ASSESSING PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE USE AND IDENTITY AMONG CAMEROONIAN MIGRANTS IN CAPE TOWN

MBONG MAGDALINE MAI

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for a Masters Degree in the Department of Linguistics of the University of the Western Cape

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KEYWORDS

Cameroon
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Immigrants
Cameroon Pidgin English
Language
Multilingual
Vernacular

ABSTRACT

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Full Masters Thesis, Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape

In this study, I explore Cameroonian migrants' language use and the various language forms they use to manifest their identity. I deem this subject very interesting as it deals with a multicultural/multilingual people in an equally multicultural/multilingual society – Cape Town.

The study was carried out in the wider and interdisciplinary field of applied linguistics with focus on the specific domain of sociolinguistics. I have collected data through interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation and used qualitative methods for interpretation of data guided by the concepts of space and territoriality as has been propounded by Vigouroux (2005). Finally, I consider the influence of space and territory on the language choice and above all, I show that the decision to use one language instead of the other in any given territory or space is never a neutral one.

I argue that the Cameroonian immigrants still use language in the same way, as they would do if they were in Cameroon. That is, the Cameroonian migrants would speak Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE) amongst themselves at home, in school, church, at their jobsites, social gatherings and so on and continue to code switch between English, French, CPE and their vernaculars, although I show that they tend to use more English, and less French in Cape Town. I maintain that the immigrants still treat CPE with as much disdain, as they would do in Cameroon. Again I argue that the indifferent attitude of Cameroonians towards their vernaculars (African languages) remains the same since they continue to attach importance to the official languages (French and English) and finally, that Frankanglais is not being used in Cape Town.

I establish that the sluggish Cameroon language policy and the snobbish attitude of the Cameroonian elites towards the promotion of vernaculars have caused the local

languages to be less decisive at the national platform. As such, it is around the official languages that two major identities can be noticed in Cape Town – the Anglophone and the Francophone identities. This situation, I further argue, stirs a kind of linguistic conflict in Cape Town just like in Cameroon, although some participants cross this boundaries and continue to live together. Ironically the conflict is based on former colonial languages and not on the many African languages.

In sum, this study emphasises the standardisation of CPE and the need for a language policy in Cameroon that encourages the former official languages (English and French) plus CPE to be taught in schools alongside the Cameroonian vernaculars.

DECLARATION

I declare that *Assessing Patterns of Language Use And Identity Among Cameroonian Migrants in Cape Town* is my own work and that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other institution and also that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references

Mbong Magdaline Mai November 2006

Signed……..

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Fieldwork for this study was carried out in South Africa and involved the Cameroonian immigrants in Cape Town. My gratitude to them all and particularly to those in the Parow Market, the Grand Parade, the Cameroonian students in the Hector Peterson Residence in the University of the Western Cape, and all the members of the Cameroon North Westerner's Association (CANOWACAT) whose active participation has lead to the realisation of this project.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The plurality of Cameroon and its French – English official bilingualism have constituted various linguistic strata identification for Cameroonians in the past decades. The people have at different times, for different reasons and under different circumstances, always demonstrated linguistic and emotional attachment to the many home languages that number up to 285 (Anchimbe, 2005a:1), and to their official languages (French and English) in addition to the Cameroonian pidgin English (CPE) and the regional lingua franca: Fulfulde, Ewondo, Basa'a, Douala, Hausa, Wandala, Kanuri; and Arab Choa (Anchimbe, 2005a:7-1).

Anchimbe (2005a:1) again argues that "the feeling of unity is so strong that 'being Anglophone' denotes a new ethnicity, transcending older ethnic ties". This type of identification which is tantamount to group definition and membership is so strong to the extent that it excludes non-group members and transcends ethnic contours.

> One cannot travel in Cameroonian cities without gaining a sense of pervasiveness of French culture as an influence on Cameroon in terms of language, dress, food, items for sale in shops and stores, and in numerous other ways, one is constantly reminded of France's role (Anchimbe, 2005a:5).

Cameroon is a multicultural country comprising some 248 national/indigenous languages (Ehu, 2004). Echu (2004) notes that the disparity of this figure and that above is due to the fact that some linguists think that the previous figure is not an accurate reflection of the linguistic situation in Cameroon since dialects of the same language are sometimes considered as different languages. This country was first exposed to CPE through contact with some freed slaves (Fonlon 1969). Then to English with the coming of Joseph Merrick and other missionaries in 1842 from England, who taught the people how to read and write (Fonlon, 1969; Gwei, 1993). This was followed by the German annexation in July 1884 till 1914. The Germans banned all forms of CPE in favour of German (Anchimbe, 2005a). However, the

usage of CPE continued in the hinterlands. After World War I, Cameroon was divided between the French and the English who ruled from 1916 to 1961. They each promoted their own national languages and cultures within their respective zones. From the end of the First World War to date, French and English are the official languages in Cameroon - a heritage of the Franco British rule (Anchimbe, 2005a; Echu, 2004).

Echu (2004:4) observes that the policy of official language bilingualism constitutes the main core of Cameroon's language policy. In Article 1, paragraph 3 of the Cameroon Constitution of January 1996, it is clearly stated that:

> The official languages of the Republic of Cameroon shall be English and French, both languages having the same status. The state shall guarantee the promotion of bilingualism throughout the country. It shall endeavour to protect and promote national languages (Echu 2004).

The successive constitutions of the country since independence have always emphasized the policy of official bilingualism even though there exists no well defined language policy to date as to its implementation (Echu, 2004). Echu reiterates that English and French are considered to be equal as per the new Constitution, but French continues to have a de facto dominance over English in the area of administration, education and media. Echu further propounds that it is not an exaggeration to say that French influence as expressed in language, culture and political policy prevails in all domains. Echu explains the domination of French as due to the demographic factor, the fact that Francophones continue to occupy top ranking positions in government and civil service, and also because there is no effective language policy that guarantees the right of minorities (Echu, 2004: 6-7).

In addition, Echu (2004:7) states that the policy of official language bilingualism has created an Anglophone/Francophone divide in Cameroon that is seen in recent years to constitute a serious problem. According to Echu, this state of events has created a sense of cultural identity among the Anglohones, which arises from their using the same language – English (as a symbol of in-group solidarity) in an environment perceived as hostile to them both linguistically and socio-politically.

In Cameroon, the official usage is strictly confined to the two official languages while the indigenous languages (vernaculars) continue to be limited largely to oral usage and in rural family circles. Echu (2004:9) rightly remarks:

> Les Langues nationales sont réduites à un usage oral, grégaire et familial. Leur fonction emblématique n'est exposée qu'à des fins politiques ponctuelles lors des campagnes électorales. Aucune de ces langues n'est utilisée ni dans l'administration, ni dans la presse écrite, ni dans la publicité, ni à la télévision nationale, ni dans l'enseignement formel, ni dans l'alphabétisation financée par le budget de l'état. (Indigenous languages are reduced to usage in oral, rural and family contexts. Their emblematic function is exploited only for the sporadic political ends during electoral campaigns. These languages are neither used in the Administration, the written media, publicity, national television, and formal education nor in sensation campaigns financed by the state budget (Echu, 2004:9).

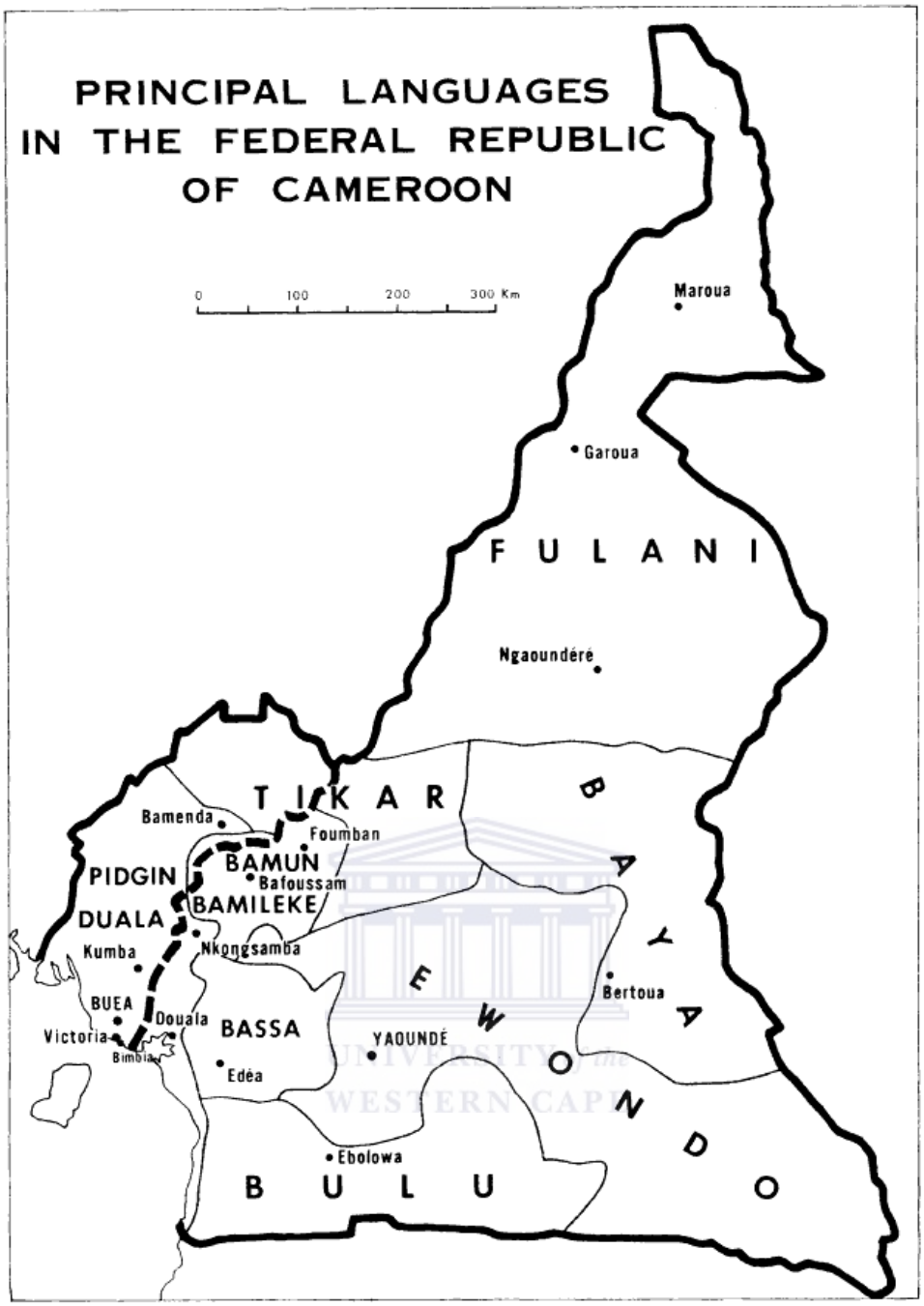
From the foregoing discussion, the multilingual situation, the disregard of the vernaculars by the government and the dominance of one official language (French) over the other (English), is evident. The complexity of this multicultural situation is quite interesting. This has motivated me to examine the language that the Cameroon migrants from this linguistic background and from this culturally diverse society would use now in South Africa - a country that is in many ways linguistically and culturally similar to Cameroon. I intend to find out if the Cameroonians will make good use of their dialects and give equal preference to the two official languages or whether they will give more preference to the South African languages at the detriment of their own languages. Lastly, I investigate whether the Cameroonians will continue to use language as though they were still in Cameroon.

Fonlon (1969:25) declares that he has been led to believe that culture is to a country like a soul is to a man. This to him, is a principle of life, of unity and continuity which therefore means that a nation is not just many people living on the same land or stemming from the same ancestral origin, but that "a nation thanks to its culture, is essentially a unit of thought and feelings, will and actions". For a communion of these

(thought, feeling, will and action) to be possible, there must be communication between the members of the national community. This presupposes the need for a common language as an effective instrument for forging national unity (Fonlon, 1969:25).

The map below has been adapted from Fonlon (1969:29) and it shows the major languages that existed in the Federal Republic of Cameroon. In addition to Fonlon's exposition, we also have Frankanglais,[1] thus, further complicating the decision of choosing a common language to serve the Cameroonians. This to linguists means greater problems of identification. As if this is not enough, migration from Cameroon to other countries for example South Africa, being our point of interest, further makes matters even more interesting as South Africa herself is equally multilingual.

[1] This is a mixture of the French and the English Language, with the French language dominating. It is common among the Cameroon youths, especially among those youths who are from the French-speaking zone. They consider this a type of Pidgin, thus equate it to Pidgin English. This language was created by the Francophone who blame their poor mastery of the English language on the Pidgin English.



To crown it all, Echu (2004:7) observes that the practice of bilingual education in Cameroon University system is plagued by a number of problems, top amongst these being the fact that most of the lectures are delivered in French due to the numerical advantage of Francophone professors, a situation that is disadvantageous to the Anglophone minority who feel that they are cheated. Echu adds that researchers are unanimous on the fact that in the University of Yaoundé, 80% of the lectures are delivered in French and only 20% in English (Echu, 2004:7). This is important in this study because it serves as a clue to the Anglophone/Francophone divide and also as a

hint to the Anglophone problem (Echu, 2004; Anchimbe, 2005a; Myers-Scotton, 2006).

The Anglophone/Francophone division is still clear as seen above. Nevertheless the essence of this study is to investigate whether this division of the Francophone and the Anglophones has been carried along by immigrants from Cameroon to South Africa. Do they still use languages as they did in Cameroon? And do they attach inferiority complex to the use of English as in Cameroon or superiority to the use of French? Do Anglophones still crave to speak French here in South Africa? Do their Francophone brothers still have a luke-warm attitude towards English?

1.1 Linguistic Background

To gain better insight into the linguistic situation in Cameroon, some knowledge of her geographical location, the various ethnic groups that exist in this country and brief historical information on her pre-colonial and post colonial background are imperative.

1.1.2 Geographical Background

According to Echu (2005) the Republic of Cameroon is situated on the West of Africa, with a surface area of 475,442km^2. It is bordered to the West by Nigeria, to the North-east by Chad, to the East by Central African Republic and to the South by Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and Congo. In July 2001 the population was estimated at 15, 803 220 inhabitants. In this country there are ten administrative regions, two of which are English speaking and eight, French speaking (Echu, 2004:1-2).

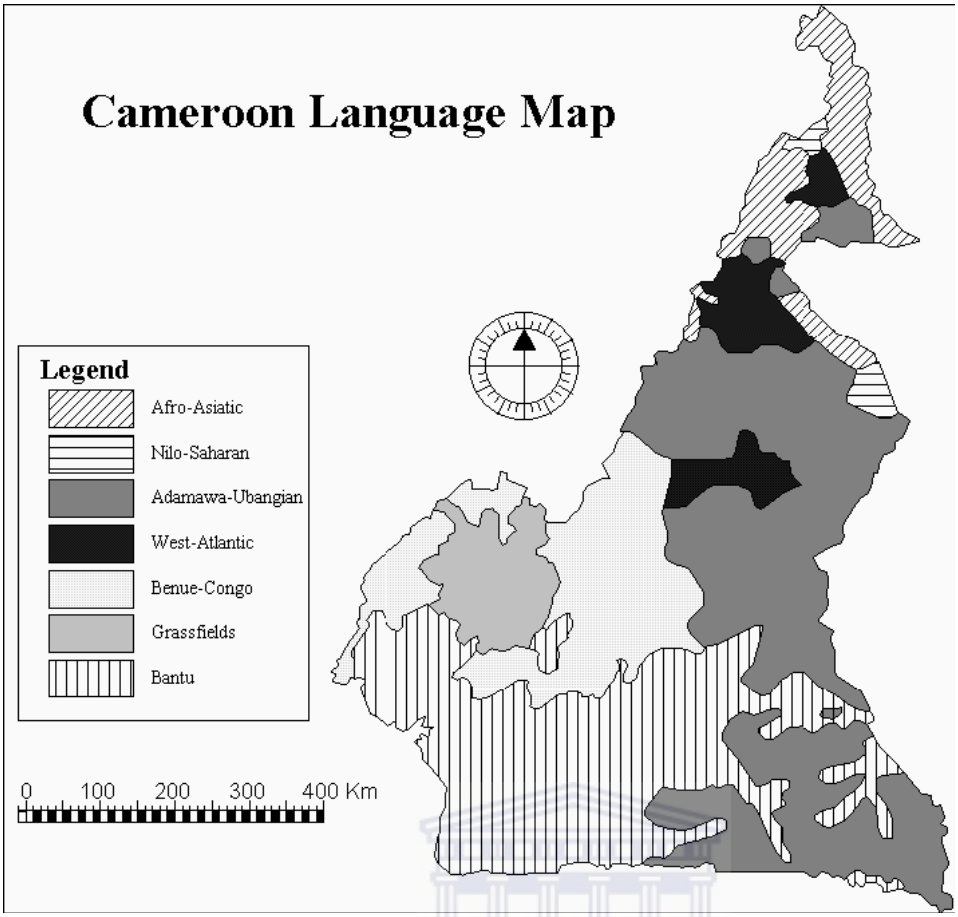
1.1.3 The Linguistic Diversity of Cameroon

According to Bird (2001:8) the newborn nation-state – the federal Republic of Cameroon, was bequeathed a linguistic situation of bewildering complexity. Bird's (2001) prosaic summation of the linguistic situation leads to the following striking conclusion:

> Cameroon, thanks to its geographical position, has the singular character of being the one spot on the black continent where all the African people meet: here you meet the Bantu, who claim kinship with peoples as far South as the

> Cape, you have Sudanese people, we have the Fulani whose kinsfolk are found as far West as Senegal and Mauritania, you have the Hamito-Semitic people like the Shuwa Arabs, you have the pygmies of the equatorial jungle. Thus it is in Cameroon that the African confusion of Tongues is worst confounded; and it has become absolutely impossible to achieve, through an African language, that oneness of thought and feeling and will that is the heart's core and the sound of a nation. We are left with no choice than to strive to achieve this unity through non-African languages; and to make things more difficult, the Federal Republic of Cameroon, being composed of the former Southern Cameroon and East Cameroon. (Bird, 2001:8-9)

The map below has been adapted from Bird (2001:4) to portray the various ethnic groups that exist in Cameroon. As language is usually associated with ethnicity, it means that Cameroon possesses all the languages that exist in Africa as indicated below.



This leads us to the discussion of some historical facts concerning Cameroon's language policy during the pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial era.

The history of colonialisation in Cameroon is a complex and an interesting one. Germany formally colonized Cameroon after the Berlin Conference of 1884. The results of the First World War brought to an end the German colonial authority, while ushering in a dual British and French colonial mandate, which divided the country into two. The British ruled a fifth of Cameroon together with its larger Nigerian colony while France governed the rest of the country. During this period, various linguistic and even political policies, which shaped the development of English and French, were adopted.

After a long history of existence as colonial languages (French and English), first in two independent states in a close federation and second in a bilingual unified republic, the status and attachment to English and French have witnessed vigorous changes that

are to some degree linked to the interaction of their respective speakers. (Anchimbe, 2005a: 2).

1.2.2 Historical Background

Migration of talented people on the international scope is as old as the early history of mankind. Such movements have always been justified by economic, academic, social and political exigencies depending on the situation and people involved (Edokat, 2000:1, Vigouroux, 2005:239). Nevertheless, our concern in this study is on all the Cameroon migrants in Cape Town, whether talented or not. Cameroonians usually migrate for social, academic, economic and political reasons. But whatever the reasons may be, their movement from one place to another is of prime concern to the linguists since they carry along with them their languages, culture and traditions into other countries which already possess their own culture, language and identity.

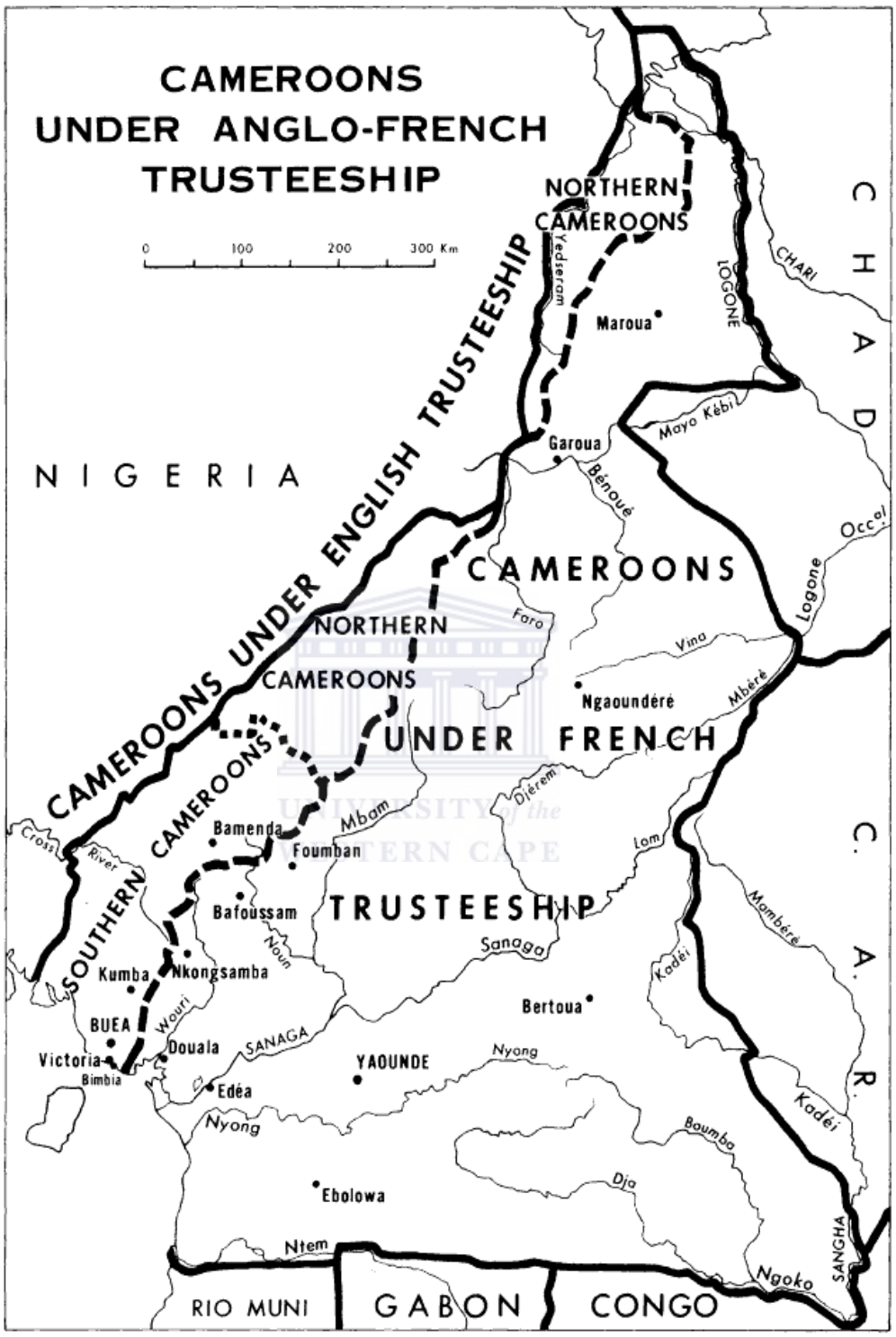
South Africa is a multilingual and a multicultural country just like Cameroon. Some Cameroonians in this country have even learnt South African languages such as Xhosa, and Afrikaans (the two most popular languages among Cameroonians in Cape Town). For this reason, I became interested in this group. Are these Cameroon migrants in Cape Town now going to abandon their Cameroonian languages and identify themselves more with those (languages) in South Africa that they can speak or are they going to add these languages to the already complex identity, which they possess, and make the process of identification even more complex for them?

Before we proceed, it is important to again examine the linguistic situation in which each Cameroonian finds him/herself still in Cameroon. This will provide a better picture of their various forms of identity formation as migrants here in South Africa (Cape Town).

When Germans successfully annexed Cameroon in 1884, the German colonial administration decreed German to be the only official language. Several ordinances were proclaimed to foster the use of German. Some of these included the April 1940 ordinance on grants-in-aid to mission schools that adopted German-language programmes, the March 1913 ordinance that made the use of English illegal, and so on Anchimbe, 2005a).

After the First World War, Cameroon was partitioned between France and Britain where they each promoted the use of their own languages in their respective zones- the French Cameroon and the English Cameroon. It is this physical divide that has now been extended to an emotional clash, which is a great challenge to this project as it complicates the creation of identity among Cameroonians. This study therefore examines the identity making process among the Cameroonian migrants in Cape Town to see if present difficulties can be redressed.

The map below has been adapted from Fonlon (1969:35) to show the area occupied by East Cameroon (Francophone) and Southern Cameroon (Anglophone) from 1919 till present day. It shows vividly how this division has been responsible for the identity formation processes which exist in the present day Republic of Cameroon and as a result, would throw more insight to the research. The only difference today is that, a Cameroonian president who speaks only French jointly governs the two regions.


CAMEROONS
UNDER ANGLO-FRENCH
TRUSTEESHIP
0 100 200 300 Km
NORTHERN
CAMEROONS
Yedseram
CHARI
LOGONE
Maroua
Mayo Kébi
Garoua
Bénoué
NIGERIA
CAMEROONS UNDER ENGLISH TRUSTEESHIP
CAMEROONS
NORTHERN
CAMEROONS
Faro
Vina
Ngaoundéré
Mbéré
Logone
Occo
UNDER FRENCH
TRUSTEESHIP
Diérem
Mbam
Bamenda
Foumban
Lom
Cross River
SOUTHERN CAMEROONS
Bafoussam
Noun
Sanaga
Mambéré
Kadéi
Kumba
Nkongsamba
Bertoua
BUEA
Wouri
Douala
SANAGA
Victoria
Bimbia
YAOUNDE
Nyong
Edéa
Kadéi
Nyong
Boumba
Dja
Ebolowa
Ntem
Ngoko
SANGHA
RIO MUNI
GABON
CONGO
CHAD
C. A. R.

1.3 Rationale

The Cameroon migrants in South Africa find themselves in another multicultural and multilingual situation where the language they use is of paramount importance for their survival in the work places (if at all they are able to get a job without some basic knowledge in languages like English, Afrikaans and Xhosa, to name the three most popular languages in Cape Town), at school, the media and some other social gatherings. The preference of one language over the other is sometimes very strategic for a happy stay in Cape Town. This in fact could still be an issue at stake, given that the Cameroonians sometimes move to other South African provinces. In South Africa like in Cameroon, language is an essential element for every individual since it is directly liked to the people's identity.

This study is important because it assesses the various reasons for which Cameroonians attach themselves to a particular region of Cameroon and to some particular languages in South Africa. The study examines whether the Cameroonian migrants in South Africa still see themselves as Anglophone and Francophone while in South Africa.

In addition, I think that no research, especially on this particular topic has yet been carried out and particularly on this group of migrants in Cape Town. This group is particularly very interesting because every Cameroonian here speaks at least two languages, the most popular of which are English, French, and CPE.

This again acted as an element of motivation to me since I wasted neither time nor money to look for a translator or pay any translator, given that my undergraduate and honours courses had shaped and prepared me for this task of translation. Further more, I am also able to speak and write in the English, French and CPE.

1.4 Aims and Objectives

1.4.1 Aims

Principally, this study aims to examine the language, identity and language forms that are used by Cameroonians in Cape Town.

1.4.2 Objectives

1. Examining whether there is continuity in language and identity formation process among Cameroonian immigrants in Cape Town (e.g. do they ever mix English and French and/or other languages, or code switch from one language to the other?)
2. Investigating what the Cameroonians think about CPE alongside the official languages.
3. Assessing the place of the Cameroonian vernaculars.
4. Examining the Anglophonness and the Francophonness of Cameroonians in Cape Town.
5. Assessing the place of Frankanglais in Cape Town.

All these will be studied in the Cape Town socio-cultural contexts in South Africa in which the Cameroonian immigrants now find themselves.

1.5 Statement of Research Problem

The complex question this study seeks to answer is how a multicultural and linguistically diverse people like the Cameroonians use language and how they manage to assert their identity given that their country of origin is divided along French and English and that conflict is often along this divide rather than on ethnic or tribal lines. Subsequent research questions are listed below.

1.5.1 Research Questions

1. To what extent has the South African socio-linguistic situation affected their speech patterns and behaviours, in other words, has their coming to South Africa changed the way they speak?

2. To what extent do they still use the Cameroonian way of speaking, for in instance, do they code switch from English to French or vice versa, from French to Pidgin English, from English to Pidgin English?

3. To examine Cameroonians' perception of the African languages; that is, their dialects. (Do they think these languages should attend the same official status as the South African languages?)

1.6. Hypothesis

My assumptions in this project were as follows:

1. That the Cameroonians in Cape Town would not identify themselves as Anglophones or Francophones, they would consider themselves as one people.
2. That the Cameroonians would preferably use English at home, at work and in all social gatherings and attach more prestige to it than French or the dialects.
3. That the use of Pidgin English would be greatly reduced and Frankanglais would not be used at all.

1.7 Scope of Study

The main perspective for investigation is based on the wider field of sociolinguistics with the work of Dibussi (2006), Abu-Lughod (2005), Anchimbe (2005a) and Echu (2004) as major sources of reference. Language here is discussed strictly from the interpersonal view point whereby it symbolizes the social system which in its patterns of variation metaphorically represents the variations that characterizes human cultures wherein people are able to play with variation in language by using it to create meaning of a social kind, to participate in all forms of verbal contests and verbal display and especially in the elaborate display of verbal day-to-day conversation (Eggins and Slade, 1997). Language functions not only as an expression of meaning but also as a metaphor for those social processes that are hidden behind the dynamics of the interaction of language and social contacts (Halliday, 1978). To add to this, we shall look at language not only as a means but also as a symbol which people use in their oratory effort to create identity (Burke and Porter 1991).

With regard to this, we will limit our work to the usage and concepts of territoriality and space – an analytical framework advanced by Vigouroux (2005).

1.8 Research Methodology

1.8.1. Research Design

The study follows a qualitative research design because the linguistic forms I intend to explore will be subjected to descriptive analysis using the data from triangulation that is, from interviews, focus groups and participant observation techniques.

1.8.2 Focus

The target group of this study are those Cameroon immigrants who live in Cape Town – South Africa. They have more access to the South African languages and culture since they meet and mix with South Africans on a daily basis in their workplaces, social gatherings and residential areas. Beside this, the Cameroon migrants in Cape Town seem to be found almost everywhere in the Western Cape Province, that is, from Stellenbosch, the townships (Khayelitsha for example), to the Cape Town City Centre.

1.8.3 Data Processing

Principally, I have adopted qualitative methods of analyzing discourse and conversation with emphasis laid on the multidimensionality of space, while using the notions of territoriality as has been postulated Vigouroux (2005).

1.9 Organisation of Thesis

The first chapter as we have seen consists of the introduction, linguistic background, rationale, hypothesis, aims, objectives of the study and above all, the linguistic complexity and the problem of identification amongst Cameroonians. The rest of the project is structured in the following manner:

In the second chapter, I give a detailed literature review that reveals previous scholarship on language, identity and language forms both within and without the African context.

The third chapter consists of a thorough description of participants in this study, instruments and tools used, and the procedures for data collection. Also, in this chapter, I have discussed the research methods used for collecting and analysing the data.

In the fourth chapter, I present a detailed transcription and translation of data collected from interviews; data collected as a participant observer and focus group conversations where necessary. All these are accompanied by a thorough interpretation and discussion.

