rest after thirty minutes of play, before the last fifteen minutes of play to get to the first half of a football encounter. Cooling breaks never existed, but only started with the outbreak of the deadly Covid1-9. This is usually observed when matches are played under scorching sun.

4.1.14 Coined expressions

Lexicology is an area of any language that is open and ready to accept new words. Since language evolves together with societies that use them, new contexts tend to give rise to new words, new meanings and new expressions. New words will appear while some old ones will disappear. Coined words or phrases in the Cameroon variety of English include the following:

Table 27: Coinages

Word/phrase	Meaning
Nkeng	It refers to a plant which is a symbol of peace in African cosmology
K (1k)	K is popularly used among Anglophone youths in Cameroon to refer to a thousand
Popular blogger	This is used to refer to someone who has gained fame on Facebook through their promotion.
Baba	This means witch doctor
Babalawo	A strong witch doctor
Mengui	A type of seasonal termites that inundates Bambili at a given period of the year
Okada riders	People who ride motorbikes as profession
Nyanga	Narcissism
Slay queen	A narcissistic and money minded lady
Odeshi	It is used to refer to some magical objects that can fortify and make one invincible, especially from a bullet
Ground Zero	Used to refer to the North West and South West Regions of Cameroon
Mbeng	Abroad
Mbengis	Someone from abroad, either from one's family or not.
Sara	A white man
Sara man	Synonymous to Sara
Doki	Fraudulent or forgery of documents
Doki man	One who transacts forged documents
Fake doki	Fraudulent documents that end up not achieving the intended objectives
Fake doki man	A fraudster who pretends to master forgery
Kayamata	A charm or magic spell used by women on men for seduction. It is said to have originated in Buea
To choko	To bribe

Word /phase	Meaning
Bushfaller	Someone who lives abroad
NASLA	National Advanced School of Local Administrators
Ex	Former lover
Ashia	Courage
Xbet	Similar to premier bet but with the appellation xbet
Roisebet	Similar to premier bet but with the appellation Roisbet
Longrich	It refers to an online business organization
Abakwa	Used as a noun and as an adjective to refer to anything or anybody from Bamenda
Hysacam	An organization in Cameroon that works with the council to keep cities clean
Marleyans	Guys who dress and behave like iconic Bob Marley
Naija	Used as an adjective to describe anything from Nigeria
Naija hit	Music or sounds from Nigeria
Slay queen	Girls who are too full of themselves and also snobbish
Swaga mama	An age woman who dresss and behaves like a young girl
Ngeme	Poverty
Area guys	Boys who do nothing but only steal in the quarters
Yeye boys	Weak, stupid and lazy boys
Ayoba	Free Internet

The diagram below encompasses words which are imitation of Standard British words but have been ‘Cameroonized’ to suit the linguistic realities of the context. Corder looks at these words to be errors from an error analytic perspective. He sees these words as deviations from the Standard English norms and takes the purists standpoint that these deviations should be corrected. Selinker (1972) in his ‘interlanguage’ argues that second language learners learn the English language when they had already acquired their native languages. Hence there is bound to be a clash between the two languages as a result of contact. Namser (1972) argues that when an L2 learner reaches what he calls ‘plateau of language learning’, he begins to produce a fossilized variety in his attempt to be more performant. The following words could be interpreted from the above perspectives.

Table 28: Restructured SBE words

Word/phrase	SBE	Meaning
Thank you (used as a noun)	Thank-you (used as a noun)	Gratitude
One by one	One after another	In a series
At all cost	At all costs	Means something must be done or avoided
Chorses	Chores	A task especially that which is a routine
To sit for	To sit in for	To represent
Roasted fish	Roast fish	Fish grilled on charcoal
Targeted population	Target population	A group of individuals under study
Secured environment	Secure environment	Safe place
Running stomach	Upset stomach	Having a diarrhea
Rubbing oil	Body lotion	A moisturizer that is applied to the body to keep it soft and smooth
Bare feeted	Barefooted	Wearing nothing on the feet
Bare feet	Barefoot	Wearing nothing on the feet
Iron sponge	Scourer	A tool used to clean cookwares
Colang	Tights	A garment that sheaths the body from the waist to the toe tips with a tight fit
Class quarter	Clerk's quarter	Sceneographic platform
No offloading here	No unloading	Not to remove the load
Long tennis	Lawn tennis	A racket sport
Delay tactics	Delaying tactics	A strategy designed to defer or postpone something
At a stone throw	At a stone's throw	Not far
Talk less	Let alone	Used to indicate that something is far less likely or suitable than something else already mentioned

