Sociolinguistic Identity (Re) Construction in the German Diaspora: The Case of the use of Address Forms and Kinship Terms by Anglophone Cameroonian Immigrants.

Dissertation

Zur Erlangung des Grades

Doktor der Philosophie (Dr. phil.)

an der Fakultät Kulturwissenschaften

der Technischen Universität Dortmund

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Dortmund, am 06.08.2019

Abstract

This research investigates how Cameroonian Anglophone immigrants use language within the socio-historical, socio-economic and socio-cultural setting of the German diasporic space to (re)construct different identities. Address forms and kinship terms serve as salient linguistic variables which, conditioned and guided by the social variables of ethnicity, gender, age and contexts, help these postcolonial, multilingual immigrants to (re)construct multiple and intersecting dimensions of identities. This research reveals how the subjects in question manipulate the languages in their repertoire to convey and negotiate their position within the new environment in which they find themselves. A Cameroonian's choice of address is therefore seen as an index of social meaning (De Fina, 2016). Data for this research is based on recorded and transcribed live discussions, semi structured interviews and participant observations. The mixed qualitative and quantitative analysis reveals that Cameroonian immigrants (re)construct identities of social interdependency as part of their self-concept, which is common in most collectivist cultures (De Fina, 2016:171). In the Cameroonian community of practice, social interactions are binary: there is a need to conform to societal sociolinguistic expectation with other Cameroonians and at the same time there is a need to get into successful communication with Germans and other immigrants. This duality of purpose plays a great role in the transformation of the Cameroonian identities through social interaction with others (Gupta, 1992). They therefore re-enact their past by conforming to societal and cultural norms through the use of *auntie/uncle, ndap, teknonyms* and *manyi/tanyi*. At the same time, they need in-group affiliations with Nigerians, Ghanaians, and Germans. They also need to be integrated within the German sociocultural, sociolinguistic and socioeconomic system. This influences the choices of address forms (*oga, O boy, Charlie, Schatz, Herr/Frau*). Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants in Germany set up friendship networks with other Cameroonians and people from different countries. For instance, the sociolinguistic implication of contact of Cameroon English (CamE) and Cameroon Pidgin English (CamPE) with German is strengthened by the fact that within this transnational locality, the German language is key to academic, professional and daily success. There is also contact between these two Cameroonian Englishes and the Nigerian, Ghanaian and Sierra Leonean varieties. The diversity of sociolinguistic and sociocultural contacts suggests the mobility and dynamism of identities. The blurring, fluidity, elasticity and hybridity of identities (re)constructed by the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants in the German diaspora are vehiced by address forms and kinship terms which, in this research, have been shown to be rich resources for networking and solidarity, in addition to building in- and out-group relationships (belonging and not belonging). For instance, addressing Germans and other non-Africans does not follow the same tradition. German

contacts are addressed by name irrespective of the age difference between interlocutors but Cameroonian, Nigerian and Ghanaians have to be spoken to by choosing terms based on age difference between interlocutors.

For the first generation Anglophone immigrants, there is a greater sense of cultural attachment and an attempt to portray their background. These immigrants do not wish to lose all that they left behind in terms of socio-culture. There is the need to reconstruct the past communities and relationships. However, the freedom of the diasporic space has led to a level of super-diversity and transnationalism (De Fina, 2016) as we see that the younger generation of speakers (generation 1.5) are slowly resisting the use of some features (e.g. *sister/brother*) as prefixes of respect attached to names of older interlocutors both in the family and in the community. In a nutshell, the fact that Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants find themselves in a German context with yet another language and culture complicates the linguistic scenario and adds to the hybridity and fluidity of the constructed identities. As these postcolonial subjects use elements of language to compound and negotiate in-/out-group relationships, they consciously or unconsciously construct multiple identities during their migratory stay (Brubake &Cooper, 2000; Boroditsky, 2009). The immigrants face a series of conflicting needs: integration, sociocultural and socioeconomic empowerment and recognition among other immigrant groups.

Declaration of Authenticity

I declare that Sociolinguistic Identity (re)construction in the German diaspora: The case of the use of Address Forms and Kinship Terms by Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants is my own work, that it has not been submitted either in my university or in another university. All the sources I have used or cited have been acknowledged accordingly with complete references.

Names   _____

Date   _____

Signed   _____

Dedication: 'I am my language'

"… If you want to really hurt me, talk badly about my language. Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity… I am my language. Until I can take pride in my language, I cannot take pride in myself. Until I can accept as legitimate [*Nufi/Féfé, Mungaka, Cameroon Pidgin English, Cameroon English*] and all the other languages I speak, I cannot accept the legitimacy of myself…" (Anzaldua, 1987:59).

List of Abbreviations

ACS => Association of Cameroonian students

BIROCOL => Bishop Rogan Secondary School

BACDA => Bakossi Cultural & Development Association

CABTAL => Cameroon Association for Bible Translation and Literacy

CamE => Cameroon English

Camfomedics => Cameroonian Forum for Medical and Paramedical Sciences

CamPE => Cameroon Pidgin-English

CMA => Catholic Men Association

CWA => Catholic Women Association

DCamE => Diasporic Cameroon English

DCamPE => Diasporic Cameroon Pidgin English

EN => Ethnic name

FN => First name

IL => Indigenous language

KUDECA => Kumba Development and Cultural Association

LN => Last Name

NACALCO => National Association of Cameroonian Language Committees

NGO => Non-Governmental Organisation

NRW => North Rhine Westphalia

NW => North West Region of Cameroon

OPSA => Okoyong Past Student Association

OM => Older men 35 and above

OW => Older women 35 and above

PMA => Presbyterian Men Association

PN => Personal name

PROPELCA => Operational Research Program for Language Teaching in Cameroon

PWA => Presbyterian Women Association

SESHANS => Sacred Heart Ex-students

SKERETTES => Saker Baptist Ex-students

SIL => Summer Institute of Linguistics

SOBANS => Sasse Old Boys Association

STESA => Starlight Ex-student Association

SW   => South West region of Cameroon

TKN   => Teknonym

TLN   => Titles and last name

TLS   => Titles

UPC   => Union of the People of Cameroon

YM   => Young men 18-35

YW   => Young women 18-35

Acknowledgements

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Setting the scene

Extract 1.1: A Dialogue between three Cameroonian women in Germany

1. Joyce: *Tantie, na how many people are with Johnson?* (Aunt how many people are with Johnson?)

2. Aimée: *em three or four eh. Who pray for us?* (About three or four. Who would like to lead us in prayer?)

3. Rockie*: Auntie you pray fo us* (please Aunt, lead us in prayer).

4. Aimée: These girls!

5. Joyce: @@@@@@ *taim weh we enter second half eh eh a deh look a deh wait fo hear. Tata Aimeé e voice fo dis ting a no hear… Tata Aimeé don go outside fo go pray.* (When we got into the second half, I looked and I waited to hear aunt Aimeé's voice on the matter; I didn't hear… Aunt Aimeé had gone outside to pray)

In this Extract lines 1-5 between three Cameroonian immigrant women in Germany, the use of three different versions of the word *aunt* to address Aimée symbolizes the diversity, hybridity and fluidity that characterize the Anglophone Cameroonian diasporic speech community. Each of the versions of the address form has a different linguistic background and pragmatic effect. The address form *Tata* in 5 originates from the French word *La tante*. Aimée comes from Francophone Cameroon and each time her junior friends address her *Tata* it could be a recognition of her Francophone background, since these speakers would hardly have used the same address term to speak to a purely Anglophone friend of theirs. The address form would have been *auntie*. *Auntie* in 3 is the Cameroon English (henceforth CamE) and the Cameroon Pidgin-English (henceforth CamPE) word for *aunt*. The pragmatic force here could be interpreted to mean that these Anglophone speakers wish to respect and be polite to their older Francophone friend following their Anglophone Cameroonian culture. In 1 *Tantie* is a derivation from the German *Tante*. This, like *Tata,* is a recognition of the German sociolinguistic ecology in which these migrants presently find themselves. This is a symbol of their present German *Bushfaller* [1] status. The use of language here, as presented, tells the story of the multiplicity of identities that are created and (re)created each time these immigrants communicate with one another. In 1 Joyce addresses Aimée *Tantie* and in 5a and 5b this same Joyce addresses her *Tata Aimeé*. It could be argued here that her choice of the version of the word depends on how forcefully she wants to draw on the addressee's person. When she says

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[1]   Appellation in CamE and CamPE for an immigrant living in Europe, America and even South Africa.

Tata Aimeé (French influence), it points more forcefully to Aimée's Francophone background than when she simply says *Tantie* or *Auntie* (German and English influence). The use of these different versions of the address form here clearly illustrates how social factors such as contact with different languages and cultures may influence the linguistic choices of these postcolonial immigrants in the German diaspora (cf. Braun, 1988).

The above analysis is a prelude to the present research that investigates how Cameroonian Anglophone immigrants use language within the socio-historical, socio-economic and socio-cultural setting of the German diasporic space to (re)construct different identities. The German diasporic space, just like other contemporary African diasporas in the world, is witnessing a growth in the face of socio-economic and cultural globalization. Formerly, in the African context, *diaspora* referred to the forced migration of African captives (Akyeampong, 2000). Today, the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants in this research form part of the free, skilled postcolonial subjects who migrate voluntarily in search of political asylum or economic opportunities. This change of perspective has given these postcolonial diasporic Africans a new sense of direction for upward mobility, culminating in the construction of a new self-image. As questions of gender, age, class, race and nationality take new dimensions, these immigrants adopt different speech habits as they "align with and disaffiliate from different groups at different moments and stages…" during their migratory stay (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011:5). It is one of such groups that is the subject of the present investigation: the Anglophone Cameroonians in the German diaspora.

This introductory chapter presents the sociolinguistic, socio-cultural and socio-historical background that sets the pace for the study. The research sets off with a description of the linguistic practices within postcolonial Cameroon itself. This reveals that postcolonial Cameroon is characterized by multilingualism, multiculturalism and hybridity (Echu, 2003; Anchimbe, 2004 & 2007a; Ngefac, 2010; Anchimbe & Janney, 2011; Kouega & Emaleu, 2013). This description of language behaviour in Cameroon changes its focus and moves on to the German sociolinguistic space which shows that despite a monolingual culture, the society is equally diverse owing to the presence of immigrants from different parts of the world coupled with the need to meet up with global standards especially in the domains of fashion and education (Becker, 2012).

These two expositions, i.e. the sociolinguistic situations in Cameroon and Germany gradually build up to the research problem: the conflict that postcolonial individuals and groups of immigrants face when they are confronted with yet another language, as they represent

themselves through language to meet up with their expectations, their hopes and their dreams in the midst of the conflicts that confront them during their migratory transition (Mforteh, 2007). This puzzle captured my interest especially given the fact that I am part of this group of immigrants. After a presentation of the research problem, this introductory chapter moves on to the aims and objectives of the study and then to the premise that frames the investigation. The research questions come next, followed by a section on the theoretical framework of the investigation. The methodology chapter that comes after this includes an argument in favour of an ethnographic study (Nigel, 1993). This introduction ends with a general overview of the different chapters that constitute the research.

