INFLUENCE OF CAMEROON PIDGIN ENGLISH ON THE LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE[1]

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Introduction

Cameroon is a Central African country where 247 indigenous languages coexist side by side with two official languages (English and French), and a lingua franca (Cameroon Pidgin English). Linguistic borrowing, interference, code switching, loan translation, and other manifestations of language contact characterize this particularly dense multilingual situation. In fact, the languages mutually exert some influence on one another. Such influence may be from the official languages to the indigenous languages (Bitja'a Kody, 1998), from the indigenous languages to the official languages (Echu, 1999; Kouega, 1998; Zang Zang, 1998), from the indigenous languages to Cameroon Pidgin English (Menang, 1979), from the official languages to Cameroon Pidgin English (Schneider, 1966; Mbassi Manga, 1973), from Cameroon Pidgin English to the official languages (Kouega, 1998), from Cameroon Pidgin English to indigenous languages or from one official language to the other (Mbangwana, 1999; Kouega, 1999).

This paper focuses on the influence of Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE) on the linguistic and cultural development of the French language. Various studies carried out on the French language in Cameroon reveal the presence of CPE loans not only in spoken French but also in local Cameroonian newspapers, and literary works. The rapid expansion of CPE as a lingua franca in Cameroon undoubtedly has an important role to play in this process, given the gradual appropriation of this language by Francophone Cameroonians.

The study is divided into four main parts. The first part surveys the language situation in Cameroon, shedding light on the multilingual nature of the country as well as on the place of French and CPE. The second part is a presentation of the methodology and corpus used for the work, while the third part focuses on the lexical influence of CPE loans on French. Finally, the fourth part probes into the semantic and cultural value of CPE loans.

1. Overview of Language Situation

1.1. Multilingualism in Cameroon

Cameroon is a multilingual country comprising 247 indigenous languages, two official languages and Cameroon Pidgin English (see Breton and Fohtung, 1991; Boum Ndongo-Semengue and Sadembouo, 1999). Although *Ethnologue* (2002) puts the number of indigenous languages for Cameroon at 279, these figures are challenged by scholars such as Wolf (2001) for not being an accurate reflection of the current language situation, more so since dialects of the same language are sometimes considered as different languages. Of the four major language families of Africa, three are represented in Cameroon. They are the Afro-Asiatic, the Nilo-Saharan and the Niger-Congo. Languages belonging to the Afro-Asiatic and Nilo-Saharan families are

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spoken in the north of the country. Niger-Congo languages, which are the most highly represented in Cameroon, are spoken in the southern region.

The languages of wider communication are Fulfulde, Ewondo, Basaa, Duala, Hausa, Wandala, Kanuri, Arabe Choa, CPE (Breton and Fohtung, 1991: 20) and French. In all, three lingua franca zones can be distinguished in Cameroon: the Fulfulde lingua franca zone, the Pidgin English lingua franca zone and the French lingua franca zone (Wolf, 2001:155). Such a division should not be taken to be rigid, given the overlap observable in terms of language use. The Fulfulde lingua franca zone covers the Adamawa, the North and the Far North provinces of Cameroon where it served as the language of Islam as far back as the 17th century. CPE is widely used not only in the North-West and South-West provinces (Anglophone provinces), but also in the Littoral and West provinces. As for French, its role as a language of wider communication is traced to the post-independence period, following the gradual but massive acquisition of this language by Cameroonians of all walks of life. Thus apart from the three northern provinces (where Fulfulde thrives as a lingua franca) and the two Anglophone provinces (where Pidgin English is the *de facto* lingua franca), French plays this role in the rest of the other five Francophone provinces[2].

The two official languages, English and French, came into the Cameroon linguistic scene in 1916 when Britain and France divided Cameroon into two unequal parts after defeating Germany in Cameroon during the First World War. The new colonial masters then sought to impose their languages in the newly acquired territory, both in the areas of education and administration. This led to the solid implantation of the two languages between 1916 and 1960, a situation that was reinforced after Cameroon became independent. At Reunification in 1961, English and French became the two official languages of Cameroon as the country opted for the policy of official language bilingualism.

1.2. The French Language in Cameroon

Although an official language since 1960 when the country became independent, the presence of French in Cameroon can be traced as far back as 1916 when France became one of the administering authorities of the country. The French who obtained four-fifths of the country, administered it as an independent territory, while the British annexed their share to neighboring Nigeria.

In the new French territory referred to as 'French Cameroon' French was not only taught in schools but was also used for administration throughout the colonial period. Language policy during the French colonial period favored the development of the French language in every respect. Thus while French was promoted at school, indigenous languages were banned from the school system (see Stumpf, 1979; Bitja'a Kody, 1999). At independence, French was logically adopted as the official language of the country, not only because the linguistic diversity of the country did not permit the emergence of an indigenous language likely to play the role of official language but also for reasons of national unity. French thus became the language of education, administration, politics, culture, the media, etc, and consequently the language of communication for an important component of the population. Couvert (1983: 31) sums up the historical evolution of the French language in Cameroon in the following manner: a) 1919-1944 – French becomes progressively the language of administration and of communication between the French colonialist and Cameroonians in such

[2] It is important to note that Cameroon is divided into ten administrative units known as 'provinces'. Eight of them are French-speaking (Far-North, North, Adamawa, Center, South, East, West, and Littoral) while two are English-speaking (South-West and North-West).

situations as the administration, the army and master/servant relationships, b) 1944-1961 – French is both the official and vehicular language in urban centers, c) 1961-1972 – French is one of the two official languages in Cameroon (the other one being English) but it is mostly used in East Cameroon, d) 1972-1982 – reinforcement of the position of the French language within the framework of the policy of official language bilingualism.

Renaud (1976: 23) distinguishes four main varieties of French spoken in Cameroon: *dialectes régionaux et de "quartier"* (regional dialects), *français commun* (ordinary French), *argots* (slang) *and français langue étrangère* (French as a foreign language). According to him, regional dialects are spoken by illiterates and school dropouts, while ordinary French is spoken by those who have limited educational background – usually incomplete secondary education. In view of the present day evolution of the language, these varieties are rather difficult to distinguish. In reality, one may talk of Standard Cameroonian French (SCF) used in formal situations such as the school context, newspapers, radio, television, administrative offices, etc, and Cameroon Popular French (CPF) which is used mostly for informal everyday communication by illiterates and semi-illiterates alike. Both varieties of French borrow lexical items not only from CPE but also from Cameroon English and the indigenous languages.