4.2 Syntactic analysis

Syntax studies how words are put together to form correct grammatical structures or sentences. Words, even when they share an appropriate collocational relationship, they cannot be put together in just any order. This aspect of syntax can be referred to as syntactic relations. A sentence comprises of a single word or group of words which are structured into successive components. In a syntactic structure, we could have a subject and a predicate. Within these structures, nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs propositions and any other part of speech has where it is supposed to be placed. We observed that in the Cameroon variety of English, there is constant substitution of one word class for another. This is elaborated in the subsequent paragraphs.

4.2.1 Adjectivisation of adverbs

Basically, adjectives describe or modify nouns. From the speeches of Cameroonians, we found out that there is adjectivisation of adverbs. By adjectivisation of adverbs in the Cameroon variety of English, adjectives are placed where we are supposed to have adverbs. This adjectivisation process is evident in the following expressions:

Cameroonized forms

- He is lying helpless in the hospital without anybody to give him food.
- I cannot travel hungry.
- I did not get it clear.
- Say it clear so that we can easily understand.
- He was paid very expensive meanwhile he did not do his job well.
- You have spelled it wrong.
- I cannot go there uninvited.

Standard British English forms

- He is lying helplessly in the hospital without anybody to give him food.
- I cannot travel hungrily.
- I did not get it clearly.
- Say it clearly so that we can easily understand.
- He was paid very expensively meanwhile he did not do his job well.
- You have spelled it wrongly.
- I cannot go there uninvitedly.

In the Cameroonized structures above, it is evident that there is omission of the adverbial marker 'ly'. This unconscious omission transforms the adverbs to adjectives, given that for an adjective to become an adverb, one only needs to add 'ly'.

However, it is also evident in English that there are certain words which end with 'ly', but which are not adverbs. This includes words like lively, friendly, brotherly; fatherly, bodily, bubbly among others.

4.2.2 Adverbialisation of adjectives

An adverb is any word that can modify a verb, an adjective or another adverb. From the expressions of our respondents, we observed that there is adverbialisation of adjectives. By adverbialisation process, we mean adverbs are used where adjectives ought to be used. This is common in expressions below:

Cameroonized forms

- It is gradually and progressive.
- The government yielded to a few demands of teachers but funny enough, nothing changed.
- She took her salary, but sad enough, thieves seized her bag.
- I did my almost best, but things did not work as I thought.

Standard British English forms

- It is gradual and progressive.
- The government yielded to a few demands of teachers but funnily enough, nothing changed.
- She took her salary, but sadly enough, thieves seized her bag.
- I did my utmost best, but things did not work as I thought.

4.2.3 Adjectivisation of nouns

In the Cameroon variety of English, we observed that speakers substitute nouns for adjectives. These speakers find themselves in a dilemma where they do not know where to place either a noun or an adjective and eventually pick but adjectival forms to replace nominal forms. The following structures are a good example:

Cameroonized form

- He has gastric.
- Grandma died of gastric
- I am going to the urinary

Standard British English forms

- He has gastritis.
- Grandma died of gastritis
- I am going to the urinal

The word 'gastric' is an adjective and cannot be used as though it were a noun

4.2.4 Nominalisation of adjectives

The nominalization process is evident in structures where speaker place nouns where adjectives are supposed to be placed. Examples are evident below:

Cameroonized form

- I am feeling heat
- I intend to graduate fast so that I can go to the faculty, do my masters and register in to doctorate programme.

Standard British English Forms

- I am feeling hot
- I intend to graduate fast so that I can go to the faculty, do my masters and register in to doctoral programme.

The words 'heat' and 'doctorate' are nouns and cannot be used as adjectives. Therefore, we can only feel hot and either register into doctorate or into doctoral programme.

4.2.5 Lexical repetition

We observed that in the syntactic construction of our speakers, some identical words are repeated. This phenomenon is common in the Cameroon variety of English as opposed to the Standard British Variety of English. This phenomenon is due to lack of good mastery of adverbs or adverbial phrases to replace these identical structures with. We observed structures like:

Cameroonized forms

- We were asked to sit one one per bench.

