

# Neologisms and Cameroonisms in Cameroon English and Cameroon Francophone English

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**Abstract**—Language learning/use is a very delicate task. When a learner/user of a given language is confronted with a difficulty, he/she is forced to create to communicate. This can be observed in most New Englishes. Those varieties of English abound in neologisms and local languages items. From an interlanguage frame, this study looks at some neologisms and Cameroonisms in Cameroon English (CamE) / Cameroon Francophone English (CamFE). The data come from debates on national radio stations and TV channels, conversations among students and university lecturers on university campuses across Cameroon, casual encounters such as public gatherings or during journeys, and from students' essays. The findings show that, in CamE, most neologisms come from Pidgin English or French while Cameroonisms come from local languages, the inflection of some English words and skilful combination of some English structures. In CamFE, most neologisms come from French and Cameroonisms from home languages and code mixing.

**Index Terms**—neologism, Cameroonism, CamE, CamFE, coining, French, home language

## I. INTRODUCTION

For any language to survive, some of the determining factors are coining and borrowing. If all languages cannot lend some of their lexical items to other languages, they are bound to borrow from them. Khothlova (2005, p. 987) reports that *nduna* (a leader), *maas* (sour milk), *mahen* (crowned crane), *nunu* (any insect) among others are well established vocabulary items from African languages into South African English. In Cameroonian home languages, there are no other words for *window*, *machine* or *cupboard* than the ones known in English even if they are pronounced in several ways. As a complex phenomenon, borrowing goes in multiple directions. Home languages borrow from CamE (Cameroon English), English, Pidgin English, French and other home languages, and CamE borrows from home languages, Pidgin English and French. In CamE or Cameroon French, the following local tree species are simply known as *iroko* (*millicia excelsa*), *mbete*, *ngolong*, *bibinga*, *essock*, *sapelli* (*entandrophragma cylindricum*), *okan* (*cylicodiscus gabunensis*) and *azob é* (*lophira alata*), which are loans from local languages. All the timber companies, wood dealers and carpenters know them only by those names. All of this testifies to the dynamism of non-native Englishes as this paper proposes to exemplify with CamE and CamFE (Cameroon Francophone English). The study thus aims to examine the various strategies and processes used to create and form neologisms and Cameroonisms in the two varieties of English in question. The emphasis is on coining, derivation, loanwords, metonymy, re-structuring and code mixing.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Before getting into the review, it is important to define the two main key words of the study. *The New Collins Dictionary and Thesaurus* (1991, p. 667) defines **neologism** as “newly coined word, or a phrase or familiar word used in a new sense”. For example, in CamE, these simple expressions ‘*high class*’, ‘*rotten*’, ‘*four + four*’ all mean AIDS; ‘*summarily*’ means in summary. So, neologism is the inclusion of new item in the language. **Cameroonisms** are language elements or structures which are only used and understood by Cameroonians. They need some explanations to be understood by other speakers of English, e.g. *white stuff* (palm wine), *country name* (family name), *country talk* (mother tongue). The following section briefly differentiates CamE from CamFE.

### A. CamE (Cameroon English) vs CamFE (Cameroon Francophone English)

The complex linguistic landscape of Cameroon with over 239 home languages (Mba 2009), Pidgin English, Camfranglais and the two official languages (French and English) has led to the development of two local varieties of English in the country. CamE which is the variety spoken by Anglophone Cameroonians, i.e. the citizens of the former British Cameroon was till recent considered as the only variety of English spoken by Cameroonians (Simo Bobda 1994a). It is the oldest variety in the country, and amply research has been carried out on it. At national level, it is the medium of instruction (in Anglophone schools), law, official documents, diplomacy, radio and television, newspapers and literature. Its phonology has been studied by a number of researchers (Simo Bobda 1986, 1994, 2010 & 2011; Kouega 1991, 1999 a & b & 2000). Its lexis and grammar are under intensive research (Simo Bobda 1994 b; Kouega 2006; Anchimbe 2004; Epoge 2013; Mbufong 2013; Safotso & Nwetisama 2013).