The French language in Cameroon fulfils at least six different functions: official language, second language, mother tongue, vehicular language, school language and foreign language (Onguene Essono, 1999: 287). Although Onguene Essono attributes such a wide spectrum of functions to French, these functions can basically be subsumed into three: official language, language of wider communication and mother tongue. As an official language, the French language dominates the educational system and administration. Demographically 80% of Cameroon is French-speaking. As the main language of instruction, an overwhelming majority of schools in Cameroon use French as the medium of instruction. French dominations is equally felt at the level of administration where both oral and written communication is almost exclusively carried out in French, the language of the majority. Thus, given its geographical spread, French is used in all spheres of life, be they formal or informal. Findings obtained from a linguistic survey carried out between 1977 and 1978 indicate that 87% of children interviewed in the Francophone provinces speak French (cf. Koenig et al., 1983: 94-95). If such a high percentage was recorded more than 20 years ago, there is no doubt that the situation has witnessed some positive evolution, given the growing literacy rate in Cameroon in particular and the Sub-Saharan African region in general.

As an official language of the country, French is acquired primarily within the formal school environment, a fact supported by the literacy rate of the country that stands at 65% and the school attendance rate that stands at 70% (cf. Chumbow & Simo Bobda, 2000: 46). These figures indicate that a good number of Cameroonians can read and write French and/or English. Several Francophone Cameroonians who live in urban centers can also speak French acquired mainly in informal situations. Thus, in the absence of a lingua franca that ensures nationwide communication, the French language functions as a language of wider communication in towns and cities of the Francophone part of the country[3]. As the dominant official language and one of

[3] As a lingua franca, French is mainly used in the Centre, South, East, West and Littoral provinces generally among speakers of different ethno-linguistic origins. This does not imply that it is not used in other parts of the country in the same capacity. Although Fulfulde is the dominant lingua franca in the

the most widely spoken languages in the country, the French language not only exerts varying degrees of influence on the other languages but is also open to influence from these languages, among them CPE.

1.3. Evolution of CPE

What scholars today generally refer to as CPE has been variously termed "Cameroon Creole" (Schneider, 1960), "Wes-Kos" (Schneider, 1963), "West African Pidgin English" (Schneider, 1967), "Cameroon Pidgin (CamP)" (Todd, 1982), and "Kamtok" (Ngome, 1986). Other non-scholarly appellations such as "bush English" , "bad English" and "broken English" have equally been used to describe this language. The latter appellations have been based on the widespread belief that Pidgin English, be it of the Cameroonian variety or other existing varieties such as Nigerian Pidgin English and Ghanaian Pidgin English, is a simplified form of English used mostly by non-educated people in some of the former British colonies of West Africa. The name "Cameroon Pidgin English" (Féral, 1978; Menang, 1979) has so far gained a lot of popularity at the level of scholarship and consequently most linguists carrying out research on Cameroon today have adopted it. The adoption of this terminology makes it relatively easier to define this language as the Pidgin English used in Cameroon, as opposed to varieties used in other countries.

The birth of CPE is often traced as far back as the 18th century when English traders and missionaries set foot on the coast of West Africa. Pidgin English developed to guarantee effective communication in the area of trade and evangelization. After the abolition of slave trade at the beginning of the 19th century, this language continued to expand all over the coastal region. It was used by some of the newly freed slaves who settled in Fernando Po, Liberia and Sierra Leone, and later moved to the Cameroonian coastal town of Victoria where they worked for the Cameroon Development Corporation (an agro-industrial complex created by the Germans in July 1884). The numerous road and railway construction projects where the colonialists practiced forced labor also served as a fertile ground for the growth and development of CPE. Given that these work sites brought together people from diversified ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, Pidgin English was the only language that could facilitate communication. Consequently, throughout the German colonial period in Cameroon (1884-1916), Pidgin English continued to be widely used.

Following the Franco-British occupation of Cameroon as of 1916, CPE witnessed a new period of its history. In British Cameroon, where it was mainly spoken, English and the indigenous languages enriched its vocabulary. Then with the birth of the Federal Republic of Cameroon on October 1, 1961, CPE further experienced French influence, as well as influence from the local languages of French-speaking Cameroon. Thus in the mid sixties, 85% of CPE terms came from English, 13% from indigenous languages and 2% from other languages, including French and Portuguese (Schneider, 1966: 5). By the early seventies, this situation had changed significantly: 80% of CPE lexicon was English-based, 14% came from indigenous languages, 5% from French and 1% from other languages (Mbassi Manga, 1973). Such a drastic change can be attributed to the political evolution of the country, since Cameroon moved from a federation to a unitary state in which both Anglophones and Francophones henceforth had freedom of movement. Presently, CPE is no longer perceived exclusively as a lingua franca of the Anglophone

three northern provinces and Pidgin English in the two Anglophone provinces, French is still used in these areas by a minority of the population.

population, but as a language with a possible national dimension given that its influence is felt in several major towns of the eight Francophone provinces where it is also spoken (Féral, 1980: 46). In urban as well as rural areas, CPE is used in churches, in market places, in motor parks, in railway stations, in the street, as well as in other informal situations. In fact, this 'no man's language' continues to be very present in the daily socioeconomic lives of the people, serving as a bridge between Cameroonians of various walks of life. Although *Ethnologue* (2002) estimates its speakers at 2 million people, the number is quite conservative when one takes into consideration the numerous potential Francophone speakers and immigrants of Nigerian and Ghaniain origin scattered all over the national territory.

Like French, CPE is one of the most widely used languages of wider communication in Cameroon. During the colonial period, it enabled European colonizers to interact with the indigenous population and facilitated communication among people from various ethnic groups in social, economic, and religious contexts. Today, it remains the language of daily interaction in informal situations and one of the preferred languages of popular music. It is used in humorous situations and for making jokes. It is equally used to express certain taboos, for instance when discussing love and sex in public.

As far as the varieties of CPE are concerned, Féral (1980: 5) is of the opinion that there are two main varieties: one spoken by Anglophones and the other spoken by Francophones. Todd (1982) is, however, not of the same opinion. She distinguishes five varieties of CPE: Bamenda CamP, Bororo CamP, Coastal CamP, Francophone CamP and Liturgical CamP. Our opinion is that there are four distinct varieties of CPE: the Grassland variety spoken in the North-West province, the Bororo variety spoken by the Bororo, the Coastal variety spoken in the South-West province and the Francophone variety spoken by Francophones. What Todd considers as the Liturgical variety is, in our opinion, nothing other than a register peculiar to the religious context.

2. Methodology and Presentation of Corpus

In carrying out this study, we collected a list of sixty (60) recurrent lexical items from CPE observed in French usage in Cameroon. In other words, the corpus retained is made up of CPE words that one hears often in CPF, reads in Cameroon newspapers in French such as *Le Messager Popoli, L'Expression de Mamy Wata* and *Patrimoine* and comes across in Cameroon popular music or in Cameroon literature in French. Their various contexts of usage (whether oral or written) were analyzed. Then, we investigated the extent of their usage in French by consulting French dictionaries, glossaries and encyclopedia so as to verify the degree to which the French language has absorbed the lexical items in question. Furthermore, we examined the semantic and cultural influence of the CPE loans studied on the target language.