- They are sitting two two per bench.
- Bye bye. See you next week.
- Do it gradually gradually.
- Take it one by one.

Standard British English Forms

- We were asked to sit one per bench.
- They are sitting two per bench.
- Bye! See you next week.
- Do it gradually.
- Take it one after another.

4.2.6 Subject-verb disagreement

In syntactic construction, there is supposed to be subject-verb agreement. However, with modern changes in grammatical agreements, all football teams agree with plural verbs. This is evident in Super Sport football reports, especially on Barclay Premier league. Cameroon journalists violate this notional concord rule. The following sentences better exemplifies:

Cameroonized form

- Paris Saint-Germain has offered Barcelona a chance to sign Neymar for 43.1million according to reports.
- Bayern Munich is ready to sign Sadio Mane.
- Cameroon is going to win Algeria.
- Liverpool wants to let go Sadio Mane.

Standard British English forms

- Paris Saint-Germain have offered Barcelona a chance to sign Neymar for 43.1million according to reports.
- Bayern Munich are ready to sign Sadio Mane.
- Cameroon are going to win Algeria.
- Liverpool want to let go Sadio Mane.

4.2.7 Determiner clustery

Grammatically, determiners are words used at the beginning of nouns or noun groups to indicate, for example which thing one is referring to or whether one is referring to one or several things. The Cameroon variety of English is peculiar as speakers always have the tendency of clustering determiners. Determiner clustery is visible in the structures below:

Cameroonized forms

- He gave me some few items.
- He gave us some little amount and that could not help us in any way.
- That my uncle is very wicked.

Standard British English forms

- He gave me some /few items.
- He gave us some /little amount and that could not help us in any way.
- That uncle of mine is very wicked.

4.2.8 Conjunctive juxtaposition

From the variety of English spoken in Cameroon, we observed that our speakers cluster pairs of conjunction. This common phenomenon in the speeches of our speakers is exemplified below:

Cameroonized forms

- She studied hard, still yet she failed.
- I put it my best, but yet, I still did not make it.
- You have to go to the regional delegation or yet you travel to Yaoundé.

Standard British English forms

- She studied hard, yet she failed.
- I put it my best, but/ yet, I still did not make it.
- You have to go to the regional delegation or you travel to Yaounde.

4.2.9 The echo question violation

The echo question is that which repeats part or all of what has already been said either by a speaker or their interlocutor. In SBE, the WH word in the echo question comes in sentences initial positions, and not in the middle or end. We observed that Cameroon English speakers in an attempt to sound standard, take the WH words to the end. This visible in the examples below:

Cameroonized forms

- I told him I was not going to come. What did you tell him?
- I went there. Where did you go?
- I am called Paul. What are you called?
- I bought the red car. Which did you buy?
- I am going to Yaounde. Where are you going?

Standard British English forms

- I told him I was not going to come. You told him what?
- I went there. You went where?
- I am called Paul. You are called what?
- I bought the red car. You bought which?
- I am going to Yaounde. You are going where?

Since the echo question seeks to confirm or clarify another speaker's utterance or doubt, by repeating it back in another form, the WH element violates its conventional initial position and moves to the end. The echo question is the Achilles' heels of Cameroon speakers. It is also used when we are shocked or surprised about what someone has said. Thus it can also end in exclamation mark.

4.2.10 Resumptive identicals

Speakers of the Cameroon variety of English construct sentences in which there are identical reduplicative syntactic features. By resumptive identical structures, an identical verb is replicated or repeated. Examples of these structures include the following:

Cameroonized forms

- I went there to go and see him but I was told he already left.
- I am going there to go and do my assignment.

Standard British English forms

- I went there to see him but I was told he already left.
- I am going there to do my assignment.

4.2.11 'That' clustery

Cameroon speakers produce utterances which are clustered with 'that'. This syntactic phenomenon that is rampant in the speeches of Cameroonians English speakers is exemplified subsequently:

Cameroonized forms

- That man said that he was going to come.
- That your brother that came here like that is not friendly.
- She said that that girl is very troublesome.

Standard British English forms

- That man said he was going to come.
- That your brother who came here is not friendly.
- She said that girl is very troublesome.
-

4.2.12 WH substitution

WH substitution is very common in the speeches of Cameroonian English speakers. By this phenomenon, these speakers replace the WH interrogative element with its counterpart. A good example of this substitution is evident below:

Cameroonized forms

- How do they call you?
- How do they call this?