CamFE the second variety resulted from the rush for English by Francophone Cameroonians during the past two decades. Most Anglophone schools have been invaded by their children, and adult francophone learners of English have been taking their training in the various linguistic centres across the country very seriously. Though recent compared to its somewhat parent variety, CamE, Cameroon Francophone English is a dynamic and fast spreading variety. That variety is spoken by Francophone Cameroonians. A number of studies show that its phonological characteristics are different from those of CamE (Safotso 2012, 2015a, 2016, 2018a; Simo Bobda 2013; Atechi 2015). For example, the following words are pronounced differently in CamE and CamFE: *fruits*, *war*, *students* [**fryi**, **wa**, **styden**] in CamFE and [**fruts**, **wɔ**, **studens**] in CamE for RP [**fru:ts**, **wɔ:**, **stju:dənts**] (see Safotso 2015a). Safotso (2016) studied its atypical evolution to Moag's (1992) and Schneider's (2009) models. Its lexis and grammar are still under research, and is mostly done in students' dissertations. They therefore necessitate in-depth investigations. The present study's finding might contribute to it.

### B. Appropriation of English in the Outer and Expanding Circles

A number of studies have been carried out on the localisation or Africanization of English (Bokamba 1992; Ayo Bamgbose 1992) and features of New Englishes (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2012). All African 'Englishes share certain properties that can be identified as *Africanisms* in that they reflect structural characteristics of African languages. Specifically, these properties can be discovered at all linguistic levels: phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic' (Bokamba, 1992, p.126). The following examples by Kirk-Greene (1971 in Bokamba, 1992, p.130) are by Hausa speakers of English: '*You are a big somebody*' (i.e. an important person); '*You are a sociable somebody*' (i.e. sociable person). Other interesting examples include '*The guest whom I invited them have arrived*'; '*The book which I bought it is lost*' (Zuengler 1982 in Bokamba, 1992, p. 131). Chuang & Nesi (2006) report these examples by Chinese users of English: '*The car is different with public transport*' for 'the car is different from public transport'; '*People are suffering poverty*' for 'people are suffering from poverty'. There is either a confusion of preposition or an omission where one should be. The following examples from Singapore English are also quite interesting: '*He already go home*' for 'he has already gone home'; '*The people died already*' for 'the people are dead/ have died' (Williams, 1987, p. 184 in Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2012, p. 62).

In Cameroon, Simo Bobda (1994b) remarks that lexical innovation processes in CamE is done through loans from French, Pidgin English, and indigenous languages. Their internal processes include semantic extension, semantic shift by pre-fixation, derivation, compounding, clipping and reduplication, e.g. *chief of battalion* (major in the army), *sub-lieutenant* (Second-lieutenant), *brevet é nurse* (State-registered nurse). Anchimbe (2004) notes that, to name certain common things CamE users create new names. Naming is generally done by analogy with colour, taste, physical or behavioural nature, e.g. *red oil* (palm oil), *white mimbo* (palm wine), *cry die* (death celebration), *trouble bank* (assistance fund), *fever grass* (lemon grass used to treat fever), *ground beef* (palm rat that lives in holes in the ground), *elephant grass* (large herb in tropical zone). Safotso and Nkwetisama (2013) question if CamE is not a holdall as the language is full of elements from all sources. For example, they list the following local titles as intrusions into CamE: *fon*, *fai* (chief / king), *manyi* (mother of twins), *tanyi* (father of twins). Words like *nge*, *mbe*, *atsafo* or *nde* are used by subjects answering to their ruler or local authorities (Safotso & Nkwetisama 2013, p.120). Other works on the special use of English by Cameroonians include Safotso (2015b, 2017a & 2017b) and Epoge (2013). In the domain of HIV/AIDS, Safotso (2017b, p.182) describes a rich vocabulary to name the disease and its patients in CamE, e.g. *boarding pass*, *departure lounge*, *high class*, *last hour* for ADIS, and *rotten* for HIV patient. In the register of sexuality, Epoge (2013, p. 4) reports the following expressions: *king of glory*, *master of ceremony*, *rector of female*, *family jewel* for penis, and *mouse trap*, *place of pleasure*, *hole of pleasure*, *garden of Eden* for vagina.