In constituting our corpus, some existing lexical inventories were quite instrumental to the study. This is the case of the *Inventaire des particularités lexicales du français du Cameroun* (Inventory of Lexical Peculiarities of Cameroon French), otherwise known as IFA, published by Gervais Mendo Ze, Jean Tabi Manga and Rachel Efoua-Zengue in 1979, which is the first documented inventory of lexical peculiarities of the French language in Cameroon (cf. Mendo Ze et al., 1979). This inventory contains 22 CPE loans. Later inventories such as the IFA inventory of 1983 contain 27 CPE loans, while the IFA inventory of 1988 contains 28. Our participation,

since 1998, in the IFACAM II (Inventaire des Particularités Lexicales du français en Afrique - Cameroun) project, which focuses on the preparation of an inventory of lexical peculiarities of the French language in Cameroon, has been quite instrumental in the constitution of the present corpus. In carrying out this exercise, we did however encounter some difficulties, such as determining in certain cases which loans are of CPE origin and which are of indigenous language origin. In fact, given that some indigenous language terms get into the French language via CPE (e.g. *njoh*, *mbout*, *nyanga*), it was not easy deciding where to classify them. However, considering the fact that this category of words came to be known and widely used in Cameroon through CPE, it was therefore agreed that they could effectively be considered as CPE loans. In other cases, certain lexical items are used across several indigenous languages, as well as in CPE, such that issues relating to their origins become not only uncertain but also problematic. Once more, our guiding principle here for considering them as CPE loans is that they came to be widely known to the public and borrowed by French through CPE. In a few cases, we were unable to trace the origin of certain lexical items. However, given that research in this area is still in its embryonic stage, issues relating to the origin of such loans will certainly be clarified with time.

The lexical items presented below constitute the corpus for this study.

Africa gin: (other indigenous names are *arki*, *fofo* and *odontol*) from the English compound noun 'African gin'. Locally brewed alcoholic drink made from fermented corn, cassava or palm wine. This term was widely used during the French colonial period in Cameroon, especially after the Second World War. Today, it is more and more replaced by loans from Cameroonian languages such as *fofo* and *odontol*. Source of loan: novel by Oyono (1956a: 20).

arata: (other appellations are *aratha, arata die* or *arata tchop die*) from the English word 'rat'. Name given to poison used to kill rats that infest households. This product, which probably comes from neighboring Nigeria, was first seen in the local markets in the early 1990s. Thus the loan was first noticed in the French language during this period. Source of loan: Cameroonian newspaper in French *Le Messager Popoli*, N° 555 of 22 Feb. 2001, p. 4.

assia: interjection used to express compassion; courage. This loan is generally used in CPF and its usage can be traced as far back as the late 1970s. Source of loan: Cameroonian newspaper in French Le *Messager Popoli*, N° 569 of 12 Apr. 2001, p. 3.

bad luck: (also called *balok* or *barlok*) bad luck or ill luck. This loan is commonly used as an interjection expressing astonishment or surprise in daily communication, and its usage in CPF can be traced back to the 1970s. Source of loan: novel by Beyala (1987: 15).

bayam sellam: (also written *bayam-sellam*) from the English verbs 'to buy' and 'to sell'. Noun used to refer to a market woman who buys foodstuff in rural areas and retails it in the cities. This loan entered CPF in the 1980s when the role of female foodstuff retailers became increasingly important in the economy. In the 1990s, its usage spread from CPF to SCF as leading politicians and statesmen used it in their discourse in the absence of a more appropriate Standard French equivalent. Source of loan: novel by Beyala (1998: 21) and Cameroonian newspaper in French *L'Expression de Mamy Wata* , N° 167 of 4 Jan. 2001, p. 11)

benam: (synonym is *bend skin*) from the English verb 'to bend'. Motorcycle used as a means of passenger transport in urban areas. This lexical item entered CPF

current usage in the early 1990s when the economic crisis intensified in Cameroon following a major political crisis in the country in 1992. The motorcycle became a major means of transport in urban areas like Douala when traditional means of transport such as the yellow cab were forced by the radical opposition political parties to go on strike. Source of loan: generally used in daily oral communication.

bend skin: from the English words 'bend' and 'skin'. Signifies: a) a type of music and dance from the Bamileke region; b) motorcycle used as a means of passenger transport in urban areas. This lexical item first entered CPF through the domain of music and dance in the early 1990s, where it signified a new type of music from the Bamileke region in the West province that was danced by bending one's chest forward while allowing the buttocks to protrude behind. This posture of the dancer was soon likened to that of the passenger who sat on a motorcycle with his/her chest forward and buttocks backwards, whence the name *bend skin* given to motorcycles used as a means of passenger transport in urban areas. Source: oral usage where it refers to a particular type of music or dance, or a motorcycle used for commercial purposes.

ben-skinneur: from the English words 'bend' and 'skin'. This name is given to the driver of a motorcycle used as a means of passenger transport in urban areas. The term is used especially in CPF by young urban dwellers, and can be traced back to the late 1990s. Source of loan: Cameroonian newspaper in French *L'Expression de Mamy Wata*, N°175 of 1 March 2001, p. 3.

bitter cola: (also called *bita cola* or *mbita cola*) from the English words 'bitter' and 'kola nut'. It is a type of kola nut that has a sour taste, and believed to serve as a form of viagra. The scientific name is *gasima kola*. Its presence in CPF can be traced back to the 1970s. Source of loan: oral discourse, especially in the socioeconomic domain.

born house: from the English words 'born' and 'house' (house in which a child has been born). Refers to a ceremony organized following the birth of a child. During this ceremony, which usually takes place in the home of the parents of the newborn baby, friends and well-wishers are invited. The word *born house* found its way into CPF in the 1990s with the spread of this social practice in Francophone urban centers. It is used frequently in oral communication among people of different ethnic backgrounds.

came-no-go: from the English words 'come', 'not' and 'go' (that which comes and refuses to go away). It refers to a persistent kind of skin infection caused by an animal parasite. This loan entered CPF in the early 1990s when the parasite was first observed in Cameroon. Source of loan: Cameroonian newspaper in French *Le Messager Popoli*, N° 557 of 1 March 2001, p. 6.

djambo: (also *ndjambo*) game of gambling in which playing cards are used. This loan has existed in CPF since the 1960s when it was used in Douala and some other Francophone urban centers especially among gamblers. It is frequently used in oral communication. Source of loan: oral context in *Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 156.