Standard British English forms

- What do they call you?
- What do they call this?

It is observed that the Wh ‘what’, which is used to inquire about things, is substituted for its counterpart ‘how’, which is used to ask about the condition or quality of something.

4.2.13 Double possessive imposition

From the speeches of our respondents, an outstanding observable phenomenon is the imposition of double possessive elements. These speakers cluster ‘s’ which indicates possession, with another possessive element, ‘own’. This is common in the following constructions:

Cameroonized forms

- This book is Mary’s own.
- I have not seen my own results.
- Give me my own.
- My own money has not yet been sent.
- That pen is Clovis’ own.

Standard British English form

- This book is Mary’s.

- I have not seen my results.
- Give me mine.
- My money has not yet been sent.
- That pen is Clovis' own.

4.2.14 Random transpose subject concord

Transpose structures are constructed with subjects rather coming after the verbs, or with verbs coming before subjects. In these structures, the adverbial element, 'there', precedes the verb. We observed that speakers rather consider the adverbial elements in transpose structures as the subjects, thereby distorting the expected agreement. A good example include the following:

Cameroonized forms

- There has been a lot of challenges in our family this year.
- There exists different solutions that you can apply to resolve issue.

Standard British English forms

- There have been a lot of challenge in our family this year.
- There exist different solutions that you can apply to resolve issue.

4.2.15 Subjunctive distortion

Verbs in the subjunctive, take the base form. We observed that our respondents impose the 's' in verbs with singular subjects. This is exemplified below:

Cameroonized forms

- I pray God gives me the strength to withstand my numerous challenges.
- He still insists that Leticia comes early tomorrow
- I pray he really understands with me.
- I want that she travels tomorrow.

Standard British English forms

- I pray God give me the strength to withstand my numerous challenges.
- He still insists that Leticia come early tomorrow
- I pray he really understand with me.
- I want that she travel tomorrow.

The imposition of 's' to agree with singular subjects in the understudied variety of English is as a result of overgeneralization of rules. Our speakers would not see that a modal element is omitted, but implied.

4.2.16 Reflexive elision

In the constructions of Cameroon speakers, it is observed that speakers delete the reflexive marker, 'self' from positions in which there are obligatory. The examples below better illustrate.

Cameroonized forms

- They did not come for reasons best known to them.
- He absented from the meeting
- She refused to comply for a reason best known to her
- After persistent rejection from his family, he insisted on marrying the girl for reasons known to him.

Standard British English forms

- They did not come for reasons best known to themselves.
- He absented himself from the meeting
- She refused to comply for a reason best known to herself
- After persistent rejection from his family, he insisted on marrying the girl for reasons known to himself.

4.2.17 Miscellaneous syntactic structures

The use of double negation is also eminent in the speeches of Cameroon speakers. This is observable in structures such as: let nothing not disrupt my plans. They use this construction to mean 'let nothing disrupt my plans'.

There is also a distant distortion of the noun-pronoun replacement. Most at times, these speakers forget to replace accurate pronouns with accurate nouns when the pronoun is distant to the noun in syntactic construction. For example: even if we have issues, do not extend it to my family. The noun 'issues', is supposed to be replaced with 'them' as pronoun, and not 'it'. In British standard form, we will have the structure: if we have issues, do not extend them to my family.

4.3 Discussion of findings

From the descriptive analysis above, the findings of this research show that lexico-syntactic items were innovated in the Cameroon variety of English. It can, therefore, be said that CamE is a New English, like other New Englishes worldwide, as lexico-syntactic innovations are concerned. From the analysis, it is also evident that French has also had a great influence in the lexicon of the Cameroonian variety of English. This was observed in TV broadcasts where French-speaking Cameroonians often transferred some French words to English to fill gaps and avoid breaks in communication. It was also found that English-speaking journalists often used French in situations where a given reality lacks English equivalents or owes its origin in the French language.

Working on the desire to know what the processes of CamE lexico-syntactic innovations are, we considered the following; what are the different processes of word formation in CamE and how do these processes apply to these innovations? We also considered the different processes of word formation and an outline of some words that fall under these processes. We were also faced with the issue of finding out if there are processes of word formation which are peculiar in the creation of words in CamE alone.