Finally, the fifth chapter consists of a vivid analytical summary of the study with regards to the research problem (questions), research objectives and assumptions. The study ends with the conclusions, implication of the general findings and some recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

Much has been said about language, language forms and identity. We shall concentrate on the work of Burke and Porter (1991), Finegan and Besnier (1989) and Halliday (1978) with particular focus on the sociolinguistic aspect of language - an important subject on which this present study is based. These major researchers will be jointly viewed with other scholars like Myers-Scotton (2006), Bobda, (2001, 2006), Anchimbe (2005b), Bird (2001), Echu, (1999, 2003, 2004), and many other contemporary scholars whose concern is basically situated around the sociolinguistic aspect of language. The scholars' views of language shall be analysed in relation to the multidimensional concept of territoriality as has been postulated by Vigouroux (2006). Since this study deals directly with the Cameroonian immigrants in Cape Town, a briefing on migration is deemed necessary.

2.1 The Effects of Migration

Before we start dealing with the term migration, it is necessary to state that all through this work, I have used the terms migrants and immigrants interchangeably.

The Europeans who first penetrated Africa brought European inventions and ideas together with a 'linguistic cultural baggage' (Bird, 2001:7). Cameroon was no exception to this European influence and hence, the reason why Cameroonians today have various layers of identity (which may range from colonial, national, ethnic/local and individual for one single person) (Bird, 2001:1). This notwithstanding migration within and without any country can lead to many changes ranging from the physical, economic, social and most importantly the ideological and linguistic dimensions of both the migrants and the host community. In other words migrants adjust to cultures of their host country while at the same time shaping it (Abu-lughod, 2005).

Rural migrants in Cairo for example are drawn from two extreme types and they face basically two different problems of adjustment (Abu-Lughod, 2005:22). The group which Abu-Lughod describes as the "qualitative cream" consists of bright youths who migrate in search of education or wider opportunities. This group has both the drive

and facility for rapid assimilation. The second type of migrants which Abu-Lughod defines as the 'non-selective' migrants come primarily from the have-nots of the village. This group is numerically dominant and driven from the village by the dearth of land and opportunity and are attracted to the city. This group has a lower capacity for assimilation and as such tend to build within the city a replica of the culture which they left behind. Two different identities can possibly emerge from the distinction of the two groups.

If we take a close look at the Cameroonians in Cape Town, we can easily identify the qualitative cream and the non-selective migrants two groups in both symbolic physical forms where one individual reflects either/both the Anglophone and Francophone identity while still claiming a South African /an idegenous language identity (see Anchimbe, 2005a, Bobda, 2006). This confirms what Extra (2004:9) says when he refers to the Turks and Moroccans who share a type of social contract citizenship in Belgium while still adhering to a long distance type of citizenship in Turkey and Morocco usually centred on a close linkage of national and religious attachment. Based on this, we can deduce that multiplicity is a key feature of minority perspective on citizenship, where the minority combines active participation in the national context of the host country while enduring eth-religious identification in the national context of origin (Extra, 2004:9).

In South Africa itself, there is also internal migration most especially from the Eastern Cape to the townships all over Cape Town. Beside the issue of rural –urban migration, the forceful resettlement of people during the period of the apartheid regime has also led to the creation of townships where people practice village life in the townships and gradually emerge with other language forms like Tsotsitaal for example, in their struggle to combine village life and town life (Deumert et. al, 2005). This is confirmed with reference to Cape Town for example, where the locations serve as strategic sites for the rural migrants from the Eastern Cape (Oettle, 2006; Deumert et al (2005). Abu-Lughod (2005) also notes that within the city of Cairo, there are numerous sub-areas whose physical and social characteristics are similar to that of village or the countryside (Abu-Lughod, 2005:25).

Nevertheless, Abu-Lughod points out that there is no evidence of where migrants settle in any of the Cairo censuses. However in her attempt to approximate their ecological distribution, a small sample study that was made in Egypt and other industrialising countries indicated that many rural migrants follow a fairly typical pattern of initial settlement. Abu-Lughod takes the example of a young man who is labelled a typical migrant in Cairo, and whose first contact in the city is often with a friend or relative from his original village, with whom he may even spend the first few nights. This migrant later finds more permanent lodging usually around the same neighbourhood. The result of this process is usually the concentration of migrants from particular villages within small sub-sectors of the city. Again Abu-Lughod dictates that the typical migrant, who gravitates to a small area of the city that already contains persons from his home village, soon realizes that he is not usually the only newcomer at the time of his arrival (Abu-Lughod, 2005:25).

With these factors operating together, the result is the formation of small enclaves of ex-villagers sharing a common past in the village and a similar and even simultaneous history of adaptation to the city (Abu-Lughod, 2005). According to her, this is quite similar to the ethnic ghettos of large American cities at the turn of the century. Here, although villagers segregate themselves (and are segregated) from urban life by less powerful barriers through language and old customs, they however have developed the protective pattern of physical proximity and some social institutions which helps them to better manage the difficulties of transition (Abu-Lughod, 2005, Deumert et al, 2005).

In summary Abu-Lughod dictates the following adjustments would be evident with the rural migrants to Cairo: Many migrants migrate to areas lying close to the rural-urban fringe, whereas others settle in areas which have at least a cultural resemblance to semi-rural area. This is because these sections still use their streets as pathways, meeting places, playgrounds and tethering areas for animals since these interior alleyways are seldom used for wheeled traffic. She observes that houses occupied by the majority of migrants are more urban than rural in their style. As a result there is a functional overcrowding which is more severe than in the villages. In the village the numbers of enclosed rooms are minimized in order to maximize private open space but this cherished space is eliminated in the multifamily flats of the city.

Again, in Cairo, not only is the home compressed due to the loss of outdoor activities (cooking, eating and just sitting), but the neighbourhood is also more concentrated. This leads to the usage of a common stairwell by many families and increased public activities, which paradoxically imply more intensive contact with neighbours than in the village.

Furthermore, within the home itself are other changes of which the loss of the over room (a room devoted to a massive flat topped oven in which bread is baked and which during winter months, heats the adjacent areas and provides a snug bed for blanket less families) is more important. This loss is evident by the fact that some migrants seek the top floor in an urban dwelling to construct a village oven and advise newcomers to do the same, in this manner, they are able to create their own over rooms.

Changes which confirm the aspirations of the villages are numerous starting from the possession of small kerosene burners instead of dung-cake fires for cooking to wardrobes and china closets to store a growing stock of consumption items and so on, which remain in the city as in the village, the most important sign of status.

In addition, the dress of migrants changes slightly in the city. For the selective migrants, change can even be complete from the long loose robe to pants and shirts. For non-selective migrants, the change is rarely required to conform to urban pattern, and to them it is occupation rather than status per se or place of birth which dictates appropriate attire (Abu-Lughod, 2005: 29).

In the economic domain, in their village of origin, migrants were engaged almost exclusively in agriculture. Men worked long and hard during the three sowing and harvesting periods in the Delta and during the two crop-change periods in Upper Egypt. The periods of hard work are often followed by a slower season of maintenance and community/social life. The basic rhythm of rural life thus dictated larger finite jobs alternating with less periods of relaxation the stage of the cycle (Abu-Lughod, 2005: 30).

In the cities, the experiences of migrant men are mostly the reverse. The work of manual labourers for instance is possibly more taxing, more evenly distributed over time and usually less solitary than rural work.

In the villages, women's work was more evenly distributed, with childcare, the preparations of food and bread making of dung cakes and the tending of livestock on a daily basis. Work in the farms was usually in the morning periods except for the busy season when it absorbed the greater part of the day. Labour was communal with the extended family home and, when outdoors, was usually performed in a group.

In the town the women activities also changed a great deal, for instance, laundry which was done in the canal or more recently in the communal water taps is quite different in the cities (for example in Al Sharabiya) where laundry is done in solitary and here, women have to carry water from the communal taps to their homes to do the washing within their dwellings (Abu-Lughod, 2005).

Those migrants who work in the company of others (that is in large scale factories) come into contact with associates from different backgrounds. Social heterogeneity is one of the distinguishing characteristics of urbanism, but for this to create any mental counterpart – cultural relativity – heterogeneous people must come into intimate contact with each other. However an overwhelming majority of commercial and industrial firms in Cairo employ only few people, often within the same family. This is partly due to the fact that migrants often depend upon their compatriots to guide them to their first jobs and sometimes, migrants seek out well known "successes" from their village to give them employment. Consequently migrants tend to cluster together not only in residentially but also on the job as well (Abu-Lughod, 2005
: 30-31)

Migrants in Cairo look to the informal social institutions for a fuller understanding of patterns of adjustment. A few of the institutions include the coffee shops in which many Middle East males conduct their social and often their business lives. A villager who serves men from that particular village runs many coffee shops in Egypt. In this venue news from the village is exchanged and mutual assistance concerning employment is given. The shops mostly resemble a closed club rather than a

commercial enterprise. This Western institution is probably like the old style of British pub, which serves as a social focus for the individual's life in its intimate atmosphere with a set of steady patrons (Abu-Lughod, 2005:32). This is supported by the views of Deumert et al (2005) who claim that migrants in Cape Town, especially those in the townships resort to informal networks for protection.

Women do not have such informal associations. Unlike in the village where they have an important role to play in occasions such as religious festivals, births, deaths, marriages, circumcisions and so on, within the city, all these events become more private and the role of women as full participants is reduced. Social life in the cities is reduced (confined to the immediate neighbourhood). In some places the women, children and older persons are the more active participants in neighbourhood- centred social life while in town the cohesiveness of the neighbourhood is strengthened by the fact that people from the same village settle together.

Ideologically the city man is presumed to differ from the peasant in many ways. In the first place, the reduction of the too much personal social control of the village is assumed to give way for individual differentiation. Secondly, cities are assumed to foster a more secular, rational and mechanistic ordering of activities. Thirdly the cities are seen as gateways to a more sophisticated knowledge of the better world. Lastly, the cities have traditionally been the centres of movements of social change from new religion to new political ideologies and transfers of power. To crown it all, there maybe a wide gap between the least sophisticated villager and the most-sophisticated urbanite, but certainly there is no indication that migrants must be less sophiticted from the start. In other words migrants must not necessarily pass from one pole to the other (Abu-Lughod, 2005:32).

To support the fact that rural-urban migration is a cause for concern in the developing world, Deument et. al. (2005:303) estimate that urban populations will surpass rural populations in the next 10 to 15 years. They state the example of Africa, Asia and Latin America with urban growth rate of 4% per annum to substantiate this point of view.

Again, like Abu-Lughod (2005), Deumert et. al. (2005) confirm that rural sectors in developing countries are characterised by marginal subsistence agriculture, excess labour, high rates of poverty and few opportunities to meet the modern economy. Due to this, rural dwellers move to the urban areas to pursue greater material wealth and independence through employment in urban areas. As a result, there is rapid urbanisation and the emergence of urban slums with problems such as the lack of formal employment opportunities, poor housing quality and lack of personal security and safety among other things (Vigouroux, 2005:240; Deumert et al, 2005:303-304).

Deumert et. al. (2005) lament that in South Africa, migration had an impact on the lives of the South Africans as early as the 1860s where black South African males were forced to live in closely guarded compounds as workers of the diamond and gold mines. As if this was not enough, their families were not allowed to live with them, and to make matters even worse; they were allowed to visit their families only once a year. Throughout the 19th and 20th century black households in rural South Africa depended on income transfers from the members of their household living far away and mostly working in the mines.

With time, the system of migrating labour was extended and codified by laws that restructured legal and residential rights of black South Africans. For instance the Homeland Citizenship Act of 1970 created designated residential regions for black South Africans. Following this law, black South Africans were not allowed to settle in 'non-homeland' regions of the country except for work purposes. To make South Africans even more dependent on the system of migratory labour, the policy was soon followed by the forced relocation of approximately 1.7 million South Africans from their homes to the "homelands" where they met with heavily overpopulated, infertile and limited-land based earning opportunities in their new residents (Deumert et. al, 2005:305-306).

The restrictions on residency and movement of black South Africans increased together with the migration of women to the cities in search of jobs when apartheid ended in 1994. Deumert et. al. state that migration rates to Cape Town have been consistently high since the late 1980s and that this increase became even more rapid after the first democratic elections of 1994. Again, Deumert et. al. declare that Cape

Town being the metropolitan centre of the Western Cape, receives 50,000 new arrivals every year. A great majority of the villagers come from the villages of the Eastern Cape where Xhosa is their home language (Deumert el al, 2005:306). The decision to migrate most often than not, is made at family level.

Once more, Deumert et. al. (2005:315) further argue that 'a migrant is not necessarily the decision-making entity accountable for his or her migration'. To clarify this point, Deumert et. al. (2005) emphasize that the decision to migrate to town is made at household level. In order to achieve on overall 'risk minimization' for all household members, some family members are placed in town. As a result, there is increased insurance for both the urban migrants and for those who stay at home since the family is able to pool both the village and town incomes. While in town kinship ties are strong within the destination area and provide newly arrived migrants with access to housing, food, financial means, work and community support (Deumert et. al, 2005:316) and to add to this, the kinship ties and friends are valuable in providing basic information about employment opportunities (Deumert et. al, 2005).

The fact that the migrants prefer to stay together has led to the establishment of urban slums popularly known as the locations or townships (Deumert et. al, 2005:318). Some of the townships of the Western Cape include Gugulethu (established in 1958), Langa (established in 1923) Imizamo Yethu (established in the early 1990s) and so on. Shacks have sprung up next to the old hostels that were built during apartheid to accommodate male migrant workers and these now provide housing for migrant families. Usually, two or more families are found to share a room. In some cases, room occupancy rates showed that amore than 20 people including adults and children were found to share a room (Deumert et. al, 2005).

Imizimo Yethu differs considerably from the other townships like Khayelitsha, Langa, Gugulethu in that it emerged only recently (in the early 1990s) whereas the other locations especially Langa and Gugulethu were created in the context of apartheid town planning which forced black South Africans to live in areas that were considerable distance away from the city and white residential areas (usually about 20km from town). Deumert et al (2005:319) argue that in the townships there are also international immigrants who also come from different linguistic backgrounds.

In this line, Vigouroux argues that most of the African immigrants in Cape Town did not initially plan to come to South Africa. According to Vigouroux, the majority of her interviewees were attracted to South African only after several attempts to obtain a visa to Europe or North America had failed (Vigouroux, 2005:240). Following this, it would be interesting to explore the kinds of interaction between Eastern Cape Migrants and Cameroonian immigrants. It is important to examine the Cameroonians' language varieties used to establish their perception about their origin and cultural heritage. In order words, it would be interesting how immigration to Cape Town has affected the Cameroonians' sense of identity.

2.2 The Concept of Identity

At the level of personal identity, first and last names plus kinship relations are basic elements (Extra 2004:3). For example if someone asks you "who are you?" the answer the person expects to get is your first or last name. If that person further asks you "Who are you really" the possible range of answers would be infinite and far more complex. This may be related to the Cameroonians who can start off with their names and then, identify themselves as either Francophones and/or, Anglophones with endless reasons to justify their choices.

The most important conceptual dimension on personal identity with reference to kinship relations can vary cross-linguistically starting from generations (that is kins of the same generation, ancestors and descendants), blood relations (that is consanguine versus afinal kins) to affinal relations (for example brother-in-law) and so on (Extra, 2004: 3-4).

When it comes to group identities, apart from family relations, every individual belongs simultaneously to infinite social categories and thus can be categorized in numerous ways either by others or by themselves. The social category that is considered either important or not depends on the context. Extra (2004) projects the various elements as basic for collective identity.

1. Self-categorization: this refers to the categorization of self in terms of a particular social group.

2. Evaluation: this refers to either the negative or positive attitude; that a person has toward the social category in question.
3. Importance: this is the degree of importance of a particular group membership to the individual's overall self-concept.
4. Attachment: this is the sense of belonging/emotional attachment to a group;
5. Social embeddedness: it is the degree to which a particular collective identity is embedded in a person's everyday ongoing social relationships.
6. Behavioural involvement: the degree to which the person engages in actions that directly implicates the collective identity category in question.
7. Content and meaning: elements of identity that are less easily subsumed in a single dimension such as self-attributed stereotypes, ideologies or internally represented stories ('narratives') that the person has developed regarding the social category in question.

Furthermore Extra (2004:4) gives some basic examples of social categories, namely: the physical identity (e.g. in terms of gender, age, length, skin colour, health) social and economic identity (in terms of educational and professional status), ethnocultural identity (in particular in a multicultural setting), geographical identity (for example at the local or global level) and finally religious identity.

In spite of the foregoing distinctions and explanations of various types of identities, we should be able to realize by now that the concept of identity may refer to a whole variety of multiple dynamic identities, ranging from nationality, gender, age to particular norms and values which attract both qualitative as well as historical comparative methods; and with their various perspectives (that could either be social or ethnic). Given the multiplicity of the concept of identity, in particular in a multicultural context of migration and minorisation there is an increasing need for a multidisciplinary (not either/or) approach and for balance and complementary perspectives, linking individuals and groups, including societies at large. (Extra, 2004:24). It is worth noting too that part of our identity is to use different language repertoires in different contexts (Extra, 2004:5), which is very crucial to the findings of this study. An interesting example is the multiplicity in geographical identity and corresponding name giving. Hence, the reason why people from Germany are referred to as Germans and those from South Africa as South Africans, and so on.

In this study we adopt the ethnic/cultural identity perspective so as to be able to ask many questions that can be examined from various perspectives and by a range of methods. Extra (2004:4) proposes three methods of analysis, namely, the individual, interactional and societal level. Nevertheless, in this study, focus is on the interactional level, what Halliday (1978:72) calls the inter-organism perspective or language 'man to man'. Halliday's (1978:73) emphasis here is on the dynamics of inter-individual contacts in different contexts, in terms of ongoing social definitions and negotiations.

According to Finegan and Besnier (1989:326) language is principally a tool for doing things. That is people use language to answer questions, request favours, and make comments, for news reports, to give directions and to perform countless verbal actions. It is therefore an obvious fact that people of different nations tend to use different languages (Finegan and Besnier, 1989:326). A vivid illustration of this is seen in Extra (2004:4) with his example of various geographical identities and their corresponding name giving. At the continental level for instance he groups Europeans with their language repertoire – Euro-English, Australians with Australian English and the national level there is the example of Frenchman with French asn their language. Extra (2004:8) discusses the distinction between the concepts of 'nation' and a 'nation-state'. Nations frequently develop from ethnic groups, but nations and ethnic groups do not coincide. Ethnic groups are often subsets of nations and function as collective entities across the borders of nation-states.

The construction and/or consolidation of nation-states has enforced the belief that a national language should correspond to each nation state and that this language should be regarded as a core value of national identity. Again Extra (2005:8) says that the equalization of language and national identity stems far back from the late 18th century (beginning of the 19th century) and is based on a denial of the co-existence of majority and minority languages within the borders of any nation-state.

To confirm this idea, Burke and Porter (1991:1) state that dialects and patois are often prescribed or reduced to secondary, informal roles while other languages are given official status. Burke and Porter emphasize that this was the sanction of the newly

independent 19th century nation-states which revolted against the bureaucrats (by abandonnog the languages the beaureaucrates had imposed on themem) who had formally ruined the affairs in some imperial tongue. Again, they state that this nationalist favour is also seen by current clamour in Eastern European nations which now exhibit linguistic conflicts with the example of the Turks in Bulgaria rejecting the Bulgarian names they had been forced to adopt (Burke and Porter 1991:1). Closely linked to this observation, is Myers-Scotton's (2006) argument that 'it is difficult to oppose a language without opposing their speakers and their community interests' (Myers-Scotton, 2006:383). The above discussions show that it is practically impossible to separate language from identity, thus leading us to the wider scope of language and identity. As Anchimbe (2005b: 1) puts it 'the claim to any identity is incomplete if it is not accompanied by a language in which such an identity expressed or transmitted'.

Extra (2004:8) reports that the USA has not remained immune to nationalism. This is seen in the English Only movement founded in 1983 out of fear for the growing number of Hispanic people on American soil. This was particularly manifested in the American resistance of bilingual Spanish-English education based on the grounds that such an approach would lead to identity confusion. To safeguard their interests, English was constitutionally assigned as the official language of the USA presuming that the recognition of other languages may undermine the foundations of the nation-state.

Following this overview it has become even clearer that the relationship between language and identity is not a static phenomenon. This is easily observable within Europe during the last decades of the 20th century where the relationship underwent strong transitional changes. In the national arenas the traditional identity of the European member-states (nation-states), particularly in the urban areas, has been challenged by major demographic changes due to international migration and intergenerational minorisation. That is, in the urban areas, languages groups come in contact and even result to some new languages spoken by some generation, thus leading to the exclusion of other generations. At the continental level, the concept of the European identity has emerged as a consequence of increasing co-operation and integration at the European level. Finally at the global level, our world has become

smaller and more interactive because of increasing availability of information and communication technology. In each of the three arenas above, major changes that have led to the development of concepts such as transnational citizenship and transnational multiple identities are visible thus giving inhabitants of Europe the right to identify, not only with a singular nation-state but to increasing claim a multiple affiliation (Extra, 2004:8).

Echu refers to Cameroon as a linguistic paradise when he compares Cameroon's number of 279 vernaculars alone to the fact that Africa possesses a little over 1000 indigenous languages. To Echu, this then, is really impressive especially when the official languages (English, French) and Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE) are added to the figure (Echu, 2004:1). This notwithstanding, he points out that this peculiar heterogeneous language situation does not facilitate linguistic communication, according to him, it constitutes a major handicap to communication due to the absence of a nation-wide lingua franca to serve as a common linguistic idiom. This situation according to him even becomes worse given the unequal distribution of French and English, which in turn affects the policy of official language bilingualism in a negative manner. To substantiate this view, language scholars and political observers entertain fears that such a multilingual situation is a potential source of conflict, a factor that can bring about political disintegration (Echu, 2003:1).

Yet as linguists and prospective linguists, many will argue that the opposite is true. To back up this claim, Echu (2003:1) again postulates that multilingualism constitutes an invaluable resource, a source of linguistic and cultural enrichment. To him, indigenous languages can even serve as a source of lexical-semantic and cultural enrichment for the two official languages, English and French. From this point of view, English and French are expected to become the expression of our national culture and identity. In other words, such a linguistic situation should naturally favour cultural integration and national unity. This again is concretised by the fact the English and the French languages spoken in Cameroon have borrowed extensively from the Cameroonian vernaculars thus making expressions such as Cameroon English/French very common today. This is especially clear when the appropriation of a vernacular lexical item by English or French stems from a desire that is not just to communicate a particular idea, concept or reality but also, to do so more vividly. To

this effect, most Cameroonians claim that English and French are Cameroonian languages (Echu, 2003:5-20).

Fonlon notes that in theory, the human mind is supposed to think ideas but as a matter of practical fact, we think in words and it is to this extent that we reflect while we think. We can actually hear ourselves thinking in a definite language. This language according to Fonlon substitutes itself to ideas in our minds so much such that it becomes the very warp and woof of our mental life. In this way, it creates an intimate union between people who share the same language and oneness – the mind which is the most essential thing in man. To this regard, Fonlon further explains that the cry "one people, one language" that is heard in countries like Israel for instance is not an empty political slogan (Fonlon 1969:25). To throw more light on this, Halliday (1978:1) states that language arises in the life of an individual through ongoing exchanges of meaning with significant others. In addition to this, Finegan and Besnier (1989:383) propound that those who speak with one another tend to speak like one another.

In addition, Anchimbe (2005a:8) estimates that language and identity are interwoven icons of individual and group membership. Even though Fonlon identifies ancestry, religion physiognomy and other dimensions of ethnicity as dictates of such a membership, it has, especially through the evolution of English been demonstrated that the more practical index is the linguistic. This means that it is through the language that the values of the group are portrayed and transmitted.

Anchimbe (2005a) further elaborates that the validity of language in-group identification exists at four levels namely that "language is often an attribute of group membership, an imported cue for ethnic categorisation, an emotional dimension of identity… a means of facilitating in-group cohesion". These to Anchimbe (2005a) are the four levels, which make the group a complete entity whose feelings and social esteem have vocal dimensions.

In addition to the four levels, reticulations of a national identity and its expression through a local language have fuelled efforts in countries such as Kenya and Tanzania for example to adopt Swahili as the official language. This is meant to reduce the

range of functions and attachment of the colonial – bequeathed language – English which was before then; had been the language of intra and international communication (Anchimbe, 2005a: 2005:8).

Concerning Cameroon, studies from prominent scholars such as Echu (2004), Anchimbe (2005a), Myers-Scotton (2006), Bobda (2006) and Dibussi (2006) have repeatedly shown that there is more attachment to the official languages than to the vernaculars and most interestingly, that the language of greatest function is CPE. In addition to this, Bobda (2006) estimates that a population of 32% of children in Yaoundé and between the ages of 10–17 do not speak any vernacular, they establish that these children tend to speak only French or English or only and CPE elsewhere. Bobda claims that the causes for this are the marked adherence to the Western and especially the French ways of life, which is a characteristic of Gabon and Cameroon. This, he justifies by arguing for example that the consumption rate of champaign, one of the most expensive French drinks and one of the greatest marks of the French culture is perceptible in these countries among other things. Finally, Bobda believes that another factor that accounts for the dominance of the European languages in Cameroon is the fact that Cameroonians are highly literate in these languages, that is, 68% of them as compared to 48.5% in Ivory Coast, 41% in Senegal and 26% in Chad. Therefore, he concludes that the Cameroonians use the European languages partly because they can use them better than other people in other countries (Bobda, 2006:5).

This disclosure means "new languages taking over the status of mother tongue" (Bobda, 2006:5). Yet, even though Cameroonians use the European languages a lot, the type of French or English they speak is not British/American English or Parisian French. It is the Cameroonian variety of English and French, which has been abundantly shown in literature to be markedly different from that in the text books and some teachers' variety, with which the degree of intelligibility may sometimes be very low (Bobda, 2006:5 – 7). To Bobda it is clearly unreasonable to blame the poor mastery of French and English on the Cameroonian children's vernaculars as they do not even know how to speak the vernaculars. Instead, he proposes a look towards another direction – the difference between the type of language used for education and the language, which the children know (Bobda, 2006:6).

Another important issue here is the fact that the prohibition of the use of CPE seems to have come to stay as it is even found within the premises of the General Certificate of Education in Buea (Bobda, 2006) – a continuation of the colonial legacy from the Germans to the British and the French and now with the post colonial authorities. But, as an eye- opener, Dibussi warns that all these restrictions on CPE, the name giving to Anglophone Cameroonians as "Anglo" (to mean backwards), "les gens de Fru Ndi" (that is, the people of Fru Ndi), who is the chairperson of the first opposition party ever formed since the 80s and consequently, a great threat during the reign of Paul Biya as President of Cameroon - a president who according to Myers-Scotton (2006) has been ruling since 1982, "les Bamenda" (that is, the Bamendas), Bamenda being an English speaking province in the North West from where Fru Ndi comes. This province is now also used derogatorily to refer to all Anglophones as trouble-makers) - all aspects of assimilation as Dibussi succinctly puts it:

> … instead of Pidgin being seen as a symbol of Anglophone creativity and resilience, it has instead become a stigma and an anathema, which supposedly reinforces the perception that English-speaking Cameroonians are unable to excel even in their own English or Anglophone sphere. The underlying message is a fairly simple one: in order to fit in, English-speaking Cameroonians must shun their inferior culture and language(s) which are obstacles to their integration into the national (read Francophone) mainstream, and gravitate towards French which is the language of access, success and power. Pidgin in particular is therefore portrayed as a language of confinement (in the "Anglophone Ghetto"), of exclusion (from "national mainstream") and of inferiority (vis-à-vis the French language) (Dibussi, 2006).

Back in the days of colonialism, the Germans did everything to extinguish CPE too. But all their efforts to reverse the linguistic scheme failed for the following reasons:

1. An English based pidgin was in extensive use.
2. English – medium and home language-medium missionary schools had gained substantial ground, and
3. The primordial concern of the Germans was labour for their industrial farms: Cameroon Development Cooperation (CDC). CPE and English were therefore

> loosely authorized or better still, permitted as a labourer's code. (Anchimbe, 2005a: 1-3)

Anchimbe (2005a:3) states that at the outbreak of the First World War, the German colonial government had effectively, set up only four schools with German as medium of instruction. This paucity is grossly insignificant in the face of the 632 missionary schools which had been set up by the missionary churches with English and home languages (Duala, Mungaka, Ewondo, etc) as media of education (Anchimbe, 2005a).

According to Anchimbe (2005a: 3) the mandatory occupation of Cameroon by France and Britain as decreed by the League of Nations, (1919), led to the introduction of French in East Cameroon ruled by France and the cementation of English in Southern Cameroon, the area governed by Britain. The British had annexed Nigeria even before the outbreak of the war, and southern Cameroon is a borderline territory to Nigeria. For this reason, the British colonial government ruled their section of Cameroon from Nigeria and in educated English. As a result, educated English, as opposed to Pidgin English and Creole English, was reinforced and projected as official language of Southern Cameroon.

> The British at first used the vernacular in primary education in the one fifth of Cameroon that was theirs. But over the years, pressured by the Cameroonians, they began to place more and more emphasis on education in English so that by 1958, vernacular education was extinct (Anchimbe, 2005a:3).

With the extinction of vernacular education, there was an increase in the acquisition and promotion of educated English either directly or indirectly. Its use increased in all spheres of life and even the indigenous people themselves now used it among themselves for pride and status differentiation.

On the other hand "the French with their assimilatory colonial policy adopted a more totalitarian approach in which French men and women were made out of Cameroonians" (Anchimbe, 2005a:4). The French erased the previous linguistic influence exerted by Pidgin English (PE). English and German and usage of these

languages were banned in French Cameroon. To add to this, Anchimbe (2005a) upholds that:

> French Cameroon was typically French in its governance (…) under the French, the language alone became the language of primary education, and the vernacular and Pidgin English were banned from schools as obviously was German.

At the time of independence from Britain in 1962, British Cameroon reunited with the French Cameroon and English and French were constitutionally stated as the official languages of the Federal Republic of Cameroon (Echu, 2004; Anchimbe, 2005a).

In the late 1960's and early 1970's, the prospects for a unified nation increased and linguistic preparations especially through education were launched. In 1963, the first bilingual secondary school was established in Man O Wa bay at the present day bilingual Grammar School Molyko, Buea. Man O Wa was founded on the bilingual immersion system. This was followed by the introduction of bilingualism in other secondary schools in Yaoundé and Douala. At the University, there was a compulsory bilingual training course (which is still implemented today) with English for the Francophone and French for the Anglophone. With reunification in 1962, it was the objective of the state to promote its principle of bilingualism as much as possible. A bilingual degree, created by a presidential decree, started in the University of Yaoundé. This was pushed further with a bilingualism allowance that was paid to those civil servants who could make adequate use of French and English. This was the true image of Cameroon, united in its tribal and linguistic divergences - and not the defence of either French or English.

But Anchimbe (2005a) believes that from the late 90's and even today, with the rule of one monolingual President – Paul Byia (seen above), the administration is conceived in French and only translated into English if need be. Anchimbe (2005a:5) goes on to conclude that the military, the national assembly, treaties and even diplomatic exchanges are conducted in t French.

Nevertheless, in the wake of globalisation, the prospects of benefiting from scholarships offered by English-speaking countries like Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand through the Commonwealth and other bilateral agreements (USA, etc),

has pushed more Francophones into English language centres like the American language centre, British Council, B&K Language Institute and the Pilot Linguistic centres that are found nationwide (Anchimbe, 2005a: 10).

The foregoing discussion illustrates the diverse score of factors that have been responsible for the attachment to English or French in Cameroon. These and many other factors shall be developed in chapter four to show the continual evolution involved in the identity formation process through the use of language.

According to Halliday's (1978:1-2) systematic functional linguistic theory, language is an expression and symbolism of the dual aspects in its semantic systems, which are organised around the motif of reflection and action. Language as a means of reflection is being referred to as the ideational component of meaning while language as a means of action is seen as the interpersonal aspect of meaning, since we can actually act symbolically only on people and not on things. The latter is our scope of interest as it envisages the social dynamics and the social characteristics of the language. This will be applied in this study, while using the Cameroonian migrants in CapeTown with their numerous languages and cultural values found in an equally diversified, multilingual and multicultural society – Cape Town, as case study.