1.2. Statement of the research problem

The sociolinguistic and socio-historical accounts of both post-colonial Cameroon and Germany gradually lead up to the research problem: The conflict that the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants face, emerging from a multilingual and multicultural language ecology, coupled with the fact that they have to make adjustments and readjustments to face or encounter the challenges of their dreams, fears and aspirations during their migratory stay in a sociolinguistic landscape that claims to be mono-lingual and mono-cultural officially, but which, in reality, thanks to its large number of immigrants and present-day multimedia and globalization, is in practice and in reality a multicultural and multilingual country.

It is in the midst of this that the expectations and conflicts linked to the present habitat of the Anglophone Cameroonian individuals and groups find new meanings as they use elements of language to show or give impressions of who they are: they try to adjust and readjust in the diasporic space to meet up with the objectives of their immigration dreams. The problem is: what happens to these post-colonial subjects who escaped the socio-economic and socio-political degradation and poverty, expensive school system, Anglophone-Francophone strife, marginalization and poor governance (to name but a few) in search of a better life?

Immediately the Anglophone Cameroonian sets his/her foot on the German soil the conflicts begin: *language*, *paper*, *adoro*.[2] Most, if not all Cameroonian Anglophone immigrants are taken aback with the realities of the situation mainly because their forbearers

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[2] *Adoro* is the word for asylum used by all Africans in Germany; it is a borrowed word from the Ghanaian language *Twi*.

who visit home avoid mentioning these realities. The picture of *bush*[3] is always that of a dream land (Alpes, 2011). As part of the premise to this study, I was aware of the possibility that these postcolonial immigrants may become completely assimilated in the German and Western sociolinguistic and sociocultural system in their attempts to get integrated in a system that promises socio-economic success or they may hold fast to their socio-cultural practices. These are immigrants who came from a highly multilingual context with about 270 indigenous languages plus CamPE plus two official languages: English and French. They have arrived in a context where German further complicates the linguistic scenario. It is expected that the context will add to the hybridity and fluidity of the constructed identities. As these postcolonial subjects use elements of language to compound and negotiate in-/out-group relationships, they consciously or unconsciously construct multiple identities during their migratory stay (Brubake and Cooper, 2000; Boroditsky, 2009).

Some of the conflicting situations that these immigrants face include:

- The search for recognition within the German sociolinguistic space.
- The need for empowerment: socio-cultural and socio-economic.
- The need for recognition in opposition to other immigrant groups or persons.
- The need for identification with either an individual or a group.

These migrants are therefore in constant search for the best and most profitable strategies for in-/out-group alliances, e.g. through (dis)identification with a situation or group that belongs or does not belong to a certain society, community or group. That are, situationally redefined, in-out-group interactions within the diasporic social category (La Barbera, 2015); for example, parents are not sure what language to speak with or raise their children in: CamPE? CamE? Ethnic language? German? Alignment or nonalignment with certain groups/persons may make or mar the individual's socio-economic situation: German groups, other immigrant groups, Cameroonian groups or all. The linguistic adjustments and readjustment attempts these immigrants have to make in trying to adapt their socio-cultural and sociolinguistic habits with those of these different groups becomes important.

The choice of address term is important to this community which places relevance to gender and age differences. There is the need to use the expected address and kinship terms. Through compliance or non-compliance in the expected usage, the linguistic behaviours of a speaker can be accessed. In other words, the choice of address and kinship terms gives an

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[3] *Bush* is used in CamE and CamPE to refer to any of the countries that promise prosperity and serves as destination for most immigrants. An immigrant in one of these countries, e.g. Germany is a *bushfaller*. This expression replicates a farmer who has decided to invest his resources in felling a virgin forest with expectation of a fruitful harvest. In light of this, immigration is an investment with expectation of success and prosperity (Nyamnjoh & Page, 2002; Alpes, 2011; Fleischer, 2011).

impression about the personality of the addresser and the addressee. In this community, address forms are rich resources for networking and solidarity. Building in- and out- group relationships and belonging to meetings and associations for example, are very important ingredients in an African society (Anchimbe, 2011). As a result of the fact that address forms occupy a central place in the socio-cultural and sociolinguistic lives of the informants under study, coupled with the fact that the rules for the use of required and accepted address forms and kinship terms in many languages are complex, this study decides to focus on their identification and analysis within the Anglophone Cameroonian diasporic community of practice (Yang, 2010:1).

In the Cameroonian immigrant communities these in- and out- group relationships can be well constructed by using the correct forms of address (also see Fitch, 1991). Speakers of CamE and CamPE can use address terms to negotiate, construct as well as transform the cultural system of the German diasporic space. Address forms and kinship terms are relevant in the present study because they serve as an important instrument for the construction and (re)construction of sociolinguistic identities. In many circumstances in life, the wrong choice of address may lead to a complete breakdown in communication between a speaker and his/her interlocutor(s). The choice of address forms and kinship terms in the Cameroonian culture like most African cultures are important because they reflect the user's verbal behaviour. The address choice shows how, when, and with whom interlocutors want to affiliate or disaffiliate (also see Afful 2006). In other words, address forms are rich sources for socializing, networking and solidarity. Speakers of CamE and CamPE can use address terms to negotiate, construct as well as transform the cultural system of the German diasporic space. Since Cameroonian immigrants find themselves in a foreign country, socio-economic survival depends on social variables such as *connections, alignment, contacts*, and *negotiations.* If a male Cameroonian meets an older Nigerian male and addresses him *Oga,* or *Egwe* in case he is a titled man, this form of address or kinship term immediately establishes a bond between the two men. Address forms in the Cameroonian as well as many other African communities of practice are very strategic, their employment can make or mar communication between people.

1.3. Aims and objectives of the study

The aim of this research is to show how the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants exploit their linguistic heterogeneity to (re)construct their identities within the freedom that the

German diasporic space offers them. This aim is not only to classify the types of identities (re)constructed by the immigrant but also to show how these identities impact the lives of these post-colonial subjects. For instance, when Cameroonian Anglophones in Germany call or refer to each other as *darkie* or as *paysant,* it gives them an in-group identity that makes them work harder to maintain individual success and a sense of belonging and recognition within the group. The address form *paysant* reminds the immigrants of their background: where they come from and where they are going to.

This state of affairs can be summed up in a purely Cameroonian expression, i.e. *impossible n'est pas Camerounais* (there is nothing impossible for a Cameroonian). With this, the Cameroonian immigrants remind themselves and each other that they emerged from a struggling and determined race and to give up is not characteristic of a Cameroonian. He/she has to fight to the end. That's why one can often hear Cameroonians in Germany describe themselves as *Came-no-go*[4], they are not *give-up-teurs*[5] *or Man-no-run*[6], so to speak. Identity (re)construction in this study is seen as a product and process in social action (Omoniyi & White, 2006). For instance, in the field of education, a trend can be observed among Anglophone Cameroonians in Germany in which many of the parents send their German born children home to Cameroon to attend one of the boarding secondary schools for at least five years. The aim here is for the children to imbibe the Cameroonian culture and language(s). This is also an attempt to dodge the seemingly complicated German school system. It is clear that in an attempt for the immigrants to make their children acquire *Cameroonism*, they raise children who have a hybrid *Germano-Cameroonian* identity. It is important to reiterate here that Cameroonians have quite an impressive population in Germany. According to a 2017 figure of *the German Statistical Bureau* there are 22.330 Cameroonians living in Germany. The Cameroonian population in Germany is still young because massive migration started only around the early 1990s. However, the number of Cameroonians migrating to Germany is constantly on the rise. The number has increased from 14.876 in 2010 to 22.330 in 2017 (*German Statistical Bureau).* For more details on the demographic distribution of Cameroonians in Germany, see Chapter 6 of the present study.

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[4]   *Came-no-go* = no turning back (they have no intention of giving up the fight.)

[5]   A *giveupteur* is someone who easily surrenders. This is a hybrid word formed from a mixture of English "give up" (surrender) and the French suffix *(t)eur,* which has an agentive meaning. In this case, a *giveupteur* in CamE and CamPE is a person who easily surrenders.

[6]   *Man-No-Run* =CamPE expression with the same meaning as *giveupteur*

1.4. Research questions

Based on these aims and objectives, this thesis addresses the following research questions:

- What is the relation between socio-cultural identity and language use of the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants in the German diaspora?
- What address forms do these immigrants use to (re)construct their identities?
- What roles do the social variables of age, gender, level of education and ethnic background play in the linguistic choices of these postcolonial immigrants?

1.5. Contextualizing the Study

1.5.1. Cameroon: Linguistic diversity

To fully understand the linguistic diversity of Cameroon, some knowledge of its geographical location and historical background is necessary. In Cameroon, there are ten administrative regions, two of which are English and eight are French speaking (Echu, 2003:1-2). The description of Cameroon as *Africa in miniature* is a reality that not only reflects the topology of this multicultural and multilingual country, but also states a linguistic fact. A first time visitor to Cameroon is often amazed at the changing vegetation. As you move from the south to the north, the vegetation starts off with a dense evergreen rainforest that changes to the Sahara Desert. The colonial history of Cameroon is equally complex: Germany first colonized Cameroon after the Berlin Conference of 1884. During this period, African languages had a somewhat comfortable position (Echu, 2003:3). This is because the German and the American Basel missionaries preferred the indigenous languages *Bassa, Ewondo*, *Bulu, Duala* and *Munganka* for their evangelism and teaching of the scriptures. During this period, the *Bamum* and the *Fulfulde* languages of the North were also used to propagate the Muslim faith (Rosendal, 2008). At the end of World War I, when the Germans were forced out of Cameroon, a dual British-French colonial mandate followed with yet a different attitude towards the indigenous languages. These two colonial masters linguistically tried to change the landscape of Cameroon by relegating the indigenous languages to the background. Even though the indigenous languages had no administrative and legal functions, they lived on. Today, there are about 227 indigenous languages in the country in addition to the two official languages

including Cameroon Pidgin, an important lingua franca, as well as Camfranglais, a new hybrid language of the youth spoken in the metropolis (Echu, 2003; Anchimbe, 2007; Ngefac, 2010).