With this in mind, we had the following opinion that CamE owes a great deal of its lexical innovations to other established languages that surround it, given that, it has to co-habit in the same area with many other local languages and linguistic realities and so has been in contact with these languages paving the way for linguistic interferences. Also because language is universal and the distinction to it is the people using it, CamE has to look up to these languages so as to build up itself. As such, applying processes of word formation to itself, CamE has greatly enriched its vocabulary so as to provide a variety of lexico-syntactic features for its users. Nevertheless, to better describe the functioning of these processes, words were needed for illustration.

Chapter summary

After presentation and analysis of the data collected, it was found out that lexico-syntactic usage in Cameroon English has different features from those of the Standard British English. The most salient differences occur when French words are used as English words and ethnic languages and CPE creep into English. Compounds and coined expressions are equally

very remarkable. This explains why these loans or innovations are predictable because when users are faced with a situation in which they do not know what to do, the only thing they have to do is to borrow from somewhere or create their own words or expressions to fill the gaps and avoid breaks in communication. The features described in this study resemble those described in other studies in the sense that most of the patterns of innovations are the same, for example, borrowing, compounding, shift in meaning, confusion in words, restructuring idioms and many more. It is, therefore, clear now that the movement is toward the crystallization of a typical Cameroonian variety of English.

CONCLUSION

This research project was built on the hypothesis that the English spoken in Cameroon encompasses some aspects of lexical-syntactic features which differ from those of the Standard British English. English is a second language to Cameroonians learned when they had acquired their native languages. Since Cameroon has diverse socio-cultural and ethnic realities, her English is thus different to SBE as a result of her realities.

Even though spoken by more than a cross section of the population, CamE is still not considered a standard variety of English and has not yet been considered a national language in Cameroon. Therefore, for CamE to establish itself as a language worthy of the status of a national language, many areas of the language such as the syntactic, morphological, semantic, phonological and lexical levels have to be well developed, codified and standardized. This will enable the language to compete with other varieties that are standardized, and accepted in academy in their different nations. These developments at all the levels of linguistic provide a full fledged language and also provide the language with some level of prestige it has been questing for both in the national and the international levels.

This work had a focus to study two pertinent areas in English which are lexicology and syntax. This is to help us understand how words and structures can be created in this language so as to enrich the vocabulary and provide a variety for its users. Also the study of CamE word formation processes have given us an insight on how units are coined together to provide words for this language.

Implications of the research findings

Broadcasts of an impromptu nature and particularly those involving the participation of the public directly or through written announcements tend to contain more cases of interference, borrowing and coinage as well as programs involving scripted materials prepared and edited well in advance. The language of such programmes tends to be representative samples of English used in Cameroon. Therefore, the Cameroonized variety of English that this study has coined it as ‘Cameroonized’ variety, is an independent language, especially at the lexical and syntactic levels.

The theory that was found accurate for a descriptive study of this nature is Interlanguage. Selinker (1972) in relation to Interlanguage, talks of the permeability of learners grammar. This means that the learning of second language is prone to influence by other languages. Selinker's view is glaring in the linguistic context of Cameroon, as Cameroon English is influenced by other languages in its linguistic environment such as local languages, as seen in the descriptive analysis in chapter four. Selinker's theory of Interlanguage suits our descriptive analysis in this study.

Future prospects of English language in Cameroon

The English language in Cameroon (CamE) is bound to survive despite the serious obstacles it faces because of the ever-increasing researches researchers are carrying out on the language. Away from the corpus project initiated by Prof. Tiomajou in the 1990s on this variety of English, this research and others are a clear fact that this variety of English spoken in Cameroon is bound to blossom. The presence to the west of Cameroon, the giant Nigeria, with its similar linguistic features to those of Cameroon, the increasing interest shown in the language by the Francophones and the opening of Anglo-Saxon universities in Buea and Bamenda make it clear that the language is bound to survive in Cameroon.

Challenges encountered during the research

It will not be realistic to say that this research project went smoothly without encountering challenges.

The first challenge faced by this project came from the Covid-19 pandemic. Because of this global health hazard, we could not go visiting a great number of professors to solicit information from them as was earlier planned. This was an attempt to respect the preventive Covid-19 measure of social distancing. Besides, these professors were unwilling to grant us audience of consultancy for their safety. So, we finally succeeded in visiting only a few number of them who gave us access.