In spite of the fact that official language bilingualism constitutes the main core of Cameroon's language policy as stated in Article 1, Paragraph 3, by the late 80s the Francophones, beguiled by territorial and numerical superiority where they occupy eight of the ten provinces, assigned to themselves predominant political powers, and imposed themselves together with French as the prestigious and "real" official culture and code of communication (Anchimbe, 2005a). These circumstances have led to a defence for separate official language identity launched for Francophonism and for the French and Anglophonism for the English, which as a political delimitation has now degenerated to an educational, cultural and emotional clash. This clash is so strong that it is has led to what today is known as the Anglophone problem (Myers-Scotton, 2006) and as a consequence the Anglophones are constantly seeking secession since they now feel that the culture of the Anglophones and that of the Francophones are very different (Anchimbe, 2005a).

2.3 Analytical Framework

This section builds the conceptual framework used for the interpretation of the data in Chapter Four. It gives us reason for discussing identity with the focus on language practices and attitudes in relation to the notion of territoriality, which is conceived of as multidimensional. It portrays space as both physical and symbolic (Vigouroux, 2005).

2.3.1 The Concept of Migration

The notion of territoriality can be approached as a dynamic and continuously negotiated reproduction/production of territories. Deeply embedded in the notions of space and territory are those of outsideness and insideness (Vigouroux, 2005). To change/reproduce territory involves movement from one place to another but reterritorialisation does not always presuppose migration. It could also be very symbolic (Vigourou, 2005). To clarify this point, more explanation of the term migration is needed.

In defining the term migration, Vigouroux (2005:243) looks at it first as a physical motion from one location to another. In other words, migration is a change of both the physical and the geographical space. She however recognizes that all cases of geographical relocation are not migration by citing the example of a person who moves from Chicago to Atlanta. Vigouroux observes that being a migrant usually presupposes crossing national borders as it is defined by international laws. In spite of this, she still considered as migration, the movement of people in the same territory, especially in cases where these persons are not welcome. This is particularly in agreement with the examples of Deumert et. al. (2005) when they refer to all people from the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape locations in Cape Town as migrants.

It is therefore clear from this example that an immigrant – a noun derived from another - migration is not used only for a person (s) who move(s) from one country to another (Vigouroux, 2005:243). Actually, Vigouroux argues that this noun for close to a century now has been used to designate certain kinds of people associated with a low social class and little formal education, usually from less industrialized countries. This is true in the case of the Turks and Togolese who are considered as immigrants

in France while Germans, Americans and Japanese are often identified by their nationalities (Vigouroux, 2005:243). To concretize this Vigouroux uses the South African context with the specific example of an interviewee from Cameroon who laments the fact that even on television whites are not considered as part of the documentary's representation of 'foreigner' (Vigouroux, 2005:243-244).

According to Vigouroux (2005:244) migrants' language practices and attributes are largely influenced by the multiplicity of geographical spaces in their trajectory, and this can be direct, semi-direct, or transitional. This direct trajectory, she argues applies mostly to the Malian, Guinean, Ivorian, Togolese and Senegalese people. These groups fly directly from their home countries or from a neighbouring country and reach their new linguistic and social environment within six hours. The semi-direct trajectory applies particularly to migrants from Congo-Brazzaville and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The migrants spend at least a day or two to reach their new destination. This journey would however be extended to a few months if there is an extended stay over in different countries. The transitional trajectory applies most particularly to migrants from Eastern Congo, Rwanda and Burundi, who arrive in Cape Town after years of transit elsewhere (Vigouroux, 2005:244).

Beside the fact that the migrants have different reasons for migrating, namely; economic, political, academic goals, adventures, social-cultural differences, they do not constitute a politically integrated community and can also be differentiated following their legal status ranging from 'refugees', 'asylum seekers', 'permanent residents' and 'students'. (Vigouroux, 2005:239).

A definition of these concepts of territory, space and territorialisation are of absolute importance to an understanding of this project. As earlier said 'space' and 'territory' are conceptually used to mean the same thing, that is, they are both symbolic and physical. Territory also stands for space where social practices are at play in this thesis. Even though geographers have varying distinctions between these terms, the main distinction worthy of note here is that 'territory' is used to refer to both the physical and the symbolic powers to appropriate based on social practices (Vigouroux, 2005:238). According to Vigouroux these concepts can function in multiple ways. For instance they can act as one whole notion because they are

interrelated and shape each other and can also be considered individually because of their ability to compete with each other. If considered in this way, Vigouroux argues, these notions would effectively show how speakers assert territorialisation; how it is recognised by other interactants and the reasons for which speakers make use of it as well as the benefits they get from it. (Vigouroux, 2005:238). In short territoriality is a dynamic and international model that we shall use for analysis since it will help to show us how speakers use space (the meaning they give to it), how they appropriate their multilayered space and how this helps us to understand the triangular relationship of language and identity and territorialization (Vigouroux, 2006:242), an approach which according to Extra (2004) is absolutely necessary in a multicultural and a multilingual setting.

In this study, the notion of space and territoriality are particularly deemed important. These as advanced by Vigouroux (2005), are imperative to this study due to the context in which they are articulated, the group of people - the immigrants which the notions address, and most importantly, the dynamic nature of the notions 'space' and 'territoriality, which effectively matches with the subject matter of the research - language, identity and language forms that is itself not a static one.

Vigouroux clearly analyses the migration process across the African continent: with emphasis on the Francophone African migrants to South Africa – a nation whose cultural and political context (that is the official liberation from apartheid) is highly inviting to the whole world (Vigouroux, 2005:238). South Africa's cultural and political background is quite similar to that of Cameroon (as they are multilingual settings) and especially interesting when examined in relation to the experiences of the Cameroonian immigrants in Cape Town since the immigrants themselves are all multilingual.

2.3.2 The Concept of Space

According to Vigouroux (2005), space is a notion borrowed from other domains namely, Sociology and Anthropology and Geography. It is often distinguished from territory in terms of appropriation based on physical or symbolic power. Without acknowledging the importance of the distinctions in relation to her subject matter,

Vigouroux however considers the importance for a clear distinction between 'territoriality' versus 'space' or 'territory' (Vigouroux, 2005:240).

The relevance of 'space' in linguistic issues is quite clear as she clearly states that 'every language is located in space' and that 'every' discourse says something about a space and that every discourse is emitted from a space. The notion of space is also inevitable in linguistics not just because linguistics itself is complex and multilayered, but due to the fact that space itself is also multilayered and complex (Vigouroux, 2005:241). The setting of this project – Cape Town is linguistically complex and the people to be examined are equally complex in the way they use language, following their linguistic history (see chapter 1), the language policy in Cameroon and most especially the trajectory (change of geographical space (s) of these immigrants on their way to Cape Town.

In spite of the fact that space is sometimes defined in conflicting ways, Vigouroux (2005:241) notes that there is a common thread – the inseparability of the spatial and the social which is now widely accepted by geographers and sociologists. Vigouroux (2005) clarifies this point when she refers to the Marxist geographers of the 1970s who suggested a strong relation between society and space, based on the argument that space is socially constructed. She further refers to more arguments that stemmed from the 1980s which stressed on the fact that society itself is also spatially constructed, thus enabling the concept of space to be approached in dynamic terms, in other words, she shows space as being constantly created, produced, reproduced, organized and negotiated by social actors.

Furthermore Vigouroux (2005:241) posits that space is a doubt. One always has to mark it, designate it; it is never anyones; it is never given to someone, it always has tobe conquered. Again Vigouroux provides good insights for rethinking the relevance the notion of space in relation to multilingualism and how it produces requirements for communication on different scales. According to her, this is identifiable in two phases. Firstly, by regarding 'space' more broadly, that is, as 'a spatially delimited environment, lived practices and a system of relations, all bearing symbolic meaning'. And also that this critical view of space can influence language practice in multilingual setting either individually (on its own) or in a complementary relation

where it shapes and works together with territory. Secondly, she pays attention to the speakers and their attempts to maintain, organize, transform and ratify the space they live in, thus leading us to the issue of multiple dimension.

2.3.3 The Concept of Territoriality

Territoriality, which is to be considered as the main point of reflection, is the appropriation of the multiple dimensions of their space by speakers – a form of 'spatial behaviour'. Territoriality can be asserted with several attributes called 'posture'. Posture can be body position, gesture, language choice, etc (Vigouroux, 2005:241).

Unlike territorialisation and deterritorialisation which she uses to refer to actions taken by social beings to enable them redefine their 'territory' or 'space', territoriality is used to highlight what people do to shape, protect and defend what they claim to be their areas or domain of action (Vigouroux, 2005).

On a final note, if one takes into account that territorialisation itself presupposes the existence of a territory, the definition may appear to be circular but if we consider them as complimentary terms where the physical territory that triggers territorialisation is not the definition of territory that territorialization produces, then our understanding of this notion will be much more related to the purpose of this study. Cameroonian immigrants have moved from their West African territoriality into the South Africa territoriality, which they claim as their own only on some occasions (for instance when they master some South African languages or gain a resident permit or in face of bitter rejection by the South Africans). It therefore follows that physically and geographically, the Cameroonian immigrants have deterritorialised from Cameroon while physically and/or symbolically reterritorialising in South Africa.

In the midst of xenophobia and physical aggression on foreigners (Vigouroux, 2005:240), the Cameroonian immigrants have to constantly redefine and reproduce space in a manner that suits or justifies their very presence in Cape Town. To further clarify this stance, the concept of deterritorialisation is important if space production is seen in dynamic terms. In other words, if space is not considered as an isolated

action but as a combination of several interrelated ones which generate new spaces by constantly redefining space itself and territory as that which can only be asserted when there is an axis that allows an exist from a territory or better still, that one cannot exit a territory (deterritorialise) without reterritorialising at the same time. In other words one is always in a territory of some kind at every moment even though, the delimitation of the territory can change. But one does not necessarily have to relocate geographically in order to experience deterritorialisation.

Taking into consideration Vigouroux's own personal experience of February 2004 on the Thalys, with the Belgian counterpart of the French TGV (Train à Grand Vitesse) on a trip from Paris to Brussels, this point may be made even simpler and easier to accommodate. When Vigouroux heard the ticket inspector's French variety which was different from that of the Parisians or from people anywhere in France she felt like she was already in a foreign land (territory) even though she was still in the same geographical location/space – Paris. With this difference in accent and the acknowledgement of the train as Belgian, as such she became aware of the fact that she was not only French but someone on her way to another country or in the process of becoming a foreigner. This illustration shows that another territory can be inferred in the same geographical space even if nobody else claims a territory; thus making vividly clear, the international aspect of identity display, thereby directly prompting us to analyse the different layers of space in which language practice and attitudes are embedded (Vigouroux, 2005:242).

2.3.4 The Notion of Territoriality, Language Attitude and Practice

2.3.4.1 The Paradigm of Mobility

As seen in the first section the migration process involves both physical and symbolic motion from one place to another as well as a change of geographical space. However not every geographical movement is considered as a migration for instance, a person from Salt River to Maitland is not a migrant (see Section 3.4.1 for details on migration).

When considering the migration processes, questions f identity are often posed in relation to space as seen above, where most nations derive their names with respect to their geographical location. But it is clear from the discussion in the first half of this chapter that identity is also rooted not only in space, but also in a place of origin and

place of residence and even in the spaces crossed along the trajectory. With this in mind one can conveniently argue that identity questions should not only be asked in static terms but also and most importantly in dynamic terms which takes into account not just relocation across separate geographical spaces but the ability to move across different micro spaces such as within and between neighbourhood, movements even within the city or to its periphery and obviously, the movement from the country of origin to another (that is, the establishment of continuity in the discontinuity of the territorial levels) as well (Vigouroux, 2005).

Following this argument and based on the last level of migration – travelling from country of origin to another which can be direct, semi direct or transitional, we notice that those who are involved in transitional trajectory and particularly Francophone migrants who spend several years in English speaking countries, are less judgmental of variation in English than those who are involved in the direct or sometimes semi direct trajectory. As a matter of fact, Vigouroux establishes that migrants from West and Central Africa typically have as the only yardstick for English competence classes that they had at home even at a very low level. As a result of this, they tend to regard South African English competence (black South Africans) as low when compared to that spoken by a higher socio-economic class (the white South African). Vigouroux declares that this rating usually starts even on arrival.

As a result of this spatial dimensionality of language, Vigouroux estimates that the migrants' choice to acquire a new language (resource) is evaluated according to its market value vis-à-vis the spatial and social mobility. This is the case in Cameroon where even though in the same geographical space, the Francophone population has now turned to pay more attention to the English language – a language that was formerly regarded with scorn, identified with opposition and violence by the out-group Francophones (Anchimbe, 2005a:7). They value English now due to the admission of Cameroon into the Commonwealth, with English being the main emblem of identification. In addition, this sudden interest in English is triggered by motives benefiting from the Commonwealth scholarships. Vigouroux (2005: 245-246) establishes that those who perceive the English language as a key factor to succeed in the host country are often newcomers or migrants who have not yet been challenged by the harshness of the local job market in South Africa.

Another group that values English are craftsmen who are well established, those who run their own businesses and those who are financially self-sufficient and are not seeking wage employment. To Vigouroux, mastery of a local language does not mean a professional insertion in the host country. To substantiate this argument, she compares the South African situation to that of Francophone Africans in Montreal (Canada) markets where mastery of the French language instead tends to disfavour them. These Francohonessince are suspected of not integrating and adapting into their new environment. In such cases, acquiring a new language is first connected to the speaker's perception of his/her condition.

This is also the case in South Africa where the refugees see their condition not only as a homeless one but also as a state of constant mobility. The migrants in South Africa also perceive English not as one of South Africa's languages (that is not locally rooted) but as a trans-territorial language. In this light, Vigouroux notes that in some cases English is even regarded as disadvantageous for the black immigrants and reduces their chances of getting a job. Nevertheless, the immigrants still learn the language because it gives them an opportunity to compete for jobs outside South Africa (Vigouroux, 2005:245).

This situation is even glaringly clear in Cameroon where amidst dominant French feelings, especially between 1990 and 1994, English received more scorn and disdain and since then became linked to the Anglophones. But due to the globalization of English and its status as key to doors of international opportunities, there has been an unprecedented rush for English by the Francophones thus leading to multiplicity of purely English mediums schools, such as private nursery schools and primary schools which are mostly flooded by Francophone children (Anchimbe, 2005a: 5-7).

2.3.4.2 The Notions of Outsideness and Insideness.

According to Vigouroux (2005), Outsiders and Insiders have a set of factors, which includes language that they can use to either set up or eliminate barriers between geographical spaces or groups of people? This situation is again very clear in South Africa and especially in Cape Town where in one neighbourhood of Muizenberg, 10 miles away from the city centre, the highest concentration of Central Africans in Cape

Town is found. In this same area, it was found that high rent costs have made single persons who are usually bound by a common language – Lingala, and usually from the same area such as Angola and DRC Congolese (especially the persons who already knew each other from their home countries) - would group together to share a room. Their condensation in this area has influenced them to make the place feel like home as they have built two Christian churches in this area. In the area the Angolans and DRC Congolese who speak Lingala prefer to mix together, while those who do not speak Lingala stay apart. In addition to the language factor, the migrants also have a common way of living, the Kinshasa way of life, which was based on resourcefulness. In using Lingala, the migrants assert a symbolic territory, where they belong to a particular culture – the urban culture of Kinshasa (Vigouroux, 2005:247).

In Cameroon, the struggle for secession by the Anglophones and the impact of the Anglophone problem causes them to become more attached to English and to their tradition in order to create a symbolic zone for themselves. The Francophones on the other hand emphasizes French as a way to also grasp Cameroonian territory (Anchimbe, 2005a).

In the South African historical context, a relationship of territory, identity and language is especially very significant and renders the concepts 'insiders' and 'outsiders' very problematic. To illustrate this Vigouroux (2005) has the following to say:

> First, the self-categorization Afrikaner, which was chosen in the nineteenth century, was for the former Boers a way of escaping both Dutch and English domination by claiming a new identity as insiders and indigenous to their own territory of settlement.
>
> Second, the European immigrants who came in the nineteenth century, after the discovery of gold and diamond in Johannesburg were denied political rights by the Boer and called uitlanders (literally, those who come from outside the land).

Third, the 1950 Group Areas Act of the apartheid system organized space in order to classify people at local and national levels. To describe very roughly the space and

racial organization during that regime, one could use a topographic metaphor by saying that the center was mainly ascribed to the people classified as white, whereas the periphery (townships) was, by a centrifugal movement, allocated to the 'non-white'. The town center was not only a geographic center but also a point of reference to identify the others negatively as 'non-whites'. Since the townships could not integrate every 'non-white', they too became centers in their own right with the increasing development of squatter camps around them. This evolution makes the notion of 'center' versus 'periphery' and 'insider' versus 'outsider' not only relative but also fluid (Vigouroux; 2005:247).

In this same vein, Dibussi (2006) evaluates the division between the Anglophones and the Francophones where the Anglophone is usually simply referred to as Anglo (a derogative term meaning backwards). Worse still with the dominant use of CPE in the Anglophone area, they are often cut out from the Cameroon territory and associated more with Nigeria, thus giving the Francophone more rights and enabling them through their role as insiders to flourish and dominate in the country.

Following the arguments based on the notion of 'outsider', Francophone African migrants claim South Africa as home and in this same way, their opposition to the claim of indignity of the Afrikaners (and most probably of the white South Africans) is also justified. According to Vigouroux (2005: 247), the Francophone migrants even ignore the Afrikaners' claim to citizenship and claim territoriality in South Africa. The Francophone migrants legitimize their claim and presence in South Africa, by evoking history and the black race. In fact, they hold a discourse in which they recognize as African only people of black descent. Their symbolic and ideological conception of territoriality underscores the continental nature of their migration thus effectively displaying the Francophone African's identity display. To this effect, migrants refer to the other South Africans with a modifier as in "White South Africans" or with specific label 'colorés' or 'mixed colour' while reserving the English term (most popular term) 'coloured' for the hybrid populations as have been traditionally identified from the time of the apartheid regime.

Based on this example, it is clear that identity is deeply implicated in the way in which people experience space and that the Francophone migrants' claim of being at

home is a counter discourse to public and private of rejection of black African foreigners. In other words, due to the adverse experiences of local space in which the migrants reside, they construct a symbolic space that makes them to feel legitimate (Vigouroux, 2005: 248-249). This again is an important reason for choosing the above notions for analysis.

2.3.4.3 The Impact of Language Choice on Discourse

According to Vigouroux (2005: 249-250), a researcher can learn ethnographically from his/her initial inappropriate choice of language during his/her first encounter with an informant. In her case however, as a novice researcher, she was scared of being denied the possibility of knowing and so she instead initiated a symbolic territory with her participants by continuously negotiating a common territoriality between herself and her participants.

Vigouroux (2005: 249) notes that the choice of a linguistic code by a speaker in a multilingual interaction can be analysed as a claim of symbolic territory where interactants share more than one linguistic resource. In her case, while carrying out her fieldwork in South Africa in 1999, she identified herself as a Francophone in order to convince her Francophone participants that they were all foreigners who shared the same language in an exogenous sociolinguistic setting. Nevertheless, her choice of French as official language of all Francophones, as recognized by the organisation of Francophone states (la Francophonie), was often utterly rejected by her potential interviewees.

Vigouroux's attempt to create a symbolic territory for herself and her interviewee by using the same language, French, in which she and the participants were to be insiders in contrast to 'they' (non-French speakers) was a failure especially as Congolese from the DRC who wanted further explanation on her claim for a common identity. Firstly they wanted to know if she was a Francophone from Belgium – their one time colonial masters, or a Francophone from France who had been ring leaders of the turmoil in the great lakes areas that resulted in the overthrow of Mobutu by Kabila. Above all, the Francophone migrants believed that Vigouroux's choice of French was

just a reminder that they were not foreigners on equal grounds (Vigouroux, 2005: 249-250).

In Cameroon, CPE is very popular and used by all Cameroonians but because it is not officially recognised, the Cameroonians usually shy away from this language and claim that it is barbaric and good only for the uneducated. The Francophone especially often reject this language, which to them belongs to the outsiders (the Anglophones that they consider as Nigerians in Cameroon) and symbolically identify themselves only with French (Dibussi, 2006). Vigouroux uses Green Market Square and the Pan African Market to illustrate how the different dimensions of space affect language practice and attitudes in the above paragraphs. After having done so, she proceeds to show how a complex set of geographical, social and symbolic territorial appropriation modalities intertwine and produce very conflicting identities. (Vigouroux 2005: 251).

Green Market Square and the Pan African Market are topographically close to each other, they are found in the heart of Cape Town and they both host a significant number of outsider Africans who work as traders (Vigouroux, 2005: 249-250). She further states that this topographical nearness facilitates the circulation of potential buyers, onlookers and even between the traders of the markets as one trader may have business in the two markets that open everyday. According to her, the markets are very popular and act as centres of attraction to visitors in Cape Town. In this neighbourhood, the presence of outsider Africans is more visible than it was ten years ago when it was predominantly white. This makes it possible for publicists and tour operators to sell the Cape as a place where the African diversity begins.

To the tourists who visit Cape Town for the first time and based on what they see in the markets, Cape Town is actually their idea of a real African city. In fact tourists take back objects from the Congo, Zambia, and Cameroon as souvenirs from South Africa.

In reality, this is much more complicated. The Francophone traders in the Green Market Square capitalize on the use of English – one of the official languages of South Africa instead of French, even when the tourists speak French. The

Francophone migrants actually treat French as a liability while in the Green Market Square. But in the Pan African Market, which is just about one hundred meters away from the Green Market Square, the traders cherish French and even see the language as an asset which they use to lure the French tourists and claim monopoly over them. The monopoly of French traders is added to their advantageous use of English with other non-French speaking tourists (Vigouroux, 2005: 251).

The reasons for the varied language forms in the two markets are quite interesting. Even though both markets are geographically and politically South African, the migrants in these markets claim that they are black African markets because of the products, which they sell in the markets. This only earns them more scorn from the South Africans who think that they are usurpers or people who take advantage of the relative economic stability of their country. This especially is common practice in the Green Market Square which was in an old location in the town centre that was meant for vegetable hawkers and country traders, attracting a wide diversity of people from the upper class to the tramps but which has gradually been transformed over the years into a flea market to accommodate both craft sales and new arts culture. Due to the Africanisation of this market, it now hosts both African foreigner and South Africans (Vigouroux, 2005).

On the other hand, the Pan African Market is very recent. It was created in December 1996 by black African traders and in contrast to the Green Market Square, this market stands out from the usual Capetonian urban fabric as it was designed for tourists in order to promote South Africa as part of the black mosaic (Vigouroux, 2005: 252-253). The next Chapter deals with the methodological framework of this thesis.

2.4 Summary

The chapter, which is the literature review, has been divided into three main parts starting with the effects of migration on the immigrants, discussion of the concept of identity and the analytical framework respectively. The methodological framework will be built on tools specifically suitable for qualitative research as has been suggested by the literature since this method will give room for the construction of the dynamics of space, territory and territorialisation.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological approaches followed in the study. The chapter begins by an introduction to the research design followed by a description of sample collection techniques. Next in the chapter is the presentation of data collection procedures, data analysis procedures and the scope and limitations of the study.

3.1 Research Design

The study follows exclusively a qualitative research design as the linguistic forms I explore are subjected to descriptive analysis using the data from interviews, focus groups and participant observation techniques.

I interviewed participants, organised focus group discussions and observed what was happening. The introductory phase was not often recorded for fear that the participant may end up refusing to participate in the interview. As a result, some participants' personal details were not recorded.

The qualitative research method is particularly interesting in that it allows the interviewees/participants to speak in their own words and the interviewee to participate and observe the interactions. Consequently, I am able to get a sense of the complexity of the respondents' surroundings, their understanding of social change and their aspirations, regrets and fears. One gets a lot of detail about their day-to-day practical concerns especially by completely engaging and taking part in their activities such as conversations, attending the meetings, and visiting the shebeens. From mid February 2006 till early June 2006, I attended all the Cameroon meetings in Cape Town (particularly those of the Cameroonian North Westerner's Association) not just as a Cameroonian but also as a researcher. During this period, I became part and parcel of the daily activities of my subjects.

3.2 Sampling and Sample Selection Techniques

The study focuses on Cameroon migrants in Cape Town. The participants include Cameroonians from all age groups and both genders since these would give greater

insight into what Cameroonians think about their own identity and would reflect the way the migrants use language in South Africa. The participants were randomly selected in order to avoid prepared answers. The Cameroon North Westerners' Association (CANOWACAT) meeting was the only exception as I consciously selected the association not only for its size but also because its members include both Anglophones and Francophones. To get participants I made phone calls and sent emails to all these Cameroonians I knew. I also attended the CANOWACAT meeting very regularly. At times, I simply approached any Cameroonian outside the main meeting hall (a shebeen) in Salt River. In this manner, I interviewed some people while others gave me their phone numbers and contact details to call them for specific appointments. Most often, I collected the data from either their jobsites or at their homes.

The selection of the Cameroonians was most appropriate for me because as a Cameroonian, I have visited seven out of ten provinces of the country for at least four weeks each; except for the Extreme North, the North and the Adamawa Provinces. Moreover, I have equally been to both French and English speaking institutions not only as a student but also as an instructor. As such, I count myself apt and well suited to investigate how Cameroonian immigrants in Cape Town who have lived in some of these provinces would identify themselves and whether they are going to engage with the same language forms and in the same manner as they did while in Cameroon.

Fortunately, among the Cameroonians in Cape Town (that I met), there was none from the three Northern Provinces, which I have never had the opportunity to visit. Even if I had to meet people from these areas, they would have been able to express themselves in at least one of the official languages (French or English) or the most popular lingua franca of the country, CPE. Nevertheless, I must mention here that despite the fact that there exist so much written material in CPE, CPE has no standard written form since it is not taught in schools (even though some missionaries, till day, undertake some studies on CPE in order to be able to transmit their message to the greater population). In this study, I was equally anxious to know if the Cameroonians had abandoned their Cameroonian identity to claim the South African one, especially for those who are proficient or at least understand some of the South African languages.

In addition, no previous research has been done on this particular topic with regard to this group of immigrants (Cameroonians) in Cape Town. This group is particularly interesting because every Cameroonian here speaks at least two languages or more, the most popular of which are English, French, and CPE. This again acted as a further element of motivation to me since I would not need to search around for a translator given that my undergraduate and honours courses had shaped me for the task of translation. Furthermore, I am also able to speak and write English, French and Pidgin English.

3.3 Data Sources and Data Collection Procedures

Here, the aim is to depict the most significant instruments used in collecting the data for this research project, how this data was collected. This section also gives a description of the case study of this research and during the entire process of data collection.

3.3.1 Data Collection Procedures

As earlier noted, I used interviews, participant observation and focus groups. The free and unforced consent of all participants was solicited before recording any information obtained from the interviews and group discussions. Copious notes were taken as part of participant observation activity. The recorder served to store information in its most natural form and also to preserve it for future references. Tape-recording also facilitates transcriptions and guarantees accuracy. The data collection procedure was as follows:

I selected participants randomly. I often went to where I believed there would be many Cameroonains and then usually approached any of them that I found all alone. In this way, I solicited some participants and collected data. For those who could not make it then, I got their phone numbers, which I used to fix later appointments. Most of the interviews were held in drinking places (shebeens), restaurants and in the business places or in the homes of the participants. During this process, I noticed that the Cameroonian immigrants in South Africa usually prefer to settle together in a particular area, for example in Salt River, Woodstock, Maitland and Mowbray. This

made it easier for me to meet many Cameroonians in one place, be it a shebeen, a flat or workplace and fix other appointments with them.

The attitude of many towards my request for an interview or request to participate in-group discussions was generally positive. This facilitated my task since I was able to get many interviews just in one area. Although all those I have interviewed might live in other areas of Cape Town like Khayelitsha, Maitland, Bellville, Observatory, Salt River, Mowbray, Woodstock, Stellenbosch, and Parow, most of the research data was collected in Salt River, Woodstock, Mowbray and Parow. Most of the interviewees were questioned as individuals, making it impossible for them to be influenced by the views and responses of other interviewees. In some cases, the interview sites were crowded so, more often than not, the interviewee would take me to an area where he/she believed that the effect of the noise, music or the sounds of cars would be minimized. Most of the interviewees spoke at least two languages or more (French, CPE or English). Since interviews, were conducted in a language of their choice, there was very minimal misinterpretation of questions, which was immediately regulated by a reformation of the question in other words or by means of an example from me or other participants (in the case of group discussions).

I asked some questions as though I was trying to compare two languages and cultures namely, that of the South Africans and that of the Cameroonians. This was because I had discovered from previous interviewees (especially from my experience as a member of the research team of the University of Cape Town - UCT) that this makes it possible for interviewees to truly express their feelings, and use their own words to say where they really belonged, to portray nostalgia (if home to them was still their country of origin) to talk extensively about their day-to-day life here in South Africa vis-à-vis life in Cameroon. It is worth noting here that interviews were typically semi structured as my questions depended much on the responses of the interviewees.

3.3.2 Interviews

The interviews gave room for a common exchange of views and sharing of experiences between the interviewees and the interviewer. Access to interview questions was negotiated and facilitated by my supervisor and head of Department, Professor Felix Banda, who made it possible for me to become a member of Professor Rajend Mesthrie's research team at UCT. The interview questions were generally

designed in an open-ended manner that covered the thematic areas on background, reasons and procedures followed on coming to South Africa, life in South Africa, languages, culture, social networks, belonging and linguistic differences (See Appendix A). I used the questions with the consent of Professor Rajend Mesthrie to whom I owe a presentation of the summary of this project. The interviews were relatively unstructured and thus gave me room to subtly shape and direct discussions. The interview questions were open-ended so that the participants could express themselves in their own words. In this manner, I was able to understand the people's experience in a natural way and "from the horses' mouth". The interviews gave room for a one - to - one discussion and as such, made data more trustworthy and specific. I conducted eighteen interviews most of which lasted from twenty-five to ninety minutes and two participant observer discussion groups; one of which took twenty minutes and the other which took over ninety minutes.

Needless to say I equally observed the interviewees' activities. I took some notes which helped me to develop some of my research questions, notably research question one. In addition, during the process of interviewing participants, I observed and learned a lot about their (other) ways of identification.

What mainly determined the length of time for each interview was the participant's schedule for the day. At times, I ended an interview if I discovered that the participant was not bringing much to the project, and mostly relied on my prompting or cue to give responses, and finally, I would let an enthusiastic speaker to stop speaking only when I believed that all the key issues relating to the research question had been answered.

The number of interviews and groups discussions was enough for the fact that I had very limited time to undertake the heavy emotional and psychological demand of doing fieldwork and above all, I was very conscious of performing the difficult painstaking task of transcribing the tapes which in my case goes along with another tedious exercise, translation. I had to translate all interviews that were conducted in CPE and French into English. The translations of the data are my own, and have neither been idiomatized or cleaned up since it is believed that this would deprive those who do not speak French/ CPE from some tase of the original discourses with

their character of spontaneity, hesitations, reformulations, repetitions and so on (Vigouroux, 2005).

I have included only cursory examination of most of the transcribed data since my interest is not in the quality of language that Cameroonians speak but to investigate the various language forms which they use and how these portray and sustain their identity.

All interview questions have been indicated in Appendix A. Questions were not asked exactly as they appear in the appendix. They were asked in a haphazard manner, following the answers from the respondents. That is, the interview procedure was shaped and directed by the responses of the interviewees. However, I did everything possible to cover the themes of this study: language, identity and languagevarieties. But from earlier interviews, I discovered the easiest way to get participants talk more directly about their life style in the host country, South Africa, was to ask some questions in a comparative form, that is, trying to make interviewees link their experiences here with those at home (Cameroon). Most of these interviews were quite lengthy - generally more than 40 minutes. This gave me a chance to collect some useful data and this rendered the interviews a fulfilling experience for both the interviewees and the researcher. This also guaranteed the achievement of success to an extent (White, 2002:33) since in every single interview, at least one, if not, all three-research questions were answered.