1.5.2. Cameroon English in a multilingual setting

CamE has been influenced by the ecological and socio-cultural realities of its postcolonial setting and has acquired certain identities unique to Cameroon (Kachru, 1986, 190& 1992; Schmied, 1991; Ngefac, 2010 & 2016; Schneider, 2007). In this setting, the process of adapting to the contextual characteristics of Cameroonian socio-cultural realities is referred to as *nativisation, acculturation*, *indigenization* and *contextualization* (Kachru, 1986; Todd, 1999; Kouega, 2004; Schneider, 2007); CamE, as a nativised or *Cameroonized* variety, has adopted phonological, syntactic, and lexicomorphological peculiarities that are different from those of traditional native English (Ngefac, 2010). For example, *Born house* (birth celebration), *cry die* (funeral), *open eye* a (bossy person) are examples of English lexical items and how they are used in CamE and CamPE to reflect the Cameroonian socio-cultural realities. Therefore, an overview of the role, the functions and the status of the two Cameroon Englishes may provide useful background to the understanding of the linguistic ecology of Anglophone Cameroon. The two forms of outer circle Englishes (Kachru, 1986) present in the country are Cameroon Standard English and Cameroon Pidgin English. CamPE is an English-based creole which, like many other Pidgins and creoles, is a mixture of languages. CamPE is made up of English, French, German and ancestral languages (Echu, 2003; Chia, 2009; Ngefac, 2010). CamE, on the other hand, is one of the two official languages in the country besides French. Chronologically, the native tongue is acquired at home from birth and in some cases, this is acquired simultaneously with Pidgin English. Finally comes Standard English which is learnt when the children start school. English is therefore a "scholastic language" (Anchimbe, 2004: 1).

1.5.3. Cameroon Pidgin English

One of the greatest effects of colonialism was the mixture of cultures, languages and in effect identities. According to Anchimbe (2007a), apart from French and English Cameroon Pidgin English is another outcome of colonialism. Wardhaugh (1986) holds that Pidgins originate from situations where people speaking mutually unintelligible languages come into contact. The contact between missionaries, freed slaves and traders introduced and consolidated the

use of the Pidgin English language, which developed and spread during the plantation era of the German colonial period to serve the communication needs of not only European traders and missionaries but also Cameroonians who did not share a mutually intelligible language. This involved labourers who had migrated from different ethnic groups and villages to work in the coastal plantations (Todd, 1990). CamPE, which started as a language of trade, developed into a very important lingua franca in the Cameroonian linguistic landscape. Today it is not only the most dominant language used outside the home by children, it has also become a mother tongue to about 50% of these children (Chumbow and Bobda, 1996). Linguistics scholars use different appellations to refer to CamPE. Echu (2003), Ayafor (2006) and Ngefac (2011) refer to it as *Wes-kos* or *West African Pidgin English*. Some term it *Cameroon Creole* while others prefer *Kamtok*. CamPE is used in almost every domain except the official. It is a language in which most Anglophones feel at ease. In spite of this popularity, Pidgin in Cameroon has been neglected and relegated to the background. Like most Pidgins in the world, CamPE is often thought of as being an inferior language and so it is sometimes called *bad English, bush English* or *broken English*. As a result, this language is hidden from global communication (Wolf, 2001; Kouega, 2006; Ngefac, 2011).

Even though the language bears "the ecology and identity of Cameroon and tends to be the only Cameroonian language that transcends ethnic, professional, educational and other social boundaries, it is not taught in any Cameroonian schools…" (Ngefac, 2011:18). Cameroonians are deprived from learning in their own language. It is generally known that students are punished in Cameroonian schools if they speak Pidgin or even their mother tongue.

1.5.4. The place of indigenous languages

Before the arrival of the colonial masters, the Cameroon linguistic situation could already be described as multilingual (Ngefac, 2010). Colonialism only added to the complexity of an already complex ecology. There were about 100 indigenous languages; however, the colonial regime did all it could to suppress the use of these indigenous languages. After independence, French was adopted as the official language in eight of the then ten Cameroonian provinces. The citizens of these provinces then fell under the appellation *Francophone*, while the other two West Cameroonian provinces of the Northwest and Southwest became *Anglophone* (Echu, 2003). The country then became officially bilingual. In these early years, indigenous languages, unlike the official languages, were reserved for oral communications among tribes and family members (Bitja'a, 2001).

> Les langues nationales sont réduites à un usage oral, grégaire et familial. Leur fonction emblématique n'est exploitée 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 les campagnes d'alphabétisation financées par le budget de l'Etat (Bitja'a, 2001:2). (*Indigenous languages are reduced to usage in oral, rural and family contexts. Their emblematic function is exploited only for sporadic political ends during electoral campaigns. These languages are neither used in the administration, the written media, publicity, national television, formal education, nor in sensitization campaigns financed by the State budget.*)

This assertion is also confirmed by Adegbija (2000), who concludes that in schools in many former French and Portuguese colonies, indigenous languages were not tolerated, even at the very primary level, not only because the regimes did not want these languages, but because the parents themselves preferred their children to be introduced to European languages as early as possible. The two main causes that have prevented the adoption of ethnic languages in the Cameroonian educational and administrative systems are economic and political. An attempt to introduce some of the languages into the educational system in Cameroon would have been very costly based on the fact that most of these languages are yet to be standardized. There is also a general fear by governments that selecting one ethnic language above the other ethnic languages will cause political unrest or revolt (Chumbow, 1996).

However, as very recent studies show, the indigenous languages are "carriers of Cameroonian cultures" (Ngefac, 2008:152). These languages are pushing their way very forcefully within the Cameroonian linguistic landscape. Therefore, in spite of the lack of a national policy to adopt ethnic languages in education, contemporary Cameroon media have taken up the case of promoting these languages, especially on Cameroon radio.

1.5.5. A brief sociolinguistic account of the German diaspora: Linguistic diversity

Germany, which once thought of immigrants as temporary guest workers, is today a country facing fundamental change; about 10 million immigrants and their children make the country their home (*Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland*, 2017).

Today Germany can be described as having Europe's largest immigrant population (*Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland*, 2017). According to European statistics, 13% of the German 80 million people are immigrants. In spite of the political views of the 80s and 90s

that stated that *Deutschland ist kein Einwanderungsland*,[7] contemporary Germany has accepted immigrants from all over the world including refugees from the former Yugoslavia, Iraq, Afghanistan and Syria and many African countries including Cameroon, Nigeria, Eritrea and the Congo.

Apart from refugees, present-day Germany is home to many job seekers from Italy, Turkey, Poland and Russia. There are some ethnic Germans who have come back home from the former Soviet Union. Most recently there have been some Southern and Eastern Europeans fleeing unemployment from their countries into Germany (for example some Romanians and Bulgarians). Given these facts, Germany's claim of being a monolingual and mono-cultural society can no longer be a reality. The present linguistic landscape can no longer boast of this claim as a result of the fact that Germany is a land with immigrants from many different countries and nationalities (Becker, 2012).

The main official language in Germany is German, usually referred to as *Hochdeutsch*.[8] In this country, Standard German is by law the language of all spoken and written official communication. However, there are sixteen dialects of the German language that exist in spoken forms only (Young, 2006). In addition to these sixteen varieties of German dialects and Standard German itself, there are series of immigrant minority languages like Turkish, English and French (Kallmeyer and Keim, 2003; Extra, 2004; Becker 2012). The most spoken minority language is Turkish (*Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland*, 2017).

From a sociolinguistic and educational perspective, the immigrants have sometimes been a source of discontent among the German nationals (Wood, 2009). For instance, following the poor results of the first PISA program (Program for International Student Assessment) that showed that among the industrial nations of the world Germany was one of the last in this competitive test of 15-year-olds in reading, science and mathematics (Wood, 2009). It was eventually discovered that the reason for this poor performance was immigrant pupils and their low German language proficiency. This of course added to anti-immigrant resentments but at the same time it set the German educators and policy makers to work to redress the situation (Hinrichs, 2013). The implication of this sociolinguistic situation in Germany for the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrant is that the German language is a key to academic, professional and educational success. The language also serves as a lingua franca because the immigrants from different nationalities who do not share a common language will use German

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[7]   *Deutschland ist kein Einwanderungsland*,=> Germany is not an immigrant country
[8]   *Hochdeutsch*. => Standard German.

in their networking, even though in very simplified forms (Meierkord, 2012; Meierkord & Fonkeu, 2013).

1.6. Theoretical and analytical framework/paradigms

To have a better understanding of the concepts and theories adopted for this research an overview of the research methodology is necessary. This research is based on data collected via an ethnographic tripartite method which includes recording and orthographic transcription of naturally occurring conversations and discussions in both the private domains of the family and the public domains of association meetings semi-structured interviews and participant observation (Holmes & Kirk, 2014). The orthographic transcriptions provide data for a qualitative analysis since the address forms and kinship terms observed are analysed based on the social variables of age, gender and ethnicity. The speech data collected from the semi-structured interview helps in the quantitative examination of the frequency distribution of the sociolinguistic behaviour of the subjects under study (Labov, 1963, 1966). The results of the semi-structured interview are analysed based on the null hypothesis of the Fisher's Exact Test for Count Data, which holds that the rows and columns in a contingency table are independent and the alternative hypothesis that assumes that rows and columns in a contingency table are not independent (R Core Team, 2017). This mixed method is considered suitable and strategic because it adds authenticity to results and findings (Creswell, 2003; Johnson, 2007).

This research makes use of the concepts, theories and models that show the important link that exists between language and identity. First of all the concept of identity in this research is concerned with "Who we are, how we perceive ourselves and how others perceive us" (Thornborrow, 2004: 158). Identity is something which is constantly negotiated because it is based on human interaction. Identity is multifaceted since people switch into different roles at different times in different situations, and each of these contexts may require a shift into different, sometimes conflicting identities for the people involved (Ratansi and Phoenix, 1997:103-104). Based on this, the individuals under study, because they are migrants living in a new context, have new forms of articulation between the global and the local, leading to "hybrid or syncretic identities" (ibid: 104). These new identities combine elements from a variety of cultural sources. Language is therefore considered a marker of intercultural, interethnic and international identities (Woodward, 1997). Through a classification system that

divides community members into opposing groups *us* vs. *them* and *self v*s. *other,* identities are constructed. This is what Woodward (1997) calls *binary opposition.* Ethnic groups will construct their oneness and separateness based on languages (see also Trugill, 2000). The Cameroonian post-colonial people in diasporic contexts, therefore, may have the binary oppositions of *Anglophone* vs. *Francophone, Sawa* vs. *Grafi[9], Bushfaller* vs. *non-Bushfaller, Paysan[10]* vs. other Africans. *Darkie* vs. *Oyibio[11],* etc. Meyerhoff (2006) refers to this as *"convergence and divergence"*. The present study adopts this binary opposition of what is and what is not in a study of the language use of the target group in question.