## III. METHOD

The data analysed come from several sources: (1) national TV and radio debates where both Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonians interact in English on a daily basis on several topics, (2) political campaigns speeches, (3) conversations student-student and lecturer-lecturer, (4) seminars and conferences, (5) students' essays and dissertations, (6) casual encounters and discussions/ jokes in the GCE marking rooms. The items were jotted down each time that the investigator heard or read them, and documented according to the various categories studied here. So, the material comes from very rich sources. The analysis is done under the following categories: coining, derivation, loans, metonymical use of some names, restructuring of some idiomatic expressions, French induced Cameroonisms, code mixing and other Cameroonisms. Whenever possible, the Standard British English version of the words or structures studied is provided.

## IV. FINDINGS

As already mentioned in, the analysis focuses on the following items: coining, derivation, loanwords, metonymy, restructuring, code mixing and some non specific Cameroonisms. Section A below looks at coining.

### A. Coining

The following expressions are very popular in the GCE French subject marking rooms: *trasher*, *trash é trasheur*, *trasheuse*, *markeress*, *chiefable*, *bounss é bonusser*, *boxer*, *box é boxeur*. Although that subject for the Ordinary and Advanced GCE Level focuses on the French language, all the discussions, marking guides and instructions are done in English or Pidgin English. Accordingly, all the markers of the subject are bilingual (with at least a French-English BA). They are made up of Francophone teachers who speak CamFE and Anglophone ones who speak CamE. In this kind of intricate situation it is hard to differentiate to which variety belongs each of the expressions analysed here. It is why the items listed in Table 1 which follows are attributed to at the same time to CamE and CamFE.

TABLE 1  
EXAMPLES OF COINAGE IN CAME AND CAMFE

Example phrase or sentence	Origin of coinage	Standard British English version
The chief will <b>trasher</b> that essay.	Trash	The chief examiner will <i>consider that essay as a trash</i> .
The chief has <b>trash é</b> that essay.	Trash	The chief examiner has <i>destroyed / said terrible things about</i> that essay.
That chief is a <b>trasheur</b> .	Trash	That chief examiner is <i>a poor marker</i> .
That woman is a <b>trasheuse</b> .	Trash	That woman is <i>a poor marker</i> .
That <b>markeress</b> is beautiful.	Mark	That <i>female marker</i> is beautiful.
That marker is <b>chiefable</b> .	Chief	That marker is <i>a potential chief</i> .
Help me to <b>bonusser</b> this script.	Bonus	Help me <i>add bonus</i> mark to this script.
I had <b>bounss é</b> that script well.	Bonus	<i>I had accurately added bonus</i> to that script.
Please, check if I have well <b>box é</b> this script.	Box	Please, check if I have well <i>marked the boxes boundaries</i> in this script.
Tomorrow I will continue to <b>boxer</b> my scripts.	Box	Tomorrow I will continue to <i>mark boxes boundaries</i> in my scripts.
That marker is a good <b>boxeur</b> .	Box	That marker <i>marks boxes boundaries accurately</i> .
On va <b>checking</b> ce soir.	check	They will <i>do the check</i> in this afternoon.

It can be remarked that from simple words like *trash*, *mark*, *chief*, *bonus*, and *check*, CamE and CamFE users are able to coin many new words which well fill in the gap in the GCE marking room. The coining is generally done by adding a suffix to the English stem. Those suffixes include **-er**, **-é**, **-eur**, **-euse**, **-ess**, **-able**, **-ser**, **-s é**, **-ing**. It can be noted that many of them are French ones. In the marking centres, the following vocabulary items are also used: *paramount* (general coordinator), *a couple of kilometres* (transport fee), *scripts due* (scripts payment), *keep fit* allowance (feeding allowance). It is interesting to note that the word *paramount* which is an adjective is turned into a noun in CamE / CamFE, e.g. '*Our paramount is absent today*'. In other contexts the word also means traditional ruler, e.g. '*The paramount will pay a visit to our village tomorrow*'. In Cameroon, the GCE markers like those of other examinations do not talk of candidates, but *child* or *children*, e.g. '*This child's essay is a trash*'. In the context of an examination, it is normally the word **candidate** which is appropriate. Although the register studied here is particular to French GCE marking, and may look like the markers playing with the language, some of its items are quite popular among the markers of other subjects and Cameroonian secondary school teachers and students in general. It is not rare to hear in a school premises a student declare: '*I did not deserve a fail mark. They certainly trash é my essay*' or '*That woman is a wicked markeress*'.