Another challenge was the fact that we are working on lexicology and syntax, levels of linguistic analysis which are very painstaking. Worst is syntax, which is a level of linguistic analysis that most young English language scholars in Cameroon do not want to have any contact with. We had to read extensively buying articles on syntax online to broaden our knowledge.

We also encountered financial challenges, which could not permit us to accomplish certain tasks on time. Given that I work in the North Region of Cameroon, traveling constantly to meet my supervisor was retarded at times by financial constraints.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, a few recommendations are made to improve the attitude of Cameroonians towards the Standard British English. These recommendations are addressed to teachers and to social media stakeholders. Teachers in Cameroon should master and teach students SBE, starting from kindergartens. This will lay a good base for the mastery of the English language. Given that media structures tend to affect large structures of the society, thereby influencing public opinions, the SBE in the media has to be given particular attention.

Suggestion for further research

For CamE to get to that level where it seeks to place itself and be considered a language worthy of the name and be able to serve its purpose, there is a need for it to be improved upon. Even though a great deal has already been done on CamE, seen from the works of authors some of which are earlier mentioned in this work, there is still much left to be done. This ranges from the sound sets to the vocabulary, grammatical structures and sentence construction. Intense study still needs to be carried out so as to come out with a good and precise CamE.

We suggest that for further research, more attention needs to be paid to other levels of linguistic analysis like morphology, phonology, semantics and pragmatics. All these will go a long way to perfect the language and ease its standardization to meet up with other standards varieties of English such as Nigeria English, Ghanaian English and Singaporean English.

A lot of research should be carried out on other levels of linguistic analysis in Cameroon, which will study English based more on context. This is because the development of these levels of linguistic analysis will ease the codification and standardization of Cameroon English, which would be taught in schools. Concrete and realistic corpus projects should be developed in CamE which will serve as the basis for comparative studies between Cameroon English and other varieties of English.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Transcribed new Lexico-syntactic structures from *The Guardian Post Newspapers*, CRTV newscasts and 2nd Cycle Final Year Second Cycle Students of the Department of English Modern Letters of HTTC in the University of Bamenda. The emboldened words/expressions are the new forms. The material was obtained through participant observation.

It is good to prepare well for your exams and avoid **specu** because **specu** can bounce.

As Christmas is approaching, very soon you will begin to see bushfallers everywhere.

Bili is a bit quiet these days.

NASLA has been launched.

It was an excellent **remontada** that Cameroon **won** Burkina Faso when we least expected.

You have to be very careful in this Bamenda, else they will **remove you from game**.

You have to **climb up**.

If you want transfer or redeployment, you will have to make your **doki**.

Transfers in MINESEC are purely **doki**.

If you want a good line,, look for a clear **doki man**.

You met a **fake doki**; that's why it didn't work.

He is a **fake doki man**

You received **momokash** loan worth 5k

Let nothing **not** disturb my plans.

My dear look at how you are shining. Your **njangsa** is really **giving**.

We need **njangsa** for this sauce to taste well.

We sat there and we were just **wining** time

Some few people didn't do it.

There are **some little** mistakes that we make that can mar many things.

That **my brother** who came here yesterday is very stingy. He can't even give somebody something.

There are **some certain** things that we should avoid.

If it does not work, you send **but that** other one.

When do you intend to go and pay her **dowry**?

On what **premises** are your arguments based?

When there is an offside position, the **liesman** raises his flag.

Examiners are still waiting for their **outstation allowance** to be paid.

You have to be careful with your husband because there are many girls out there with **Kayamata**.

There are women who **can talk**.

That match **will play** so the Indomitable Lions have to prepare well.

You have **hammered** my dear. You really have to be grateful to God.

There is **come- we- stay** now everywhere. In the past, it was rare.

She likes **burning fish / roasted** fish a lot

Women love **tying their face** when you do not give them enough money.

Run **fast fast** and meet her.

Sit **two two** per bench.

Just saw **my own** results.

Give me **my own**.

My own money hasn't yet been sent.

If you are **d' accord** with it, fine.

He was a **famous** robber in the town: notorious.

Please for your **Solo tape**.

He has been **chatting** me; I don't like him.

I just went to **see him off**, but was held somewhere for a drink.

I am really **stressed up** these days. I had a lot of things to do

I pray she **comes** early.

I said it to the whole class. I don't know why she took it **personal**

You have to concentrate and take your studies **serious**.

There **exists** different problems.