Since this study is about language and identity, the post-structuralist arguments that every aspect of human life or existence - modes, communication and social habits and even identities are socially constructed - is adopted as the main framework (Bourdieu, 1977 and 1991; Bakhtin, 1981; Hall, 1997; Morgan, 2007). This research adopts the stance that language is a social practice and can thus be constructed to produce and reproduce our social worlds (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). The linguistic practices of the Cameroonian immigrants in question therefore reflect the power and social struggles of their community (Heller, 2007).

The linguistic heterogeneity witnessed in the *Njangi* and other *meetings* houses of the Cameroonian diasporic communities of practice is evidence of these struggles. The language choices of these postcolonial immigrants will therefore hardly be neutral; each time a Cameroonian Anglophone decides on one address form over the others, he/she is negotiating his/her personal image of self or his/her relationship with the interlocutor in terms of time and space (Afful, 2006). Analysis of collected data is guided by the sub-field of postcolonial pragmatics that investigates content-dependent language use in the new Englishes (Schneider, 2007; Janney & Achimbe, 2011). That is why, as has been stated above, this study takes into consideration the fact that the rules for the use of required address forms are very complex, culture-bound and need careful studies since they are linked to the socio-cultures of the users (Yang, 2010:1).

This thesis argues that the postcolonial Anglophone immigrants under study are not passive consumers of linguistic forms such as address forms and kinship terms, but are active creators, who manipulate these forms to push forward the full weight of their experiences (Mufwene, 2006). In the diaspora, just as is the case in Cameroon, there is the need for solidarity and group bonding, which constitute important determinants for the Cameroonians'

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9 *Sawa* vs. *Grafi[9]*=>The littoral vs. the grass-field, people of Cameroon
10 *Paysan[10]*= (from French) *villager/peasant* the way Cameroonians address themselves in Germany.
11 *Drakie* vs. *Oyibo*= Africans vs. whites

choice of address terms (Anchimbe, 2011). "Calling friends by certain names in certain contexts might just be for maintaining communion or bonding within the group…" (Anchimbe, 2011: 1481). "Bonding" and "group communion", as is the case in many African cultures, is based on collective entities in which an individual does not exist by his/her own strength alone but rather as a part of a larger group. This is also the concept of *Ubuntu* that holds that the power of the individual depends on the other members of the community (Kamwangamalu, 1999; Shutte, 2001), as exemplified by the Cameroonian Anglophones. There is the necessity for hierarchy in issues of respect and solidarity (which can be called politeness in Western pragmatics).

Linking the poststructuralist theory to the postcolonial pragmatic paradigm, this research argues that the Western styled pragmatic frameworks which are monolingual and monocultural in nature will not be suitable for an analysis of the Cameroonian post-colonial varieties of English as spoken in the German diaspora. In other words, Western pragmatic models will not capture the realities of the Cameroonian immigrants in diaspora if these realities are not explained within the background of their cultural and traditional belief systems (Janney & Anchimbe, 2011).

This present study is different from previous sociolinguistic studies on address forms and kinship terms in postcolonial contexts (Aceto, 2002; Anchimbe, 2008 & 2011; Mühleisen, 2011; Nkwain, 2014) in that it deals with a group of off-rooted postcolonial subjects in a new postcolonial setting that can be described as a *diasporic postcolonial ecology*, where the language contact situation has been further complicated by yet another language and culture. This research postulates the existence of a diasporic Cameroon English (DCamE) and a diasporic Cameroon Pidgin English (DCamPE). It will therefore be interesting to study the CamE and the CamPE as spoken in other diasporic spaces such as the USA and different European Countries to see what features they share with German DCamE and German DcamPE.

This research makes a contribution to the study of New Englishes (Kachru, 1986, 1990, 1992), multilingualism in postcolonial spaces (Schneider, 2007; Anchimbe & Janney, 2011) and language contact in migratory contexts (Jungbluth & Meierkord, 2007; Meierkord, 2012). Within a contemporary globalized context, the study examines and adds more evidence to the notion of the super-diversity and unpredictability that is characteristic of present-day globalized sociolinguistic landscapes (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). Making a contribution to a contemporary world issue, it studies an immigrant group. A study of the language use of

this linguistically heterogeneous group may provide policy makers with information on better linguistic and educational policies in a fast changing sociolinguistic German landscape.

1.7. Chapter outline

The real life scenario as demonstrated in the introduction is followed by a conceptualization of the study, which includes a summary of Cameroon linguistic diversity, the Cameroon Englishes, the place of indigenous languages in Cameroon and a brief sociolinguistic account of the German diaspora. After this, the research problem is stated followed by the aims and objectives of the study, as well as the research questions. A theoretical framework of the study follows and it is, in turn, followed by a brief review of the methodology adopted. This introductory chapter ends with an overview summary and a general overview of the different chapters that constitute the research.

Chapter 2 provides ground work or a foundation for the development of the thesis. This is achieved through a review of the socio-cultural, socio-historical and sociolinguistic background of the Cameroonian immigrants. This chapter sets the pace and motivates the analysis perspective of the study. The chapter ends with a review of the influence of globalization on the Cameroonian sociolinguistic scene. The two varieties under study are world Englishes, thus the importance and significance of this state of affairs is to show that CamE and CamPE do not exist in a vacuum but have a place and function not only in Cameroon but in other ecologies as well.

Chapter 3 analyses the theoretical framework of the study. Owing to the complexity of the issues of language and identity (Extra, 2004), this chapter shows how the concepts are intertwined with the theoretical frameworks adopted. Here, I discuss post-structuralism, the other social theories (community of practice) and postcolonial pragmatics as a basis for the qualitative and quantitative mixed methods in the analyses of language use (Bakhtin, 1981; Bourdieu, 1977; Derrida, 1978; Foucault, 1980; Hall, 1997; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Meyerhof, 2006; Anchimbe & Janney, 2011). This research argues that identities created could be viewed from a social constructionist perspective, which means that the society and communities of the group under study exist both as subjective and objective realities in which personal and group interests are at the heart of their language choices.

This moves to Chapter 4 which is a literature review of different studies that have been carried out on address forms and kinship terms. This chapter also looks at the definition of the

most important and relevant theories under study. These are address forms, kinship terms and identity. The chapter provides an exposition of address forms and kinship terms in different sociolinguistic contexts. Last but not least, the chapter examines sample address forms and kinship terms in the home ecology (Cameroon). This paves the way for further comparison with the features observed in the German data and those used in Cameroon. This chapter helps to prepare the ground work for the research by demonstrating the use of address forms/kinship terms in Cameroon and some other postcolonial countries.

Chapter 5 comprises a detailed exposition of the methodological framework of the study. Here we have a presentation of the research design, sampling and sample selection techniques, data collection strategies and techniques. The chapter goes on to present the research sites and a description of the participants who served as informants in the audio recordings, the semi-structured interviews and participant observation procedures. This chapter also states the method of transcription which is mainly orthographic and the procedures of data analysis. Following are methods of calculating the P value to demonstrate the statistically significant value of the results of the semi-structured interviews. The research is able to make clear and accurate statements on frequency of occurrences of the different address forms in the data samples. In this section, the ethical issues that guide and direct the work are elaborated.

Chapter 6 introduces the Cameroonian communities in the German diaspora. The aim of this chapter is to present a picture of the various socio-cultural and socio-economic associations which are at the heart of the Cameroon diasporic networking. This chapter prepares the scene from which sociolinguistic activities of these postcolonial immigrants will be studied, namely how they interact in the new context to create and (re)create different identities.

Chapter 7 is a presentation of my findings. Here, the results are presented systematically based on themes arising from the data. After that, the results are interpreted in relation to the literature. For example, address forms and kinship terms used in the private domains will follow the pattern of family relationships (parents and their children, between spouses, between siblings and between extended family members). After each presentation, a discussion that analyses, interprets and validates the findings based on the literature follows.

Chapter 8 discusses the features that have been identified in Chapter 7. The reason for this classification is to regroup the different complex identities so that the exposition is easy to read for a non-Cameroonian. Furthermore, this chapter prepares the classification into neat sociolinguistic categories that reveal the (re)created identities based on the linguistic variables of address terms and kinship terms and linked to the social variables of age, gender, ethnicity

and context of use. The identity web presented at the end of Chapter 8 visualises the intertwining super-diverse and complex nature of address forms and kinship terms in the Cameroonian diasporic speech contexts. This web demonstrates that the different identities are also overlapping, for instance a woman in one context may be addressed by her personal name, in another context via the name of her child (*teknonym*) and yet in another context she may be addressed by her *ndap* by the same interlocutor. This shows that the choice of address term is overlapping and unpredictable. When addressing different people in different contexts, Cameroonian immigrants use different address forms to create and recreate different shades of identities. This in effect influences their language choices and those of their interlocutors.

The research ends with Chapter 9 which is a conclusion and gives recommendations for future research. This chapter also discloses some of the limitations of the study. The conclusion starts with an epilogue which is a synopsis that captures the general findings of my research. This is the fact that the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants in Germany do not abandon all that they left behind in Cameroon. As far as language behaviour is concerned, their linguistic choices reflect both home features and elements of their new habitat. For instance, the choices of address sometimes still do depend on age and ethnicity, at other times this is abandoned. This conclusion also attests to or authenticates the research objectives. This means that the conclusion reconciles the results of the research with the initial objectives and research questions. Furthermore, this concluding chapter exposes the implication of the findings and reveals some of the limitations and shortcomings of the present research. The concluding chapter, postulates that a DCamE[12] and a DCamPE[13] is fast developing and this might have future consequences, not only on the English varieties spoken in the German diaspora but also on the language of the host country, i.e. Germany. Furthermore, this research concludes that this language mixture and hybridity is a future trend of globalization and immigration. This research is, therefore, a gateway to future research on language contact and language change in a fast moving globalised world.

1.8. Summary

This chapter has given an overview of the present study, the aims and objectives as well as the research problem and research questions that guide the research. This chapter has also given a

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[12]   DcamE=Diasporic Cameroon English
[13]   DCamPE=Diasporic Cameroon Pidgin English

summary of the theoretical methodological frameworks to the study. Here we have highlighted the important place address forms and kinship terms occupy in the Cameroonian sociolinguistic and sociocultural communities of practice, both in the Cameroonian home context and in the migrant context of the German diaspora. Most importantly, this chapter has provided a chronological overview and a synopsis of the different chapters that constitute this research.