### B. Derivation

To sound pedantic or because of inaccurate mastery of discourse markers, many CamE /CamFE speakers inflect certain English words in a strange way by adding the suffix *-ly* to them as illustrated below.

TABLE 2  
EXAMPLES OF SOME DERIVED WORDS IN CAME/CAMFE

Example phrase or sentence	Word inflected	Standard British English version
<b>Conclusively</b> , I can say that...	conclusion	<i>In conclusion</i> , I can say that...
<b>Summarily</b> , I can say that...	summary	<i>In summary</i> , I can say that...
<b>Additively</b> , he went away.	addition	<i>In addition</i> , he went away.

The above expressions are used as rhetorical markers in most essays and dissertations, and are taken as English words by many CamE/CamFE users. **Moreso**...for *moreover*,...; **to add**...for *in addition*,...; **fore and foremost**..., for *first*,... are also very common in the written and spoken production of Cameroonians.

### C. Loans from Home Languages or Pidgin English

In the absence of an adequate English or French equivalent for some local dishes, CamE CamFE speakers use their local names in their conversations as shown in Table 3 below.

TABLE 3  
EXAMPLES OF LOANWORDS FROM HOME LANGUAGES / PIDGIN ENGLISH IN CAME AND CAMFE

Example phrase or sentence	Origin of loan	Standard British English version
A plate o <b>kwakoko</b>	Mbo language <sup>1</sup>	A plate of <i>mashed cocoyam</i>
A plate of <b>koki</b>	Bamileke languages <sup>2</sup>	A plate of <i>crushed beans with palm oil</i>
A plate of <b>bongo tchobi</b>	Bassa language <sup>3</sup>	A plate of <i>black soup</i>
I've just taken some <b>kosam</b> .	Fulfulde <sup>4</sup>	I have just taken some local cake made of millet flour.
Give him some <b>kondre</b> .	Pidgin English	Give him some <i>plantain cooked with pork</i> .
Add more <b>jansan</b> to it.	Pidgin English	Add more <i>aromatic spice</i> to it.
He drinks a lot of <b>foler é</b>	Fulfulde	He drinks a lot of <i>boiled flower of Guinean oxalis</i> .

The translation of the concerned items into English as attempted in the table is quite approximate. It is even more a question of explanation than translation. Finding an equivalent for *koki*, *kwakoko*, *bongo tchobi*, *kondre*, *folere*, etc. in English is almost impossible. The phenomenon is not particular to Cameroon. Many non-native Englishes around the world are flooded with local languages items. For example, Khokhlova (2015, p. 987) remarks that the following Xhosa items are well established in South African English: *abakwetha* (a Xhosa initiate to manhood), *bonsela* (a small gift), *tagahi* (witchcraft), *indaba* (a tribal discussion). Other vocabulary items from local languages and Pidgin English well set in CamE and CamFE include *tchuk* (push, hit violently), *tchuker* (to knock, stab, push), *doss / doser* (to box / knock violently). So, it is striking that many home languages and Pidgin English contribute words and they then get set in CamE and CamFE. The section below looks at loanwords from French.

#### D. Loans from French

In Cameroon English /Cameroon Francophone English, many French words are fully adopted and understood by the majority of speakers. The words listed in the following table are very popular among university students, lecturers and general public.