I adopted the same questions for the focus group discussions while dwelling mostly on those aspects of their responses that could possibly shed more light on their language, identity and language forms - a more restrictive aspect of language and migration. The open-ended focus group questions (derived from the research hypothesis) that were asked especially by means of interview enabled me to trigger discussions among the participants or make them talk passionately about their language experiences and their identity while the researcher faded into the background.

3.3.3 Participant Observer Discussions

I attended the Cameroonian meeting - Cameroon North Westerners Association (CANOWACAT), which is held fortnightly in Salt River. The meeting was initially created for all the Cameroonians form Bamenda in the North West Province. I preferred this particular meeting to all other Cameroonian meetings because it is the most organised and highly populated meeting of Cameroonians in Cape Town. In addition to this, the members of this meeting are both Anglophone and Francophone. Cameroonians come from various areas of the Western Cape including the townships to attend this meeting. I obtained permission from the meeting members to record the meeting discussion. It enabled me to get access to very natural discourse from the Cameroonians in Cape Town and compared this to a natural discourse at home. I visited those Cameroonians who have shops or dealt with a wide range of customers. Thus I was able to observe and record how they use language and even learn from them (or deduce) why they use language the way they did.

When I attended the CANOWACAT meetings, I took down useful notes on several aspects namely the choice of food, manner of dressing and values such as respect for the elders and so on. I noticed in CANOWACAT that people who are attending this meeting are not only North Westerners. Cameroonianian from every part of Cameroon and sometimes with their wives, friends and sometimes their colleagues came along with them. The manner in which this meeting is organised impressed me. Every activity in the meetings was documented in English (See Appendix B for the summary of the minutes of the meeting. All the lines (---) on this appendix stand for real names that have been erased t0 maintain anonymity) and not the vernaculars of various members. This again motivated me since I was able to assist in the meetings, participating and observing what was going on. For instance, the type of food that was eaten during the entertainment slot (food from Cameroon), the language everyone spoke with friends or when one had to order a drink or when the executive members were talking amongst themselves (CPE), and the manner in which the participants dressed (dressed in their traditional attires).

Another main environment visited to record discussion was the Parow market. The first focus was Adeline - Francophone (who works in a hair - dressing Salon in Parow. The salon is attached to the husband's (Anglohone) cell phone accessory shop. In the

hair dressing salon, she works with another Cameroon lady, Ma Mercy (Anglophone). During working hours, they have customers from various countries and cultural backgrounds, ranging from Cameroonians to South Africans. Adeline always tries to speak or change her pronunciation to suit each of these customers. When it is not busy in the salon, she would move into the cell phone shop. In this shop, there was a Cameroonian man, (Francophone), and two Xhosa ladies who had been employed to work in the shop.

The first participant observation discussions with Adeline lasted just for twenty minutes but she was revisited in order to get more valuable data and this time around, it lasted for forty-five minutes.

Given this linguistic and multicultural background within which she works, I deemed it necessary to make her my focus. I visited her first for an interview after which I got her permission to visit her again at her home and at her workplace to record her daily activities with her customers, co-workers, child, husband and friends. I ended up going just to her work place since it was too far and very costly to go to her home. As such I never met her son. Nevertheless, her workplace was a very favourable point since I met so many other Cameroonians who came to visit her, do their hair or make international phone calls. In this way, I saved time because I made appointments with most of them and some took me straightaway to their own business shops for interviews.

3.3.4 Focus Groups

Lastly, there were also focus group discussions, which comprised two separate groups, one comprising the Anglophones, and the other made up of Francophones. This division was to avoid the possibility of an argument amongst participants especially if their ideas happened to be very contrasting. For the Anglophone group, there were four students from the University of the Western Cape who all reside in the Hector Peterson Residence in Belhar, Bellville. For the Francophone group, there were initially eight participants who willingly accepted to participate. These Francophones traded in the Grand Parade market, just opposite Parliament at the heart of Cape Town. In the course of the discussion among the Francophones, eight more

members joined the group. This happened because some of the Fracophone onlookers did not agree with the opinions of the others.

I initially proposed that the participants discuss my assumptions in this study. But, after having consulted so many documents on the subjects of language, identity and language forms, I thought it better to let participants instead discuss the research objectives which dealt directly with the influence of the South African socio-linguistic setting on the Anglophoness and the Francophoness of Cameroon immigrants, their perception of CPE, the Cameroonians' perceptions of their vernaculars in the South African context and the place of Frankanglais among the Cameroon immigrants in Cape Town (see chapter one for details). This change of view was due to the fact that discussions of the research objectives contributed directly to the findings of this survey and avoided any possible suggestions of the researcher's own stereotyped ideas on the findings.

Generally, the focus group discussions lasted for over an hour. During discussions, my voice was only heard when there was misunderstanding of the objectives or in cases where there was an argument among the participants or when too many participants were speaking at the same time or when discussions necessitated a follow up question.

3.3.5 Instruments

The audio recorder was used to record information from the field in its most natural form. With the help of the recorder, I was able to listen to the interviews and the discussions of the various groups again and again. This made it possible for me to have a detailed transcription and an accurate presentation of data.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

I introduced myself to participants and hinted to them the aims of the project. I told them that their identities will remain anonymous and their free and unforced consent was always solicited. The participants were free to withdraw at any point during the interviews. I recorded the participants' discussion only if they allowed me to do so. The participants were interviewed in a language of their choice. If they were

interested in the final result of the study, I promised to respect their request by providing a summary of the findings to them.

In all cases, the respondents were responsible to set the time and to choose the venue for the discussions/interviews as well as the language, which they would use. However, for the CANOWACAT meeting, permission to record their activities was only solicited after the meeting (that is, after I had already recorded their activities) since I had to travel a very long distance in order to attend the meeting and as a consequence, I was a few minutes late. From my perspective, coming late was not a set back since my late arrival not only helped to prevent participants from feigning their identities and language forms but also helped to ensure that they, contributed to more original data that was desired. The identity of all participants has not been disclosed in order to maintain anonymity. All the names mentioned have been invented. The only real name that has been mentioned is the CANOWACAT meeting (Cameroon North Westerners Association) and the various executive posts, used to refer to the executive members that spoke during the meeting. This is so because the members of the meeting change constantly and those holding the executive positions are always replaced every two years.

3.6 Data Processing

I paid close attention to the participants/interviewees who communicated through language. I recorded some of the activities as the principal source of data. I listened to the audio recorder again and again, carefully transcribing what I heard and took a very long time analyzing the discourse in the CANOWACAT meeting. Thereafter, I again listened to the audio recording, comparing the transcribed text with the vocal discourse, which I heard in the recorder. I stopped from time to time to make some adjustments such as filling in the some omissions or wiping off an additional piece of information indicated in the transcript that was not in the recording. In chapter Four, I carefully analyzed the discussions and the interviews, which were transcribed.

3.7 Qualitative Approach

The analysis of the data is mainly qualitative since the interviewees' responses to the interview questions and discourse among the members of the focus groups has been transcribed and further described and is interpreted in a descriptive manner. The data

collected by means of triangulation has been translated where necessary (from Pidgin English or French) into English to make it accessible to a wider range of scholars, and especially to those of the University of the Western Cape. The data is analysed and interpreted in relation to this project.

3.7.1 Research Limitations and Bias

I was quite familiar with most participants and this restrained my quest for knowledge. This is because I assumed that I already knew them too well and consequently their speech forms. I also thought that they would just respond to my questions, as they would do in any normal social interaction that is, just speaking freely and in CPE. This of course was not usually the case as participants insisted in responding to the questions in either English or French (depending on that which they considered as a first official language), despite my efforts to negotiate discussions in CPE.

3.7.2 Discourse Analysis

I adopted the multidimensional methods of analysing data and used the concepts of space and territorialisation as has been proposed by Vigouroux (2005).

3.7.3 Scope and Limitation to the Data

Data collection was limited to those Cameroonians based in Cape Town. There could be over a thousand Cameroonians in the city currently. Due to time constraints and again considering the task of transcribing, I interviewed eighteen people, visited just two participant observation groups and used twenty participants for my two focus group discussions.

3.8 Summary

This chapter systematically displayed the methodological framework, starting from the research tools, the instruments used, to the analytical framework. The analysis, interpretations, and conclusions of this study therefore, are based on the materials that have here been mentioned. Chapter 4 will consist of a complete presentation of the data and its analysis together with all the comments and relevant observations. In this chapter, I will also include all necessary discussions that arose in the course of the

interviews and group observations. All this will be done thanks to the transcription key adapted From Eggins and Slade (1997) as shown below:

Transcription Key

[ ]	Inaudible / irrelevant utterance
= =	Interruption/simultaneity
-	False start/restart
( )	Researcher's guess/explanation
/italics/	Translations
…	Speech-continuity.

CHAPTER 4

DATA INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

Following what has been revealed in chapter three, it is clear that I used exclusively qualitative methods to analyse data. For some participants, the data collection tool was purely interviews, for others, they took part in focus group discussions and for some, they were members in discussion groups where I acted as a participant observer, while some acted both as interviewees and participants in groups that I observed. The qualitative approach gives me room to explore not just what is happening but also to know why things unfold the way they do. According to Seidman (1998), the inductive approach prohibits the researcher from advancing the material only with a set of hypotheses to test or with a theory developed in another context, which he/she wishes to match the data. In this light, I therefore explores the transcripts with an open attitude, seeking what emerges as important and of interest from the texts (Seidman, 1998:100).

This project is crucial for multilingual and multicultural societies like Cameroon and South Africa. As such, all sections in this chapter are discussed based on an interdisciplinary perspective following the view of Extra (2004:19) who vehemently states that "only by multidisciplinary efforts can progress be made in getting a better understanding of the fascinating domain of language use and identity construction in such a multilingual context". Following this, my analysis of the data is centred around the vast domain of applied linguistics with specific focus on the field of sociolinguistics built on the concepts of space and territoriality as have been propounded by Vigouroux (2005).

This chapter is divided into three main parts. The first part consists of the presentation and interpretation of data that answers the research questions. The first question seeks to explore how the socio-linguistic situation in South Africa has affected the language behaviour of Cameroonian immigrants in South Africa. The next research question investigates the extent to which the Cameroonian immigrants still use the Cameroonian way of speaking, which involves code switching of English and French, French and Pidgin English or English and Pidgin English. Finally, the last research question examines the perception of the Cameroonian immigrants towards their

vernaculars and seeks to explore if the Cameroonian immigrants will want the vernaculars to attain official status, as is the case with the South African vernaculars. The second section presents an analysis of the data in relation to themes that arise from the data that have already been seen from previous scholarships as reviewed in chapter two.

Lastly, new themes that arise from the responses of participants are presented and discussed in relation to language, language forms and identity formation patterns among the Cameroonian migrants in Cape Town.

4.1 Solutions to the Research Problem

4.1.1 The Influence of the South African Socio-linguistic Situation on the Speech Forms of the Cameroonians

Movement to South Africa is both a physical and geographical change of space for the Cameroonian immigrants. The Cameroon immigrants f with their multiplicity of languages and with obvious differences in their manner of articulation to that of the people in their host country are a cause for concern. They tend to articulate like South Africans (especially in pronunciation) when they are speaking to a South African. Trying to articulate like the South Africans has affected them so much such that they even mix the South African style of talking with the Cameroonian style. Some of the participants are even unconscious about this change. To justify this point, let us consider the speech forms of the following participants:

Adeline one of the participants (setting described in chapter three) in this project has began to change her linguistic behaviour. This is seen when she is using certain words that are common to South Africans in Cape Town. Mr Ntuh, one of my interviewees who exhibited same changes in his language forms, is a trader located in Mowbray and sells African foodstuff that comes directly from Cameroon. He sells jewelleries and ladies' makeup items together with clothes and shoes and he also receives a varied range of customers. There is also Max (a hawker), another participant who acted as an interviewee at the bus station in Bellville whose speech forms have changed also as observed below.

First, I want to point out that Abu-Lughod (2005:22) strongly criticizes the fact that sociologists studying the adjustment of rural migrants to city life over simplify it to a one-way adjustment. However, the speech forms of Adeline, Max and Mr Ntuh portray a one-way adjustment. Adeline for example, uses some words just like the South Africans do and even changes her pronunciation to suit that of the South Africans she is talking to. The South African lady on her side makes no efforts to articulate like Adeline. She still articulates in her Xhosa-based South African accent.

Further more Adeline below, wanted to say Cameroonian immigrants are forced to speak English while in South Africa but mistakenly says French. In order to rectify this error, she says "sorry". This is not the case in Cameroon. You use words like "sorry" to apologise and "pardon" or "excuse me," to correct a slip of the tongue or to make someone repeat what they have just said. This is the same in her use of the word "shame" which is typically used in South Africa to show sympathy to someone whereas in Cameroon "shame" is used to reproach or scorn someone for example "shame" would be very appropriate in Cameroon if it refers to someone who maltreats others. But the Cameroonian immigrants in South Africa now use these words just like the South Africans would do.

> **Adeline:** Like here we are here in South Africa they don't, nobody speaks French unless us the foreigners we are forced to speak French erhm English sorry.

The extract below is taken from observing Adeline in her salon when she is doing Reline's (a South African) hair. Her activities here further reveal much about the changing language attitude among the Cameroonians in Cape Town.

In the extract, Adeline tries to construct her sentences just like her South African counterpart. She mixes tenses - a common characteristic of English speakers in Cape Town. She even uses the (question) tags like "eh?"(probably from Xhiosa) and "née?" (probably from Afrikaans nê) that are very peculiar to South Africans alone and are usually used in the middle or at the end of a statement/sentence. In the extract below, Reline tells Adeline about her struggle to get a business place and her difficulties in her occupational life and makes use of posture (see Chapter Two) as she

demonstrates the action of rolling her hair to Adeline, while, Adeline tries to convince Reline to always come to her salon, thus trying to claim symbolic territories over all other hair-dressers in the space which she now possesses:

Reline: Yeah. I'm looking for a place man.
Adeline: This side…
Reline: You must take two taxis, one from Maitland …
Adeline: Now you have to start to bring your hair all the time.
I should get used it neé, you break the hair when you go this hair dresser [] and then tomorrow next time you go another you go - your hair eeh…
Reline: = = No I didn't do this, I go to one hairdresser every time née but it's a long time … I didn't go to the hair - dresser. My hairs were long … Every time I make my hair then take a roller (shows rolling action with hands), every time…
Adeline: I used to have many customers, née, and I have been …

Bank (1999:396) identifies two groups of migrants in the Duncan village in South African; namely, the red migrants and the school migrants who came from Transkei and Ciskei respectively. The school migrants did not reject city life and as a result, they participated in church services, dances and sporting events, while still remaining committed to their rural kin and rural resources unlike the red migrants. Following this point of view, one could argue that change in linguistic patterns and behaviours is very common and to a certain degree even normal amongst the youths but the encounter with Mr. Ntuh disproves this. Mr Ntuh is in his late fifties and even though he is in discussion with a non South African, he still uses South African linguistic jargon like "sissy" to address his female Customer from Angola. This was an interesting episode to me as I thought that the lady was a South Africa. Like Adeline, he also uses the question tag "eeh?" This extract deals with Mr. Ntuh's interactions with a customer as she tries to buy some West African foodstuff, specifically ochre – pronounced /okro/ (a kind of green vegetable that is usually sticky) – and smoked fish as shown below:

Mr. Ntuh: Yes sissy, what do you want? How many packets do you want? Two?

Customer: [Customer points to the items she wants] two yea.

Mr. Ntuh: So what else do you need?

Customer: Oooh the fish (laughing)

Mr. Ntuh: …. To day is ehm Monday; sure by Wednesday I'll have it.

Customer: and okro

Mr.Ntuh: I have some okro but it's fresh.

Researcher: Why do you call her sissy, she's eating all our food …?

Mr.Ntuh: Yes she's eating everything

Researcher: Is she really a South African?

Customer: Yes, I'm Angolan

Mr.Ntuh: Angola

Researcher: (Laughing) okay.

Customer: Fine I'm gonna take this.

Mr. Ntuh: That's two packets eeh? Thirty Rand.

The reasons for which the Cameroonian immigrants learn to speak like the South Africans and even going as far as articulating like them are varied and interesting. Max, an interviewee, even claims to have learnt some South African languages. Max is quite aware of the fact that when people migrate they meet other people who speak different languages and for this reason, languages come in contact and some of these languages, especially those of the majority (host country), influence the attitude of the immigrants. His case below is quite striking for he has been in South Africa just for two years and is not even aware of the fact that his manner of pronunciation has already changed. Bernadine and Victor below learnt to articulate like the South Africans. They speak English so that the people in Cape Town can understand them. These two also hope to learn Xhosa and Afrikaans to be easily integrated in the Cape Town socio-linguistic environment.

During the interview with Max, he pronounces the word "cap" (/kæp/) as (/kəp/), man (/mæn/) as men (/men/) and is not even conscious of it. He thinks that it is only in Cameroon that this distinction or new way or articulation would be noticed. However, he is very certain that the sociolinguistic situation in South Africa would have an influence on him. In spite of this, he is determined to readjust linguistically when he goes back to Cameroon. The zeal to change language practice when one

deterritorialises meets with Vigouroux' (2005) observation that it is the dynamics of human interaction, in which the speakers recognise themselves as insiders or outsiders that defines the different linguistic codes in their repertoires. In addition to this, Max, a G C E Advance level (Matriculation) holder, tends to construct his sentences in English following the French grammatical construction. For instance, in the exact below, he says, "me, I travel..." which is excellent in standard French (and very common in the Cameroonian territory) when the French for instance say "Moi, je..." but very problematic in an English context.

Researcher: Okay, you see. What makes you learn these languages?

Max: Me, I travel, I do my business from Paarl to Steenberg and I see people …I must be committed to know this language in order to communicate with them and meet some who cannot even speak English. So I must have to speak Xhosa in order to sell them…

Researcher: Okay, okay. So when you go to Cameroon, do you think … the way you speak … [ ]

Max: It doesn't influence the way I talk really but I know that it will influence even within South Africa and I'm still in South Africa. May be it will influence but I may not know. It's only when I go to Cameroon and I'm talking to other people that I will know that I have an influence but I know there will be an influence.

Researcher: And are you going to like the influence or …

Max: Erhm, I'll - I'm going to rectify it … to suit the people you see.

Researcher: Okay

Max: I'm going to rectify it because if I'm speaking, if I'm like speaking like a Whiteman ….

The strategy of learning to speak the language of the host country raises the issue of immigrant sensitivity to language and power, and their creative use of language to access the state. Here, it is clear that it is not the level of education that matters but how well one can speak a language that would facilitate business and easy access to the community that he/she finds him/herself, hence, taking sides with Vigouroux's argument that "language can have for the speaker a spatial dimension, and the choice to acquire a new resource is evaluated according to its market value with regard to

space and social mobility (Vigouroux; 2006:244). In the same line, Bobda (2006) argues that it is the market value that determines the choices of Cameroonian parents in sending their children to schools that use dominantly the European languages.

This strategy is further elaborated upon by another interviewee, Bernadine, (a student from the University of Stellenbosch in her brother's residence in Mowbray) who believes that if the main aim of speaking is to communicate, then, the immigrant speech forms most definitely have to be influenced. She goes further to quote the example of her stay in Nigeria where she did her undergraduate programme. While in Nigeria, she says, if you try to speak just as you have been brought up, the people will not understand you completely. This situation she claims is the same in South Africa where she has been living for the past four years. In Montreal, the manner of articulation of the French immigrants usually has a negative effect on themfor this reason; the Cameroonian immigrants wish to be part of the inclusive "we" by (Vigouroux, 2005) by speaking just like the South Africans.

> **Researcher:** Okay. So when you go go Cameroon you feel say … or that mean say coming to South Africa go done influence ya = =
> / *Okay. So when you shall go back to Cameroon do you feel that you … or this means coming to South Africa would have influenced your = = /*
> **Bernadine: = =** Mmm yeah of course, of course. Just like I be done day Nigeria and for South Africa when you talk purely like the way way you be brought up for talk, the people them no di fit understand you one hundred percent and if the aim na communication you get for try for make them understand you and plenty time them ye di influence the way way you di talk because you want try for pronounce thing them for- yes way way the people them go understand you. Yes…/*Mmm, yeah of course. Just as it was in Nigeria, in South Africa when you talk purely like the way you had been brought up to talk, the people are unable to understand you one hundred percent and if your aim is to communicate you have to try to make them to understand you and most of the times this influences the way you talk because you want to try and pronounce things the same - in a way that the people will understand you yes…/*

Like Bernadine, Allain also claims that it is an absolute necessity to change the way one speaks in the host country.

> **Researcher:** As – tu eu les problèmes dès ton arrive? / *Did you encounter problems when you just arrived?*
> **Allain:** = = Non, pas tout a fait. Pas tout a fait. Le problème c'est quoi quand tu arrive ici, il y a des lacunes, il y a- on a des lacunes tu vois - pour s'exprimer oui en Anglais. Pourquoi tu vois, quand eux ils parlent on comprend mais quand tu …Oui l'accent tu voir c'est - ça parfois ils te font un interprète /*No, not at all not at all. The problem what, when you come here, there are breaches there are - there are breaches you see to express oneself yes in English. Why you see when they speak we understand but when you… Yes the accent you see it is – it at times they bring you an interpreter/.*

Another reason for learning to speak like South Africans or even learning their languages is seen in Victor's response below. Victor thinks that learning the language alone is not enough. One has to be completely integrated into the culture of the host country and in this way, will make the people trust him/her since they will know that you are interested in their culture.

> **Researcher:** Why do you wish to learn their culture?
> **Victor:** Ehm, it is of importance to learn other people's culture, ehmm other people's language, you know because it helps you to integrate, it helps you to better understand them and they also know that you've got interest in their culture, in their own language. I mean they are going to be open to you, I mean some how you are going to find it much easier to do things …, if you understand their culture so that you'll may be walk on the same track with them, you see. But if you keep your own culture, if you say you're going to talk only English, I don't think it is going to work much better.

Victor's example vividly shows that migrants like South Africans, do not consider English language and culture as part of the South African language (Bobda, 2006; Deumert et al, 2005). In agreement with the views of Vigouroux (2006) and Deumert,

(2005) who argue that knowing the language of the host country is a phenomenon that is common only among the newcomers because the immigrants soon discover that their knowledge of the language of the host country actually plays a negative role on them as is the case with the Francophone migrants in Montreal as seen above. Victor who is just six months in Cape Town, thinks that is very essential to know the local l;anguages of the host country.

An interviewee, Junior, outside the Salt River meeting hall shows that the consequences of learning to speak like the South Africans and even learning these South African languages are varied and quite revealing. We see how clearly his speech forms have been affected by the sociolinguistic context of Cape Town. He affirms that he now tends to use more English than French – his first official language. Nevertheless, his attitude towards this change is positive. He thinks that his ability to speak good English is a great achievement in his life and above all he feels he is like a European, which makes him feel great. This is because he is able to meet the Cameroonians only once in a while and for a very short time during his stay in South Africa.

Researcher: Okay. You feel say ya coming for South Africa ye done affect the way way you di talk, you feel say ye done affect' am /*Okay, do you feel that coming to South Africa has affected the way you speak, do you feel it is going to affect it/*

Junior: Yea, ye done affect, ye done affect me why me I day here na only for English and way I fit easily leave French because for Cameroon I be di mostly di talk French all the time but for South Africa, na only English till when I go amongst people them and way you no di day amongst people them na every day. You must go na once in the wise /*Yea, it has affected, It has affected me. I am only here in English and in this way, I can easily abandon French because in Cameroon I mostly spoke French all the time but in South Africa, it is only English until when I am among people and you are not among the people everyday you must go just once in a while/*

Researcher: Okay... Cameroon you go still talk for the same way …? /Ok…Cameroon, you shall still speak in the same manner…?/

Junior: Yes I go still talk - no English, if I go Cameroon, you see' am now, ma way for talk go change./ *yes I will still speak – no English, If I go back to Cameroon you see, I will speak differently.*

Researcher: Okay, positive or negative ye done improve or …*/Okay, negative or positive, has it improved or…/*

Junior: Ye done improve now, because ma tone done I done over talk with people them, Whiteman them, coloureds them, at least, now, if I go Cameroon now, small difference go be. / *Of course it has improved, because my tone -has- I have spoken a lot with the Whites and the Coloureds, at least if I should go to Cameroon now there will be a little difference/*

Rechercher: You go talk fine watti, English or …? /*What will you speak better, English or…?*

Junior: I go talk fine - good English way them go know say no…But for Cameroon I no be di talk good English, but if I go for Cameroon, I go talk the real English, all man go no say really, this man na bush- faller. / *I will speak fine – good English that the will know that really…But in Cameroon I did not speak good English, but if I go to Cameroon I will speak the real English, everyone will say really this man is from overseas.*

From learning just a few words and through imitation, an immigrant could actually end up articulating like members of his host country or at least in a way that will enable the citizens of the host country to understand him/her. Junior acknowledges that living in South Africa has enabled him to be able to speak English correctly and with confidence, a chance that he would never have exploited had he not migrated to South Africa. This self-confidence leads him to equate himself to a white person (probably from Britain) whose mother tongue is English.

Here, the importance Cameroonians in particular and Africans in general attach to anything from Europe is obvious. Junior has learnt English in Africa but links his achievement to the European continent. Interestingly he feels that he would be considered a European as he now speaks good English. This shows how eager we are to sell our dignified African reputation for a European identity that shall never be completely given to us (Bird, 2001).

Paul at the Parow Market, an apparent dominant CPE speaker who has never had a chance to learn English formally just like Junior, responds to the same question with even more dexterity, showing the fury he holds for CPE. Like Junior, Paul claims he has improved the way he speaks English due to his stay in South Africa. To this effect, he believes that if he goes back to Cameroon, he would stop speaking "that CPE". To Paul, even the English he will be speaking when he goes back home, will be different from that spoken by all Cameroonians. This confirms the fact that people in different parts of the world speak different variations of the same language as shown by Finegan and Besnier (1989). But, the irony here is how these immigrants blame their poor performance in English that they have never learnt on CPE, the language they were born into (Bobda, 2006, Dibussi, 2006). Surely, the campaigns against CPE have shaped their ideas and thoughts such that they all view this language, CPE, only negatively.

> **Researcher:** So you think staying in SA has affected the way you talk…?
> **Paul:** Yeah, things will really change because I will not go to that Pidgin as I used to. It just depend how long I stay here because if I stay here so long before I going back to Cameroon, I believe even my language. My access of talking English you see, will change, you see, will change, - … I know Cameroon is also an English speaking country. So I will speak English in a ( ) you know. There is a certain pronunciation you can make English in a language, different pronunciation in things. …

This response from Paul does not only confirm that the Cameroonians' language behaviour has been affected by the South African system but, it also portrays Dibussi's (2006) view that today the attack on CPE stands out because of its ferociousness and the quasi-criminalization of CPE in certain quarters, as in the University of Buea where it is banned. To Paul, change of language behaviour simply means speaking the English language even in a way that is strange to Cameroonians, thus conforming to Vigouroux's (2005) argument that space and territory have an influence on people's language repertoires. In Cape Town, unlike in Cameroon, all participants as we see, attach and identify themselves more with English than with French.

Interestingly, all participants acknowledge that their stay in South Africa has changed their linguistic behaviour, and some even describe the inevitable change in very drastic terms. This is the case with Amadou as seen below. Amadou's observations confirm Vigouroux's (2006) that a migrant's language practices and attitudes are mostly influenced by the trajectory as has already been seen. Amadou came directly from Cameroon to Cape Town and as a result, is not familiar with language forms (especially the spoken English), other than those in Cameroon. To Amadou, his mastery of English has greatly deteriorated due to his contact with South African colleagues at work. He always has to speak a kind of English that is below standard so that the South Africans will be able to understand him.

> **Researcher:** Do you think coming to South Africa has changed …
> **Amadou:** Yeah, you see actually you see actually it has changed drastically why because in South Africa, instead of improving the English, we are instead worsening it … they speak the English is not actually the way English is supposed to be spoken.
> **Researcher**: Okay, what are those things that make you think it is not …
> **Amadou:** Okay, just imagine where I'm working, most of my colleagues are Xhosa speaking. It is very difficult for them to express themselves, which means that you have to patch up the English in a way that it would be understandable to them. It means that we are instead going down now…Yeah, deteriorating now in the language.

In a nutshell, there is change, both positive and negative. But this change is not peculiar only to the Cameroonian immigrants or to the international immigrant. Even in the same country, the people in different parts speak differently (Finegan and Besnier 1989, Deumert et. al, 2005). Emmanuel an interviewee in a Nigerian restaurant in Mowbray reveals that he changes speech forms depending on his interactants. He claims that language forms vary in every single country and especially that even the Received Pronunciation (RP) version of English is spoken only in a very small section in Britain. Nevertheless, this does not disturb some participants very much like it does to Amadou. Emmanuel for instance, tends to act as as the complexities of space, territory and language dictate to him. These dynamic changes are clearly identified in the following lines:

Researcher: … or do you think if you go back to Cameroon you'll be speaking - you're going to speak in a different way?

Emmanuel: I am very aware of the fact that my manner of articulation varies with that of somebody from this part of Africa and also from America, from Britain. I think these variations are true of the English language … the people speak in their own way. But the bottom line of it is …, there is a communication, there is some kind of comprehension. But I think most of those who speak ... the RP, the Received Pronunciation, which is the original version of the English language. I think that it is spoken only in one part of Britain. The other parts speak … the Americans speak a breach version of the English language and I find it difficult.

Some argue that the origin of language could be traced back to the Garden of Eden when it was given to man in its original form by his creator corrupted (Finegan and Besnier 1989). Due to Human evolution, this language somehow got corrupted (Finegan and Besnier 1989:491). If English is said to have originated from Britain, with the RP recognised as the standardised powerful veariety, Emmanuel estimates that even in Britain itself, this RP version is spoken only in one small part. To substantiate his argument, he further categorises the different areas around which the changes are commonly found in the following words:

Emmanuel: There are so many variations in languages especially at the level of erhh (4 seconds) intonation, stress and also in the manner of pronunciation. Words are pronounced differently in Cameroon and differently here in South Africa. Most often the 'a' sound is mistaken for the 'e' sound, that's why people can afford to say 'beck' instead of saying 'back'.

Following the observation, it is clear that it is common in South Africa to hear people pronounce the word back /bæk/ as beck /bek/. This goes the same with words like bin /bin/ and sit /sit/ which in South Africa are commonly pronounced as /bən/ and /sət/ respectively. To make this observation valid I want to cite Finegan and Besnier (1989:326) who state that American English is perceived as varying from place to place and that languages, generally have regional dialects. The argument here is that

linguistic change is inevitable. To this regard, I can to conclude using Emmanuel's own words that our linguistic behaviour, with respect to the English language ma be caused by our different mother tongues but also that the mother tongue is not always the cause of this variation. This could be due to some cultural element too as he states:

> **Researcher:** … and the Cameroonians
> **Emmanuel:** Yes I won't, I am not going to say that we speak anything close to RP because our pronunciation is very different, may be influenced by our mother tongue or by some other cultural element but I find …

Given such a complex linguistic network and social dynamics, we need not look further to see the behavioural change of the immigrants from Cameroonians in the socio-linguistic setting of Cape Town. All of them generally agree that their manner of articulation has changed. They may try to maintain the same speech forms when dealing with another Cameroonian but are compelled to readjust when faced with another immigrant and most especially when they have to deal with a South African. To some, this linguistic change is a positive one but to others, it is a compelling negative influence.