Chapter 2: The Sociolinguistic Situation in Cameroon

2.1. Introduction

Colonialism left a sociolinguistic impact on the lives of Cameroonians. The main linguistic feature of the post-colonial period is multilingualism. This linguistic situation continues to "shape and mould the …ideologies, identity, culture, perceptions and attitudes of Cameroonians" (Ngefac, 2010:1). Colonial languages serve as the sociolinguistic and socio-cultural frame of reference because as a people emerging from a colonial background, these people partly define their sociolinguistic lifestyles based on Western standards. In other words, the languages and some western habits serve as a measuring scale for their own identities. To put this differently, an educated Cameroonian holds a high position in the Cameroonian social scale. To be an educated Cameroonian means one has gone through a western education system and has a mastery of at least one of the two western languages that serve as official languages in the country. However, Cameroonians have their own culture and background. An imitation of the Western socio-cultural and sociolinguistic habits only leads to an unprecedented sociolinguistic and socio-cultural admixture or blend (Anchimbe, 2007). The fact that Cameroonians tend to partly define their identities based on the colonial linguistic paradigm leads to multilingualism and multiculturalism. Postcolonial multilingualism is characterized by the use of colonial languages as official languages of administration, education and law. The indigenous languages are used as languages within the family and the creoles or Pidgin languages are used as languages of mass communication.

Within this diglossic situation, the official languages French and English are considered superior languages. There is a general threat to punish someone who uses Pidgin English and vernacular languages in educational circles. These languages are stereotypically and prototypically identified as inferior languages. However, Kouega (1999), Anchimbe (2007b) and Mforteh (2007) report a change in the attitude towards English that started in the mid-90s and is still spreading. It has been reported that the Francophone population in Cameroon is asking for the English language and the English school system to replace the French system. This is a serious reversal especially as the English language and the English-speaking minority population has always been considered inferior before this period. In spite of all these, Cameroon still remains a highly multilingual country with about 247 indigenous languages existing together with two official languages: French and English and two important lingua francas, namely Cameroon Pidgin English and Camfranglais. The lingua franca languages,

the indigenous languages and the standard official languages together share a polyglossic relationship within the Cameroonian sociolinguistic arena. French and English are the languages of education, administration, law and all official and formal domains, while Pidgin English and Camfranglais are languages of wider communication and the indigenous languages are used in the family, villages and country sides.

2.2. Linguistic patterns

Cameroon is a multilingual country made up of 247 indigenous languages, two lingua francas (Cameroon Pidgin English and Camfranglais) and two official languages (French and English) (Fonlon, 1969; Mbassi-Manga, 1976; Constable, 1977; Kouega, 2002; Echu, 2005; Anchimbe, 2005; Ngefac, 2010). French and English were introduced in the country as colonial languages at the end of the First World War. This added to the complexity of the heterogeneous linguistic situation of the country. Based on this heterogeneity, the communication pattern of the country is not guided or led by one language but a multitude of languages (Wolf, 2001; Echu, 2004). Cameroon Pidgin English is used in the North-West, South-West, Littoral and Western regions as a language of wide communication. The influence of Pidgin English is spreading to several Francophone regions and cities. This language is therefore no longer restricted to a lingua franca of the English-speaking region, as it has spread to the French speaking parts of the country (Echu, 2004; Anchimbe, 2005). Cameroon Pidgin English is used in the urban as well as in rural areas, in churches, in the markets, on the streets as well as in most informal contexts of communication. This language has an important place in the socio-economic lives of Cameroonians. There is a French-based Pidgin that started in the Douala and Yaoundé metropolises and is gradually spreading through the country, i.e. Camfranglais (see section 2.2.3). This new code serves a similar function like Cameroon Pidgin English (Ngefac, 2010).

The two official languages, French and English, serve as the languages of official communication in all formal domains (education, administration, and judiciary). At Independence, French became the official language in French-speaking Cameroon, while English was adopted as the official language in Anglophone Cameroon. However, after the reunification of East and West Cameroon, the country became officially bilingual in French and English. This implies that the indigenous languages were relegated to the background. The reason for this move was to avoid a possible language conflict that might have been faced at selecting one indigenous language above the others as a national language. Another argument in favour of the choice of colonial languages was the financial and material cost involved in

developing and standardizing an indigenous language. This led to the present-day situation in which the indigenous languages are struggling for official recognition and standardization in the country. In most cases, the indigenous languages remain unwritten and used only as oral modes of communication (see section 2.2.4). To fully understand the sociolinguistic situation of Cameroon, it is necessary to examine the historical background that led to the complex linguistic situation of this postcolonial country.

2.2.1. A historical survey of Cameroon English and Cameroon Pidgin-English

Cameroon, which was, from 1884-1919, a part of the German African colonies (Neba, 1987) is presently a postcolonial central African country. When Germany lost its colonies in the First World War, Cameroon was handed over to France and Britain (Kouega, 1999). The history of the two Cameroonian Englishes (Cameroon Standard English and Cameroon Pidgin English) started as far back as 1400-1800, during the slave-trade period. During this period, the people living in the coastal territories of present-day Cameroon had contact with British and other English-speaking people (Mbassi-Manga, 1976). The negotiations that took place between British agents on behalf of the Portuguese traders in their trading boats led to the spread of the English language. This implies that before the abolition of slave trade and British encroachment and expansion into Africa through trade and religion, English had already been introduced in the region (Kouega, 1999). The development of free trade and the spread of the Christian religion only accelerated the spread of the English language in the region. The vast tropical plantations set up in the coastal regions attracted workers from the hinterlands. These workers who spoke different indigenous languages quickly learnt the Pidgin English of the plantation as a means of communication. This increased the number of speakers. When the Christian missionaries arrived in the region by 1843, they met "a reasonably well formed Pidgin English" (Todd, 1982:7). The missionaries contributed to the propagation of Pidgin English, because they translated the Bible into this language, which they also used to teach their doctrines. The missionaries also helped in the spread of Standard English because they set up English speaking schools. The schools were greatly appreciated and visited by Cameroonians (ibid: 9). Based on this historical sketch, it becomes obvious that there exists a relationship between Pidgin English and Standard English in Cameroon. As a result, linguists have identified CamE and CamPE (Ngefac, 2010). The relationship that exists between these two languages has been described as diglossic (Constable, 1977:249) or language continuum (Kouega, 2002). According to Constable (1977), the diglossic relation between CamE and

CamPE is that the standard variety is used as the language of education, administration, law and all formal contexts, while CamPE is used on the streets, in the markets and in all informal contexts. CamPE has an important place within the sociolinguistic Cameroonian space; it serves as an important code of communication among illiterate and semi-illiterate rural people, who can barely use Standard English (Kouega, 2001). Pidgin English also serves as an important lingua franca among Cameroonians who do not share the same mother tongue. The relationship between these two codes is well captured by Kouega (2004):

> Pidgin an almost exclusively oral language tends to be the only out-group language at the disposal of illiterates and people of low education, whereas educated people have at least two codes at their disposal, namely English, used in formal situations, and Pidgin used in informal situations or when speaking with people of low education. These educated people, it should be emphasised, are capable of keeping apart English and Pidgin (Kouega, 2004:2).

CamPE is also one of the main languages of inter-ethnic communication in the country even in French-speaking regions like the Littoral and the Western regions (Mbassi-Manga, 1976; Mbangwana, 1983; Todd, 1984; Echu, 2003; Simo-Bobda and Wolf, 2003). These linguists have all reiterated the spread, the different roles and important relationships that exist between the two Cameroonian Englishes.

2.2.2. Revisiting CamE/CamPE as postcolonial varieties.

A presentation of the role, the function and the status of the two Cameroonian Englishes provides important background information to a sociolinguistic study of the language behaviour of the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants in Germany. These two forms of outer circle Englishes (Kachru, 1992) exist side by side with other languages and eventually lead to a mixture of English, French and ancestral languages (Echu, 2003; Ngefac, 2010). This contact situation of CamE and CamPE with other languages stems from the history of the two languages in the country.

CamPE is a hybrid language that came about as a result of contact between English, Portuguese, Spanish, French and indigenous languages (Ngefac, 2010). Today, this hybrid language serves as a major language for inter-ethnic communication in the entire country, including the Francophone side, for example, the Littoral and the Western regions that share territorial boundaries with the North-West (NW) and South-West (SW) regions of the country (Mbassi-Manga, 1976; Mbangwana, 1983; Todd, 1984; Echu, 2003; Simo-Bobda and Wolf, 2003; Anchimbe, 2011). Wolf (2001: 192) postulates that CamPE is a dominant language used

outside the home by Cameroonian children and also serves as a mother tongue to a growing number of Anglophone children, notably children living in the urban metropolises. Wolf (2001) claims that CamPE is slowly replacing the mother tongue or indigenous languages. About 50% of these children have CamPE as a first language (ibid: 192). Chumbo and Simo-Bobda (1996: 12) observe that nowadays 66 % of the children who grow up in urban cities use CamPE as their mother tongue. With such a dominating influence, it is obvious that CamPE will have a great influence on CamE (the standard variety taught in schools). Chumbo and Simo-Bobda (1996: 420) hold that CamPE is used in almost every area of life except the official. CamPE is a language in which most Anglophone speakers feel at ease. Even though many researchers such as Wolf (2001), Kouega (2006) and Ngefac (2010) have captured the salient role CamPE plays in the Cameroonian socio-linguistic arena, this language is being relegated to the background and hidden from global communication. Even though CamPE "[…] tends to be the only Cameroonian language that transcends ethnic, professional, educational and other social boundaries, it is not taught in any Cameroonian schools" (Ngefac, 2011: 18).What is even more paradoxical is that this language is under serious threat to be banned. The disdain for CamPE is most glaring in the University of Buea, Cameroon's first English-medium university. Here you find all sorts of anti-CamPE signboards posted throughout the campus, as reported by Dibussi (2006:1):

Succeed at university by avoiding Pidgin on campus!

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!

This postcolonial language is undergoing a humiliation that replicates the humiliation of colonialism itself. CamPE, a language that is the residue of two derogatory experiences (slavery and colonialism), is presently a symbol or a reminder of this history due to the way it is being handled in this postcolonial era. The language, just like Nigerian Pidgin, is often called *broken English* or *bush English* by some non-linguists. Todd (1990:1) confirms this description when he talks of Cameroon Pidgin English as "inferior, haphazard and bastardized" language. Todd's argument is based on the fact that Pidgins (Cameroon, Nigerian and Ghanaian) are simplified forms of the English language, used mostly by un-educated people of the former British colony.

2.2.3. The origins and influence of Camfranglais

Camfranglais is a new linguistic code in the Cameroonian Francophone metropolis (Chumbo and Simo-Bobda, 2000; Echu, 2001; Kouega, 2003; Vankunta, 2014). This language can be compared to CamPE. Kouega (2003) explains that this hybrid code is a language developed by Cameroonian secondary school students to shield communication and interaction between them and to build in-group relations that exclude non-members. This makes their speech and communication incomprehensible to non-members.

Camfranglais is characterised by different linguistic features in an attempt to camouflage youth communication. Some of the linguistic features include: word formation, borrowing from different languages, coinage, affixation, inversion, idiomatic formations and reduplication of words. Through these, the Cameroonian youth have adopted a new identity, which is neither Francophone, Angophone nor any of the ethnic identities (e.g. Ewondo or Bamileke).