dokta: (also *dokita*) from the English word 'doctor'. It refers to a medical doctor or by extension any other member of the medical corp. Its introduction into CPF dates from the 1960s. Source of loan: novel by Mongo Beti (1974: 94) and some oral sources observed in everyday interaction.

fever grass: from the English words 'fever' and 'grass'. Refers to a type of herb used as a tisane for curing fever and malaria. The presence of this term in CPF dates from the 1990s, and the term is used in oral communication.

fufu: (also *foufou* and *fou-fou*) dough made from ground cassava, and used as staple food in many parts of Cameroon. The word is believed to be a West African Pidgin English loan from Twi 'fufuu' (*The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 1999, p. 571). The word *fufu* exists in CPF since the 1970s. It is used in everyday discourse as a synonym of the French word *couscous*. Source of loan: oral source in *Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 198.

fufu corn: from the English word 'corn fufu'. It refers to a type of fufu made from corn. *Fufu corn* is one of the staple dishes of Cameroonians from the North-West province. Although it has existed in CPE from time immemorial, its presence in CPF dates from the 1990s. Source of loan: CPF oral usage.

gnama gnama: (also written *nyama nyama*) small; person or thing of little value or importance. This word used both as a noun and as an adjective made its way into CPF in the early 1980s through oral usage. Source of lexical item: Cameroonian newspaper in French *L'Expression de Mamy Wata* , N° 175 of 1 March 2001, p. 5.

hope eye: from the English 'open eye' (the act of opening one's eyes), which means 'the act of intimidating' or 'making people fear'. The word *hope eye*, very common in the oral usage of young urban speakers of CPF, dates from the 1970s. Source of loan: oral context in *Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 233.

juju: (other appellations are *juju kalaba*, *ndjounjou*, *ndjoudjou* or *ndjounjou kalaba*) mask made from calabash (whence the name *kalaba*) and worn especially by children for entertainment performances; masquerade; ugly person. The use of this term is common among young people. Its date of entry into CPF is uncertain. Source of loan: oral context in *Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 329.

katika: from the English word 'caretaker'. The word refers to a security guard in charge of a public place like cinema hall, recreation ground, casino, etc. It entered current CPF usage in the late 1980s among young urban dwellers, as expressed essentially in oral discourse.

kelen kelen: local variety of spinach used for preparing a type of sticky soup. The scientific name of this vegetable is *corchorus olitorius.* Basically used in the CPF spoken around Douala in market places, its usage dates from the 1970s.

kolo: one thousand CFA francs. The word *kolo* entered CPF spoken in Douala through bandits and highway robbers in the late 1960s. Today, it is not only used in the CPF of young city dwellers but also in Camfranglais, a local slang. Source of loan: oral context in *Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 263.

kontchaf: from the English words 'corn' and 'chaff'. It refers to a local dish prepared by mixing corn and beans cooked in palm oil. Although the use of this term is recurrent in urban contexts (especially in prison circles where the dish is consumed almost on a daily basis), its date of entry into Cameroon French is uncertain.

kpa coco: from Bakweri 'kpa' and English 'cocoyam'. Name used for a local dish prepared from cocoyam or cassava paste wrapped in cocoyam or plantain leaves and cooked with palm oil. It is a staple dish among the Bakweri of the South-West province, but also commonly found among other ethnic groups of the coastal region such as the Banyangs, the Basaas and the Bakokos. Among the Bakweris, it is generally eaten together with *mbanga soup*. The first Cameroonian speakers of French who got into contact with this

term are civil servants and military personnel who served around Buea in the 1960s. Today, given that *kpa coco* is a national Cameroonian dish, the use of the term is gaining currency not only in CPF but also in SCF.

makala: doughnuts made from corn, beans or cassava. A highly appreciated dish for breakfast, it is usually eaten together with beans or with maize porridge known as *pap*. Its presence in CPF dates from the 1950s around the Douala region. Source of loan: oral context in *Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 289.

mallam: comes from the Hausa word *mãlam(i)* and refers to a scribe who possesses in-depth knowledge of Islam, or a highly respected member of the Muslim community. In the Cameroonian context, the word is commonly used to refer to a traditional medicine man from the North of Cameroon. It is this extended meaning of the word that is used in CPE since the 1960s. Source of lexical item: novel by Mongo Beti (2000: 151).

mami-wata: (other common spellings are *mamiwata*, *mamie water* and *mamy wata*) from the English words 'mammy' and 'water' (mother of the water). Refers to mermaid; a very beautiful woman. The word has been used in oral contexts in CPF since the early 1960s. Source of loan: Dooh-Bunya (1977: 270).

mandjanga: variety of small smoked prawns used in cooking in order to give flavor to local dishes. Its use in CPF dates from the 1970s. Source of loan: oral context in *Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 294.

manjunga: (also *majunga*) a type of relatively inexpensive and popular red wine (originally of French origin) bottled in Cameroon. This word has been in existence in CPF since the colonial period when French traders introduced red wine in Cameroon. Source of loan: oral context in *Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 289.

massa: from the English word 'master', meaning 'sir' or 'master' and used as a title to show respect for the person referred to. Although this loan is increasingly used nowadays in satirical newspapers like *L'Expression de Mamy Wata*, its presence in CPF dates from the 1960s. Source of loan: novel by Mongo Beti (1974: 206), Mongo Beti (1974: 227) and the Cameroonian newspaper in French *L'Expression de Mamy Wata*, N° 168 of 11 Jan. 2001, p.4.

matango: refers to palm wine or raphia wine. The use of this loan in CPF can be traced back to the 1970s. Source of loan: oral daily usage.

mbanga soup: from the CPE word 'mbanga' (palm nuts) and the English word 'soup'. Refers to a type of soup prepared principally by using palm nut juice. Like *kpa coco*, the use of *mbanga soup* can be traced from the early 1960s. It is used mainly in oral contexts.

mbout: abbreviated from CPE *mboutoukou*, which means 'a good for nothing person' or 'a weakling'. Mainly used by young people, this loan exists in CPF since the 1970s. Source of loan: oral context in *Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 306.

mini-minor: refers to a young woman who has not yet attained puberty; very young prostitute. Present in CPF since the early 1960s, this loan is mainly used in oral contexts. Source of loan: oral context in *Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 313.

motorboy: (also written *moto boy* or *motor-boy*) from the English words 'motor' and 'boy' (a boy who works for motor cars or lorries). Refers to a lorry driver's assistant. This word exists in CPF since the 1960s. Source: oral context recorded from popular radio program 'Avis de recherche' and from *Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 319.

mouf: get out; go away. This interjection is used in jovial contexts, especially among young people. A lexical item very popular among students, its presence in Cameroon French can be traced as far back as the late 1970s. Source of loan:

novel by Mongo Beti (1999: 101) and the Cameroonian newspaper in French *L'Expression de Mamy Wata*, N° 167 of 4 Jan. 2001, p.11.