Even if we have issues, do not extend **it** to my family.

Let's continue to search and pray that God **gives** us the best.

He has gastric.

Gastric almost killed me yesterday.

You are really ready for the day. You look well **packaged**.

It not easy in this country now. You must **choko**, else you will never succeed.

She is **at** the hospital. She is not feeling fine.

He lives just a **stone throw** from my place.

She didn't come for reasons best known to **her**.

We are going out for **njoka** this weekend.

He has been president of National Assembly for **donkey** years.

She went for **antinatal**, that's why she could not come to school.

He is a good teacher. He really **impacted** knowledge to us.

He has been **crushing** on me, but I do not even like him.

Most sugar **daddies** give preference to their **side chicks** than to their wives.

I think this guy only wants to be playing pranks with me. He is seemingly **not legit**.

Very soon **bushfallers** will be landing in airports.

He never wants to see **skirt** passing.

Students spend time **facebooking** and **whatsapping** instead of reading.

One has to be careful of **yahoo yahoos** out there. They are very fraudulent.

Coro is too deadly; we have to be very careful and constantly put on our **facemasks**.

I enjoy playing **long tennis**.

APPENDIX 2

N° 2586 Yaoundé, Tchad - July 16, 2023 First Published in 2003 Price: 400 FCFA Tel: 222 314 963 475 969 247; Business Bureau: 475 949 176; House Bureau: 475 349 262



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The Guardian Post

DAILY

Cherished by many, haunted by some, read by them all

Douala: Traders weep as 360 shops demolished

Over 300 shops, belonging to traders of the "Grand de New-Bell" Market in the Douala II subdivision, have been demolished by bulldozers from the Douala II council.

The demolition exercise took place in the early hours of Thursday July 13.

Board rejects CRTV GM's proposed appointments!

- Cites non-respect of regional balance, tribalism, favouritism...
- Anxiety as Charles Ndongo yet to implement directives, one week after stormy board meeting

By **Miss Patrick Mughe**

There is a consensus, with the appointment of new officials into the Operational

Departments and affiliated machinery of the Cameroonian Radio Television CRTV.

Though a board meeting which usually sanctions the appointment

of senior officials of the state-run broadcaster, took place last week, the presidential decree making it yet to emerge.

Some executives of the state broad-

caster were also expected to have been publicly announced following last Friday's board meeting but it had been less so.

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Minister Jean Assaane, CRTV Board Chair



Charles Ndongo, CRTV General Manager

Personality of The Week: Aka Martin Tyoga, MP for Akwaya



Drama at Amba 'checkpoint' in Kumba: Dare-devil soldier killed in attempt to capture Amba fighters with bare hands

By **Njanguang Godwin**

A soldier attached to the 21st Support Battalion in Kumba, Mfeme division of the respective South West region, has

been shot dead by separatist fighters. Adamou Ali is reported to have been gunned down July 6, 2022, at an Amba 'checkpoint' of Kulu II, in Kumba I subdivision. © [www.eneo.com](#)

Amnesty Int'l pressures Yaounde to halt threats against rights defenders

17 21 27 Emerald, Wednesday May 26, 2021 Price Published in 2021 P100 400 50 500 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000 1100 1200 1300 1400 1500 1600 1700 1800 1900 2000 2100 2200 2300 2400 2500 2600 2700 2800 2900 3000 3100 3200 3300 3400 3500 3600 3700 3800 3900 4000 4100 4200 4300 4400 4500 4600 4700 4800 4900 5000

The Guardian Post
DAILY
Cherished by many, haunted by some, read by them all

Esther Omam dedicates peace award to Anglophone crisis victims

Cameroon's first Anglophone PM, Achidi Achu, dies!

- Achidi Achu & his 'scrutch my back, I scratch ya back' political philosophy
- How his appointment in 1992 calmed tempers in NW, SW
- The star who demystified The Star Building
- Why Achidi Achu was called The Old Fox
- Veritable Statesman, committed CPDM supporter
- GCE Board: Achidi Achu's indelible gift to Anglo-Saxon education
- Achidi Achu the farmer, father to the fatherless, philanthropist...



Simon Achidi Achu: 1934-2021

The Guardian Post

DAZZY

Classified by many, ignored by some, read by them all

Four people burnt to death in Limbe car crash

Four people were burnt to death in a car crash in Limbe on Monday. The accident occurred on the road between Limbe and Kribia. The car was carrying a family of four. The driver was killed, and the other three passengers, including a child, were also killed. The car was completely destroyed. The police are investigating the cause of the crash.