TABLE 4  
LOANWORDS FROM FRENCH IN CAME AND CAMFE

Word or phrase	Standard British English version
expos é	presentation
capitalis é/ capitaliser	passed / pass
informatique	computer studies
rattrapage	catch-up session / special session
centre médico	university health centre
mini cit é	students residential building
licence	Bachelor's Degree
Maîtrise	Master's Degree
Bordereau number	File reference
déai	deadline

Because of French domination in Cameroon, on most university campuses many common documents and forms are not translated into English. That also applies to the vast majority of university offices and places signposts. Therefore, many Anglophone students refer to them only in their French appellation to be understood. For example, on campus of the University of Yaounde I or Dschang if a student does not say '**where is the Centre Medico?**' for '*Where is the University Health Centre*', or '**this is my licence**' for '*this is my Bachelor's Degree*', there is every likelihood not to be understood even by some Anglophone students. In contact situations this would be treated as code-switch. But clearly, this is something different in CamE / CamFE as students who use the French expressions in question here do not have any communication problem. They know what they are talking about in French and English. It is the context which pushes them to use the French expressions. Other French words or expressions well established in CamE that have been studied by early studies include *mandat* (money order), *patente* (business tax), *rappel* (arrears), *vignette* (tax disc), *bon de caisse* (pay voucher), *demande d'explication* (query) (Simo Bobda 1994b, p. 245). The phenomenon of borrowing is a general feature of languages. This happens in British and American English too. British English uses *courgette* and *aubergine* from French. For the same vegetable, American English calls it *zucchini* which is a loan from native American languages, and *eggplant*.

#### E. Metonymical Use of Lecturers' and Authorities' Names

According to Moody (1987, p. 206), metonymy is a figurative device by which something is referred to indirectly by something else associated with it. In CamE and CamFE, the names of lecturers and administrative authorities have acquired a metonymical use among students and general public. Some students even ignore the titles of some courses, but only retain the name of the lecturers who teaches them as illustrated by the following table.

TABLE 5  
METONYMICAL USE OF LECTURERS' AND ADMINISTER AUTHORITIES' NAMES

Example phrase or sentence	Standard British English version
I failed <b>Prof. Tarka</b> .	I failed <i>Literary criticism</i> .
We are writing <b>Prof. Simo</b> this evening.	We are writing <i>English phonetics</i> this evening.
I will repeat <b>Dr. Tasah</b> .	I will repeat <i>lexicology</i> .
Prof. <b>Nkwetisama</b> is not easy.	<i>TESL/TEFL</i> is a difficult subject.
We have Ms. <b>Tchakote</b> this morning.	We have <i>creative writing</i> this morning.
Are we writing <b>Prof. Safotso or Dr. Tameh</b> at the exam?	In <i>Stylistics</i> are we writing Prof. Safotso's or Dr. Tameh's question at the exam?
I passed <b>Prof. Adamu</b> with 14.	I passed <i>postcolonial literature</i> with a mark of 14/20.
<b>Fame Ndongo</b> is coming to Dschang tomorrow.	<i>The Minister of Higher Education</i> is coming to Dschang tomorrow.
<b>Tsafack Nanfosso</b> is in the US.	<i>The Rector of the University of Dschang</i> is in the US.

To talk of their various subjects, Cameroonian students prefer to use the names of the lecturers who teach them. For example, to talk of *postcolonial literature*, they prefer to say Prof. Adamu, who is the lecturer who teaches that subject. For *English phonetics*, they simply say Prof. Simo. This kind of figurative language is so popular on Cameroonian campuses that some lecturers are simply referred to as *King of algebra*, *King of phonetics*, *Mr. TEFL*, etc. This special use of the language also goes beyond the university campus. In other domains like administration and Territorial Administration in particular, when they talk of *Divaha Diboua* and *Atanga Nji* every Cameroonian understands the **Governor of the Littoral Region** and the **Minister of Territorial Administration**. In most villages in Cameroon, villagers do not always refer to their chief as 'Chief X or Y', but simply use his family name which is understood as his title. This is one of the general features of CamE and CamFE which is found in other Englishes. For example, when British and American journalists talk of the British Prime Minister or the US President they do not always say '*The British Prime Minister Boris Johnson*' or '*The US President Donald Trump*'. Most of the time they simply say *Boris Johnson* or *Donald Trump*, and this is understood by all the listeners.