moukala: albino. Used in CPF since the 1960s, its usage is predominant in oral contexts.

moumou: deaf and dumb person. Present in CPF since the 1960s, the term is used mainly in oral contexts.

ndjama ndjama: local variety of huckleberry which is cooked and eaten with corn fufu. Its scientific name is *solanium nigrium.* The term is used in everyday oral contexts, and its usage in Cameroon French can be traced back to the early 1960s following the contact between Francophones and Anglophones.

ndjinja: (also written *djindja*) from the English word 'ginger', meaning 'ginger' or 'difficult'. Predominantly used in oral contexts among city dwellers, its presence in CPF can be traced to the early 1970s. Source of loan: Cameroonian newspaper in French *L'Expression de Mamy Wata*, N° 175 of March 2001, p. 5.

ngengerou: (also *nguengerou*) derogatory name for albino. This loan has been frequently used in CPF (oral contexts) since the 1960s. Source of loan: *Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 333.

ngomna: from the English word 'governor', meaning 'administrator' or 'government'. The word *ngomna* was first observed in CPF in the early 1980s. Source of loan: short story by Abega (1982: 13).

ngrafi: from the English word 'grassfield'. It is generally used to refer to someone who comes from the North-West or West province. Although its presence in CPE is relatively old (since the colonial period), its usage as a French loan dates from the late 1980s.

njangsang: tropical fruit that is used as a condiment. The scientific name is *ricinodendron heudrolotii*. The presence of this term in Cameroon French dates from the 1960s. It is frequently used by market women in their commercial transactions and also in the food industry in the absence of an appropriate French equivalent.

njangui: from Basaa or Duala *njangui*, referring to a cooperative system of financial contribution wherein members benefit in turns. The word *njangui* is used as a synonym of the French word *tontine*, but less frequently used than the latter by Cameroonian speakers of French. Its presence in CPF dates from the 1990s. Source of lexical item: oral context in *Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 329.

njoh: (also *ndjo*) from Basaa or Duala *njoh*, meaning 'free of charge'. Speakers of CPF have used the word *njoh* since the 1960s. Source of loan: oral context in *Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 329.

nkane: (also *nkané*) prostitute; brothel. Its presence in CPF dates from the 1960s in the metropolitan areas of French-speaking Cameroon. Source of loan: oral context in *Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 335.

nyanga: from Ewondo or Basaa *nyanga*, meaning 'elegant'. Speakers of CPF have used the word *nyanga* since the 1960s. It is predominantly used in oral contexts. Source of loan: *Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 340.

nyangalement: from Ewondo or Basaa *nyanga*, meaning 'in an elegant or seductive manner'. To this root has been added the French suffix '-ment' (equivalent to the English '-ly') used in the derivation of adverbs from adjectives. The word *nyangalement* is a very recent creation in CPF. At moment, it is used essentially by a cross-section of young urban speakers of CPF, and

consequently not generalized. Source of loan: Cameroonian newspaper in French *Le Messager Popoli*, N° 554 of 20 Feb. 2001, p.8.

paf: (also *pap*) maize porridge prepared locally and consumed together with doughnuts. This loan has been used both in CPF and SCF since the 1970s. Source of loan: oral context from *Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 349.

pasto: from English 'pastor'. It is an affective way of referring to a pastor. The use of this loan in CPF dates from the 1960s. Source of loan: Cameroonian newspaper in French *Le Messager Popoli*, N° 566 of 3 April 2001, p. 2.

poto-poto: mud; valueless. The presence of this word in Cameroon French dates from the 1940s during the French colonial period. Source of loan: novel by Oyono (1956b: 107), Oyono (1956b: 113) and the Cameroonian newspaper in French *Patrimoine*, N° 8 of October 2000, p. 3.

sabitout: someone who knows everything; pretentious person who claims to know everything. The presence of *sabitout* in CPF is relatively recent, dating from the late 1990s. Source of loan: Cameroonian popular music.

sita: (also written *sista*) from the English word 'sister'. Affective appellation for a woman in general, irrespective of the relationship that exists between the speaker and the person referred to. This loan has been used in CPF since the 1960s. Source of loan: novels by Mpoudi-Ngolle (1990: 33) and Mongo Beti (2000: 85).

small no be sick: (also written *simol no bi sik*) from the English words 'small', 'not', 'be' and 'sick' (small is not sick). It is used to refer to a rub of Asian origin generally used to cure body pains, and locally believed to cure several ailments including influenza. This loan entered CPF in the early 1990s through hawkers in the major towns and cities of Cameroon. It is basically used in oral communication during commercial exchanges.

tchotchoro: small; someone of no importance. Speakers of CPF have used this loan since the 1980s. Source of loan: oral contexts.

tchop-broke-pot: (also written *tchop brook pot*) from the English words 'chop', 'broke' and 'pot'. It refers to a glutton or an extravagant person. This loan entered CPF in the late 1980s. Source of loan: Cameroonian newspaper in French *Le Messager Popoli*, N° 5 of 11 June 1993, p. 10.

tchouquer: from the CPE word *tchouk*, meaning 'to pierce'. In CPF, the verb *tchouquer* means 'to have sexual relationship with a woman'. This loan entered CPF in the 1960s through a local French slang known as 'le français makro' used by some Douala city dwellers. Source of loan: musical tune "Marche arrière" by Petit Pays, 1996.

washman: from the English words 'wash' and 'man'. This compound word refers to a house worker in charge of laundry. The presence of this loan in Cameroon French can be traced as far back as the 1940s during the French colonial period. It was used not only by the indigenes but also by the French, and believed to have come from Ghana and Nigeria. Today, it is no longer in current French usage. Source of loan: novels by Oyono (1956b: 111).

water fufu: (also written *watafufu*) from the English words 'water' and 'fufu'. Refers to a type of fufu made from cassava paste fermented in water. The presence of this loan in CPF dates from the 1970s. Source of loan: current CPF everyday usage in the market place and restaurants.

For purposes of illustration, some of the utterances collected or recorded in the course of the research appear at the end of the work as an annex.