Conclusively, it is very clear from Abu-Lughod's (2005) observation that sociologists studying the adjustment of rural migrants to city life had deduced the sequence and dynamics of adjustment as a valid dichotomy, giving the impression of the one-way adjustment of the rural man to a stable urban culture is confirmed. To summarise, Abu-Lughod again notes that the sociologists also claim that this hypothetical villager is supposedly dropped in the heart of the urban city to be assimilated or to perish without any cushions to soften his fall. This evidence is clear in all responses seen above, thus, confirming Vigouroux's notion that the town centre is not only a geographic center but also a point of reference to identify others negatively (Vigouroux, 2005:247). In other words, it is either the migrant adapts to the life of the host country or forever remains an outsider. Thus, for the Cameroonian immigrants to be able to claim territoriality and even go further to identify themselves as insiders (a positive means of identification), they must be ready to be dynamic, that is, adjust their culture (or adopt the culture of their new territory), change their language forms and manner of articulation just like they have done in the paragraphs above.

Next to the question of adaptation to the linguistic style and culture, is that of code switching. To this effect, I proceed to investigate the language behaviour of the Cameroonian immigrates in order to deduce if the immigrants in their new linguistic environment still continue to use the Cameroonian way of talking which usually involves code switching between English and French or vice versa; between French and Pidgin English or vice versa; between English and CPE or vice versa; and sometimes, between the vernaculars and Pidgin English or French or English or the other way round.

4.1.2 The Cameroonness of Cameroonians: Code Switching

The essence of this second research question is to examine whether the Cameroonian immigrants in Cape Town still act linguistically like ideal Cameroonians would do back home. That is, I explore the continuity of code-mixing/code-switching between the languages that the participants master and use mostly while in Cape Town. Better still, I examine the Cameroonness of the Cameroonian immigrants in Cape Town.

This question will be addressed based on issues arising from interviews with Solo and Adeline, with participants at the Parow market, and the Cameroon North Westerner Association (CANOWACAT), Junior's interview in Salt River, from the Francophone focus group and the Anglophone focus group in the Grand Parade and in the Belhar hostels respectively, and finally, from the second participant observation group discussion with Adeline where I acted as participant observer in her hair salon.

Before exploring the patterns of code switching among the Cameroonian immigrant in Cape Town, a brief look at its origin and definitions, which suit the present purpose, is essential.

Code switching according to Eastman (2005:4) had been of interest to scholars for a long time. Scholars from Australia, the Far East, Germany, Spain, Scandinavia and elsewhere devoted themselves to studying code switching under various guises. But, generally, interest in code switching arose together with the emergence of sociolinguistics as a discipline in the second half of the 1960s. An apparent, acceptance of variation and variability in language and speech was a precondition for

recognising code switching as a relevant object of study, rather than as a feature of 'impure' speech. Taking this into consideration, we shall discuss how code switching makes the Cameroonians feel at home by enabling them to create a symbolic territory that suits their multilingual speech forms and enables them to negotiate a society that replicates Cameroon and constitutes a series of lived practices and a system of relations all bearing symbolic meaning (Vigouroux, 2005:241).

Eastman (2005:3-4) further reports that code switching as a phenomenon of language contact is usually observable in multilingual (and often urban) surroundings, and is of importance because it defies a strong expectation that only one language will be used at any given time (see also Extra 2004). The expectation, however, is often only present in the eyes of the outsider (the monolingual). Eastman (2005) states that for many, code switching is a natural way of speaking, and the fact that they are using more than one language, when pointed out to them, comes as a surprise. For these speakers, code switching is the norm.

There have been a number of definitions of code switching in the literature on language. Firstly, it was referred to as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (Eastman, 2005:2). In theory, research on code switching includes paying attention to the alternative use of languages, dialects and even of styles. However, in practice, scholars often naturally restrict themselves to shifts between clearly identifiable languages (for example; French/Dutch, French/English, English/Swahili) or clearly perceivable contrasts between standard and substandard variants of the same language. Authors on their part also often restrict themselves to discussing one form of variation only, for example, that between language A and language B, or between variant A and variant B of the same language (Eastman (2005:2)

Eastman (2005:1) estimates that recently the phenomenon of code switching has received a great deal of attention, and articles on the topic have been written in most parts of the world. Apart from recognizing that code switching refers to language, dialect or style alternation within a single speech event, she argues that there is little agreement as to how it fits into existing linguistic, sociolinguistic and social theories. She notes that scholars who study code switching come from a number of disciplines

and are influenced by the backgrounds they bring to bear on the subject. The result of this is a fragmentation in the study of code switching: apart from a relatively small tradition focused almost exclusively on the characteristics of code switching itself, the phenomenon is often mentioned or treated in the context of wider issues, without being the object of investigation in its own right. For instance, code switching is treated by anthropologists to illustrate more general issues of poetic performance in an emerging urban culture; and to sociolinguists, Eastman observes that it is treated as an object of study in the context of intercultural communication. In the South African socio - cultural context and in relation to the multicultural Cameroonian immigrants, the latter approach to code switching will be adapted without any detailed analysis as to why people code switch since that would be far beyond the scope of this study.

Back home in their multilingual environment, it is quite common to find the Cameroonians switching from English to French, from French to English, English to CPE or from French to CPE and even at times from any of the mentioned languages to the speaker's vernacular. It is my prime motive to investigate whether this practice continues in Cape Town.

In an interview with Solo, a student of Cape Technikon, in his businesses place at the Parow Market, we began the introductory phase by speaking French. The actual interview began in English but, in the course of the interview, friends who are either greeting or asking a question interrupt him. To some, his responses is in Pidgin English and to others, his response is in French. In one incident, while he is talking to one of his friends in Pidgin English and complaining about Kaya, a mechanic who is supposed to be repairing his car, Kaya suddenly arrives and then he switches not only from his formal addressee but also from his formal linguistic register in this manner:

> **Solo [**to a friend**]** I done tell ye, I done phone Kaya so many times (to Kaya) Kaya pardon viens continue le travail, pardon, pardon viens /*I have told him, I have phoned Kaya so many times (to Kaya) Kaya come please come and continue the work, please, please come)*

Solo addressed his first friend (an Anglophone) in CPE then when his other friend Kaya the mechanic (a Francophone) arrived, he quickly switches to French, thus exhibiting his Cameroonness and confirming that code switching includes the

alternative use of languages, dialects and even of styles in one instance. (Eastman, 2005:2).

Amadou, an Anglophone interviewee who mixes mostly with the Francophones, and lives with them in his room in Salt River, responds to questions by using both languages. He starts off the interview process in French but ends up switching to English. Nevertheless, Amadou's linguistic behaviour is highly similar to that of Solo (as seen above), but for the fact that he sticks to English and French. Further in the interview with Solo, he tries to explain the reason why he prefers to mix with the Francophone and not the Anglophone. He begins by using English, and then notices that Kaya is going away again and so turns to address Kaya in French. Thereafter, Solo continues the explanation of his linguistic situation, still in French. But, at this moment, he becomes conscious of the fact that he was in an interview process which was being conducted in English and so decides to continue talking in English as we see in the lines beneath:

> **Solo:** C'est l'une de mes amis tu vois, c'est pour te dire que (to Kaya) Kaya viens Kaya pardon. (to the researcher) c'est pour te dire que moi je suis plus que avec - tu vois erh the difference that we have between the Anglophones and the Francophone here is that the Francophones they are friendly but the Anglophones, if you are not Anglophone, ah ah, they stop it there [ ] /*He is one of my friends you see, this is to tell you that (to Kaya) Kaya, please come here (to the researcher) this is to tell you that I am mostly with –you see erh the difference … [ ] /*

Code switching is also defined as the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems. In the two examples above, there is an observable shift from English to CPE and French, which confirms Eastman's (2005:2) definition. Due to too many interruptions, Solo again forgets that the interview was being conducted in English and so continues to response in French again. In fact, code switching to him is very normal. We begin the interview in French, he switches to CPE then to French and again to English and finally, the interview is concluded in French. Junior that we had earlier seen in front of the Salt River meeting hall replicates this situation. In the course of an interview exclusively in CPE, he constantly switches from CPE to French. The only difference

is that in his case, he switches just between CPE and French; again, confirming to Eastman's (2005) observation that code switching to the multilingual persons in a multilingual setting is but a natural phenomenon.

> **Junior's friend:** [ ] Qu'on ne bourge pas, qu'on va l'amener eeh. */That we most not move that we must take her along with us/*
> **Junior**: Mmmh
> **Researcher:** Talk, talk
> **Junior:** Qui, tu dis que, qui, qu'on ne bourge pas qu'on va l'amener? Qui, la grande sœur, qu'on va l'amener? */Who, you are saying that who, that we shall take her? Who, the elder sister that we shall take her with us?/*
> **Friend:** Oui (yes)
> **Junior:** Okay, pas le problem, j'arrive. …when I meet' up Cameroonian way way - I di know say na Cameroonianna when I see how way – for Xhosa, na the cloths, I go know say na Xhosaman this. Yea. /Okay, no problem, I'm coming...*When I meet Cameroonians the way Cameroonian – I will know that that he/she is a Cameroonian if I see how – for a Xhosa it is the dress, I will know that this is a Xhosa man. Yea/*

If code switching is juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems, then Adeline has exhibited this combination of speech forms belonging to different grammatical systems. In the salon, while observing Adeline, as she talks to Ma Mercy in CPE, she addresses the Cameroonian man working in the cell phones shop that is linked to the hair salon in French and talks to the South African lady who also works in the cell phone shop in English.

Again, in a follow up participant observer activity with Adeline in the electronic cell phone sales shop (see Research Question 1 for description of this setting), she replicates her linguistic dynamism and this time even uses some French terms while talking in CPE. The most striking part of this particular focus is that Adeline converses in CPE all the time but each time that I ask her a question, she replies only in English and the reason Pascal, another informant gives for this attitude is that CPE is just like a vernacular while for Adeline, she does so because she wants to avoid

using CPE at all costs. The conversation is basically between Adeline and Pascal and centres on Adeline's efforst to let Pascal a friend of hers, to offer her a cell phone.

Adeline: (Laughs). I hear say ya business di waka (Laughs) /*I learnt that your business is prospering/*

Pascal: Eh?

Adeline: Na so you di respirer well? */Is that how you are breathing well?/*

Pascal: Na video camera dis?/(Is this a video camera?/

Researcher: Na tape recorder. Adeline na ma focus. So I di record ye. Ya name na who? /it is a tape-recorder. Adeline is my focus so I am recording her activities. What is your name?

Pascal: Me? ...

Researcher: Eh, mmh (Laughs)

Adeline: [ ] MTN-eh

Pascal: …. No worry next time */Do not worry I shall bring you a lot of cargo. Do not worry next time/*

Adeline: Now so I no get phone /*At moment I do not have a cell phone/*

Pascal: (Pointing on the selves) na phone them this. /*Here are phones*/

Adeline: This one na business phone them /*These are business phones*/

Pascal: No, sœur, I want go give' am for – phone - Allain, Allain na ma friend. You know that – this LG now so – LG way ye day like.../*No,* sister, *I want to take it to - phone - Allain, Allain is my friend. You know that - this - a type of LG now - an LG like …/*

Researcher: Okay. (To Pascal) why you call ye na sœur, why you no talk say sister? /Why do you call her sœur, why don't you say sister?/

Pascal: But na the same now, na that kana Cameroon way. /*But is it not the same, it is that kind of Cameroonian behaviour/*

During this whole observation, both Pascal and Adeline switch codes. For instance, Adeline asks Pascal "Na so you di respirer well" instead of just using the English word 'breathing' to mean 'prosper'. Pascal at one-moment addresses Adeline as "sœur" (sister) and the reason he gives for this is that it is normal; it is the normal Cameroonian way of chatting. This in fact is common with all Cameroonians as they usually mix French words in their English and CPE speeches or conversations and

even writings. Most often, this does not end only at the level of words. It also extends to the level of sentences and even whole paragraphs, as we shall see later. This substantiates Eastman's (2005:3-4) observation that "…code switching is a natural way of speaking, and the fact that they are using more than one language, when pointed out to them, comes as a surprise".

Still with regards to code switching the Cameroon North Westerner Association (CANOWACAT), which is the most popular and most valued Cameroonian Association among its immigrants in Cape Town, with reasons for this attitude ranging from its being the most highly organised to the most heavily populated, there is still code switching. This association holds its meetings every fortnight in Salt River and precisely on Sunday evenings. Even though originally created by the Cameroonian migrants from the North West Province of the Republic of Cameroon, CANOWACAT admits all Cameroonians who are interested.

In the text below, the activities of the CANOWACAT members are displayed, from the earlier phase of the meeting to its concluding phase. Every speech act in the meeting demonstrates a code switching to a lesser or greater degree and in an interesting manner. Unfortunately, not everything could be displayed here due to the limitation of space.

Notwithstanding, CANOWACAT is a replica of a real Cameroonian society as its members come from all parts of Cameroon. In this session, the various speakers use territory both physically and symbolically. The president, for example, has to be the promoter of the official languages so he uses mostly English and his executive does the same. Tommy on his part comes in the scene at the informal phase of the meeting and so uses mostly CPE. In an attempt to further appropriate his territory, Tommy, changes the position of the cap he was wearing, placing it sideward and even moves to and fro in a funny way. Above all, Tommy uses posture as he talks. The form of CPE that Tommy employs is very colloquial as well. Because it is an Anglophone meeting in an Anglophone country, every speech act is in English or CPE and symbolically, the members dress in their traditional wear and the food eaten is also Cameroonian food.

President: I invited (---) may wait till when he comes. When he comes may be he will then answer some of these questions then we can then move on.

Secretary: (Secretary to president in a low voice) Na *Tony* that *Tony* done come meeting. /*That is Tony, Tony has come to the meeting/*

President: So we are still at matters arising from these minutes.

Secretary: Well there are a lot of things we can raise which we can ask based on the minutes. I just wanted to ask the situation of our brother, who is erhh in the hospital…,

Financial secretary: I can speak on that because I saw him today. In fact, erhh, Nicolas is already out of the hospital errh …opened up a collection forum.

President: Okay. Thank you assistant SG …

Raphael: I just wanted to check how far Joe Meleko's issue at the [ ] …

President: Personally I don't have, unless somebody else has.

Julio: Well I think the issue of Paul is that Daniel who was following it …

The above text shows how English, which is one of the official languages, is used exclusively in the first half of the meeting because this half is deemed very important and decisive for documentation. Only when it is time for sales and announcements do the CANOWACAT members switch to CPE. Everything discussed is strictly emitted only in English. The executive members address the general assembly by means of English only. This still is the case when a floor member has to talk. But amongst themselves, the floor members discuss in CPE or French (in a very low tone). Even the executive members discuss amongst themselves in CPE thus confirming the usage and continuity of code switching of the Cameroonian immigrants within the South African socio-cultural context.

The fate of CPE is similar to that of other creoles in the world as they also carry the stigma of illiteracy and 'bushiness'. Despite their rich cultural heritage, creoles have been devalued of prestige, in the same way that their speakers have been, for at least five hundred years (Dibussi, 2006). For this reason, the meeting members generally turn to the role which English has to play in this particular space and at this particular time thus further portraying the usefulness of the notion of space in effective communication in a multilingual society. The above extract for instance demonstrates that interactions do not only take place in a 'here and now' but also that they are

embedded in a 'nexus of spaces' and a 'nexus of practices' which organise and make activities and language repertoires legitimate (Vigouroux, 2005).

Following this, members of the CANOWACAT executive board recognise the impact of CPE on the greater population in Cape Town. After having discussed the matters arising from the minutes (see appendix B), they want to stir up a new and a very important point – that of sales to raise some funds for the association. The president who is presiding over the meeting quickly realises the importance of CPE in this same territoriality and is the first to switch codes thus officially producing space for another language repertoire which would include every single Cameroonian present in the meeting hall. Before this stage, anybody who should have addressed the General assembly in CPE should have most probably been identified as the outsider, the illiterate and/or the 'bushman'

While the President is speaking, those CANOWACAT members who were seated in the kitchen kept making a noise and comments such as "ye di talk na grammar I no di hear grammar" (they are speaking Standard English, I do not understand standard English). The manner in which the president initiates this new space is quite remarkable. He begins in English as usual, and suddenly switches to CPE in his attempt to seek silence from the general assembly and then, introduces the person in charge of the auction. Thereafter, the other members begin to speak in CPE and when the secretary general interrupts to advertise one of the association's websites, he also starts in English but (probably) for of fear of losing the people's attention, he quickly switches to CPE. The salesman, Tommy also does his introductory speech in English but carries on with the public sale in CPE so that everyone is included.

> **President:** Thank you very much without delay; (to the people seated in the kitchen) Eh kitchen (So that they may stop making noise) I really want beg for here say, we know say the chip whip way I get' am for this association now, na some very big man. Wuna get wuna good luck say ye no day here now, …So I really want for urge support - everybody say make you go the extra mile for see say you do something. Just give ya contribution through this forum …do we sales normally, na we Senator, Mr [ ] Tommy way I go call ye make ye come up, come sell this – do this sales for we and then after that, we go go straight for

wa announcements. /*Eh Kitchen, I really want to beg here that, we know that discipline master that I have in this association now, he is a very big man. You are all lucky that he is not here now; I really want to urge support - everybody that you should go the extra mile to see that you go the extra mile to see that you do something. Just do your contributions through this forum … is our senator, Mr Tommy that I will call him to come up, come and sell this – do this sales for us and then after that we will go straight to announcements/*

Tommy: Good evening to everybody

Free: Good evening

Tommy: I will first of all apologise for coming late, certainly due to certain circumstances beyond my control. Make I try for dress like America wander now, you know the American auction, - (turns his cap to face the opposite direction) I look now like yo, nobi so, you know the American auction = = /*I will try to dress like the American not so, you know the American auction, - (turns his cap to face the opposite direction) I am now like a fashionable youngster, isn't it, you know the American auction = =/*

Meeting members: = = Sale

Tommy: Nobi so /*not so*/

Meeting members: [laughing]

Tommy: you know as I di talk na so I di do so (using somebody language as he moves to and fro) I di deep hand [ ] from my pocket. Nobi so? I f everybody di see as I di see wu forever be ready for making that decision- for pull out that note from ye pocket for go [ ] and I believe you understand already watti way American sales be, for those of us way wu no get a clue of it, …without any waist of time; after offer /*You know as I talk I am doing like this (Using some body language) I dig my hand deep into my pocket. Isn't it? If everybody sees the way I do, we forever are ready for making that decision – to pull out that note from his/her pocket to go and I believe you understand already what American sale is. For those of us who do not have any clue…. So we start without any waste of time; after offer/*

Tommy starts off by greeting the people in English and then proceeds to use Pidgin, even though no one claims the space since the President has already handed the floor

to him. Tommy uses another attribute of territoriality – posture (body position and gesture language) to appropriate the space given to him (Vigouroux, 2005:241).

> **Tommy:** R10 going one, I done tire, I done really tire well well so, I no di waste time; R10 going two/*R10 going one, I am tired, I am really very tired so, I will not waste time, R10 going two/*
>
> **Meeting member**: ye day like say you really – you still like that parcel..
>
> */It seems you really – you still like that parcel …/*
>
> **Secretary:** I beg una listen we done issue an email. For wu president, way ye go be na president@canowacat.org /*please listen, we have issued an email to your president which shall be president@canowacat.org/*
>
> ***Some meeting members:*** [clapping] well done.
>
> **Secretary**: I beg wuna listen we get five emails, one honour to, predident@canowacat.org, way ye go be na secretariat general, and then we get … buy'am and way ye want a personalized CANOWACAT email [ ]
>
> */ please, everyone should listen we have five emails one in honour of President@canowacat.org which will be in the secretariat general and then we have …that will buy it and who wants a personalised canowacat email [ ]/*

If many sociolinguists consider code switching as an object of study in the context of intercultural communication (Eastman, 2005), then, the Cameroonian community in South Africa represents this intercultural community. All the Cameroonian cultures and values which the immigrants seem to have brought into South Africa are relived and recognised in the CANOWACAT meeting, a suitable territory to manifest their socio-cultural diversity, starting from their traditional wares, food and language forms. The president uses his position to control and direct speech forms and even influences the choices of the association's members in the space that he now possesses. They have also shown that it is truly a phenomenon that is common when languages come into contact.

Cameroon as we have seen in the first chapter is a multicultural society. This is revealed even in their speech forms in the preceding question. The secretary General for example, talks to the present in CPE when they are discussing issues among

themselves but immediately switches into English when he has to address the general assembly.

This multilingualism also extends into the domain of the vernaculars. The manner with which one participant, Prince in the focus group in Belhar (focus group made up of group of students of the University of the Western Cape who stay in the Hector Peterson Residence, that took place in one participant's room) describes his vernacular, and even continues to speak in this language, passionately demonstrating how he reacts whenever he sees someone in South Africa who speaks his vernacular – is very captivating. His interest and pride in speaking his vernacular had an impact on all participants who did not know their vernaculars and Jack's disenchantment and desire for an official policy to promote the vernaculars are expressed in the following line:

> **Jack:** …unfortunately, some of we no get that exposure, na now way wu di see the value, you see, you di meet' up your countryman for here – I no know./… *unfortunately some of us do not have that exposure, it is now that we can see the value, you see, you can meet you tribes man here – I do not know*/
> All: (laughing)
> **Quinta:** You di see the value / You can see the value/
> **Blaze:** (still laughing) the man say I no know /*The man says I do not know/*
> **Jack:** Yea, na now so way you di see the value. You no fit express yourself for your country talk; you get some sense of identity = =
> /*Yea, it is now that you that you can see the value, you cannot express yourself in your dialect, you have some sense of identity = =/*
> **Quinta**: = = Mmmh (in affirmation)
> **Jack:** = = way you di miss' am out. I really feel say even though ye go hard for officialize the languages, but ye fit get an official policy for promote the languages somehow, for encourage people them way them fit talk the language.
> /*= = that you miss it out. I really feel that even though it will be hard to officialize the languages, but it can get an official policy to promote t he languages somehow, to encourage people who can speak the language*. /

Jack claims that it would be difficult to grant an official status to all the Cameroonian vernaculars in spite of the fact that the dialects create a sense of identity. The other participants, notably Quinta, support this declaration. Echu (2003:1) argues in this same light, saying that over the years, some scholars and political observers entertained a possible calamity if all the Cameroonian vernaculars are made official. With regard to these conflicting ideas about the Cameroonian vernaculars, it is necessary to examine the attitude of the immigrants towards their vernaculars.

4.1.3 Perceptions Towards Cameroonian Vernaculars

The third research question explores the perception of the Cameroonian immigrants towards their vernaculars. This question tries to find out whether the immigrants would like their vernaculars to gain official status like the South African vernaculars now enjoy. The 1996 constitution of this country officially documentes eleven of the South African languages namely Afrikaans, English, Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele, Venda, Swati, Sesotho, Sepedi, Tsonga and Tswana. Like South Africa, most African countries have at least one of their dialects that has acquired official status; for instance, there is Bambara in Mali, Wolof in Senegal, and Sango in the Central African Republic (Bobda, 2006). Worthy of note is the fact that in the above example, national languages originate from the capital cities; Bamako, Dakar and Bangu respectively – a sharp contrast to the situation of Cameroon where Ewondo, the language of the capital city, Yaoundé (which alone hosts 1.5 million, of the population – second to Douala with 2.5 million inhabitants in a nation of 16 million inhabitants), is spoken only by 10% of the inhabitants of this Capital, which is just a mere 4% when compared to the total population (Bobda 2006:4). Before we continue, definitions of the term mother tongue, and the reason for my preference of the term vernacular instead of mother tongue is vital.

The term mother tongue and other related words like native English, first language, home language and the indigenous language have traditionally been used by to refer to the language of the area that one comes from. Nevertheless, the new sociolinguistic phenomena that are now emerging in urban centres necessitate a compelling need to redefine this expression. This is especially true in the case of Cameroon where records of indigenous language use reflect the lowest profile in comparison to the usage of English, French and Pidgin English. To make things even worse, children especially

those from exogamic marriage homes) do not even speak any of the indigenous languages (Bobda 2006:1-2).

According to Bobda (2006), mother tongue could be defined in terms of origin, and in the sociology domain, in terms of the language in which one establishes one's first lasting communicative relationship; with reference to competence in the linguistic domain when language is to mean that which one knows best; in the sociolinguistic discipline, mother tongue would be defined in terms of function – meaning the language that one uses most; with regards to attitude, it would mean the language one identifies with and is identified as native speaker of that language by other speakers in the field of social psychology and psychology of the individual, and finally, in terms of automacy/world view, with reference to popular conceptions, mother tongue is the language one counts in, thinks in, dreams in and writes in.

To this effect, Boda, (2006:3-4) again argues that English and French function as mother tongues for a large majority of children in Yaoundé and that elsewhere, Pidgin assumes this same function for most, if not all the perspectives as has been displayed above. Bobda further argues that children could be denied the status of mother tongue in English and French only if these notions are genetically defined and not linguistically. Finally, he proposes that we may have to change the label mother tongue to indigenous or local languages for the sake of convenience. It is for this reason that I adapted the latter terms and use them indiscriminately with the term vernacular since they all fit into Boda's definitions of mother tongue.

The definition of a dialect on the other hand is more general as it simply refers to a form of language in a part of a country or by a class of people with grammar, words and pronunciation that may be different from other forms of the same language. In the same way, the definition of vernacular is very broad as it means a language or a form of language spoken in a particular country or region or by a particular group as compared with a formal written language (Oxford Advanced Learner's dictionary). In some parts, different ethnic groups speak two or more languages. Amongst speakers of a single group, there is considerable internal variation; thus one can distinguish Australian, American, British and Indian English from others. The same situation applies with French where striking differences are noticed between spoken French in

Montreal and spoken French in Paris. Spain, Mexico and the Southern American countries have a wide variety of spoken Spanish. In basically monolingual countries like Germany, France and the United states; there is also variation from one group to another (Finegan and Besnier 1989:326).

If society is spatially and even symbolically created and space is also both symbolically and socially reproduced (Vigouroux; 2005), then it could also be argued that language itself is spatially, symbolically and socially created. Better still, one could conveniently point out that any value attached to a language is first of all determined not only by the society and space but also by the people's perceptions of this language and most importantly, that this perception is always tactfully shaped and directed by the policy makers and those in power (the government). To justify this assertion, let us look at the responses advanced by Pascal and Adeline (setting seen in section 4.1.2) as reasons for their preferences of the English or French language over Pidgin English and/or the vernaculars. Grammar in Cameroon refers to Standard English (Bobda; 2006). Pascal thinks that Cameroonians prefer to use Standard English because it is more presentable unlike Pidgin English, which he compares to the vernaculars.

> **Researcher:** You di talk Pidgin so but any time wu want get interview you di prefer na for talk na only for English, why? /*You really talk in Pidgin like this but any time we want to have an interview you prefer to talk only in English why?) [Adeline's phone rings]*
>
> **Pascal:** Grammar looks - di present now. If you talk Pidgin - Pidgin day like country talk /*Standard English – looks – is presentable don't you know. If you talk in Pidgin -Pidgin is like a vernacular/*
>
> **Researcher:** Eeeh Adeline / Adeline? /
>
> **Adeline**: ... I want leave Pidgin if way … no talk gain…/*...I want to avoid Pidgin? If there means… stop speaking.../*

The Cameroon vernaculars are equitable to the CPE, which is treated as "uncouth," "backward," "uncivilized" (Dibussi, 2006). Pascal tells us why the Cameroonians prefer to speak English or French alone in every activity that is deemed important. Adeline speaks CPE very well when conversing with co-workers, customers and friends but each time she has to answer a question from me, she does so only in

English because she thinks that English alone is up to standard while CPE is just a barbaric dialect like all the other Cameroonian vernaculars which must not be used for any documentation. This is in accordance to Bobda's (2006:4) argument that the complexity of the linguistic landscape of Cameroon together with the vague and poorly implemented language policy is a significant threat to the use of indigenous languages. Echu (2004:9) further substantiates this point by arguing that their very existence today is further threatened in the towns and the cities where more and more young people tend to use English and French from childhood.

In the above discussion, one notices that the physical and geographical change of territory has no effect on the Cameroonians' perception of their indigenous languages. Even the South African sociolinguistic situation, which has negotiated a space suitable for the usage of the African languages, has no effect on the Cameroonian immigrants! Like in the days of colonialism where the languages were perceived as a threat to the colonial culture and identity, in the Cameroonian territory, today, these languages are seen as a threat to the official languages and the interests of the governing power in this same territory.

To further develop this argument, I shall use data collected from the Anglophone focus group (described above) and the Francophone focus group (made up of traders as described above) and information from Geodette who lives in Khayelitsha, Kingsley who lives in Mowbray and Junior who lives in Brooklyn, all interviewed individually in front of the Salt River meeting hall. I shall also make use of information from Paul, Solo and Adeline, who all live in different areas of Cape Town but were interviewed in their business places at the Parow Market. Finally, I shall use material from Max, (see section 4.1.1for the description of setting), Bernadine from Stellenbosch, and Joe who lives in Woodstock (all interviewed in Mowbray), Allain who lives in Maitland and Thomas who also lives in Maitland, (all interviewed in an African restaurant in Salt River) and Amadou (interview setting still in section 4.1.1)

Jack: Wa country talk them?
/Our dialects?/
Researcher: Yes
Jack: For gain official status?

/*To gain official status?/*

Quinta: (laughs)

Researcher: Yes become official languages

Jack: Wonderful

Prince: (coughs) Make I answer' am. Well for that one, wu own be different. Make wu take' am like now for South Africa, ones way their own get nine official languages, nine tribes or clans. For Cameroon wu get a minimum of 263 tribes and way all them di talk different languages even though them fit be similar, all them be different. So making all those languages official na just for plague the – that country into chaos. But most North West eeh –eeh pikin them, them di like for talk their country talk. Man like me, I like for talk Bikom and I di write' am from A to Z why just because say for wa house ye be be na the first language. So all we pikin them for the house eh (with emphases), you first get for know how for talk the Bikom. Pidgin, wu learn'am na for inside cia for quartier, quartier (quartier is a French word). Pidgin, (exclaims, shaking his head negatively) and (coughs). I no fit remember the day way I talk pidgin for ma reme or for ma late papa. Either I talk for country talk, punctuated Bikom or for grammar.

/(coughs) Let me answer it. Well for that one, ours is different let's take the example of the South African ones where theirs have nine official languages, nine tribes or clans. In Cameroon we have a minimum of 263 tribes and all these speak different languages even though they may be similar, they are all different so making all those languages official is just to plague the – that country into chaos. But most North West eeh eeh children speak in their dialects. Someone like me, I like to speak Bikom (Bikom is the vernacular spoken by the Kom people) dialect and I write it from A to Z why just because that in our house it was the first language so all of us children in the house eh (with emphasis) you first have to know how to speak Bikom. Pidgin, we learnt it in a cunning manner in the quarter, quarter. Pidgin, (exclaims, shaking the head negatively). I cannot remember the day I spoke it to my mother or my late daddy. Either I speak in the dialect, punctuated Bikom or in grammar standard English/

All :(laugh)

Blaze: (still laughing) so you di talk' am na for punctuated Bikom. /*So you speak it but in punctuated Bikom*/

Prince: Na ye done make' am I really love the country talk soté, I like' am /*That is why I really love the vernacular too much, I like it*/

Researcher: So how often you di talk the country talk for South Africa

/So how often do you speak the dialect in South Africa/

Prince: Whenever I meet the person way ye di talk Bikom. When I meet' up any person ye di come from afar, I no di talk English again /*Whenever I meet the person who speaks Bikom from afar, I do not speak English again/*

Quinta: = = (greets him in his dialect)

Prince: = = I di just halah (says something in his vernacular) ye just day in me and na one very particular thing that - about Bikom people (2secs) whether you grow na for where oho, if you see some country man you first just start na with ye. */ I would just scream ([speaking in his mother tongue] it is just in me and that is one very particular thing that – about all Bikom people (2secs) wherever you grow up oho, if you see some tribesman coming, you will first just start with it/*

Blaze: Identity, thank you very much … for South Africa and I discover say ok – I think say back home, we need for struggle preserve wa languages because when you see things way - at the end of the day man be African …Originally, I no for be one of those people them for want over want for talk say make them teach country talk especially say the Cameroonian setting holds a very difficult one and officially say wu get at least 250 ethnic groups … totally and completely assimilated for the way way wu no fit be able for talk wa own country talk them. I believe say at the end of the day, na the language way God be give we. /*identity thank you very much … to South Africa and I have discovered that okay – I think that back home we need to struggle to preserve our languages because when you see things that - at the end of the day man is an African whether you are … Originally, I will not be one of those people to want, to really want to say they should teach the vernacular especially that the Cameroonian setting holds a very difficult one and officially that we have at least 250 ethnic groups …totally and completely assimilated in a way that we shall not be able to speak our own dialects. I believe that at the end of the day, it is the language that God gave us/.*

Unlike in English where the exclamation "wonderful" stands for something pleasant and enjoyable in CPE, it means the opposite. It refers to an unpleasant surprise or actually "terrible" Bobda (2006:8). Jack cannot believe that he read the question correctly. Since he seems quite dominant in this focus group, and usually acts as interpreter, that is, he reads the question and interprets it to the others, he asks many questions in the course of their discussion, to make sure that he really understands the question. When he finally gets the clue about what the question is all about, he still cannot believe what he hears.