#### F. Restructuring of Some English Language Idiomatic Expressions

CamE and CamFE users restructure certain idiomatic expressions of the English language which in their understanding seem illogical. Some of them are provided in Table 6 which follows.

TABLE 6  
RESTRUCTURING SOME ENGLISH LANGUAGE IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS

Example phrase or sentence	Standard British English version
Are you <b>in the house</b> ?	Are you <i>at home</i> ?
I am <b>in church / in school / in the market</b> .	I am <i>at church / at school / at the market</i> .
He is <b>in the plane</b> from London.	He is <i>on the plane</i> from London.
We were <b>in the bus</b> when it broke down.	We were <i>on the bus</i> when it broke down.
<b>In that train</b> there were many passengers.	<i>On that train</i> there were many passengers.
<b>In our ship</b> the captain was very kind.	<i>On our ship</i> the captain was very kind.
We went <b>out of the bus</b> in Eseka.	We went <i>off the train</i> in Eseka.
The pilot jumped <b>out of the pane</b> .	The pilot jumped <i>off the plane</i> .
They ran <b>out of the ship/ the train</b> .	They ran <i>off the ship/ the train</i> .

This category of Cameroonisms is what Simo Bobda (2001) calls taming the madness of English. Indeed, it is hard to a Cameroonian to understand why it is correct in English to say '*out of the room, in the taxi, in a truck*' etc., but incorrect in the same language to say '*in the plane, in the ship, in the bus, out of the bus, out of the ship*' while you are in fact **inside** the taxi as well as the plane, and **outside** the room as well as the bus. So, to CamE/ CamFE speakers this restructuring is just a matter of logic. The next section examines some French induced Cameroonisms.

#### G. Some French Induced Cameroonisms

French induced Cameroonisms are mostly found in CamFE as pictured by the table below.

TABLE 7  
SOME FRENCH INDUCED CAMEROONISMS IN CAMFE

Example phrase or sentence	Standard British English version
I will <b>buy</b> my school fees tomorrow.	I will <i>pay</i> my school fees tomorrow.
I am <b>buying</b> .	I am shopping.
This is my aunt, and this is <b>his</b> husband.	This is my aunt and this is <i>her</i> husband.
This is my nephew, and this is <b>her</b> mother.	This is my nephew, and this is <i>his</i> mother.
<b>Differents</b> people came to the ceremony.	<i>Different</i> people came to the ceremony.
Three <b>beautifuls</b> girls	Three <i>beautiful</i> girls
Ten <b>longs</b> legs	Ten <i>long</i> legs

CamFE contains many French induced difficulties. Since in Cameroon French, there is no difference between *acheter* (to buy) and *payer* (to pay), CamFE speakers think that they can interchangeably use *buy* or *pay* in any context. As to the problem with *his* and *her*, it is due to the fact that in French the determiner agrees with the grammatical gender of

the noun (masculine or feminine) and not with the sex of the owner. **Sa case, sa mère, ma fenêtre** will always remain feminine nouns whatever the gender of the owner, e.g. *Marie a un champ, un chien et un chat. C'est son champ, son chien et son chat.* **Champ, chien** and **chat** are masculine nouns, but their possessive adjectives do not change though their owner is a female. However, in English, it is the sex of the owner which determines the kind of determiner to use as that language does not make use of grammatical gender, e.g. *his dog, his cat* (when the owner is a male); *her dog, her cat* (when the owner is a female). The same French grammar accounts for the difficulty in *différents, longs and legs*. In that language, adjectives agree with the noun they qualify, i.e. if the noun they modify is in the plural form they will take the plural marker, if the noun is singular they will be singular, e.g. **deux longs bancs, un long banc**. The section below focuses on code mixing.

#### H. Code Mixing

Code mixing which is mixing words and sentences from different languages is very common in CamE and CamFE as illustrated in Table 8 which follows.