3. Lexical Influence of CPE on French

The repertoire presented above is a testimony to the fact that the French language is lexically enriched by CPE loans. A classification of the lexical items by area of activity attests to this point[4].

a) **Gastronomy**: Africa gin, bitter cola, fufu, fufu corn, kelen kelen, kontchaf, kpa coco, makala, mandjanga, manjunga, matango, mbanga soup, ndjama ndjama, njansang, paf, water fufu.
b) **Medical and pharmaceutical**: arata, came-no-go, dokta, fever grass, small no be sick.
c) **Socio-cultural**: assia, bad luck, born house, djambo, gnama gnama, hope eye, juju, mallam, mami-wata, massa, mbout, mini-minor, mouf, moukala, moumou, ndjinja, ngengerou, ngomna, ngrafi, njangui, njoh, nkane, nyanga, nyangalement, pasto, poto-poto, sabi-tout, sita, tchotchoro, tchop-broke-pot, tchouquer
d) **Economic**: bayam sellam, benam, bend skin, ben-skinneur, katika, kolo, motorboy, washman

From the classification presented above, the socio-cultural domain comprising lexical items that relate to socio-cultural practices, words designating or qualifying people and emotional terms dominates with 31 loans, followed by the world of gastronomy with 16 loans, the economic domain with 8 loans, and, lastly, the medical and pharmaceutical domain with 5 loans. This classification exercise was however not devoid of problems. Because of the polysemous nature of some lexical items, it was not easy categorizing them. The word *bend-skin* for example posed some problems because it refers to a type of music and dance (socio-cultural) and also a motorcycle used for transporting passengers (economic). We decided to categorize it under the economic sector because its usage in CPF is dominant in this area.

There is a high proportion of compound words (27 in all) observed from the corpus. These compound words are: Africa gin, bad luck, bayam sellam, bend skin, ben-skinneur, bitter cola, born house, came-no-go, fever grass, fufu corn, hope eye, kelen kelen, kontchaf, kpa coco, mami-wata, mbanga soup, mini-minor, motorboy, ndjama ndjama, ngrafi, nyama nyama, poto-poto, sabitout, small no be sick, tchop-broke-pot, washman, and water fufu. This massive presence is certainly due to the influence of reduplication as observed through lexical items such as *kelen kelen*, *ndjama ndjama*, *nyama nyama* and *poto-poto*, or the descriptive character of CPE terms as in *Africa gin* (locally made African gin), *bayam sellam* (person who buys and sells), *bend skin* (the act of bending one's body while dancing or while sitting on a motorcycle), *bitter cola* (a specie of bitter kola nut), *born house* (house in which a child has been born), *came-no-go* (a persistent skin infection that comes and refuses to go), *fever grass* (a type of herb or grass used as a tisane for curing fever and malaria), *fufu corn* (fufu made out of corn), *hope eye* (the act of opening one's eyes), *mami-wata* (mother of the water), *mbanga soup* (soup made out of palm nuts or 'mbanga'), *motorboy* (a boy who works for a motor car or lorry), *sabitout* (someone who knows everything), *small no be sick* (being small does not mean that one is sick), *tchop-broke-pot* (someone who eats and breaks the pot), *washman* (a man in charge of washing clothes), and *water fufu* (fufu made from cassava paste fermented in water).

[4] The classification of lexical items into these four broad categories is basically for reasons of convenience and the author's personal preferences.

The corpus also reveals a few cases of derivation and a case of compounding which attest the effort at attaining linguistic integration or Frenchization of CPE loans when used in French. The following are examples: *ben-skinneur* /benskinœr/, *nyangalement* /njãgalmã/, tchouquer /tʃuke/ and *sabitout* /sabitu/. Thus the suffix '–eur' is added to the compound noun *bend-skin* (motorcycle used as a means of transport) to create the word *ben-skinneur* (the rider of a motorcycle used as a means of transport). A new word, which does not exist in CPE, is therefore introduced in French, thanks to borrowing. As far as *nyangalement* is concerned, the French adverbial suffix '–ment' (equivalent of English '–ly') is added to the root *nyanga*, giving birth to an adverb of manner that does not exist in CPE. As for the verb *tchouquer*, it is derived from the CPE word *tchouk* (to pierce) by adding the French '-er' suffix used essentially for the formation of verbs in the infinitive form. In this case, the derivational process is from verb to verb, but characterized by resemantization given that *tchouquer* in CPF means 'to make love', whereas the root word *tchouk* simply means 'to pierce'. The word *tchouquer* has gained popularity and consequently acceptability into CPF through the music of a leading Cameroonian musician, Petit Pays. As for *sabitout*, the CPE word *sabi* (to know) is combined with the French word *tout* (all) to create a compound word that means 'to be all knowing'. It is interesting to note that as far as these four lexical items are concerned, the degree of integration of CPE loans into French is not only morphological but also phonological, since they are pronounced exactly like French words as observed above.

On the whole, it can be said that CPE loans contribute to the lexical enrichment of the French language in the Cameroonian context. How else can the speaker of French conveniently express such realities as *bitter cola*, *kelen kelen*, *ndjama ndjama* and *water fufu* without running the risk of incomprehension? Lexical items like those listed above hardly possess equivalents or even near acceptable equivalents in French. Their usage therefore enables Cameroonian speakers of French to fill lexical gaps observed in the Cameroon socio-cultural milieu. Furthermore, even when near equivalents of CPE loans exist in the French language, they clearly lack the expressiveness or local color that these loans give to the language. If one considers examples such as *small no be sick*, *came-no-go* and *njangui*, it is observed that near French equivalents like 'baume', 'gale' (scabies) and 'tontine', respectively, do not evoke exactly the same meaning and local color inherent in the corresponding CPE loans. Take the case of *njangui* for instance. The term refers to a type of socioeconomic association where members contribute on a regular basis and benefit in turn until everybody must have benefited. After the last member benefits, the whole process begins again. In terms of practice, it is therefore quite different from the French near equivalent 'tontine' which refers to "an annuity shared by subscribers to a loan or common fund, the shares increasing as subscribers die until the last survivor enjoys the whole income" (*The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 1999, p. 1509). In the Cameroonian context, when a member dies his immediate family benefits from his shares. This is unlike the French context where the other subscribers are the beneficiaries. If this were allowed to happen in Cameroon, some members would probably try to kill others so as to eventually become the sole beneficiaries.

From the point of view of lexical economy, some CPE loans are apparently more economical than possible French equivalents. An examination of the word *ngrafi* (someone who comes from the grass fields) reveals that the corresponding French nominal element "ressortissant de la province du Nord-Ouest/Ouest" is a noun phrase comprising several lexical items and certainly much longer. The fact that

presently no single noun exists in the French language to designate such a person confirms its necessity in filling the lexical vacuum that exists in the superstrate language.

4. Semantic and Cultural Value of CPE Loans

CPE loans also contribute to the semantic and cultural enrichment of the French language in Cameroon. These loans bring in new shades of meaning to the French language, as some retain their original meanings while others undergo resemantization.