Kouega (2003), on tracing the origin of this new linguistic code, says that the term *Franglais,* formulated as early as 1989, depicts a new linguistic code that is spreading and growing in Cameroon. The new code is a blend of English, French, Pidgin English and indigenous languages. This speech style is characterised by the use of English words and phrases in French, the main lexifier, with a high frequency of code switching and code mixing (Kouega 2003). This new parole is a cause for concern for both parents and educational authorities, who claim that this will affect the children's academic performance. However, Canagarajah's (2001) observes that "code-switching is a linguistic negotiation in conformity with the hybrid cultural ethos long established …" This linguist argues that "[…] this also helps to construct hybrid postcolonial subjectivities in community contexts" (Canagarajah, 2001:194). In other words, the use of this hybrid variety by the Cameroonian youth is much more than code switching. This fluidity, interconnection, and multi-competence reflect the sociolinguistic and socio-cultural reality in which these young speakers find themselves. The importance of *Camfranglais* can be viewed within the light of what Heller (2001:382) describes as a manipulation of French and English to advance the interests of Francophones and Anglophones occupying a variety of social positions. Achimbe (2007b) also observes that the mixture of social codes has surfaced in this postcolonial era to help with speakers' needs to be identified in different groups. Anchimbe observes that *Camfranglais* in Cameroon is parallel to *Sheng* in Kenya and *Wolof* in Senegal, which are all urban mixtures of colonial languages plus indigenous languages. The main characteristic of these mixed languages is that

they are composed of colonial or ex-colonial languages of the community. This mix of languages helps speakers and users create distinct identities that are unique and differ from existing entities. Anchimbe (2007b) further argues that *Camfranglais* is a new socio-linguistic fact that will affect the Cameroonian sociolinguistic landscape. This involves the transfer of English, Pidgin English and elements of the indigenous languages into French. C*amfranglais* is an instrument that the Cameroonian youth use to challenge the existing status quo and social class, national languages and ethnicities. The youth have created and are sustaining new identity options as Echu (2006:12) puts it:

> In recent years, another pidginised variety known as Camfranglais has cropped up in urban centres among the young active population. Created as a language in its own right through a mixture of French, English and indigenous languages and Cameroon Pidgin English. It is used as a secret code for intergroup communication while remaining virtually incomprehensible to non-speakers[…] Camfranglais is used for a wide range of subjects such as love, food and entertainment, family affairs, school life, day-to-day issues and sports discussions[…] lexically it is characterised by the excessive simplification of morphological, lexical and grammatical structures[…]as well as the extensive use of neologism.

Grammatically Camfranglais is characterised by contracted and simplified forms of the lexifier language(s) used by the youth of all ethnic origins, the unemployed, hawkers and students (Chumbo and Simo-Bobda, 2000:52). The code is mainly used by the youth between the age of 15 and 25 years, while older persons between the age of 26 and 29 hardly use this language as a medium of communication. Speakers from the age of 40 on, irrespective of the official language background, hardly use Camfranglais; they use their indigenous languages, CamPE and the language that identifies them as either Anglophones or Francophones (Ngefac, 2010). Some exmples of *Camfranglais* expressions:

1. *Je veux go* "I will like to go"
2. *Tu as sleep hier?* "Did you have a good night?"
3. *Tu as go au School?* "Did you go to school?"
4. *Si tu voir ma go* "If you see me go"
5. *Tout le monde hate me, wey I no know* "Everybody hates me; I don't know why" (Niba, 2007).

These *Camfranglais* expressions (1-5) demonstrate the admixtures that take place when languages and cultures come into contact like in postcolonial spaces. This study assumes that this admixture will be carried over to Germany. Furthermore, Cameroonians may want to

continue exercising their linguistic rights at a time that globalisation has facilitated contact and communication.

2.2.4. The influence of the indigenous languages

Indigenous languages in Cameroon refer to the native tongues of the different ethnic groups in the country. At the national level, the Cameroonian indigenous languages have a lower status when compared to the official languages French and English (Echu, 2003). In Anglophone Cameroon, some of the prominent indigenous languages include Mungaka, Akum, Bafut, Lamso, Awing, Bambili, Beba, Menka, and Meta in the NW region. In the SW region, we have Bafaw-Balong, Bassosie, Barombi, Ejagam, Oroko, Yemba, Keyang, Bayang and Bakweri (Ethnologue, 2018). The importance of the indigenous languages in the present study is that, together with the official languages and the lingua franca languages, they illustrate the effect of languages in contact in multiannual contexts. They demonstrate that these groups of languages are well cherished by their owners because they reflect and occupy a good position within the cultural structures of the different ethnic groups and regions of the country. It would give the speakers great satisfaction if their languages like many other languages of the world could serve as modes of communication in the fields of education, judiciary and administration. The indigenous languages have contributed to the establishment of the two Cameroonian Englishes (CamE and CamPE).

Since its transportation to Cameroon during the colonial era the English language has gone through a number of structural changes. This evolution and divergence from the British variety is termed indigenization. It has occurred because English came into contact with the local languages (Kachru, 1986; Simo-Boda, 2003; Schneider 2007). The contact situation through fossilized deviation transformed the English language during the colonial and later the postcolonial periods. This moved the English language to take on new identities (Kachru,, 1986). One of the main characteristics of the contact of English and the Cameroonian indigenous languages is linguistic borrowing. Borrowing involves a two-way process; on the one hand, the indigenous languages borrow lexical and syntactic elements from Standard English and Standard English on its part borrow from the indigenous languages (Echu, 2003). Lexical borrowing is a rich source of introducing new elements into a language and enlarging its lexical inventory. Lexical borrowing takes place because there is a need to fill a linguistic vacuum; for instance, the word *Iroko* is not present in Standard English because it is a concept (a tree) which is only available in a tropical forest like the one in Cameroon.

The English language has to borrow this indigenous word into CamE. The cultural reality expressed in the Cameroonian indigenous languages is non-existent in the British variety of the English language. In the process of communication, a speaker is thus forced to borrow the item from an indigenous language into the recipient language (English). This type of culture-based borrowing from Cameroon indigenous languages into the English language can be arranged into different categories: local cuisine, traditional titles, dance, music and other socio-cultural settings. As mentioned before, these are items and concepts whose realities cannot be found in the British or European cultures. There are large numbers of such lexical items in Cameroon Standard English. Some examples from Anglophone indigenous languages demonstrate how names and titles are borrowed from indigenous languages into English as it is used in Cameroon. For instance, the titles *Mola, Ni* and *Fai* are titles and names of respect within these ethnicities and are borrowed and used in Cameroon English so that they have become a part of this new nativized variety of the English language (Echu, 2003). If a speaker uses "sir" or "madam" in place of these address forms, it will not only distort the pragmatic meaning but also the purpose of expression (Echu, 2003:7-8). We also have borrowed words and expressions in the domains of gastronomy: for example, *achu* is a traditional NW dish made from *pounded fufu*[14] and soup from limestone. *Afofo* is a locally brewed liquor from palm wine, while *ekwang* is a SW traditional dish made from cocoyam. In the domain of dance and music, we have *Moinikim*, which is a SW dance, while *Njang* is a type of traditional dance of the NW region. All these are used freely in CamE and CamPE and in the process they reflect the ethnic identities that represent these Cameroonian indigenous concepts. It is obvious that not only do the indigenous cuisine and music hold the Cameroonian communities together but the indigenous languages as well. This has led English in Cameroon to be heavily "Cameroonised", "acculturated", "indigenized" or "nativized" so that it can no longer be considered an "alien" language within this African context (Wolf, 2001:244). Table 1.2 below demonstrates the influence of the indigenous languages on CamE and CamPE:

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[14] Fufu= popular West African dish made from pounded cocoyam, pounded plantain or pounded yam.

Table 2.1: Indigenized Cameroon Englishes (Adapted from Kouega, 1998)

IL[15] &CamPE	IL & CamE	Gloss
Fufu corn	Corn fufu	Corn flour/paste
Fufu yam	Yam fufu	yam flour/paste
Fufu cassava	Cassava fufu	Cassava flour/ paste
Chop	Eat, food	to eat (verb) or food (noun)
Auwuf (Njo'o)	Njo´o	to cheat on someone
Ashia	Ashia	word of encouragement
Koki	Koki	pudding
Juju	juju	masquerade
Soya	soya	steak
Okrika	okrika	second-hand goods

However, like in the case of Pidgins and other minority languages in Cameroon, most indigenous languages have been relegated to the background. One of the arguments advanced by the policy makers is that they fear a rebellion from other ethnicities whose languages would not be selected as an official language. This is an excuse for maintaining English and French as the two official languages of the country. A proposal to teach six Cameroonian indigenous languages in schools across the country was turned down by the Cameroonian government (Chumbo, 1996). Echu (2003) notes that Cameroonian adoption of official bilingualism is an attempt to evade language conflict and the excessive financial expenditure that standardization of indigenous languages might entail. Furthermore, Chumbo, Simo-Bobda (2000) and Echu (2003) all note that suggestions to introduce the indigenous languages as school subjects have also been met with rejection from some parents. The parents believe that early childhood education in the indigenous languages will reduce the academic performance of their children and even reduce their future socio-economic chances. This is the effect of what colonialism did to the colonised; it made the colonised believe in the superiority of the Western cultures.

However, all is not lost as far as the indigenous languages are concerned. The future of the indigenous languages, in spite of the indifference manifested by government officials, is on the bright side as experimental projects have been initiated by private groups in the country and from abroad (Echu, 2003). There is the SIL (The Summer Institute of Linguistics), the PROPELCA (Operational Research Program for Language Teaching in Cameroon), the

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[15]   [1] Indigenous language

CABTAL (Cameroon Association for Bible Translation and Literacy) and the NACALCO (National Association of Cameroonian Language Committees). All of these associations are working towards a standardization and eventual teaching of the Cameroonian indigenous languages in schools. An overview of the context of use of the three language groups in Anglophone Cameroon clearly demonstrates the position of each of these languages:

Table 2.2: Overview of the language situation of Anglophone Cameroon (adapted from Anchimbe, 2006:97)

No	Language domain	CamE	CamPE	Indigenous language
1	Written media	Yes	Less	No
2	Radio	Yes	Less	Less
3	TV	Yes	No	No
4	Education	Yes	No	No
5	Politics	Yes	Less	Less
6	Music	Yes	Yes	Yes
7	Court & Justice	Yes	Less	No
8	Church	Yes	Yes	Less
9	Administration	Yes	No	No
10	Military	Yes	No	No
11	Business and trade	Yes	Less	No
12	Cultural communication	Yes	Yes	Yes

2.3. Cameroon linguistic diversity: A struggle for identity

Most Cameroonians take pride in describing their country as "Africa in miniature". This is a reality that reflects not only the topography of this multicultural and multilingual state but also states a linguistic truism. A first time visitor is usually amazed at the constantly changing vegetation that starts off with a dense evergreen rain forest in the south and moves on to the Sahara desert in the North. This geographical diversity is also true of the linguistic situation of the country which is highly heterogeneous. The history of colonization in Cameroon is a complex one. We have seen that Germany formally colonized Cameroon after the Berlin Conference of 1884. During the German colonial period, African languages had a somewhat comfortable position (Echu, 2003:3) because German and American missionaries preferred *Bassa, Bulu, Duala, Ewondo* and *Mungaka* languages for their evangelism and teaching. During this era, *Bamum* and *Fulfude* were used to propagate the Muslim Faith (Rosendal, 2008: 11). During the British and the French colonial period, the British practiced indirect rule,

which means they used the indigenous authorities (the local chiefs) and their languages. The French, on the other hand, applied a policy of direct rule and assimilation, which excluded African local authorities and languages from most formal domains. The French administration actually prohibited the use of indigenous languages in education (Bitjaa Kody, 2001 cited in Rosendal 2008:13).