TABLE 8  
CODE MIXING

Sample phrase or sentence	Standard British English version
Our <b>abattoirs</b> are dirty.	Our slaughterhouses are dirty.
If they see me they will <b>saboter</b> me.	If they see me they will <i>sabotage</i> me.
A carton of <b>savon</b>	A carton of <i>soap</i>
People make noise in my <b>quartier</b> .	People make noise in my <i>quarter</i> .
Drop me at the next <b>dos d'âne</b> .	Drop me at the next <i>security band / humpback bridge</i> .
I will write a <b>requête</b> .	I will write a <i>complaint</i> .
Go and <i>deposit</i> it at the <b>scolarité</b>	Go and <i>submit</i> it at the <i>admission office</i> .
Your <b>relevé</b> shows what?	What does your transcript indicate?
He went to the beach <b>to bronzer</b> a bit.	He went to the beach <i>to go brown a bit / to get a tan</i> .
There is a <b>concours</b> on.	There is a <i>competitive entrance examination</i> on.
Our class will hold in <b>Salle 4</b> .	Our class will hold in <i>Room 4</i> .
There are few <b>brasseries</b> in Cameroon.	There are few <i>breweries</i> in Cameroon.
I have <b>validé</b> all my units.	I have <i>passed</i> all my units.
She has <b>capitalisé</b> everything.	She has <i>passed</i> everything.

In the complex setting of Cameroon, the languages mixed are generally French and English, but sometimes English and Pidgin or English and local languages. The mixing is so fashionable in the two varieties in question in this study that many Cameroonians do it to sound pedantic, e.g. 'He went to the beach to **bronzer** a bit' for '*He went to the beach to go brown a bit / to get a tan*'. It is not also rare in Cameroonian restaurants to hear some costumers say in a joking or arrogant tone 'Add me some more **bouillon**' for '*add me some more broth*', or 'Give two more **beignets**' for '*give me two more dough-nuts*'. The word *beignet* is so established in CamE and CamFE, that almost no Cameroonian calls it by a different name. If *dough-nut* is not called **beignet** it is named **popop** (a Pidgin English word). The last section below looks at uncategorised Cameroonisms.

#### I. Other Cameroonisms

There are some Cameroonisms which are difficult to categorise. Their content is entirely made up of English words (or French words), but cannot be decoded by a non Cameroonian. Table 9 which follows provides some examples.

TABLE 9  
UNCATEGORISED CAMEROONISMS

Example of Cameroonisms	Standard British English version
Blood cleaning	haemodialysis
We are together (said while leaving someone).	I remain with you in spirit.
I am coming (said while leaving someone).	I will shortly be back.
He rained in her.	He heavily ejaculated in her.
The elites within and without the village are...	The internal and external elites are...
The mother of the nation is ill.	The First Lady is ill.
He ate all his school fees.	He spent all his school fees.
He ate his future	He jeopardized his future.
That man deserves a red feather.	That man should be decorated.

If some of the expressions in the table are understood by all CamE and CamFE speakers such as **we are together** (said while leaving someone), **I am coming** (said while leaving someone), **he ate his school fees**, a lot of expressions of that kind belong to particular registers, i.e. understood by particular groups of Cameroonians. For example, '**blood cleaning**' belongs to the medical field and '**he rained in her**' to the sexual one. Other popular euphemistic expressions used by young Cameroonians to talk of sexuality include '**being bilingual**' for being *bisexual and homosexual*; '**to uncup a girl**' for *to deflower a girl*, '**to input**' for *having sex with a girl*, '**écraser son pistache / limer**' for *to fuck*, etc.

#### V. CONCLUSION

Cameroon English and Cameroon Francophone English are full of so many neologisms and Cameroonisms that only those who are familiar with the two varieties of English can understand some speech by their speakers. As dynamic languages, they testify to their evolution. They also constitute the hallmarks which differentiate them from other non-native Englishes. As strange as some of the items studied in this paper may be, they are just natural elements which enrich any living language.

## NOTES

1. Mbo language: a language spoken in the littoral region of Cameroon
2. Bamileke language: a group of languages spoken in the west region of Cameroon including fè'fè', ghoma'la', medumba, etc.
3. Bassa language: a language spoken in the littoral and centre region of Cameroon
4. Fulfulde: a language spoken in the northern part of Cameroon

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank Dr. Christopher Strelluf of Warwick Centre for Applied Linguistics for proofreading the final manuscript of this paper.

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