Words such as *bitter cola, born house, fufu corn, kelen kelen, kpa coco, kontchaf, mbanga soup, ndjama ndjama* and *water fufu* retain their original meanings when used in French. In fact, these are words that express realities peculiar to the Cameroonian context and which do not exist in the French cultural milieu. Even where some of the words like *bitter cola, kelen kelen* and *ndjama ndjama* have scientific names, these names are often far removed for the ordinary user of the language and would sound very odd and bombastic in normal everyday usage, even among native speakers. However, what is interesting here is that these words bring with them new semantic and cultural values into the French language and culture. In spite of the fact that such realities are presently peculiar to Cameroon French, they are gradually gaining grounds through the much applauded literary works of writers such as Mongo Beti, Calixthe Beyala and Ferdinand Oyono, works published in France and read throughout the Francophone world. Other channels of communication through which these loans are disseminated to the Francophone world are newspapers, radio and television channels, and other popular publications that make use of the Internet. The very fact that Cameroon French is recognized by the computer world as a leading variety of French (it features on the list of the different varieties of French) is testimony of the fact that this variety is peculiar in its own right.

The study also reveals that certain words undergo desemantization and resemantization when they move from CPE to French. Thus terms like *arata* and *ndjinja* first loose their original CPE meanings (desemantization and then gain new meanings (resemantization) when they move over to the French language. For example, the word *arata* means 'mouse' in CPE; but in French it signifies 'poison used to kill mice'. It should be underlined here that the word *arata* in itself undergoes some kind of regressive derivation from the original lexical item *arata tchop die*[5], the last two terms of the compound word having been chopped off or omitted. The same situation is true of the word *ndjinja* which simply means 'ginger' in CPE, but signifies 'difficult' when used in CPF. Whereas the word is used in CPE as a noun, it becomes an adjective in CPF. Cases like *arata* and *ndjinja* illustrate the semantic innovativeness of Cameroonians. Borrowing in this case contributes not only in semantic enrichment, but also in the socio-cultural enrichment of the French language.

CPE loans also bring into the French language a kind of expressiveness that is not common to the language. The lexical item *small no be sick* is quite an interesting example in this regard. The name given to this balm of Asian origin is quite evocative. It alludes to the fact that although the container where it is put is small, the drug itself is very effective in curing skin diseases and other body pains. And given that it is a relatively cheap drug in a country where access to pharmaceutical products

[5] The word *arata tchop die* (mousse eat die) suggests that a mouse gets killed upon eating the poison. By simply referring to this poisonous drug as *arata*, CPF speakers try to simplify its lexical stucture.

is not at the reach of everyone in the community has gone a long way to increase its popularity. Its real name *essential balm* is seldom used at all by Cameroonian consumers, and probably unknown to them. Mention should be made of the fact that the humorous aspect of the name *small no be sick* has also contributed to the popularity of the drug, a type of humor that CPE carries over to the French language. Such humorous qualities contribute enormously to ensuring continuous usage of this word and many others like *tchop-broke-pot*, *came-no-go* and *bayam sellam*. The word *tchop-broke-pot* (where *tchop* means 'to eat', *broke* means 'to break' and *pot* means 'pot') alludes to someone who eats and breaks his/her pots without giving any thought to the future. In short it refers to an extravagant person, one that is to a large extent responsible for the political and economic ruin of his country. In the same token, *came-no-go* refers to the skin disease or rashes that resist treatment and stubbornly refuse to disappear after attacking someone. As for *bayam sellam*, it simply designates a market woman who buys food products in the rural area and sells them immediately in the town or city. Besides being humorous in nature, these names are quite evocative and suggestive of the meanings attached to them. The humorous nature of CPE loans makes Cameroon French more lively and suitable for the expression of the feelings of the indigenous speakers.

Conclusion

The increasing presence of CPE loans in Cameroon French testifies to the fact that French is undergoing some form of appropriation by the Cameroonian indigenous population, thus contributing to its indigenization in the African context. This form of appropriation is not only observed through CPE loans, but also through loans from other indigenous languages. In short, the integration of CPE loans into the French language simply implies the recognition of the important communicational and cultural role CPE plays as a lingua franca in the country.

In fact, CPE loans bring into the French language realities pertaining to the socio-cultural, the economic, the medical and pharmaceutical, and the gastronomy domains. Without CPE loans, such realities would hardly be expressed in a satisfactory manner in French. It is therefore necessary to systematically include these words and other indigenous language loans in French dictionaries so as to contribute to their universality or usage at a much wider scope. Our study reveals that apart from a few that are gradually finding their way into SCF usage, an overwhelming majority of them continue to be ignored. It is our hope that the Cameroonian French dictionary in the making will go a long way to repair the present situation. This situation not only holds for Cameroon; it also applies to other French-speaking countries for, as Danièle Latin (1992) notes, the nearly 2,000 indigenous languages present in countries in which French is spoken continue to remain partners in the development of the French language.

If in the past the influence of CPE was virtually insignificant in the French language, recent trends of events relating to the linguistic evolution of Cameroon attest to the fact that this language is called upon to play an ever-increasing role. Its spread in urban as well as rural areas makes it a language that can hardly pass unnoticed. Thus, inasmuch as French borrows from CPE, so too does CPE borrow from French. The result is a language contact situation characterized by linguistic and cultural mutual enrichment between the two languages. On the whole, CPE loans are not only present in CPF, but also in SCF expressed in Cameroon popular music, newspapers and literary works. A study of the works of such writers as Ferdinand Oyono (1956a, 1956b), Mongo Beti (1974, 1999, 2000), Lydie Dooh-Bunya (1977),

Séverin Cécile Abega (1982), Calixthe Beyala (1987, 1998) and Evelyne Mpoudi Ngolle (1990) clearly illustrates this presence. As a reality of the Cameroonian linguistic landscape, CPE remains a main source of socio-cultural inspiration for both writers of English and French expression.

At the sociolinguistic level, it is worthwhile noting that CPE loans are generally used by speakers of French not only for exotic purposes, but also to create fun in humorous situations. Thus the role of CPE in making French a vehicular language in Cameroon is obvious, given its appeal to a popular wider audience who contributes in making French a universal language at the service of mankind.