After a long history of existence as colonial languages (French and English), first in two independent states in a close federation and afterwards in a bilingual unified republic, the status of English and French and the attachment to these languages have witnessed vigorous changes. The birth and gradual consolidation of CamPE and *Camfranglais* are examples of these linguistic developments (Echu, 2001: 207). The linguistic diversity of Cameroon is so strong that a Cameroonian can scarcely meet another African with whom he/she does not share a common language (Fonkeu, 2011). Bird (2001) offers a prosaic summary of the linguistic situation in Cameroon:

> The new born nation-state – the Federal Republic of Cameroon, was bequeathed a linguistic situation of bewildering complexity: 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 […] has inherited two of them. (Bird, 2001:8-9).

Although Bird's description paints a fairly accurate picture of the linguistic situation of Cameroon, "the confusion of tongues" may not actually connote confusion but rather diversity. The linguistic heterogeneity in the Cameroonian context is played out in a clear-cut distribution in which each language has its role and function. The approximately 270 languages present in the country have well-defined functions. Some can be classified as mother tongues; others are the official languages, language of education, while others serve as lingua franca, used in the markets and on the streets. 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 reiterates that Cameroon possesses almost all the language families that exist in Africa.

Figure 2.3.1: Language Map of Cameroon (Source: Bird 2001: 4)
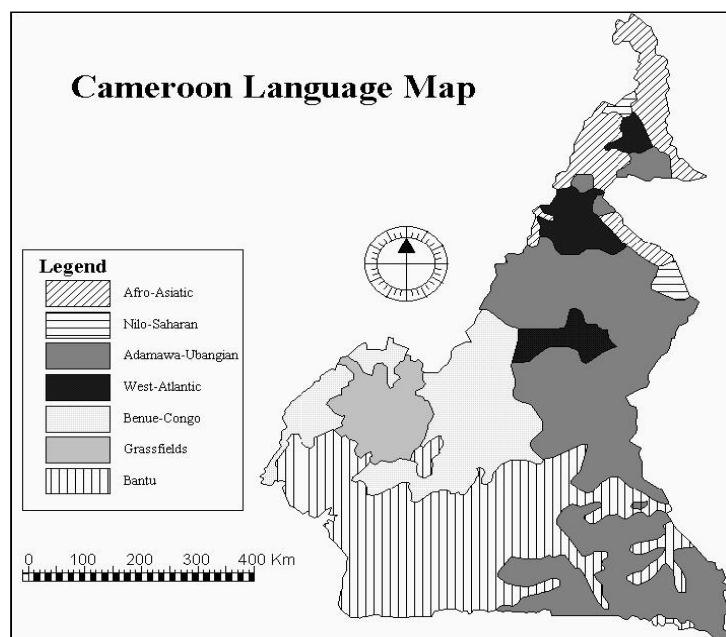
The multilingual and multi-ethnic situation of the country has led to a complex sociolinguistic identity dilemma. In such a complex context, the Cameroonian is in a constant dilemma on what identity to maintain. On the one hand, there is French and English and on the other hand, there is Pidgin and then the indigenous languages. Apart from very official situations where diglossic rules apply, there are some situations in which the language choice is left for the speaker to make. Eventually, the linguistic choice in most cases will reveal the identity of that speaker. The Cameroonian Anglophone may have to highlight or downplay his/her Anglophone identity depending on the context and interlocutor. On another occasion, a speaker may have to show a clansman that they belong together by speaking their ethic or indigenous language. This clearly illustrates that the Cameroonian is constantly using his/her multi-linguistic repertoire to negotiate different shades of identities confirming Anchimbe`s (2005) assertion that:

> The multilingual nature of Cameroon […] and its corresponding multiethnic complexity fuels the constant confusion that the ideal Cameroonian goes through as to where to lay the pledge of his identity (Anchimbe, 2005: 33).

Based on this background, the question of the eleventh province becomes an important issue in Cameroon (see section 5.4.3.6). An Anglophone Cameroonian whose heritage cannot be identified in either the NW or the SW states or regions is "lost" or "confused". The eleventh province is made up of internal migrants from East/Francophone Cameroon who migrated to

West/Anglophone Cameroon and settled there. By birth and blood, they are East Cameroonians with Francophone heritage and either *Bamileke, Ewondo* or *Bassa* ethnicity. But by training, education, lifestyle and linguistic behaviour they are West/Anglophone Cameroonians. This suggests a mixed culture. As far as in-group relations and identification are concerned, acceptance of this group in both regions is not complete. Sometimes, these Cameroonians have to move to their villages or towns of heritage for cultural celebrations, festivals and activities and other times they even have to take their deceased family members to their villages of origin for funeral celebrations and burial. This implies that a Cameroonian of the eleventh province is not fully accepted in either place. In spite of the clear ethnic distinction in the country, however, the average Cameroonian goes through a multi-ethnic complexity as to where and with whom to pledge his/her identity.

2.3.1. The Anglophone-Francophone strife

The contemporary sociolinguistic state of Cameroon is featured by what colonialism left behind. After Germany lost the First World War, the League of Nations partitioned Cameroon between France and Britain until 1960. The section under French colonial rule was referred to as East/Francophone Cameroon and that ruled by the British colonial masters was called West/Anglophone Cameroon. The inhabitants of these two regions became known as Francophone Cameroonians and Anglophone Cameroonians respectively.

The Anglophone and Francophone appellations became an important identity marker of the Cameroonian. The ethnic identity became less significant (Echu, 2003; Anchimbe, 2005; Ngefac, 2010). The appellation *East* and *West Cameroon* gained more importance and prominence after the reunification of the French and English Cameroon because the 1961 reunification made the country a federation of two states. So to distinguish between the two states of the federation, one had to be either a west Cameroonian or an East Cameroonian. Being Anglophone or Francophone in Cameroon is not just the ability to speak, read and use English or French as a working language; it is about being exposed to the Anglophone or Francophone ways of life. This includes outlook, culture, education and the way the local governments are run. As a result of this divide, the bond between Cameroonians and these languages as symbols of linguistic identity was established. As pointed out above, the Anglophone-Francophone dichotomy becomes a very important feature in describing a Cameroonian, as observed by Anchimbe (2005):

> […] the feeling of unity is so strong that being Anglophone denotes a
> new ethnicity, transcending older ethnicities. This type of identif-
> ication which is tantamount to group definition and membership is so
> strong to the extent that it excludes non-group members and transcends
> ethnic contours […] (Anchimbe, 2005:1).

The reason for this is because language is at the heart of sociocultural identity; that is, "linguistic identity is prerequisite for cultural identity" (Jaffe, 1996:818). This explains why Anglophones feel more comfortable with other Anglophones and Francophones feel the same way with other Francophones. Echu (2004) is also of the opinion that the Anglophone-Francophone identity in Cameroon surpasses the tribal identities, so to the Cameroonian it is first and foremost a question of whether he/she is Anglophone before he/she acknowledges membership to the Bamileke or Ewondo ethnic group. Echu (2004:9) goes ahead to say that the policy of official language bilingualism has created an Anglophone/Francophone divide in Cameroon that has been seen to constitute a serious problem in recent years. According to him, this state of events has created a sense of cultural identity among the Anglophones, which arises from their using the same language, English, as a symbol of in-group solidarity. The socio-economic and socio-political life of an Anglophone is vehicled by the English language; it is the official language while CamPE serves as the non-official or informal language of the Anglophone.

The Anglophone-Francophone dichotomy is not always positive. Sometimes, this distinction leads to strife and conflict between the two parts of the country. Just before the onset of globalization and the spread of the modern media, Francophone Cameroonians used to regard English as the language of lower class citizens (Ngefac, 2010). This was manifested through the use of provocative expressions like *Anglo, Anglofoo* to speak of Anglophones and *les anglo la* "these Anglophones" was a popular derogatory way to refer to English speaking people of the NW and SW regions of Cameroon. Counter-provocative expressions were also used by English speaking people to refer to Francophones. These included *frogs, Francofou, Francofool* (Morteh, 2007). These appellations are equivalent to group definitions and membership, whereby being identified as Anglophone or Francophone becomes "so strong that it excludes non-group members and transcends ethnic contours" (Anchimbe, 2005:3).

The Anglophone-Francophone split which is shaped based on English and French is deeper than just the use of these languages (Anchimbe 2005). This divide has led to what Anchimbe (2005) calls *Anglophonism* and *Francophonism*. It goes far beyond ethnic differences of these two groups. The Anglophone-Francophone identity is so important to a Cameroonian that "it constitutes superior sociolinguistic groupings whose languages are less

represented in education and less useful in cross-ethnic communication" (Anchimbe, 2004:3). Since the Anglophones are in minority in Cameroon, they claim that they are marginalized by the majority Francophone-run government. This has led to the Anglophone problem. Achimbe (2005:45) believes that "[…]an attachment to bilingualism in English and French would reduce if not erase the geophysical and psychological boundaries of *francophonism* and *anglophonism* […]in this vein, the minority-majority oppressor-oppressed gap hitherto created by this divide would definitely disappear […]" My opinion is that the Anglophone-Francophone importance could be reduced if one of the indigenous languages is standardized and made an official language. This will reduce the importance of these two colonial languages thereby ending the Anglophone-Francophone strife.

2.3.2. Globalization as a contemporary force.

Contemporary world is experiencing a boost in globalization (Nyamnjoh, 2004). This boost is a result of increase in the free flow of information and easy mobility of goods and services, all facilitated by an improvement in the world's information and communication technologies. One of the outstanding sources of information technology is the internet. This modern source of communication has turned our planet, earth, into a global village. This means that the concept of community has been reduced in terms of space and time (Appadurai, 1996; Junto and Danowski, 2002). Due to the availability of the internet, contemporary communication in the world's languages has been greatly facilitated. Improvement in transportation facilities has increased the movement of people, goods and services and further led to the spread of the world's languages. Cameroonians, for instance, have migrated to different parts of the world and in the process they have taken their languages with them, namely the two official languages, English and French, Cameroon Pidgin English, *Camfranglais,* and the indigenous languages. Globalization is an ongoing process that is related to economic, social and political global interconnectedness. This process is between regions in a country, across nations or between continents. The global movement of people via migration has led to sociolinguistic dislocation of people. These three aspects of globalization are vehicled by technological advancement.