It is unimaginable for Jack to hear someone insinuating the possibility of the Cameroonian vernaculars becomin official. But, Prince who knows his dialect so well recognises its value and is sentimentally attached to it and wants the language to be promoted. He however, still fears that if official status is given to too many languages, Cameroon would be inviting an inevitable disaster (see Echu, 2004:11, 2003:1, for similar perceptions). Blaze openly affirms that his new space – Cape Town has reshaped his attitude towards the vernaculars. Due to his physical deterriorialization, he now sees the need for preserving these languages since he believes that he shall forever remain African irrespective of personal circumstances in this world. In more concrete terms, he states that the vernaculars after all were given to us by God hence, confirming the belief of Finegan and Besnier (1989) that the origin of language could be traced back to the Garden of Eden when it was given to man in its original form by his creator (Finegan and Besnier, 1989:491).

Bobda (2006:4) remarks that in Cameroon more than 286 languages are spoken in a national territory of just 18 million people, meaning that there are only 50 000 inhabitants to a single language: a situation that indicates a high concentration of languages in a single area, thus leading to the unending search for a common language for communication or what Fonlon (1969) refers to as a confusion of tongues. As a result, colleagues at workplaces, schoolmates, spouses at home, domestic workers and children have no other choice but to resort to English, French and CPE (Fonlon, 1969; Bird, 2001; Anchimbe, 2005a; Echu, 2004 2006, and Bobda, 2006). Prince quickly recognises the complexity of this situation and even fears that granting official status to the many local languages, would only 'plague this country' (Cameroon) into 'war,'

– a worry that matches Echu's (2004:5) observation that "Cameroon like many other African countries neutrally opted for the 'neutral' foreign language option of official language in order to avoid language conflict on the one hand and unwarranted financial and material cost on the other hand", further keeping the indigenous languages far away from the national platform and preference given to the languages of the former colonial masters.

Prince has been brought up in a different manner from Jack and the other participants. He believes in his mother tongue and puts it before any other language. As such, he grabs the subject with much enthusiasm, even stopping to speak in his own mother tongue from time to time. At the end of the day all other participants admire him, they are convinced by his opinion and regret that they do not know their dialects. Blaze for instance urges the policy makers to ensure promotion and continuity of the vernacular, a thing which he acknowledges he would have rejected before now. But due to the sense of identity which he now misses, he feels an urgent need to ensure that the younger generations know their vernaculars in order for the Cameroonian identity to be constantly replicated, in whatever space they may be.

It is important to note here that not only has Prince's ideology, his production of a Kom territory in Cape Town whenever he meets a Bikom speaking individu,l influenced the perceptions of the other participants, their need to be included (insideness) and the desire to feel a kind of shared identity through their local languages has also been restructured. This reformation of attitude is visible in the responses of Jack below (compared to his responses above), who had been brought up in an exogamous home and spent all his life in the urban cities where they communicated only in Pidgin English.

> **Jack:** Me particularly, I no be one of those people them way them grow learn for talk their country talk
> /*Me particularly, I am not one of those people who grew up learning how to speak their indigenous language*/
> **Researcher:** Why
> **Jack:** We are "urbanites"
> **Researcher:** What do you mean?

Jack: [ ] and (laughing) na for some generation of pikin them born them them grow at the time way cities them be – towns them be di evolve way their papa and their mammy them no get that strong attachment to their – their places of origin especially if them be born for homes them way their papa and their mammy them no be born for the same village and way their papa and their mammy them no di use the same verna – vernacular them. Them done grow most of their life for town, them done di communicate with that common language; pidgin like this one way I di talk 'am now so, yea /[*] and (laughing) it refers to a generation of children that were born and bred at the time that the cities were, the towns were evolving and whose fathers and mothers do not have that strong attachment to their – their places of origin especially if they were born in homes their fathers and their mothers are not born in the same village and whose fathers and mothers do not use the same verna – vernaculars. They grew most of their lives in towns, they communicate with that common language; pidgin like the one which I'm now speaking, yea/*

The views of the participants of the focus group in the Belhar hostel are that they want to safeguard their languages yet fear that promoting some of these languages may result in conflict between the ethnic groups in Cameroon. Eric, unlike some members of the above focus group, sees no need to fear a subsequent war if the local languages become official, after all, in South Africa, there are eleven official languages and yet, there is no war. To Eric (like Blaze in the focus group extract above) these languages need to be taught in schools. Making the vernaculars official will not only help to foster greater communication but also to include the greater majority who are constantly left out of decision making and cannot even access the administrative offices due to language barriers. This is in agreement with Echu's (1999) argument that these languages could actually enrich and increase the potential of Cameroonians and that they are a wonderful resource, which Cameroonians are neglecting.

Researcher: Okay, what about the ethnic languages … national status?

Eric: Yes I will (2 seconds) because there and then it will also - people to go a long way to be able to communicate because I wouldn't tell you a lie, there are some parents back home especially in Nkwain who only speak the mother

> tongue, and the [ ] Pidgin English. They can't speak English and they can't speak French which means that if the Nkwain language gains the same status like the English or French languages, then it gives them the ways to (2 seconds) socialize with people then they can easily express themselves in whatever office they get into.

By using exclusively English and French in education as well as in official day-to-day interaction and functions in Cameroon, most of the indigenous people remain largely ignorant and unable to participate in national issues and as a result, they do not contribute to national development. Eric's supports the fact that most of the indigenous people know neither the content of their constitution nor the penal code of their country thus also confirming the observation of Echu, (2004:10). It is therefore clear here that the majority do not participate in decision making in Cameroon because of language barriers.

This especially is a problem among the Cameroonians, without excluding the immigrants in Cape Town, where every important activity or any event that is deemed significant is exerted only by means of the official languages – English or French (see the example of the CANOWACAT meeting in tsection 4.1.2). Even though the elders in Eric's village have something useful to contribute to the public, they can only do so in their dialects and in CPE, but the languages are regarded as informal so whatever they may say has no influence since they will only be able to participate in informal settings. This again emphasises the outsideness of the members in the society. Thus, Eric feels that making the vernaculars official will be useful to the community and ensure better and effective communication, further giving all citizens an upper hand in state affairs like the government for instance and above all, giving them room to be able to express themselves and contribute to basic decisions that govern their lives.

The sluggish language policy in Cameroon is a clear reflection of the colonial mentality. For instance, over forty year after independence there has never been any serious provision made in the country's basic laws regarding the indigenous languages, until in the 1996 Constitution where it was only casually stated that the state shall protect and promote the national languages (Bobda, 2006:4). This situation worries Eric who does not only want to see the languages promoted but that they

actually become official too. Eric is in favour of an environment in which everyone is given the right to transform his space and situate himself in any given territoriality at any time regardless of the language that he/she uses. In this same line, Joe interviewed in a restaurant in Salt River envisions a physical space in which one would be able to perfectly translate his/her dreams and feelings in his/her own dialect.

But Joe like Prince and some other participants thinks the vernaculars need to be promoted in every other way; for example in the academic field, where one is at least able to read and write in his/her vernacular, use it in the media and in social forums but avoid granting them an official position.

> **Researcher:** And your mother tongue; can you write and read it?
> **Joe:** Not really. I would say that I have difficulties in writing and reading Mnendani. Erhh, but I can write a bit, not as much as I would do with the English language and French.
> **Researcher:** Why not? Why can't you write as English language and French language?
> **Joe:** Well because it is not a long time since the language became intelligible. It's not a long time since it was written (4 seconds) and I didn't have enough exposure…I - I think that there is still a need to go ahead and learn it because I find it better to express myself in my own mother tongue
> **Researcher:** okay
> **Joe:** There are some expressions that I would use in my mother language that I cannot translate them into English or French and certain concepts would be made clearer in my mother tongue than (4 seconds) - the vocab would be lacking to express the concepts in French and English.

Dibussi (2006) estimates people seem to forget that the main aim of using any language is to communicate. This means getting your point through to your listener (see section 4.1.1). Joe shares the same views with Eric but sees this in a more profound way. The parents and a greatermajority of the community may be able to socialise if only they can speak English or French but this socialization is only superficial. Taking Joe's own opinion as an example, the inferior and disadvantageous

position reserved for the indigenous languages is very clear. He is a perfectly bilingual Cameroonian, yet cannot aptly translate his feelings and ideas from his local language into the English/French language. He just cannot find an accurate expression in English or French that would properly portray or efficiently present concepts in his vernacular. To add to this, he says there is no adequate vocabulary in the European languages to transmit his thoughts and dreams. In conformity to Echu (2004) he says that the only way to maintain continuity of these languages is to promote them in the educational forum.

Unlike in the first and the second questions where respondents generally held one common opinion, the third question entertained several of them. In responding to the question of the vernaculars becoming official, Bernadine of the Stellenbosh University and Angèle, a participant of the French focus group offered the following views:

> **Reseacher**: … like' am make wa country talk them be official? */… you like it if our dialects become official?/*
>
> **Bernadine:** Ehm, for me as much as I, I like for preserve culture because na something way ye really bi so unique way I no want loss' am I no want make pikin them, you know, come up and then them no know watti e bi di happen …as much as I like' am but I no go like for make' am like an official language because for me I no see the benefit ehm (3 secs) in your career, if them start teach you for ya contry talk till university because you di aim for excel in your work place or whatever career you choose, you go bi forced for communicate in other languages and way na languages way them bi more accepted or way more people them di speak' am. ... For instance, for ma work, if I be trained for speak English ye go be easier for me for write ma scientific paper them because I get for write' am for English and plenty time them, if you want publish some journal, you get for write' am or you bi compelled do' am for English or give some man for translate for you. So … the fact say the world di become global, I no see why in as much as I want make them maintain that contry talk way them fit tok am for house, I no see why ye get for become official in any way.
>
> */Emmh as much as I, I will like to preserve culture because it is something that is really so unique, which I do not want to lose, which I do not want that*

children you know come up and then they do not know what was happening … as much as I like it, but I will not like to make it an official language because for me, I do not see the benefit. Ehmm (3secs) in your career if they start to teach you in your dialect till the University, because you are aiming to excel in your workplace or whatever career you choose, you will be forced to communicate in other languages and these are languages, which are more accepted, or which are spoken by more people… For instance, in my workplace, if I am trained to speak English, it will be easier for me to write my scientific papers because I have to write them in English and most of the times if you want to publish a journal, you have to write it or you are compelled to do so in English or give someone to translate for you. So … the fact that the world is becoming global, I do not see the reason why in as mush as I want that they should maintain that vernacular that they can speak at home, I do not see why it has to become official in any way./

Angèle:… si ces gens parlent le Balemkop, il y en a beaucoup qui ne peuvent pas comprendre ce que ça veut dire. Donc moi je me dis qu'on parle encore le Française parce que c'est général … tout le monde puisse comprendre.
/*...if people should speak Balenkop, there will be many who will not understand what it means, so I think that we should still speak French because it is worldwide… that everyone should be able to understand*/

European languages are always judged in terms of the professional advantages they procure (Bobda, 2006). All participants recognise the importance and distinctive nature of their dialects. While some are anxious to see these languages attain an official status in order that the greater majority should be able to participate, others think that giving an official status equal to that of French and English is not beneficial at all to the people. Bernadine especially considers these European languages from the perspective of academics and thinks that they are indispensable for the writing of her scientific papers. For this reasons, the vernaculars must be strictly limited to home usage only as stated in Echu (2004). To others, (e.g., Angèle) the rest of the world may not be able to communicate with these people who use only their dialects. There is some nuance here in that eventhough some participants value the cultureal significance of their languages; they still see their languages as incapable of being

used world wide. This means that the zeal to protect them will only be a waste of time since one cannot heartily protect what we hate to promote or what is constantly judged as inferior. This inferiority all stems from the days of colonialism and especially with regards to that which concerns assimilation (Dibussi, 2006; Anchimbe, 2005a; Echu, 2004)

All in all, participants express greater confusion when they think that African languages are very important and should be protected for future generations. There is however a general disagreement among participants about making these languages official, while some would readily go for it, in consideration of the elderly and the majority of the Cameroonian society, others vehemently reject the idea of making these languages official. To them, it could cause more division or war and cut the people off from the rest of the world or prevent them from advancing in their academic and professional careers. Victor, interviewed in front of his room in Salt River throws more light at this juncture when he says:

> **Victor:** Erhm, the dialects, if the dialects here have got ehmm the status, the truth is it is with respect to those at the hierarchy …dialects should not be given preferences; the world is a global place today you see.

Victor argues that it is entirely useless to let the indigenous languages have an official status. He believes that this decision has much to do with the interests of those in power and concludes that it could however be possible in South Africa with few ethnic groups but not in Cameroon where there are too many ethnic groups. To Victor, it is pure nonsense to officially recognise the languages in a world that is fast becoming global. He further argues that only English is useful as an international language today.

Adeline (below), justifies Victor's opinion emphasising her reason for this is that most people do not even know the dialects and will not go back to school (primary level) just to learn how to write and read in these languages. Even though the Bamileke dialect is already being taught in the primary school, she does not see any reason for extending the teaching of this dialect to secondary schools. This point of view is in line with the observation of Bobda (2006:1) that the language choice of the parents for

their children together with the children's language choice for themselves and even for their own children confirms the expected dominance of the European languages on the Cameroonian landscape in future. This expectation is no surprise following the fact the country's language policy ignores its own local languages and that even when the languages are to be mentioned, it is only done so in very plain and vague terms (Bird, 2001:9; Echu.2003:4; Echu, 2004:6-10; Myers-Scotton, 2006:385; Bobda, 2006:4). This situation may lead to regrettable implications for the future and the vernaculars may be completely extinguished (Bobda, 2006).

The Cameroonian vernaculars as we have seen really suffer an acquired inferiori status (Mbuy, 1993). Echu (2004:10) remarks that the negative attitude towards the indigenous languages is not peculiar to Cameroon alone. He further notes that in many schools in the former French and Portuguese colonies, the dialects are not tolerated at all, not even in the primary school because of the clamour of parents to introduce their children into the European systems as early as possible. From Adeline's response:

> **Adeline:** It is not really necessary (laughs) for me because they never started at the beginning. So for me, it will be useless…

But her response also exposes some crucial issues that will be useful in our study – the unequal bilingual policy in Cameroon where English is often not considered as an official language (Echu, 2004) and above all, the total disregard of Pidgin English (Dibussi, 2006, Myer-Cotton, 2006, Bobda, 2006). This means that the geographical dislocation of these Cameroonian immigrants has played a very limited role in their identity display and conceptions towards their languages. While in this new territory, they still cherish CPE very well and use it most of the time. Yet, their increased use of CPE still does not make it equal to French, one of the official languages in Cameroon or even to other official European languages like Spanish, and German.

To crown it all, the vernaculars still suffer gross lowliness and their usage is greatly reduced. Participants have very conflicting ideas with regards to the protection and promotion of these vernaculars. Most participants, typically those from French–speaking Cameroon think it is useless to promote these vernaculars while a good

majority of participants from English-speaking Cameroon do not only want these languages to be protected and promoted, but that these languages equally gain some official recognition and be taught in schools. It is for this reason that in one of the interviewees, Max, quickly realises the emotional and cultural disaster that negligence of the real identities may cause the immigrants and expresses their plans (those of the Pinyin tribal meeting) to reproduce the Cameroonian lifestyle in their new territory as he declares:

> **Max:** ... So we are already looking towards this because we finally discovered that here we are missing a lot of the things that are supposed to be done at home and we are not at home again and we are having kids here… So we are already on the process and we had already ordered drums ... uniforms, we had had already ordered traditional caps.

Max's responses relates to Bobda's (2006) observation that the problem with new languages taking over the vernaculars is both emotional and cultural whose long term effect is estimated to be the death of local languages which goes hand in hand with the loss of an entire civilisation thereby taking away the warehouse of consciousness.

Notwithstanding, Echu (2004:5) proclaims that negligence of these languages by the government has been neutralised by the active role played by some private organisations like the Programme de recherché operationnelle pour l'Enseignement des langues au Cameroun (PROPELCA), the Cameroon Association for Bible Translation and Literacy (CABTAL) and so on. The role played by these associations has led to the standardization of some dialects and consequently, the inclusion of a clause guaranteeing the promotion of the official languages in the 1996 constitution. Hence, some participants in line with this private and individual promotion of these dialects maintain that these languages need to be promoted somehow and somewhere as stated in the extract from one participant in the Anglophone focus group:

> **Prince:** Okay, yea, watti I di over like that issue for make the mother tongue them official, … for regionalise the thing for - North West most of the tribes … get their country news them for radio like kom … /*Okay, yea, why I very much*

like the issue of making the vernaculars official…to regionalise this - in the North West tribes…to have their vernacular news slot as is with Kom… /

In the final analysis, Prince and his group members believe that it is necessary for the vernaculars to gain official status. Prince strongly supports this idea and believes that the local communities are now trying to regionalise development of the indigenous languages and he further cites the example of the North West Province where all the tribes each have a news slot on the radio programme. For the Kom people, they have two days –Tuesdays and Thursdays for this activity. These is in agreement with Echu (1999) who states that the Cameroonian indigenous languages will continue to be neglected unless the Cameroonians stop waiting for the distant miracle and begin to work hand in hand with both the government and the private organisations in promoting their own vernaculars.

Similarly Bobda (2006:11) specifies that the government's failure to take a bold step in the right direction when it was most needed has necessitated the initiative from other quarters. This is the case with the ten provincial radio stations whose emphasis has been placed on the promotion of languages spoken in each province. He further notes that the time allocated for the broadcast in these dialects varies from province to province with Maroua in the far North Province taking the lead, 27%, and the North West Province in Bamenda, with the least time – 4.17%. To Bobda this great disparity for time allotted to vernacular broadcast suggests that the larger part of the socio-economic group is neglected.

Given the above revelations, the role of the vernaculars and their optimum importance is very clear. In spite of this, the number of participants who disagree that the languages be made official, those who favour their promotion are quite remarkable. To this effect, the trajectory and the sociolinguistic situation in South Africa seems to have played a great role in transforming the Cameroonian immigrants. Those who cannot speak their indigenous languages now tend to consider as very devastating the fact that they miss such a symbolic and unifying sense of insideness from which they are deprived; especially now in a foreign territory, whose effect they tend to feel most. Those that can speak their vernacular seek to foster the development of the languages.

For these reasons they wish to help the next generations learn their vernaculars. Besides this is the issue of a global world whose advantages are hailed by every living being and thanks to whose existence, we are able to freely migrate from place to place, easily associate with people we have never seen before, and increase our proximity to each other via the news and advanced means of transport. Above all, the ability to communicate, trade and educate each other with relative convenience, amongst other things, has reduced suspicion and fear of the unknown. This takes us to the discussion of themes emerging in this survey, one of which is that of globalisation.

4.2 Thematic Interpretation in Relation to Literature Review: Summary

Here, themes that arise in the data, which have been previously reviewed by some scholars, shall be discussed. For the sake of convince and limitations of space, some themes have been grouped together. The themes shall include: the dominance of English and French, the unequal bilingual policy, the Anglophone and Francophone division, globalisation and the universal usage of English, room-sharing, the rich cultural values of the Cameroonians, the rich Anglophone values, name-giving to foreigners and xenophobia, learning of the South African languages and the dominance of CPE, the Anglophones' problem, differences in dressing style, the attachment to multiple identities by the Cameroonian immigrants, their experiences in the socio-cultural context of Cape Town and migration.

4.2.1 The Dominance of the Official Languages

The linguistic landscape and the language policy of Cameroon are both unique in Africa. Even though all, if not most African countries claim many indigenous languages, Cameroon has an exceptionally large number when compared to its population of 16 million with over 260 languages (Bobda, 2006; Myers-Scotton, 2006; Anchimbe, 2005a; Echu, 2004; Bird 2001). In addition to this sense of uniqueness is the fact that unlike other African countries which adopted one colonial language as official, Cameroon has two of these – French and English, after having narrowly missed the German language when following the decision of the Versailles treaty in 1919, Germany lost all her colonies and Cameroon, being one of these, was divided between the French and the British (Myers-Scotton, 2006:384).

Since then, the official languages of Cameroon have been English and French, with both having the same status. All constitutions after independence reiterate this official bilingualism. Hence, the reason for the preference of these languages in all national domains, starting from homes, classrooms, offices and right up to parliament. Even though the Cameroonians under study have deterritorialised from their former territory, they have carried along with them the attitudes of attaching importance to European languages as vividly portrayed in the CANOWACAT association (see section 4.1.2) and in the discussions of the focus group in Belhar Hostels as seen in the lines below:

Blaze: At least English ye one fit exist ... English na the medium of communication, = = education...upbringing (2secs)...education, governments
*/At least English only can exist ... English is the medium of communication, = = education...*upbringing, (2secs)...education, government
Jack: (inaudible) office
Blaze: Office yes, you di want do anything, officially you di use na English
/office, yes, if you want to do anything officially you have to use English/
Jack: *For which Cameroon* /In which Cameroon/
Blaze: Oh, yea, thank you
All: (Laughing)
Blaze: (laughing) I done concentrate for ma own part. Sorry, I make mistake. For Anglophones them, you di go learn school na for English so generally = =
/(laughing) *I have concentrated on my own part. Sorry, I made a mistake. To Anglophones, you go learn to learn school in English* so generally = = /
Jack: = = It depends. English speaking Cameroonians them fit learn, them di learn French like a language eeh yes just as the Francophones them di learn English
/It depends, English-speaking Cameroonians can learn, they learn French as a language just as the Francophones learn English/
Blaze...when man go learn English, man fit come back for learn ye country talk, like wu di learn' am for school, learn Whitman ye own country talk */..., when one goes and learn English one can come back to learn his/her vernacular, like we learn it in school, learn the vernacular of the whites/*
Prince: I tell you */Indeed/*

Jack: Na true, now wu di learn Whiteman ye country talk*/It is true, now we are learning the dialect of the whites/*

Quinta: Soté wu di talk'am pass (laughing) wu no fit write and read wa own /*until we can even write more than (laughing) we cannot write and read ours/*

The members of the Anglophone focus group in Belhar affirm that they know how to speak and to write the official languages even better than their own masters (the whites/British) but equally show some concern for the fact that they do not know their own local languages by urging the linguists to do something about the shameful situation. The members of this focus group go as far as enumerating the various domains that are managed strictly by means of the official languages. These domains include education, government administration and in short, anything that is to be considered official. In the above discussion, Blaze recognised that he is now in a different territory and so, bases his discussion only on the dominance of one of the official languages, English, which of course is also an official language in South Africa where he now studies and uses this language in school with friends, colleagues and lectures and elsewhere in Cape Town.

Jack quickly recognises this one-sided response and corrects him, not by telling him exactly that English really is not the only dominant language in the whole of Cameroon but by simply asking him which part of Cameroon he is talking about. While their lengthy discussion on this topic shows that Fonlon's (1969) dream of a bilingual plan has come true, it also portrays how space can shape people's attitudes towards a language. Blaze would never see English as dominating in Cameroon because French the culture, civilisation and dominant French feelings are all over the country and any claim for English alone is only at the detriment of the speaker (Echu, 2004; Anchimbe, 2005a).

Apart from Fonlon (1969), Bird, (2001), Echu, (2004), Bobda, (2006), and many other scholars agree that an official bilingual policy based on European languages is the only way out for a multilayered linguistic landscape such as Cameroon. Bird (2001) for example, stresses that:

> As far as culture is concerned, we must in fact refrain from any blind and narrow nationalism and avoid any complex when absorbing the learning of other counties. When we consider the English language and culture and the French language and culture, we must regard them not as the property of such and such a race but as the acquirement of universal civilisation to which we belong. This is in fact why we have followed the part of bilingualism … it is in our interests to develop these two world languages in our country but that furthermore it offers us the means to develop this new culture which I have just mentioned and which could transform our country into a catalyst of African unity (Bird, 2001:9)

Following this quotation, there is no doubt why civil servants in Cameroon were constantly being reminded of their duty to be bilingual and sometimes financially motivated to do so (Anchimbe 2005a: 5; Myers-Scotton, 2006:385). This most probably is the reason for which Tim (an interviewee in an African restaurant in Salt River) thinks that official bilingualism is the most proper and only means or suitable language policy for the Cameroonians when he reveals that:

> **Tim:** For me, no for me is a problem, is not a problem because I cannot change the way things is because that's how we grow up and they can be keeping the two languages because I cannot see a problem there. I cannot see a problem … Cameroon is like a two cake, they were combined to one cake so there have to be the French and English … go back to the history.

Nevertheless, scholars such as Echu (2004), Anchimbe (2005a), Bobda (2006) and Myers-Scotton (2006) condemn the implementations of the policy of official bilingualism. They blame the inefficiency of this policy mostly on poor teaching methods and lack of teachers. Bobda declares that Cameroonian's claim to the English and French languages is but vain because they do not speak anything close to Parisian and British/American English. Furthermore, he argues that even to experts (especially the teachers) who speak these languages very well, they still have to sit for TOEFL exams if they have to go to the USA.

Even more frustrating is the fact that the definition of the term mother tongue is not linguistically determined. It is only genetically defined and applicable to speakers from mother tongue English countries even when the speakers are less competent, thus ignoring those Cameroonian professionals that might have acquired these languages right from birth (Bobda, 2006:9-10). Implicitly, Bobda (2006) means that we may acquire these foreign languages very well and get on along with them while in our own territoriality but may not depend solely on them when we deterritorialize in another country, especially if this country is Europe or America.

To make this even clearer, it could be said that we claim no linguistic identity or ethnic identity to any of the foreign languages that we may claim to belong to because we would still be disqualified from belonging (insideness) based on our roots. Even worse, is the fact that administration, that is the military, the national assembly, treaties and diplomatic exchange are conceived in French and only translated into English if need be (Anchimbe, 2005a; Echu, 2004). As if this is not enough threat for grasping what is not ours, from the first and the second research questions previously discussed, we also see instances where the participants speak CPE and English but mix the languages with the some French words and expressions.

This is in conformity to Spaas's (2001) view that after independence, France did not completely leave its colonies for it still remains the heart of their civilisation. Consequently, Francophones now see French as the 'real' official culture and code of communication (Anchimbe, 2005:5). Based on this de facto dominance of the French, there is need for the defence of official language identity for both Francophonism and Anglophonism and this has degenerated into an educational, cultural and emotional clash. The Francophone wants to claim the whole territory and the Anglophone struggles to protect and maintain the space she perceives as hers.

4.2.2 The Dominance of French and Name-giving to Anglophones

Myers-Scotton (2006:386) argues that between the official languages, English has been the loser and that English is marginalised in public role while French-speaking Cameroonians hold the majority of public offices. The supremacy of French over English can be seen in the educational sphere, occupational field, political domain and

the media (Bobda, 2006; Echu, 2004; Bird, 2001), to name the four most popular and decisive fields to inhabitants of any country.

Members from both the Anglophone and the Francophone focus groups admit that French dominates English in all spheres of life in Cameroon. But to them, this is not simply because the Francophones are the majority; it is also because of inefficient implementation of the language policy. This matches with the views of Bobda (2006), Myers-Scotton (2006), Anchimbe (2005a) and Echu (2004). In the Francophone focus group, they have this to say concerning the dominance of French in the community and in the media:

> **Andrea:** Le Français est plus parlé au Cameroun parce que dans les dix provinces, il n'y a que deux provinces qui parlent l'Anglais donc le Français domine sur l'Anglais
> /*French is widely spoken in Cameroon because in the ten provinces, there are only two which speak English, so French dominates English /*
> **Pièrre:** Jusqu'aujourd'hui, le Français domine sur l'Anglais parce que le Cameroun c'est un pays c'est un pays bilingue mais on sait que quand on dit que le Cameroun est bilingue, on passé d'abord le Français et l'Anglais, on parle d'abord le Français et puis l'Anglais
> */Up till today, French dominates English because Cameroon is a bilingual country but one knows that when we say Cameroon is bilingual we start from French and then English, one speaks French before English*/
>
> **Angèle**: la télé au Cameroun c'est bilingue et c'est français = = /*The T.V. in Cameroon is bilingual and it is French= =/*
> **Andrea: =** = Mais c'est beaucoup plus Français/*But it is much more French*/
> **Angèle:** oui, c'est beaucoup plus Français */Yes it is much more French/*
> **Andrea:** C'est beaucoup plus Français, on pressent un journal en Anglais et en Français et l'Anglais c'est ce qu'on appel droit la droit publique = =/*It is much more French, they present news in English and in French and the English is what is one calls public right = =/*

Pierre: = = Mais alors que le journal en Anglaise est quinze minutes c'est quatre vingt pourcent en français= = /= = *whereas news in English is fifteen minutes it is ninety percent minutes in French = =/*

Sylvain: … c'est la démocratie qui est problème. Si il y a plus Francophone, il y a de quoi tous droit tiré du côte Francophone … C'est la démocratie qui gouverne le monde, …, un noir ne peut jamais être président aux état unis parce il y a la démocratie il y a plus de blancs, un blanc ne peut pas voter … ça serait vraiment un miracle parce que [ ] = =

/.., democracy is the real problem. If there are more Francophones, there is reason all must be directed towards the Francophones. So the.... It is democracy that governs the world ...in the United States where there is democracy and more Whites, a black can never be president. A White cannot vote a black, that would indeed be a miracle because [ ] = =/

The participants of the Francophone focus group unanimously agree that the French (Francophones) dominate the English (Anglophones) in Cameroon and, they expose their attitude towards English that is generally negative. For instance, they would watch the French news with much loyalty but would not hesitate to turn around and disturb when it is time for the English News. They all claim that the ministries, the government offices, the economy, the academic sector, religious and day-to-day interactions are all dominated by French. Sylvain supports this situation by quoting that democracy in Cameroon is like in the United States where it will be a great miracle to see a black person ruling. In other words, the Anglophones must accept their position because they are not the only minority population of the world. This is in agreement with the arguments of Echu (2004) and that of Dibussi (2006) that the policy of official language bilingualism gives little or no consideration for the minority.