End time signal for Biya regime?

Anti-Biya Diaspora movements plan **Ambazonia-type** interim gov't

● Fears heighten if this comes to fruition, they may team up with Ambazonia Diaspora leaders to fight Biya regime

B... movements are planning to set up an interim government in Ambazonia. This move is seen as a challenge to the Biya regime. The diaspora groups are calling for a referendum in the region. They are also demanding the release of political prisoners. The Biya regime has been accused of human rights abuses in the region.



Former minister warns tribalism threat to Cameroon's stability

A former minister has warned that tribalism is a major threat to Cameroon's stability. He said that tribalism is causing divisions in the country and is leading to violence. He called for a more united and inclusive government. He said that tribalism is a relic of the past and should be abandoned.

SDO dangles sword over absentee teachers

The State Director of Education (SDE) has warned that the State Director of Office (SDO) will take action against absentee teachers. He said that absenteeism is a major problem in the education sector. He said that the SDO will be monitoring teachers' attendance and will take disciplinary action against those who are absent without valid reasons.

English language newspaper publishers' anti-COVID-19 kits get to newsrooms

The publishers of English language newspapers in Cameroon have received anti-COVID-19 kits. The kits include masks, hand sanitizers, and other protective equipment. The publishers are providing the kits to their newsrooms to ensure the safety of their staff. This is a positive step towards preventing the spread of the virus in the newsrooms.

N° 2348 Vendredi, Friday August 19, 2011 First Published in 1991 Price: 400 FCFA Tel: 222 234 961 475 967 241, Bamenda Bureau 477 468 756, Yaoundé Bureau 479 200 902

The Guardian Post

DAILY

Cherished by many, haunted by some, read by them all

**The Guardian Post USA
Bureau goes operational!**

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+1 (240) 467-1144



Gov't dangles terrorism charges over arrested Anglophone activist, Abdul Karim

By Doh Bertrand Nwa
International rights organization, Human Rights Watch (HRW), has, in a report, called on Yaoundé to respect the rights of detained Bamenda-based

Anglophone activist, Abdul Karim Ali. According to the organisation, government is dangling terrorism charges over him.
The report was published August 16 by Senior Counsel African Researcher at HRW, Daria

Allagoun.
HRW stated that the activist was arrested August 11 by soldiers in the Nkamouny neighbourhood in Bamenda, in the north-west North West region and taken to a local gendarmerie station.

The rights organisation said Abdul Karim was held incommunicado and denied access to his family members till August 13 when he was allowed to see his wife following "intense pressure from his lawyers".



Anglophone peace activist, Abdul Karim Ali Cameroon records 15,000 HIV infections yearly – Health Minister

By Macwalter Njupeth Refor
It has been revealed that Cameroon records about 15,000 infections of HIV cases on a yearly basis.
The disclosure was made during the

launch of a campaign to raise awareness and reduce the prevalence of HIV/AIDS, especially among youth during summer vacations. The campaign is dubbed "Holiday without AIDS".

ANAFOR seeks FEICOM's support to enhance forest reserves preservation

Personality Of The week: Joseph Beti Assomo, Defence Minister



Military, Amba clash reportedly leaves three dead, several injured

By Fon Mafon Karis
At least three persons are feared dead and several others injured following a reported clash between soldiers and gunmen, believed to be Ambassa separatist fighters. The sad incident took place in Akwaya Subdivision in the remote South West region.



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The Guardian Post

SUNDAY

Cherished by many, haunted by some, read by them all



Warning signs of kidney disease

Douala:

Woman collapses after discovering husband took 25 MFCFA from her to give side chick!

• While going through husband's phone as he was deep asleep, she also uncovered he gave a total of 40 million FCFA to the said side chick & is also having an affair with at least 12 other women

Pogba flies barber from UK to Italy for haircut



Pogba having haircut in Italy



Man divorces 96-yr-old wife after discovering she cheated on him 60 years ago

Woman wins cheating gold medal

This World, This Life

Mbalmayo:

Couple, others poisoned at wedding reception

Pastor sentenced to death for killing seven-year-old for ritual

Former Real Madrid star turns to fishing after retirement

Mbouda:

Mother poisons son's lover, one-month-old child