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Annex

(1) Comment aurait-il oublié *l'africa gin* dont quelques gouttes lui étaient tombées sur la langue à un âge où il n'avait pas de poil sur le ventre et où il n'avait pas encore goûté au Seigneur? (Oyono, 1956a, p. 20)
(2) Après une bonne dose d'*arata*, le flacon de bidigligi fera le boulot. (*Le Messager Popoli*, N° 555 of 22 Feb. 2001, p. 4)
(3) Ah Pita! C'est toi? J'ai appris qu'on t'a pris ton poste de notable. *Assia* hein! (Le *Messager Popoli*, N° 569 of 12 Apr. 2001, p. 3)
(4) - *Bad luck*! s'exclame le chauffeur indigné ! Tu as vu mon taxi? Aller dans un trou pareil? Jamais! (Beyala, 1987, p. 15)
(5) Les cheveux de Grand-mère luisaient, elle observait les *bayam-sellams*, douce et ensorcelante comme une productrice de vin. Les *bayam-sellams* vendaient en gros leur nourriture. (Beyala, 1998, p. 21)
(6) Ainsi le marché de Biyuko est devenu zone dangereuse, faisant le malheur des *bayam sellam*. (*L'Expression de Mamy Wata*, N° 167 of 4 Jan. 2001, p. 11.)
(7) Tout aussi machinalement, le *ben-skinneur* barre l'arme pointée sur lui. (*L'Expression de Mamy Wata*, N°175 of 1 Mar. 2001, p. 3)
(8) Si au moins tu étais belle! Regarde tes jambes plaines de *came-no-go*. (*Le Messager Popoli*, N° 557 of 1 Mar. 2001, p. 6)
(9) Le *djambo* est permis par la loi. (*Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 156)
(10) Bonjour *dokta*. (oral context where a market woman greets a nurse)
(11) Pour désigner celui qui donne les soins aux malades dans un dispensaire ou un hôpital, les petits gens de chez nous recourent au mot pidgin *dokita*, terme ambiguë qui s'applique autant à l'aide-soignante, à l'infirmier qu'à l'officier de santé et au docteur en médecine. (Mongo Beti, 1974, p. 94)
(12) Les femmes haoussa sont inégalables pour le *fou-fou*. (*Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 198)
(13) On a peur de nous jusqu'à Etoudi. Un *gnama gnama* gouverneur comme ça veut nous montrer quoi? (*L'Expression de Mamy Wata*, N° 175 of 1 Mar. 2001, p. 5)
(14) Tu me fais le *hope eye !* (*Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 233)
(15) Frère, je suis fauché, donne-moi deux *kolos*. (*Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 263)

(16) Lors de sa fête, Atsama n'a servi que le *majunga*. (*Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 289)
(17) Les vendeurs de *makala* se groupent chaque soir au bord des rues de Yaoundé pour liquider leur marchandise. (*Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 289)
(18) – Je veux voir *Mallam*, répondit Eddie qui affectait l'assurance. (Mongo Beti, 2000, p. 151)
(19) La fille de mon patron est vraiment une *mami-wata*. (oral context where a house servant talks about the beauty of his master's daughter when addressing his friends)
(20) C'est une *mamie water*! (Dooh-Bunya, 1977, p. 270)
(21) Ma fille, au retour du marché, apporte-moi une boîte de *mandjanga*. (*Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 294)
(22) –Tu souhaites que ton mari devienne un grand homme, un *big massa*, est-ce vrai? (Mongo Beti, 1974, p. 206)
(23) –Pourquoi *Massa* Baba Toura a-t-il tout gâché, tout compliqué? (Mongo Beti, 1974, p. 227)
(24) *Massa* ! L'odeur des poubelles là commence à nous manquer. (*L'Expression de Mamy Wata* , n° 168 du 11 Jan. 2001, p.4)
(25) Je n'aime pas les *mbout* comme toi. (*Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 306)
(26) Les *mini-minor* ne doivent pas sortir la nuit. (*Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 313)
(27) Mon fils n'a trouvé rien d'autre à faire en ville que le *motorboy*. (oral context in which a father expresses deception over his son's professional attainment)
(28) Son chaud est *motor-boy* chez un Grec. (*Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 319)
(29) Ouais, tu es même comment, papa? fit Elisabeth en français africain, car elle commençait à s'irriter. Pourquoi tu crois que ça m'intéresse? *Mouf*! Débrouille-toi avec ton sale toubab, toi-même sale type. (Mongo Beti, 1999, p. 101)
(30) *Mouf* ! On t'a dit qu'on prépare les totems ? (*L'Expression de Mamy Wata* , N° 167 of 4 Jan. 2001, p.11)
(31) La réunion de *ndjangui* aura lieu dimanche. (*Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 329)
(32) Chef, c'est l'attaque qui est *ndjinja*. (*L'Expression de Mamy Wata* , N° 175 of 1 Mar. 2001, p. 5)
(33) Le *ndjo* cale parfois au cou. (*Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 329)
(34) Si tu continues à pleurer, le *ndjounjou* viendra te prendre. (*Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 329)
(35) Il eut sa carte d'identité, mais il n'avait fait que troquer ses tracas contre les assiduités d'un *ngomna*. (Abega, 1982, p. 13)
(36) Je ne traite pas avec les *nguengerous*. (*Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 333)
(37) Mon fils fréquente le *nkané* à Douala. (*Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 335)
(38) Ada fait toujours le *nyanga* pour aller au lycée. (*Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 340)
(39) Effectivement, le 1er février dernier, un camion livreur de l'UCB a *nyangalement* dérapé sur une pente raide du tronçon reliant Bafang à Kekem. (*Messager Popoli*, N° 554 of 20 Feb. 2001, p.8.)
(40) Je m'en vais prendre le *paf* chez Mami Titi. (*Equipe IFA*, 1983, p. 349)
(41) A Douala par exemple, deux dignes dames d'une respectable église se sont publiquement crêpées le chignons un dimanche au sortir du culte. Motif: Sango *Pasto* les honorait toutes deux. Le galant pasteur a été prié d'aller prêcher sa bonne nouvelle ailleurs. (*Le Messager Popoli*, N° 566 of 3 Apr. 2001, p. 2)

(42) Commence alors le déballage sur la vie de cet homme qu'elle dit avoir tiré du *poto -poto* , lavé et vêtu. (*Patrimoine*, N° 8 of Oct. 2000, p. 3)

(43) Je n'y avais pas pensé, dit Baklu. En tout cas elle est à point! Bienheureux le régisseur! Madame est déjà *poto -poto* … (Oyono, 1956b, p. 113)

(44) Bien que Dangan soit divisé en quartier européen et en quartier indigène, tout ce qui se passe du côté des maisons au toit de tôle est connu dans le moindre détail dans les cases en*poto -poto* . (Oyono, 1956b, p. 107)

(29) Toute la famille était à table quand j'arrivai, et ma tante insista pour que je prenne place malgré mes protestations.

-Je n'ai vraiment pas faim, *sita*. (Mpoudi-Ngolle, 1990, p. 33)

(30) -Quoi? *Sita* , depuis quand tu sais faire la cuisine des Blancs? (Mongo Beti, 2000, p. 85)

(31) Ce pillage précipité ressemble étrangement à la politique du *tchop brook pot.* (*Le Messager Popoli*, N° 5 of 11 June 1993, p. 10)

(32) *Tchouquez tchouquez…*Vous aimez *tchouquez*? ça se voit dans vos yeux. (Petit Pays, in a musical tune entitled "Marche arrière", 1996)

(33) -*Washman! Washman*! appela-t-elle. (Oyono, 1956b, p. 111)