The participants again reveal that the time allocated to the English news slot is just 10% while ninety percent is allocated to French alone. The participants further claim that the 10% allocated to English is only done just as a government obligation or duty to please the Anglophones, hence, the name public rights. The hierarchy encourages a negative attitude towards English and this attitude does not only end with the language itself, but extends to the speakers (Anglophones) themselves who are

regarded as second class citizens and judged in derogatory terms (Anchimbe, 2005a). The Francophone has a stereotyped image of the Anglophone and refers to them as backwards in slang such as anglofou, anglofool (all meaning backwards) (Anchimbe, 2005a:10). This is exemplified in the data below from a member of the Francophone focus group:

> **Andrea:** Quand j'arrive au Cameroun, quand j'ai à fais avec un Anglophone je l'appel fiche au camp, volant à droit ça tu comprend un peu ce qui fait que - chez nous les Francophones, le Volant est à gauche
> /*When I get to Cameroon, when I have to deal with an Anglophone, I call him/her scamp scarper, steering on the right, you understand this at least this is what makes – with us the Francophones, the steering is on the left/*

The above extract reveals that the Francophone's attitude towards English and the speakers of the language is indeed deplorable and has been extended to negatively identify the speakers of this language, causing a kind of division in Cameroon, which has been extended to its new geographical space in Cape Town. In this light, Andrea visualises a certain broad-spectrum emancipation among the Anglophone. That is, Andrea thinks that one day (in future) there will be a common agreement among the Anglophones to rebel against the injustice, which they suffer.

With regards to education, Echu (2004:7-8) remarks that of the six state universities, English and French are used in four and students are expected to take down notes in the language of their choice and do their assignments/exams in the same language while the lecturers employ the language they master best. But, the French lecturers are usually not competent in their second official language (LO2). As a result, 80% of the lectures are delivered in French and only 20% in English since the Francophone lecturers are in the majority. This causes a generally disgruntled attitude among the Anglophone students vis-à-vis the policy of official bilingualism. Secondly, students usually blame their failure in examinations on the professors concerned who lack competence in their LO2.This situation only causes mutual suspicion among the Anglophone and the Francophone. Thirdly, the bilingual training classes intended to improve the mastery of the student's LO2 are not only poorly organised, but lack the necessary infrastructure. This situation again, does not encourage excellence.

The data below from the Anglophone focus group and from Geodette, a hairdresser and a Francophone interviewee interviewed in front of the Salt River meeting hall, again demonstrate the dominance of the French language over English, a situation that stimulates division among the Francophones and the Anglophones.

Jack, a participant in the Anglophone focus group, argues that the Anglophones are more competent in French than the Francophones are in English. Anglophones learn French for the sake of bilingualism, which is not the same with the Francophone as Geodette and other participants believe.

> **Jack:** I feel say na Anglophone them di learn French for the sake of Bilingualism = = because na language of administration for most or language way you fit easily communicate… */I feel that the Anglophone are those that learn French for the sake of Bilingualism = = because it is the language of administration for most or the language with which you can easily communicate…/*
>
> **Geodette:** Non l'Anglais n'était pas official. Moi, j'ai fais sixième, c'est alors en sixième… */No English was not official. I attended form I (grade 7)… that is when I leant about English …/*
>
> **Researcher:** Tu voudras que ta fille parle mieux l'Anglais ou le... /W*ould you like your daughter to speak English better or …/*
>
> **Geodette:** Non, je préfère que ma fille cause l'Anglais si bien parce que j'aimerais qu'elle vienne ici, si elle peut causer l'Anglais, le Français et l'Afrikaans je serais très content */No, I prefer that my daughter should speak English very well because I want her to come here, if she can speak English, French and Afrikaans, I will be very happy/*

The dominance of French over English reveals that any promotion of bilingualism or bilingual education (and the dialects) is more effective if handled by local organisations, non-governmental agencies and religious institutions. Geodette and Jack show how French is dominating over English. Geodette for example, who left Cameroon only two years before this study was carried out did not even know that

English was official? She regrets her late discovery of English as official language and blames this for her poor mastery of English and consequently, her ignorance in South Africa.

However, there is greater tolerance of the English among the Cameroonians who took part in this study. With Geodette's awareness of English as official, she now decided to send her child to a bilingual school as early as possible but she is not still convinced that this system is effective enough. She thinks her child would learn English better if she spends more time with the father who is an Anglophone. Nevertheless, this confirms the views of Bobda (2006), Anchimbe (2005a) and Echu (2004) that the Francophones now rush to English based on prospects abroad and for their need to be part of the inclusive "we" in the global world.

This means that like in the case of the indigenous languages (see discussions in section 4.1.3) where different programmes work for the development of the indigenous languages. (Echu, 2004:5) estimates that other bodies must also work towards the promotion of English. Due to the space in which Goedette now finds herself, she desires that her child learn English not for the sake of bilingualism but because of the global usage of this language and also because she doesn't want her child to be completely ignorant when she meets her in her new territory. Here it is clear that the policies of the Cameroon government have shaped the minds of the citizens to pay more attention to one language - French only.

4.2.3 The Francophone/Anglophone Divide

Most Researchers generally agree that the policy of official language bilingualism is not just a unifying force but also constitutes a factor of disunity and conflict (Bird, 2001; Echu, 2003; Echu, 2004; Anchimbe, 2005; Bobda, 2006; Myers-Scotton, 2006). In support of this, Bobda (2001) testifies that the Francophone views the policy of official language bilingualism not necessarily through the patriotic eye of a Cameroonian who wants to be a better citizen by learning the other language, but in terms of individual interests and the educational and professional opportunities it offers, especially abroad. This maybe also due to the fact that instrumental motivation is usually the driving force for language learners except in cases where they living in a second language (L2) dominant context.

Nvertheless, Echu, (2004) still emhasises the unpatriotic nature of the francophones and asserts that this situation has created a sense of cultural identity and in-group solidarity among the Anglophones in a territory which they claim to be hostile both linguistically and socio-politically.

Participants in the Francophone focus group agree that there is division among the Anglophones and the Francophones both at home and in South Africa. They relate the origin of this to the fact that the Anglophone makes an attempt to learn French and actually does so whereas the Francophone does not bother at all. The Francophone, they say, has the tendency to make a mockery of anyone who attempts to speak English and does so poorly. To the participants, there is more harmony between an Anglophone or a Francophone with a Nigerian than there is between the Francophone and the Anglophones. Even when they seem to be on good terms, Andrea emphasises that there is always that lack of oneness, that is, they would acknowledge that they come from one place but lack mutual trust for one another. Jacques describes this state of events as 'a cool war' and he foresees an actual war in the near future if we fail to manage the differences properly and learn to identify ourselves more accurately. The extract below from the Francophone focus group portrays some varying degrees of this problem both in the Cameroonian territory and in South Africa.

According to Deumert et. al. (2005) and Vigouroux (2006) agree that South Africa is English dominated country. While in their new territoriality, the immigrants are aware of the dominance of English, but their differences continue to exist. The problem of 'I am an Anglophone, I am a Francophone' troubles Francky a lot. He is particularly worried about the attitude of those Anglophones who would say even at their jobsites or when they get into an argument, that the Francophone has no powers in South Africa because the English are dominating here.

> **Andrea:** Enfait, il y a un problème, un grand problème entre les Anglophones et le Francophone. Le Francophone ne fait pas l'effort de parler Anglais mais le Anglophones fait l'effort de parler français parce que lorsque tu parle le mot en Anglais qui n'est pas juste eeh, nous Francophone on a tendance de se moquer de toi …/*Indeed there is a problem between the Anglophones and the Francophones, There is a very big problem between the Anglophone*

and the Francophone. The Francophone does not endeavour to speak English but the Anglophones tries to speak French because when you say the word in English which is not correct, us the Francophone we have the tendency to make fun of you…/

Jacques: Quand vous arrivez même dans un bureau que se soit Anglais ou Francophone, il a toujours ce conflit. Même si on di que il n'y en a pas, i y a toujours et on est entrain de faire cet effort]…/*Even when you get in to an office, be it English or Francophone, there is always that conflict even if the say that there isn't, there always is and we are just trying…/*

Andrea: = = … quand on se retrouve même ici d'hors là vous voyez, si c'est un Francophone Camerounais, un Anglophone Camerounais c'est différent. Tous sont Camerounais mais on sens une certaine, errh pas appartenance total entre nous vous voyez …il y plus harmonie entre un Nigérian qu'avec un Camerounais.

/= = …when we find ourselves even out here there you see, if it is a Francophone Cameroonian, an Anglophone Cameroonian it is different. All are Cameroonians but we feel a kind of, errh not total belonging among us you see ..., there is more harmony between a Nigerian unlike with a Cameroonian

Franky: … l'homme Francophone de son côte tu vois un peu c'est – quand il constate ceci, quand il a y distinction des races dans un pays ou quoi que ce soit imagine un peu, on est dans un pays comme ceci moi je suis avec mon frère Camerounais lui il est Anglophone moi je suis Francophone vous voyez un peu quand on a un problème il dit carrément si il arrive la maintenant qu'on a un boulou vous voyez un peu, qu'on a un problème, il me dit carrément que ça c'est dans un pays un pays Anglophone voyez un peu que ça c'est un pays Anglophone et que ici c'est les l'Anglophones qui commandent les Francophone ne peux pas– ne peux pas commandez ici tu vois et ça va jusqu'a la présidence. Aujourd'hui (2secs) comment on appel le – ça? CAMWACAT aujourd'hui CAMWACAT, CAMWACAT aujourd'hui CAMWACAT ne marche plus vous savez bien, juste c'est à cause de oui, c'est ce qu'on appel l'association de Camerounais ici ou c'est quoi, … plus très bien parce que il y a division mhm, je suis Francophone, je suis Anglophone, tous ça…*/The Francophone man on his part can you see a bit, it is when he notices this, when there is race distinction in a country or whatever, imagine a little, we are in a*

country like this I am with my brother he is Anglophone me I am Francophone can you see when we have a problem he squarely states, of it happens now that we have a job you see that we have a problem, he tells me squarely that this is an Anglophone country and that here it is the Anglophone that commands, that the Francophone cannot command you see, that the Francophone cannot command and this goes right up to the Presidency (meaning the president of the Cameroonian Association in Cape Town). To day how do they call it the Ca – the CAMWACAT (actually meaning CANOWACAT), today CAMWACAT no longer functions well you that, just because of – yes it is what we call the Cameroonian Association or whatever … well because there is division mhm, I am Anglophone, I am Francophone and all what no…/

Francky exposes his confusion between the CANOWACAT asociation (see Chapter three, section 3.3.3) and the Cameroonian meeting in Cape Town (a meeting created for all Cameroonians, whether Anglophone or francophone; he does not know the difference between the two but however blames the malfunction of the Cameroonian meeting on the President who is an Anglophone. This president, he says, takes advantage of his territory and manipulates his subjects based on the fact that South Africa is an English speaking country. It would seem from here that the Francophones are ill prepared to let go the powers they have always enjoyed as majority speakers. Even though as earlier claimed that there is no Anglophone problem, but only that their presence is insignificant simply because they are the minority, the Francophone doesn't look at things this way any more in the new space in which he finds himself. He would rather stay away from the Cameroonian meeting than attend a meeting being controlled by an Anglophone.

4.2.4 Globalisation and Anglophone Culture

The age of globalization and the projection of America as the limelight of technology and commerce were accompanied by the promulgation of English to the status of a world language, without any tribal or linguistic barriers. English is used in the world in varied forms and for varied purposes to a point where it deserves not just linguistic identity but one superior to ethno-linguistic identity (Anchimbe 2005a:8).

Researcher: In South Africa you see their dialects; their mother tongues have become official languages also. You don't want us to have that?
Tim: No, there's in South Africa- you cannot say that this languages or Xhosa is the official language, or a Zulu is an official language because in like - in SA there's what we call erh, mmhm a business language, that's English. Yeah and they count language according to the popularity.

Tim doesn't consider all the other ten official languages in South Africa as actually official. English to him is regarded as world language, as that which has no territorial limitations (Bobda, 2006; Anchimbe, 2005a; Demeurt et al, 2005). This view is in accordance with the views of Myers-Scotton, (2006); Deumert et al; (2005) and Echu, (2004). Like Myers-Scotton (2006:406), Tim acknowledges the popularity of the CPE but still insists that English is 'the world's lingua franca'.

In this regard, Anchimbe (2005a) again estimates that the internationalisation of English and opportunities in employment, interpersonal communication, and cross-national integration is now very clear to all Cameroonians and this has caused many to realise the inefficiency of the official language bilingualism. Consequently, Francophones who had always considered themselves as the dominant and the prestigious group have now discovered how ill-prepared ineligible and lacking they are to benefit from a wide range of opportunities through the Commonwealth and globalisation and have now turned to English (Anchimbe, 2005a:9-10). The Francophone, (especially Angèle as revealed in her speech patterns and choice of words), is quite aware of the supremacy of the Anglophone culture as well as the efficiency of the English educational system and because of some assimilationist tendencies fuelled by the government itself, the Francophone accepts with reluctance the new world view where English is the sole tool for communication. The above observations are illustrated in the paragraphs below:

Xavier: Non, je dis l'école - les parents aujourd'hui, sur dix enfants, huit font l'école Anglophone parce que on a compris qu'en apprenant l'Anglais vous auriez plus d'avantages et plus d'ouvertures (2secs) et c'est facile pour l'enfant déjà de trouver l'emploi surtout même partant du Cameroun.

/*No, I am talking about the school – the parents of today out of every ten children, eight attend English schools because one has understood that in learning English, you will have more opportunities and more openings (2secs) and it is already easy to for the child to get a job especially even within Cameroon/*

From his point of view, which is also accepted by all other participants and also reflected in the Anglophones focus group, Xavier thinks that most parents, (that is eight out of every ten children) now send their children to English-speaking schools because they have realised the national and the international advantages of this language. These Francophone parents and together with their children, apart from wanting to be able to have a job, also want to have a sense of belonging, to be part of the inclusive "we" in the globe where English is the gateway (Vigouroux 2006). It is for these same reasons that other countries that formerly had other official languages apart from English, are now in a desperate quest for English. This observation is true with reference to Mozambique and the Asian continent (Bobda, 2006:9; Anchimbe, 2005a:9). Above all, even in South Africa where there are nine African languages that enjoy official status alongside English and Afrikaans, there is overwhelming evidence that much importance is still attached to English alone (Deumert et. al, 2005) and (Bobda, 2006:5) even proceeds to cite cases where the South Africans emphasise that children must be encouraged to speak English even outside the classroom or that all languages are important, but English is better for science and so on.

Notwithstanding, it is not only due to the effects of globalisation alone that the Francophone Cameroonian now resorts to English education. The members of the focus group discussions hold the following views:

Andrea: L'uniforme, ils ont déjà l'uniforme que ça soit un garçon ou une fille. Ils ont les chevaux coupés. Mais chez nous, c'est n'est pas la même chose et c'est vraiment, j'ai trouvé ça un peu normal parce que ça donne une construction pour un enfant pour aller à l'école

[ ] /*The Uniform, they already have the uniform be it a boy or a girl. They have short hair. But with us, things are different. I find it a bit normal because it gives the child a certain form to go to school/*

Angèle: Le côté Anglophone aussi c'est bien parce que c'est peut-être un système que - c'est une langue - l'Anglais aussi, c'est une langue qui met l'enfant aussi à plus avancé, donc, qui donne a l'enfant aussi un exception que l'enfant se trouve n'importe où il peut se aussi facilement s'en sortir, [ ] il ne va pas se coincer par rapport au français - le français aussi tu est dehors et c'est n'est pas le français il y en a beaucoup qui ne parlent pas français dont …

/*The Anglophone side is also good because it is perhaps also a system that – it is a language – English is also a language that makes the child to advance further, so it forms the child with a kind of uniqueness such that the child can fend for him/herself wherever he/she is placed in life. Whereas French - also with French you are out here but it is not French There are many who do not speak French so...*

The participants in this group acknowledge the Anglophones' sense of solidarity effectiveness, order and rich culture. The Anglophone manner of dressing and habits of child rearing are highly contrastive to that of the Francophones, who even refuse to consider seriously the idea of dressing in uniforms. The subjects believe that the Anglophone educational system and cultural values are more elaborate and help guide the child to be more composed and be able to survive anywhere he/she finds him/herself in life. These observation fit in appropriately with those of Anchimbe 2005a:11-12) who assess that English which was treated as the instigator of violence and trouble is now the educational target of the Francophone and that the Francophone children are now brought up in the same environment, subjected to the same moral lessons, held down to a behavioural code, and trained together with the Anglophone children according to the dictates of the Cameroonian Anglophone culture. The reasons for this lack of sense of cultural identity among the Francophones are attributed to the French assimilatory tendencies in French Cameroon (Anchimbe, 2005a:12; Bobda, 2006:4).

4.2.5 Room-sharing

Like the migrants of the Duncan village (see chapter two) the Cameroon immigrants in Cape Town also practice room-sharing in their new geographical space. Unlike in their former territory, the immigrants are constantly being harassed tortured both physically and mentally by the South Africans and so find it necessary to create a

means by which they could protect themselves informally. This harassment is seen clearly in the case of Allain in a Salt River restaurant when he says:

> **Allain: "**You people, fom Africa**"** … J'ai même eu a discuté plusiers fois avec ma coupine…pris le map et le montre, this is Cameroon, this is South Africa, all is Africa*. /"you people from Africa" I have had to argue with my gir friend several times…took the map and showed her,this is Cameroon, this is Africa, all is Africa./*

Allain's girlfriend thinks South Africa is not part of Africa and constantly reminds him that he is a foreigner in Phrases like "you people from Africa". In bitter reaction to this, Allain tells us how he has usually been forced to take the African map and let her know that they were all Africans.

Beside this harassement, there is a general cry of higher standards of living among the immigrants, thus room-sharing is the best option as it makes it possible for the immigrants to crowd in one single room and thus grant them some informal security while at the same time, enabling them to save money on shared rental payments and food (Vigouroux, 2006; Deumert et al, 2005; Bank, 1991).

Interestingly, Cameroonian immigrants now practice room-sharing, where Anglophones and Francophones live in one single room as is the case with Amadou where he alone shares a room with four other Cameroonians, who are all Francophones. Anglophones who could not speak French at first have now turned to be competent in this language and this change is even felt more by the Francophone who may not only share a room with Anglophones but now find themselves in a space and territory that is completely English (see Junior's response above). The extract below reveals more on this theme.

> **Amadou:** In Cameroon erhh you see, if I'm with a group of people that are uneducated, we speak mostly the Pidgin English. If I'm there are people that are educated who speak the English language, yes if it is French, I tried also to speak in French every time to my room-mates and I – I can see I am picking up more than before ...

4.2.6 Attitudes Towards CPE and the Anglophone Problem

Despite the fact that its lexicon is based on English, the "morphosyntatic frame of CPE is largely based on local indigenous languages" (Myers-Scotton, 2006:386). Based on historical facts, CPE was the first language developed as a result of language contact between Cameroonians and English traders. But it is the Portueguese who named the country Cameroes; from which has developed the current name Cameroon (Fonlon, 1969:28). But, a number of participants think that CPE is a form of broken English. Fonlon (1969:30) confirms this when he argues that the Dutch, the Danes, the Swedes, the Germans, the French, the Portuguese, the British and the Brandenburgers all traded along the Cameroon coast but Britain along made the most remarkable linguistic contact in this country. Further more, Fonlon (1969:30) argues that because commerce is not a formal cultural medium like education this led to the well-known CPE. Thus others believe that CPE is a market language, a language from Nigeria that is not yet qualified to be spoken on the Cameroonian soil, while some think that it is a language to be used only by the old. Some participants even go as far as comparing CPE to the official languages in South Africa like Xhosa for example and to their own vernacular (for example Banfang) in order to show that it is stupid to make the African languages official. Even though participants state that CPE is widely spoken and close to being an official language, some of them would not encourage this for they claim that it has a negative influence over the mastery of the official languages and culture. This situation is aptly expressed in the lines below:

> **Researcher:** Est-ce que vous parlez pidgin? /*Do you speak Pidgin*?/
>
> **Thomas:** J'essai de parler pidgin parce que j'étais un moment revendeur au marché donc je devais utiliser cette langue pour les maman qui sont qui ont dépassée l'age quoi./*I try to speak Pidgin because at one moment I was a second- hand trader in the\market so I had to use this language with the old women*/
>
> **Researcher:** Oui oui, mais avec les gens de ton age? / *oh yes, but with your peer group?/*
>
> **Thomas:** Non on ne peut pas parler pidgin parce que c'est n'est pas un langue digne du Cameroun. Le pidgin c'est une langue du Nigérien pas du Cameroun.

/*No we cannot speak Pidgin because it is not a dignified Cameroonian language. Pidgin belongs to the Nigerians not to Cameroonians/*

Alain: Oui (with much enthusiasm) pourquoi pas? Je preférè que le Pidgin devient une langue official au lieu de prendre le Xhosa parce que quand tu t'exprime en Pidgin les Sud Africains te comprendre un peu. Imagine un peu comment nos frerès – regards nos frerès qui viennent d'arriver la ils ont les difficultés pour s'exprimer mais quand ils se trouvent devant une situation, ils parlent le Pidgin et on les comprend. Oui les Sud Africain les comprends. [ ] les mots, on comprend un peu ce qu'il veut dire alors que s'ils parlent en Bafang…. Tu vois un peu.

/*Yes (with much enthusiasm) why not. I prefer that Pidgin becomes an official language instead of taking Xhosa because when you express yourself in Pidgin, the South Africans will understand you a bit. Imagine our brothers - look at our brothers who just arrive they find it difficult to express themselves but when in this difficult situation, they speak in Pidgin and their message is transmitted. [ ] what they want to say is understood but if one speaks in Bafang… do you see?/*

Classically, Pidgin differs from a Creole in that, unlike a Creole, Pidgin is a language with no native speakers, and it is a contact language and has no mother – tongue speakers. It is based on this distinction that the pidginised-creolised English based varieties that are in Cameroon, Nigeria and Ghana are called Pidgin English while those in Sierra Leone and the Gambia are called krio or Creole. Nevertheless, the growing number of Pidgin English speakers in Cameroon warrants relabelling of this idiom as a Creole (Bobda, 2006:10). In line with Bobda, Victor states that

Victor: … it is – pidgin is official status closest but ….

In order words, Victor means that CPE is closer to being an official language than all other vernaculars in Cameroon. This is in agreement with Myers-Scotton who declares that Cameroon Pidgin English is now moving into new domains which had been traditionally reserved for English and that members of the Anglophone and the Francophone elite speak it together with the majority of the population made up of ordinary people who can neither speak French nor English. Moreover, CPE, even

though not an official language, seems to be an irreplaceable tool in many situations, for instance, when dealing with neighbouring Nigerians (Myers-Scotton, 2006:386). Participants in this study reflected these same views as displayed in the following lines:

> **Researcher:** Okay. Since you came South Africa for Cameroon - okay you bi di use na which kind language? */Okay, since you came to South Africa in Cameroon – okay which language did you use/*
> **Bernadine:** For Cameroon wu bi di use na Pidgin English sometime like 80% */In Cameroon we use to use Pidgin English maybe up to 80%*/
> **Researcher:** And English?
> **Bernadine:** English sometimes.
> **Eric:** Yeah. This usually happens when I meet the Cameroon community and sometimes, I feel that I really want to talk English but I feel that the rest of the other people will think that it is like a show, which is never a show for me. … try to also put in some of the pidgin words to make sure that you're talking to a people who will understand…

Bernadine spoke CPE most of the time in Cameroon and this situation still continues in her new territory, except for the fact that she mostly mixes with the outsiders during her working hours or in school. On the other hand, Eric does not really want to speak CPE all the time but finds himself constantly doing so especially when dealing with the Cameroonian society. Due to so much scorn and inferiority that is attached to CPE and its users, Eric thought the new environment in which he finds himself would precipitate his escape from this language but unfortunately, he has discovered that if he must be amongst the insiders, if he does not want to be in opposition to his own people and their community interests (cf. Myers-Scotton, 2006:383), if he still wants to be identified as a Cameroonian, he must still speak this language that they very depise and cherish at the same time (despite the fact that they refuse to admit it), this is their heritage – CPE that they all very much want to preserve (Dibussi, 2006).

Despite its fame, no prestige is attached to this language Myers-Scotton (2006:385) decries the fact that, of all the country's constitutions, and even in the last two which at least bore some clauses propagating the promotion of the vernaculars, there was

still no mention of the CPE, worse still, she identifies that campaigns against the speaking of CPE turn out to be the most effective policy at schools and home (Myers-Scotton, 2006:386). According to Dibussi, in the University of Buea, the only English-speaking University of the country, one finds placards all over such as the following:

Similarly, Myers-Scotton (2006), Bobda (2006) and Dibussi (2006) agree that many other notices discouraging the use of CPE are to be found displayed in various form bearing information some of which include the following:

> Succeed at university by avoiding Pidgin on campus, English, the language that guarantees upward social mobility, Pidgin is like AIDS - Shun it, English is the Password, not Pidgin, speak English and more English, Pidgin is taking a heavy toll on your English--shun it, Commonwealth speaks English not Pidgin, if you speak Pidgin you will write Pidgin and l'Anglais est un passeport pour le monde, le Pidgin, un ticket pour nulle part /English, a passport to the world, Pidgin, a ticket to nowhere/ (Dibussi 2006).

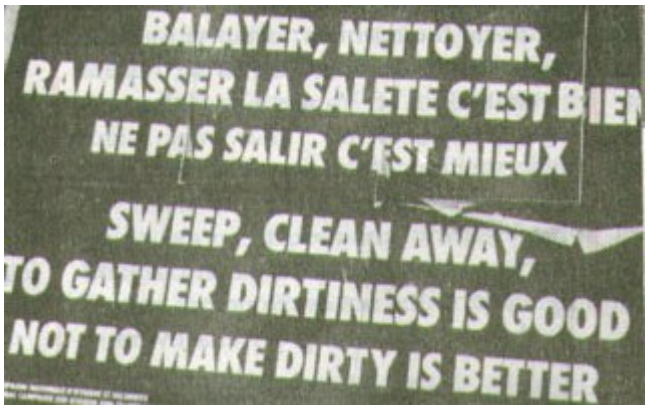
Based on these accusations and the stigmatisation levelled against CPE, most Cameroonian immigrants believe that CPE is not fit to be a national language and needless to say that any attempt to talk about it internationally is but nonsense to them. As such the Cameroonian immigrants tend to be bashful about CPE and think that it is purely an Anglophone invention and some even argue that is too mean a language to be spoken by the Cameroonians as it destroys their prospects of exploring the English dominating world.

> **Amadou:** …erhh putting as an official language really I don't think so because it is going to hamper erhh the way children should learn, perfect themselves in English or French which is international which can help them.

But Dibussi argues that the accusations have no place at all and that it is the government's scheme (the Francophone majority) to completely assimilate the Anglophone by portaying anything Anglophone, together with the people themselves, as below standards or even completely useless. Dibussi argues that this is an attempt to lure the Anglophones (and English) into the French system. In fact, if he states that:

> "I find such notices senseless. In fact, the people who seemed to have understood the import of Pidgin as a language of mass communication are the missionaries. They quickly realized that language is a great cultural binder and they knew how to exploit it to reach the greater masses of the people. To me, this opposition to the use of Pidgin is nothing short of intellectual snobbery, period. You and I are now communicating in English, but if we were either in Cameroon or in Sierra Leone, Pidgin or Krio would be the most appropriate means of communication. But where you're warning people against using the language they master best, that doesn't make sense to me" (Dibussi, 2006).

Furthermore, Dibussi exhibits several posters to show the verbatim translations from French to English and as a result, blames the poor mastery of this language (English) on the poor teaching methods and inability of the country to pay the primary and the secondary school teachers who teach French and English. Consequently, he announces that the authorities should therefore expect no miracles to happen at the University level and that if at all, we must charge CPE with hampering efficiency in English, it is not the sole culprit.



The poster above is the Cameroonian translation, which is syntactically exactly the same like in French and makes no sense in English at all, thus proving Dibussi's point that Cameroon English is more polluted by French and not CPE.

The above circumstances and increased prejudice for the Anglophone, their values and culture has lead to the Anglophone problem (Myers-Scotton, 2006; Anchimbe, 2005a and Echu, 2006) with the formation of the Southern Cameroon National Council (SCNC). This SCNC responds to grievances of the Anglophones, namely that their children are not admitted into prestigious schools or do not do well there due to language barriers (Myers-Scotton, 2006:386).

4.2.7 Immigrant Culture, Xenophobia and Transformation

According to Abu-Lughod (2005) sociologists have observed that physically immigration is seen as drastically altering the dwelling, changing the make-up with the home as well as the neighbourhood surrounding it and transforming the appearance and the dress of the migrant himself. Economically, she says the migrant is envisioned as adjusting to changed occupations and rhythms of work to a new division of labour within the family and to different relationships between work associates. From the social point of view, Abu-Lughod notes that sociologists 4hypothesise that the migrant weans himself from the intimacy of the village to harsh superficial relations of urban life and suffers a reduction in proximity-centred social life. Culturally, the migrant is assumed to undergo a change in motivation, values and ideology. To summarise it all, the author notes that the sociologists also claim that this hypothetical villager is supposedly dropped in the heart of urban Cairo to be

assimilated or to perish without any cushions to soften his fall (see chapter two). This is very true if we consider Paulo's interview in the Parrow Market.

> **Paulo:** I have to be eating bread, chicken, chips just like that everyday just like that so that my stomach will not be empty you understand. But they are not my favourite.
>
> **Paulo:...** Is there anything like culture here? I don't think there is anything like culture here. Here everybody is living his own life. I can say there's nothing like culture here. Here everybody is struggling to live his own life the way you know you can survive or make it.

Paulo suggests that individualism is the order of the day in South Africa and that there is virtually no culture in South Africa as the people are virtually confused, not knowing whether to imitate the Whites or remain close to their African roots. This is in accordance with Abu-Lughod's (2005) and Deumert et al (2005) suggestions that the migrants' cultures are always richer than that of their host country. From the discussion in the focus groups, these changes are also evident. It is evident from preceding discussions that these immigrants' language form and choices have been affected. Even their dressing style is affected due to the harsh winter cold in Cape Town (Vigouroux, 2005). In a nutshell, there is a complete and one sided change experienced by the Cameroonian immigrants in Cape Town which is quite contrary to Abu-Lughod's stipulations, while confirming to the observation of the sociologists she criticiss in Chapter Two and also to the opinion of the fo;;owong participants:

> **Kingsley**: Apart of rice, spaghetti, pap, what else? You must eat and you must adapt to it, since morning, all….
>
> **Allain:** Ils les appellent les étrangers et quoi, foreigners Kweri kweri et ces expressions qui ne en fait c'est pas bien et quand quelqu'un m'appel comme ça moi ça me met mal a l'aise tu vois un peu et il nous traitent,/ */They call them foreigners, kwerikweri and these expressions do not, - fact it is not good when someone call me that, I feel uncomfortable they treat us you see [ ],…/*

In addition to the issue of name – giving among the immigrants, Vigouroux (2005) declares that other changes such as a completely new linguistic environment, change of the taste of their local cuisine, the harshness of the winter, and so on, adds to the immigrants' experiences as foreigners in South Africa. More sickening is the fact that their condition as foreigners is mostly based on daily interactions with neighbours, friends, colleagues, supervisors, employees, the regular hassles with the local administration" and " the to extend temporal permit". Allain for example has this to say concerning discrimination:

> **Researcher:** Et tes habits culturelle, tu en a bien sûre? / *And your traditional clothes, you have them of course/*
> **Alain:** Ma tenu culturelle? Tu vois (5 seconds) c'est un peu difficile bon, j'ai les habits Africain /*My traditional wear? (5secs) it is a bit difficult, well have aAfrican clothes/*
> **Researcher:** Et tu portes ça ici? */And do you put them on here?/*
> **Alain:** Oui, bien sur. Bon à un niveau la, tu vois un peu, même dans la ville quand tu est habillé en Afritude, tu sens l'indifférence. Tu vois un peu même quand tu marches la, tu vois la façon dont les gens te regardent on sait que non, ça c'est un "foreigner". Bon comme a Johannesburg quand tu t'habille comme ça la police est derrière toi….tes papiérs …montres tes papiérs. */Oh yes of course but at that level, you feel different when you walk in Town. You see, when you walk, you see how people look at you they know yes, this is a foreigner. Well in Johannesburg when you dress like this, the police is after you… your papers...show your papers /*

4.2.8 More Rights to the Women

It disturbs Joe that in his new territory, the woman should be considered more than equal to the man and that the judiciary even recognises and promotes these rights. In his reponses, Joe insists that he does not in any way try to marginalise the woman, in other words, Joe prefers a kind of social organisation in South Africa that is that is founded on complimentarity. This is in agreement with Banda's (2005) argument that the male dominance in the Zambian setting does not mean that the woman is perceived as inferior. Instead, the woman dominates in the social setting and that political dominance of the Zambian man is only due to the grace of the Queen Mother

(most probably the Zambian woman), (Banda, and 2005:219). Joe's observation is in opposition to Abu-Lughod's view where men in Cairo seem to dominate in every sphere of life. (see Chapter Two).

> **Joe:** Mmmm, yeah, erhh, bringing two different regions, West and South Africa, there are huge differences. One of the differences I find is relationship how the people relate to each other. Let me take the female male relationship: in South Africa there is quite a good bridge. There is quite erhh – the woman is given almost a lot of rights I would say, such that such that there is almost very little respect for the opposite sex. The man is almost treated here like you know, women used to be treated before which to me is wrong. You know I think people are supposed to respect themselves and respect others and respond to the situations in the same way. Yeah but here…But here even the judiciary gives the woman a lot of rights. No that is not correct.

4.2.9 Migration

Nowadays, people can move from one country to the other to study, work or settle. Vigouroux (2005) describes this movement in three different ways, each of which corresponds to migrants from different countries/parts of the African continent. These include direct trajectory, semi-direct trajectory and the transitional trajectory (see Chapter two). Nevertheless, unlike in Vigouroux's case where just one or two forms of trajectory may apply to one single country, all three levels of trajectory apply to the Cameroonian immigrants (West Africans) in Cape Town. Some come directly from Cameroon to South Africa; others spend a few days or some months on the way while some, spend even years in countries like Angola, Gabon and Congo.

> **Thomas:** Ehmm, je suis un peu clair là. Je dis quand je suis quitté le pays je suis parti directement au Congo, j'ai passe quatre années la de 2002 en 2006 en Janvier 2006. J'ai pris a vol pour Johannesburg de Johannesburg j'ai pris un moyenne qui pouvais me laiser a Cape Town. Je /*Ehmm, I have understood a bit there. I am saying that when I left the country, I went directly to Congo, I spent 4 years there from 2002 to January 2006. I took a flight to Johannesburg from Johannesburg I took a means which could leave me in Cape Town. I/*

If the multiplicity of geographical space has a great influence on the language practices and attitudes of migrants, then this is true to the Cameroonian immigrants in Cape Town. Some Cameroonians find fault with every linguistic act or performance of the South Africans while others link it the South Africans' terrible past, the history of the apartheid regime (in South Africa). Based on this, they think that any irregularities in their sociolinguistic/socio-cultural environment is normal, yet another group of the Cameroonian immigrants, (perhaps those who had never been completely immersed into an English speaking society or those that had never known the value of a vernacular), find South Africa (Cape Town) as aplesant place.

4.3 New Themes Emerging From the Data

This section discusses views from the participants that have not been reviewed in this project but that strategically determine the language attitudes of the Cameroonian immigrants in Cape Town. The themes will include: Migration, the Anglophone divide, importance of learning the South African languages and cohabiting in order to learn the South African languages and finally, Frankanglais, as well as the impact of the Cameroonian African attire on South Africans and individualism.

4.3.1 The Anglophone Divide

The North West and the South West Provinces of Cameroon are unified by a single factor – the linguistic culture as the two provinces speak both English and CPE (Anchimbe, 2005a; Myers-Scotton, 2006). Unfortunately, the two provinces fight among themselves. The South West province which provides a fertile ground to most of the country's plantations, oil and petroleum industries and above all, whose inhabitants consider themselves as kins to the Prime Minister, often look down on their North West brothers and consider them as unfortunate since they must work in their towns to earn a living. This situation has caused the many North Westerners who live permanently in the South West Province to earn names like "came-no-go" (settling to an environment which does not belong to you) and Ngrafie (People of the grassfields). On the other hand, although they are labourers and vineyard workers, the North Westerners think that they are the most intelligent people and that they know their rights more than the South Westerners. However, there are no echoes of this divide in Cape Town which causes a lot of suspicion. In the extract below, Jack

reveals that this divide is purely historical. Yet, one still wonders if this could not possibly be another secret plan by the Cameroonian government for a "divide and rule" policy!

Blaze: Ngrafie */Grassfield/*

Jack: (Laughing) That one na another division that /*That is another division/*

Blaze: Na another division among Anglophones = = (laughing)

/It is another division among the Anglophones = = (laughing)/

4.3.2 Frankanglais

This is a mixture of French and English and CPE, with the French language dominating. It is common among the Cameroon youths, especially among those youths who are from the French-speaking zone. They consider this a type of Pidgin, thus equate it to CPE. This language was created by Francophones who blame their poor mastery of English on CPE. This phenomenon of Frankanglais which only started some ten years ago is not very popular among the Cameroonian immigrants in their new territory. Most participants affirm that they use still CPE, but in South Africa, Frankanglais is not used by the immigrants.

Researcher: But you di still talk' am/… But at moment, do you still speak it/

Blaze:… But now so, I no di talk' am so I no really know much (laughing) I no di even talk' am again so = = */...But presently, I no longer speak it so I do not really know much. I do not speak any more so.../*

Blaze: The little way I know about Frankanglais - I know fit even remember which time way Frankanglais develop but I just realise say by the time way wu be done day for form two – time way – by the time way I want be form two Frankanglais be done day very common for Francophone side for Cameroon like for Yaoundé… I do ma form two an for Yaounde and Frankanglais na a mixture of French slang, mixed with English, mixed with some Pidgin way them be di speak- talk' am na only for that olden days.

/*The little that I know about Frankanglais, I cannot even remember when Frankanglais developed but I just realised that by the time we were in form two (grade8) – at the time that – by the time that I was getting into grade 8 Frankanglais was already very common in the Francophone side of Cameroon*

like in Yaoundé … I did my grade 8 in Yaoundé and Frankanglais is a mixture of French slang mixed with English, mixed with a species of Pidgin that was spoken – spoken only in those olden days/

Researcher: You know any reason why Frankanglais, why them start' am?
/do you know any reason why Frankanglais, why they started it? /

Prince: Maybe them be think say because wu get Pidgin English, make them get their own Pidgin French too. */Maybe they thought that because we have a Pidgin English, they should also have their own pidgin French*

4.3.3 Cohabitation

Contrarily to the views of Deumert et. al. (2005) and Vigouroux (2006) who think that mastery of the language of the host country is not necessarily a prerequisite for easy and quick integration, a reasonable portion of the data holds that mastery of the language of the host country increases your chances of getting a good job thus facilitating inclusion – (becoming an insider) in your new territoriy. Most interesting is the fact that some even create friendship and go as far as cohabiting with the South Africans in order to learn their language.

Thomas: Donc que pour mieux m'exprimer il aurait fallu que je créer les contacts avec la meilleur manier d'apprendre c'est de trouve une fille Sud Africaine avec qui tu vivre et tu vas souvent communique en blaguant, tu apprends même si tu parle mal, elle ne se moque pas de toi.

/So that to be able to express myself better, it was necessary to create contacts with the best way of learning is to get a South African girl with whom to live and you would always communicate, while joking you learn, even when you do not speak correctly, she does not make fun of you/

4.3.4 A Language for all Africans.

CPE is widely spoken in West African countries like Nigeria, Ghana… Cameroon and so on, but Joe still disagrees that it is not an African language. He would rather prefer Swahili, which he believes, is spoken in most if not all-African countries. This idea could actually be very fruitful if we should consider that "language and identity are interwoven icons of group membership" (Anchimbe, 2005a:8). To make his argument stronger, and eliminate CPE in the context, Joe has this to say:

Joe: ...And parts of Ghana. But I can't recommend it for official purposes because it is not an African language. But I would recommend erhh Swahili

Following an interview with Joe, he envisages an African language that could break across all geographical spaces and international barriers. - a plan that can make the whole African territory even smaller, more united and above all, increase effective communication or better still, debunk the myth of an inferiority (Mbuy, 1993 and Dibussi, 2006) in an African continent wherein everything good is always related to the Europeans or the Americans. Knowing Swahili could also be a proviso for getting into Africa! In fact, one single language may reduce suspicion and hatred as is the case of the Green Market Square where all migrants use the English language to justify their claim of territory (Vigouroux, 2006).

4.4 Summary

This chapter dwelled on three main areas namely the discussion and interpretation of result beginning from the research questions, the summary of themes from the literature reviews and new themes that cropped up. We will now move to the conclusions drawn from the results, implications of the results and round up the study with some recommendations.

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

The initial plan was to view only the summary of this study and the recommendations in this chapter. However, following the discussions and the interpretations of the results, the number of issues arising resulted in a compelling change of perspective. Dealing with the conclusions in this section will capture not just the research question but also will make it possible for me to look specifically at the research objectives and my hypotheses. In other words, following the interesting issues discussed in Chapter Four, this project will preferably end not just with a brief statement of the main points but by making a decision about the results drawn from the reasoning of participants. This has necessitated a further discussion on the impacts of such views on the participants themselves, the policy makers, scholars and the entire Cameroonian society.

This chapter presents general conclusions to the issues arising from the research questions and thematic interpretations. To complete the conclusions, the research objectives and assumptions are also discussed in this section. Thereafter, a picture of the possible effects of this study on the policy makers, linguistic scholars, the government authorities and the masses are portrayed. Finally, possible areas for further research on the subject of language, identity and language forms are recommended.

5.1 Conclusions

In Chapter 1 I set out to investigate principally the language and language forms that are used by Cameroonians in Cape Town and to examine if there is a continuity in the identity making process or whether there are new forms of identity formation arising. Most specifically, I intended to explore the following:

1. Whether Cameroonians still see themselves as English or French speaking. In other words, I investigated the Anglophoness and Francophoness of Cameroonians in Cape Town.
2. The Cameroonians' perceptions on the Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE) alongside their official languages.

3. The place of the Cameroonian vernaculars in the South African social context and
4. The place of Frankanglais in the South African multicultural context.

In this study, I used the concepts of space and territoriality (Vigouroux, 2005) to analyse the data by means of triangulation from interviews, focus groups and participant observation groups discussions, in the multidisciplinary field of applied linguistics. I focus specifically on sociolinguistics in order to solve the research problem, and also to meet the research objectives and verify hypotheses.

Following the methods of analysing data from the interviews, focus group discussions and participant observer groups, it is clear that the South African sociolinguistic environment has affected the language, identity, language forms and Cameroonians' perceptions as they now tend to speak mostly like the South Africans in order to be understood and also so that they may not be excluded. Some even go the extra mile of learning some of the South African languages. Nevertheless, they still maintain their Cameroonness in as much as they claim the South African one. This is illustrated by the fact that they still continue to code switch from English to French, French to English and from the official languages to Cameroon Pidgin English or from the Cameroon Pidgin English to either of the official languages and/or their vernaculars.

Based on the data from triangulation, it is again piquantly shown that the Cameroonians in Cape Town are divided and that the divide is not along the tribal lines but between French and English with the French-speaking identifying themselves as Francophones and with the English-speaking as Anglophones. This situation is now even turning into categorisation as depicted in the extract below where Solo's sentence constructions in English typically follow the French structure. Solo is an Anglophone who claims to have spent all his life in the Francophone region with his whole family.

> **Solo:** The Anglophones, they are proud of themselves, they think they exist, but the Francophones, they are very simple….They don't like – they don't make a lot of noise like the Anglophones, too much noise. Here me I am an Anglophone, I can know. The Francophones they are very quiet and

> they forward … They think to come back home and build, but the Anglophones what they know when they are here, they need to live in a nice house, you see. Like we are coming to South Africa, the Anglophones the little money they get, they need to fix themselves, they should be clean, well, put clothes ( ) ..

It is evident that Cameroonians tend to shy away from CPE following the numerous crusades against this language, but like in Cameroon, they are compelled to use it as it defines them and has become part of their cultural heritage. Thus, although they argue that CPE is not taught in schools, from all indications, this is the language that the majority know best and speak most fluently in every social setting. CPE is still very popular and to a larger extent, indispensable among the Cameroonian immigrants in Cape Town. But, like in Cameroon, the fate of Cameroon Pidgin English in Cape Town is similar to that of other Creoles around the world which also carry the stigma of illiteracy and *bushiness* which, despite their rich cultural heritage, these Creoles have been devalued of prestige, in the same way that their speakers have been, for at least five hundred years (Dibussi, 2006).

An overwhelming majority of the participants maintain that they express themselves mostly and even better in CPE, yet they think that this language must not be granted official status because it is not taught anywhere and also that CPE will negatively affect their performance and that of the future generations in the official languages. They further argue that this language is only fit to be spoken in the 'quarters' alone. But Solo's example clearly agrees with Dibussi's argument that it is rather French that has a negative influence on the English that the Cameroonians speak. For this reason, like all participants, Dibussi (2006) argues that CPE should be preserved.

Following this, I think that the government which has the power to govern the people has systematically put in the minds of its own citizen the inferior bondage that they attach to the speakers of CPE. Their assimilationist tendencies are vividly portrayed here by the fact that their strongest campaign target is in the only English-speaking University of the country – the University of Buea. Their strategy is, if these young scholars in whom the society invests much trust and look upon as future leaders, should be the first to refrain from speaking CPE; especially in the South West

Province – a region that records the highest number of CPE speakers (Bobda, 2006) then it will be easier to crush the whole Anglophone culture and its speakers.

Even though their promotion was formerly publicised in the 1996 constitution (Myers-Scotton, 2006), Cameroon vernaculars still stay in the background on the national platform. The immigrants have no formal environment set up for the usage of their vernaculars. Participants use them only when they happen to meet someone who can speak their language. Those who speak vernaculars in public are very few. Similarly, in all the meetings in Cape Town, including the Cameroon tribal meetings, the vernaculars are not used. Most participants re-emphasize that the languages should be regulated to the domestic sphere only. But in this new territory, the immigrants usually group together not based on their tribes. Therefore, the vernaculars will definitely perish in Cape Town. This of course is due to the fact that the very perception of the decision makers, right from Cameroon, is centred around what is useful for them and their children (that is, the European languages), a perception, which has been carried along by the immigrants into their new territory. Even among the politicians, there is no consensus on the use of the Cameroon vernaculars, especially in terms of incorporation of these languages into the school system. (Bobda, 2006:4). But, I think it is high time we readjust following the guidance of Bird (2001:16) who laments that:

> You say that studying your mother tongue does not lead to professional employment. For you schooling simply serves to open the doors to professional employment, but for me it is something else. It is the means of training for life … I would start with what I already possess [my language and my culture] and add what is given me, rather than abandoning what I possess to look for what I might be given (Bird, 2001:16).

After having stayed in the South African socio-cultural environment, the immigrants now tend to attach more value in their vernaculars and most of them opt for the promotion and preservation of the languages, even though not officially, as they think that the vernaculars cannot lead them anywhere in life. Besides this, they feel that promoting some of the vernaculars in Cameroon and leaving out some may lead to chaos. But Echu (1999) advocates that we can all take this as a personal challenge and

work hand in hand with our government and the private organisations in promoting our own vernaculars. I maintain that if only we should take into consideration the views of Echu (1999) then, can we begin to hope to preserve our rich cultural heritage. After all, these vernaculars can also develop a literature of their own. The worth of the vernaculars has been proven by Echu (2003) who argues that the official languages and CPE have borrowed extensively from them. Like Bobda (2006) I think that it is a waste of time hoping that our degree of proficiency in the European languages may one day open us to equal advantages with those to whom these languages naturally originated. With this in mind, I conclude that learning a language is a lifetime training, which becomes easier if we start with that which is ours (Bird, 2001).

Nevertheless, I also think it is illogical to make all 285 vernaculars official. This will be senseless, first because their development will now have to depend on the government alone. This will not only be too costly but also practically impractical to a government which is unable to efficiently promote only two languages (French and English). South Africa has done so, yet the other African languages are not always seen as official languages even by the South Africans themselves (Bobda, 2006; Deumert et. al., 2005).

My last objective was to investigate the place of Frankanglais among the Cameroonian immigrants in Cape Town. Every single account of the immigrants was recapturing the past. They talked of how they used to speak it in Cameroon and no one remembers having ever spoken it in South Africa, as seen in Junior's (a Francophone) response:

> **Researcher**: Frankanglais, you done ever hear about' am? /*Frankanglais, have you ever heard of it/*
> **Junior:** Oh yea, me too I use to talk' am one one time /*Oh yea, I also spoke it from time to time/*
> **Researcher:** You use to talk' am for Cameroon or for here */Where did you use to speak it, in Cameroon or here? /*
> **Junior:** For Cameroon, I nova talk' am here, self French, ye hard, I di talk French na time way wu go for wa country meeting, wu di talk na French

over. */In Cameroon, I have not spoken it here, even French is rare here I speak French only when I go to my tribal meeting since there, we use a lot of French/*

My assumptions in this study included the following:

1 That the Cameroonians in Cape Town would not identify themselves as Anglophone or Francophone. They will consider themselves as one people.
2 That the Cameroonians would prefer to use English at home, at work and in all social gatherings and attach more prestige to it than French or the Cameroonian dialects, and
3 That the use of Pidgin English in all domains (school, social gatherings, jobsites and so on) would be greatly reduced and Frankanglais, usually popular amongst the youths, would not be used at all.

Considering the above-mentioned discussions, it is clear that my first prediction was not met. The English-speaking Cameroonians continued to identify themselves as Anglophones and the French-speaking also projected themselves all the time as Francophones. In both cases, even if the Cameroonian was speaking his/ her second (LO2) official language or CPE they did identify themselves only by means of the official languages. Most often, some did right from the beginning, just after self-introduction as indicated below:

Goedette: Moi c'est Geodette, je Je suis Francophone…/*I am Geodette, I am a Francophone…/*

Blaze: Me I be Anglophone- … because I come from the Anglophone side of Cameroon because I di talk English ... be Anglophone because I come out for the Anglophone side for Cameroon and way wu just get wu own kind fashion way ye be completely different from Francophone them own (laughing) /*Me, I am Anglophone – … because I speak English ... and that we have our own kind of behaviour completely different from that of the Francophones/*

The second prediction turned out to be completely accurate, as many Cameroonians now tend to speak English more than they did at home, at their jobsites and in schools.

Those with French as first official language even fear that they may end up not speaking this language at all due to the fact that French now suffers a very low status in the South African sociolinguistic and socio-cultural context. The last prediction is also true but only to an extent. Participants generally agreed that they speak English at their work palaces if there is no Cameroonian around. But, in cases where the immigrants work with other Cameroonians, they speak English or French or mostly CPE. In the meetings, the language of preference is English, but CPE ends up being the language that is mostly used for deliberations of cultural, social, economic, political and other topics, by all members both within and after the meeting. In spite of all the campaigns and negative attitudes that the Cameroonians bear against the CPE, it is still very popular and dominating in all spheres. Prince's responses beneath illustrate this.

Researcher: So you di still use Pidgin */So do you still use Pidgin/*

Prince: I think say I di I di even use' am pass small self */I think that I am even using it at bit more/*

All: (laugh)

Prince: Pidgin day inside ma system soté ye di even affect ma grammar now. */Pidgin is inside my system so much such that it is even affecting my English/*

To this regard, I counter Joe's (see section 4.3.4) unique proposal of Swahili as an all African Language. Pidgin English could actually play the role for West African countries especially in Cameroon where it is deeply rooted into the culture of this country (Echu, 1999, Echu 2003 and Echu, 2004) while Swahili maintaina its role in the Easte African Languages.

Lastly, my assumption that Frankanglais was not going to be used again came true as many participants want to perfect their performance in English while others find Frankanglais more of a hindrance to mastering of the official languages than CPE itself is. Next on the list is an examination of the impact of the conclusions on the decision makers and the masses.

5.2 Implication of the Study to Cameroonians and Recommendations for Policy Makers

From the conclusions of this study the Cameroonians are in danger of losing a whole civilisation and their heritage, a thing that is happening even in African countries with relative high perception of their vernaculars, for example, South Africa (Bobda, 2006). This, according Dibussi (2006) is an open fact that we are "buying into the myth of inferiority". Dibussi, (2006: 52) argues that:

> If nationalism is, most often, a reaction against a threatened autonomous identity, then, in a world submitted to culture homogenization by the ideology of modernization and the power of global media**,** language**,** the direct expression of culture, becomes the trench of cultural resistance, the last bastion of self-control, the refuge of identifiable meaning.

Following the arguments displayed above, it is clear that CPE is not solely responsible for the poor mastery and learning of official languages. The campaign against CPE seems to be more effective than the policy of official language bilingualism, which is vague and poorly implemented. Some Cameroonians think that the CPE is a Nigerian language and almost all participants feel that it is too barbaric a language to be made official while others simply despise the language because it is not taught in schools. Ironically, they also all speak the language and want to preserve it for their own children. Echu (1999) proposes a trilingual bilingual programme where the official language – French and English are taught alongside the vernaculars. To this regard, I posit that CPE be added to the list of the official languages in Cameroon for there is a clear-cut boundary between CPE and English (Dibussi, 2006).

I hereby argue that it is time for the policy makers to be more objective than ever before. They need to forgo their political ambitions and immediate satisfaction in the job markets and invest in the long lasting effect of an effective language policy, a policy that fully recognises the greater Cameroonian society, and hence, make CPE an official language. Standardising CPE will cost very little as missionaries and private agencies have already done much in the documentation of this language.

Again, I argue that poor teaching methods, poor learning and working environments and inadequate motivation of lecturers and teachers contribute to the poor standards of the official languages. Above all, I insist that it is French, which contaminates the effective competence and performance in English, not CPE. Our journalists' and translators' use of word for word translations and the structure of English in Cameroon is increasingly becoming French. The example from Dibussi (2006) in Chapter four justifies this claim.

If we really cherish our roots and are ready to always be part of that inclusive "we" or, in the words of one participant, Jack (see csection 4.1.3), if we do not want to miss that sense of identity and feel like outsiders, then, it is time to take a position as judges and managers of own society. This is possible only if the Cameroonians are ready to work hand-in- hand with the private agencies and urge the government to see to their needs of upholding and promoting their culture, CPE and vernaculars both in the schools and all social settings. As Bird (2001) rightly puts it, education is not only seen in terms of professional careers. In agreement to this, Bobda (2006) shows that most of our professionals (mostly judged by by how excellent they are in the European languages) are always blamed for any communication breakdown and often discriminated against in the job markets. Therefore choosing only to promote and completely depend on a culture that is not ours, is choosing to remain underdogs forever or accepting to be "completely and totally assimilated" as Blaze, a participant of this study puts it.

Nevertheless, being linguistically dynamic and learning the language and language forms of dominant group or the host country is very essential. Through this, you can easily be identified, included and transformed which will somehow help you in the new territory. Learning English for instance has improved and stabilised Geodette's economic status in Cape Town.

> **Geodette:** ... maintenant, je garde cent mille rand par mois…. /…*now I save one thousand Rand a month.../*

5.3 Recommendations For Scholars

The scholars must explore and demonstrate to the public that African languages and especially CPE (in the case of Cameroon) is also up to the task of being an official. Firstly because the Cameroonians all speak this language, secondly because this language already has some existing literature and thirdly because it belongs to no one in particular. As Echu (2003:3) rightly states, it is sometimes difficult to trace the origin of CPE. Lastly, because it would avoid all unnecessary conflict and expenditure.

Last but not the least in my list of recommendations is the fact that Camerronians still prefer the French language to all other languages. It would also be interesting to explore why the Cameroonians always attach so much prestige to French and even often use French jargon when conversing/writing in English and in CPE.

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APPENDIX A

Summary of the Interview Questions

A summary below gives an indication of the interview questions. The transcribed interviews were two hundred and one (201) pages long. The questions were asked haphazardly, to twenty participants, guided by the participants' responses**.**

Interview Question Guide

1. The general background of respondents. Here the focus was on the following issues, where they were born, their life experience here compared to their experience at home, languages learnt and spoken at home, educational background, ethnic affiliation….
2. Coming to South Africa. Here the issues covered involved respondents' time and purpose for coming to South Africa, his/her perceptions and experiences, circumstances involving respondents' arrival in South Africa.
3. Being in South Africa. Respondents were required to talk about their experiences in South Africa. They were asked about particular difficulties at work /school; even their positive experiences were required.
4. Languages. The main point of interest here was to know if respondents have learnt any of the South African languages, if they had encountered any language problems while in South Africa, the languages they use most commonly in South Africa, the context in which they used them and the person with whom they used the language. Their perception of these languages and if these languages were important to their sense of self (ethnic identity). If they were able to have access to the media (music, newspapers, books films) in their main languages while in Cape Town. To know if they can speak any of three dominant languages (isiXhosa, Afrikaans and English) here in Cape Town. It was also essential to know if they use the languages they have learnt and whether they were confident of themselves when using them. Respondent gave their view of their home languages and also revealed whether knowing other languages was helpful to them or not and if their employers utilised their multilingual competences.

5. Culture. Focus here was to know if respondent felt that there were some practices which set them apart from South Africans, apart from their languages.
6. Social Networks. Interest here was to know the kind of people migrants Cape Town usually interacted with, daily, weekly or monthly. Respondents also talked about the people they knew (friends, colleagues, acquaintances, neighbours…).
7. Belonging and linguistics of difference. The aim here was to know if participants felt at home in South Africa and what the term home meant to them. It was also important to know if there were terms they used to refer to other migrants and South Africans, if they had encountered some terms that are used by South Africans to refer to them, if they drew lines between different types of international migrants because of their geographical origin or why they came to South Africa.

Appendix B

Summary of the Minutes of the Cameroon North Westerners Association (CANOWACAT), Held At Salt River, Cape Town On The 04/06/06.

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All data transcribed was up to two hundred and sixty two pages (262) long. . For the sake of convenience, I have here a brief summary of the CANOWACAT meeting proceedings. The data collected from this meeting alone was transcribed in sixty- seven (67) pages. All the line (---) stand for real names, which have been omitted for the sake of anonymity.

	Agenda	• Prayers • Reading/Adoption of Agenda • Welcome Address from chair • Minutes of last meeting. • Matters Arising • Financial Slot • Resolution of EXCO • Other matters • Introduction/News/Announcements • Closing Remark/Entertainment. • Entertainment		
	Opening Prayers	Led by ---		
	Minutes	Presented By ASG **Amendments.** • Correction of names and spellings; --- said is in Holland with family; we should attach title of Senator to those who due it; there is a piracy drive in SA; not everybody in Woodstock disturb during meetings but some members whose names should be called. Minutes moved correct by --- and ---		
	Matters Arising. **GA is General Assembly.**	The president said he met --- as per the balance of money from ---'s funeral and he responded that he has R2000.00. He will give R1000.00 to CANOWACAT for cry die and use the rest on ---'s case.		

		Senator --- said he cannot decide about the money alone, all Cameroonians contributed. --- asked about ---'s situation.--- briefed the GA on his state and said he opened up a book for anybody who wants to help --- to come and give in his own help. The Preesident appreciated the initiative and call on any person who can help to do so. --- asked about --- 's case and --- said is handling the situation, until he comes before we can be updated. Senator --- wanted to know if the committee to help new comers to CPT has been named. President confirmed to him and called the names of the persons in the committee. --- sort to know about funeral. He gave a brief update on the situation and explained that the committee went an extra mile to borrow money from people to make up the full amount. This was to avoid paying penalty if flight was postponed. And --- explained the matter further and the president thanked all who contributed.		
	Other Matters	The president said there was a continuation of "meet the people tour" and the groups met last week were Pinyin and Bui Family Union The delegation to BFU was comprised of, ---, ---, and ---. The delegation explained the purpose of the visit and confirmed that about BFU contribute about 60% towards CANOWACAT which is encouraging. went further to say the group is well organized and meeting is very impressive. They answered questions from BFU and encouraged those who don't attend to do and they were responding to their plea		

		citing the presence of --- and --- said one of the things CANOWACAT has to learn from BFU is that there is no word/phrase as 'you people' but 'we'; also citing the point that constitution be distributed to various subgroups for a better understanding of how CANOWACAT functions. The delegation to Pinyin family was lead by the President --- and --- Auntie. They said Pinyin gave them a red carpet welcome and the group was colourfully dressed, well-organized and encouraging participation. They explain the purpose of the visit and questions were raised from the floor. They raised pertinent issues like meeting be held once a month b/c many tribal groups are already in existence; venue of meeting is too small and proposed meetings be hosted by subgroups who will chose the venue. said she was impressed with the group and that they are carrying a developmental project (electrification) back at home which we can support them. --- sort to know the impact of the visit to the subgroups. The president said during the fun day where all group presidents will be present; they will all give an impact of the visit to their groups. --- again proposed that CANOWACAT can create links with other provincial groups in W. Cape. ; make visits to these groups and strengthen friendship. Also that CANOWACAT can carry out developmental projects, which will create an impact back at home. Senator --- said ---'s idea is a very brilliant one but on development it is not reality to carry out a provincial developmental project. It is easier for sub groups who to carry out such projects and CANOWACAT will support. he was supported by ---		

		Auntie. The president said it has been difficult for the group to operate because of lack of access to funds. Those holding signatures to the account are not available; and the IEC just handed books to the Exco last week. The housing project is on and the search is continuous; anyone who sees a good house should contact him the president or any exco member. He stressed that people should stop calling CANOWACAT a Momo affair. He said he is upset when people say Momo is CANOWACAT and vice versa. Room was open for all to take part in elections; not withstanding, all groups are fairly represented in the exco with Momo being majority, but it doesn't mean CANOWACAT is Momo. --- supported the president and call for people to come up with a motion and the exco will bow out --- encouraged the exco to keep up the good work because there will always be criticisms and praises. --- said the idea of contact tour was a brilliant one which give room for people to express their views; these visits must continue to make CANOWACAT grow. We must keep tribal issues aside and work towards one brotherhood. Mr. --- on behalf of his family said the exco is doing a great job and needs to be praised. They have challenged past excos especially his and they are taking people to higher heights. He pledge a crate of beer each for two sittings to the exco on behalf of his family. --- gave an update of the website which will		

		soon be launched; and --- said he wants to be content manager and gave a rundown of what it will entail. Senato --- said there are some issues which one can meet the exco and discuss before coming to the meeting so that they can just say it to the GA. However, the president said he should meet --- reminding him that he raised this point to him sometimes.		
	American auction sales	There was an American auction sales bought by --- for R1180.00. This money will go for the development of the website.		
	News/Announcements.	1. Senator --- said he travelled to Eastern Cape to burry a colleague, some were involved in an accident and another colleague passed away. 2. --- announced that his case had been thrown out of court; and thanked all for the support given them through out the process. 3. Senator --- announced that his container of foodstuff has arrived and there is a lot for everybody to buy. 4. --- reminded people to come with their pleas for the sports department to be able to carry out its planned activities. 5. Senator --- encouraged members to register with Legal wise so that once you have a case, you don't spend a cent; it is legal wise who will send a lawyer on your behalf. He said anybody who needs their contact can see him. 6. --- said if you are given a job as translator in court, you must be careful not to endanger your fellow brother or sister's life. He said this in connection to announcement he made that the court is looking for a translator from Cameroon. 7. --- announced that he is selling his		

		car.		
	Introduction of Visitors/New Members.	1. --- Welcomed by ---. 2. --- Welcomed by Mrs ---. 3. ---Welcomed by ---.		
	Closing Remark	The president thanked the GA for coming to the meeting, and those who made contributions, to proceedings. The meeting ended with entertainment from Mr./Mrs ---, and ---. Entertainment next meeting is by Senator --- , ---, and --- .		