For instance, an effect of the internet in our present-day globalized world is that it has led to the writing of certain varieties of languages, for example, CamPE and some indigenous languages are mainly spoken languages and used orally in Cameroon (Bitjaa, 2001). However, thanks to the internet, speakers are writing these languages (even though in very diversified

forms since the languages have not yet been standardized). The internet has provided a space where some Cameroonian indigenous languages (e.g. *Mungaka & Nufi*) and CamPE are written. Today, owing to the internet, we have non-standardized dictionaries (put together by native speakers who may not be linguists, e.g. the *Nufi* online dictionary called *Dictionnaire Fe'efe'e*). The internet therefore serves as a forum for these languages to be written. The languages are kept alive within the globalized internet community. On *Facebook* columns, *Instagram* and *Twitter,* the global space has facilitated the coming together of transnational groups (ex-students from the same alma mater, ethnic groups, and friends, both near and far). The internet provides a space for the re-enactment of linguistic and cultural values across countries and communities. Modern cyber space technology has also helped in facilitating online diasporic and home group sites like *Whats-App, Imo, Instagram, Viber,* which make communication across borders an easy reality. Through these mediums sociolinguistic and socio-cultural identities can be constructed or (re)constructed, with relevant dimensions involving language choice, language manipulation and use of signals for socio-cultural and sociolinguistic identity (re)construction. The internet "offers a safe and comfortable place where people or particular ethnic groups can digitally hang out" (Mitra, 2003: 1019). The internet facilitates networking, "hanging out" and this further helps groups and individuals to construct dynamic and multifaceted sociolinguistic identities in contemporary global space.

Another effect of globalization is that it has facilitated and increased the possibilities for Cameroonians to go out in search of better employments, better education and sustainable lifestyles. Globalization has made these objectives possible through global changes in information technology. It is easier to find out where and what offers are available in the job markets and in other spheres of life. Globalization is also characterized by a reorganization of labour markets. This attracts migrants from all over the world including Cameroonians. For instance, many developed countries are always in need of unskilled and semi-skilled labour, e.g. cleaners and housemaids. These are all opportunities that Cameroonians take advantage of to move out in search of better lives.

In the global context, increase in transportation and communication technology has also meant an increase in the interaction of people on an international scale. This is because the improvement of information flow means that ideas and people worldwide can easily meet. The spread in technological and transportation facilities has a cyclical effect because an improvement of transportation means an increase in the flow and movement of people and this leads to an increase in migration (Ciarniené & Kumpikaité, 2008). An increase in migration leads to more flows and contact between people of different nationalities, languages and

cultures. From a cultural point of view, globalisation means a flow of ideas and culture; that is, not only are people from different cultures and traditions coming together, but also there is contact of languages with many implications. Globalisation is characterised by large scale social networking, because modern media and the internet have facilitated the contact of people, cultures and languages. These are all leading to linguistic changes such as hybridization and indigenisation of some world languages (e.g. English, German and French) (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011).

2.3.3. The uniqueness of Cameroon English

Cameroon linguistic uniqueness in the African continent and in the world at large is characterised by the appellation Francophone and Anglophone. This is because the country is officially bilingual in French and English. These two languages, French and English, co-exist with about 247 indigenous languages (Echu, 2003; Kegoua, 2002). This linguistic scenario is made even more complex because there exist Cameroon Pidgin English and Camfranglais. As a result of this co-existence of CamE and CamPE with many other languages, these English varieties have developed certain peculiarities. Like most transplanted postcolonial Englishes, CamE is heavily indigenized, acculturized and nativized (Kachru, 1986; Mufwene, 2001; Schneider, 2007; Ngefac, 2008). This means that the structure of CamE, like most postcolonial Englishes, has evolved based on the ecological, cultural and sociolinguistic realities of the country. As a result, there are bound to be influences based on contact. One of the influences is that the mother tongues have affected the lexical, phonological and the morphosyntactic realization of features in CamE. This is because this variety of English replicates the cultural and conceptual landscape of its speakers. It is obvious that Cameroonians use the English language in the way they do based on the influence of their mother tongues and indigenous languages. For instance, the mother tongue affects the phonological realization of English sounds so much so that one can tell the ethnic origin of a speaker of English in Cameroon. Cameroonians therefore take pride in the English language, a language they call their own, as noted by Rajadurai (2005:6) that "these speakers express pride in their own accents and varieties[…]" This means that in contemporary postcolonial Cameroon speakers of English, in spite of the pressures from schools and other academic institutions, still speak indigenized and acculturated varieties of English (Ngefac & Sala, 2006; Ngefac, 2011 & 2016).

Within the Cameroonian context, nativization of English is achieved through functional use of the language, via   linguistic adaptations in domains of phonology, lexis, verbal and

syntactic constructions. As a result of this, CamE manifests features which are different from the expectations of the mainstream standard varieties like British and American Standard English. One possible explanation is that the rhetorical structures of the indigenous language(s), which are contact language(s), are completely different from those of Standard English. The transfer of the native devices of speech from indigenous languages plus linguistic features as a result of contact with neighbouring languages like Pidgin English and French into the English language gives birth to the Cameroon-specific variety of the world's new Englishes. CamE is culturally situated and is an adaptation of a cultural community that reflects the characteristics of the particular lifestyle of its users. Some of the structural features that accrue as a result of transcribing indigenous thought processes into the English language based on contextual background of the user provide a fruitful tool for the study of nativized features of Cameroon Englishes (Görlach, 1991 & 1995; Nkemleke, 2006). Kaplan (1966:3) concludes that "learning of a particular language is the mastering of its logical system." The foreigner is therefore out of focus because he/she is employing a rhetoric and sequence of thought which violate the expectations of the native speaker. Kachru (1990:164) reiterates that in multilingual contexts, it is no doubt that the discourse thought pattern and language design will be different from that of the native speaker. Kachru (1990) makes it clear that the multilingual linguistic distinctiveness is in relation to the productive linguistic processes at different linguistic levels which the multilingual uses for various purposes.

For instance, nativization of CamE and CamPE is achieved through the use of native similes and metaphors, transfer of ethnic rhetorical devices into English, trans-creation of Cameroonian proverbs and idioms into English, the use of culturally dependent speech styles, the use of syntactic devices and the creation of non-English collocations. An examination of two students' essays taken from Nkemleke's (2006:25-44)[16] corpus elucidates these assertions:

> Text 1 […] not so long, I am running short of food and money to fuel my luxurious outings. Somehow I still could manage, but things were not the same. I quickly remembered my bag of cocoyam and garri which I had carried from the village and flung under my bed and which had remained unopened for a long time […].

> Text 2 […] The courses augmented my knowledge in the English language. Indeed I had the impression from the onset of belonging to Plato's ideal republic. Convinced of this possibility, I made up my mind to drink to the least of the fountain of wisdom. Never theless, as time went on, I became increasingly familiar with some contradictions of the place. The glamour of the amphitheatres faded away. I was jolted out of my reverie and the harsh reality of moral laxity, unexplained teacher-

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[16] These are essays written by students of the higher teachers' training college, University of Yaoundé, Cameroon

absenteeism and the debilitating cost of living in Yaoundé became a
daily spectre (Nkemleke corpus Universty of Yaounde 2006:25-44).

The two texts 1 and 2 above illustrate the very fact that CamE is culturally bound and therefore manifests features that can only be understood within the context of its usage. The student in text 1 describes a typical situation faced by a university student in Cameroon; food and money for daily sustenance are not self-evident. Due to the fact that life in this part of the world is, economically speaking, somewhere below average, words like *manage* have taken a special connotation. Life is described for most people as a *management.* Most students who live in the villages or countryside attend schools in the cities. These students bring foodstuffs with them at the beginning of the semester. This is the case of the student in text 1 above who has brought his bag of *garr*i and *cocoyam*, which he stores under his bed. This is not strange since space in the student residential areas is always very limited. In text 2, the student, writing his/her essay or composition, tries his best to explore and manipulate his/her language ability based on the actual circumstances. *Plato republic* refers to an institution of high learning. *Unexplained teacher absenteeism* and *debilitating cost of living* are reminiscences of the high sounding nature that sometimes characterizes the speech of some educated Anglophone Cameroonians.

The non-Cameroonian speaker living in Kachru's inner circle may find it difficult to understand some of these expressions. The heavy contextualization that characterizes CamE gives it its uniqueness as an English that is not typical of the expectations of the "original" or mainstream variety British or American English. CamE and CamPE are languages that are heavily imbedded into the culture and lifestyles of its users. Phonologically, CamE has also been nativized. Some pronunciation tendencies include: Stressing of central vowel sounds: /a:/ instead of /æ/ as in *man* /mæn/= /ma:n/, *bad* /bæd/=/ba:d/; replacement of a central vowel by a front or back one in, e.g. *nurse* /nɜ:s/ = /nɛ:/ or /nœs/; the voiced dental /ð/ replaced by the voiced alveolar /d/as in *the*:/ðə/ or /ðɪ/ realized as /de/ (Mbangwana, 1987; Ngefac, 2010; Kouega, 2013).

As illustrated by a transcribed YouTube drama (*The Blues Kingdom*, 2008:1 00:0644:59) in CamE, the following features can further reiterate the uniqueness of CamE:

Non-native collocations:

- G*et inside*! "Get into the house!"
- *I will give you what you are looking for* "I will teach you a lesson."
- *We will not let him kill you for us* "You are too special to us to let him harm you."

- *Ehe! Antametem ehee!* Exclamation, code switching from CamE to mother tongue

Lexical constructions in CamE manifest similar adaptations:

- (collocation) *Says who?* "Who said that?"

- A*merica has come!* "Welcome from America!" (Kouega, 2013)

Lexical expansions:

I will tell my wife to start *ironing my daughter's breast* (non-L1 collocation) meaning "to massage the breast to prevent its growth"

Adjusting meaning of words to suit environmental and cultural needs (code mixing):

- **The *Nfo* wants a new wife;** *Nfo* is the king
- I know that everyone is afraid of the *Moninkim dance* 'a ritualistic dance after female circumcision (clitoridectomy)'
- She is a *Bushfaller* from America. *Bushfaller* is word formation and compounding coinage of the words *bus*h and *falle*r; the result is hybrid compounding used to refer to a Cameroonian who resides abroad, an immigrant.

Verbal features: Use of progressive forms with stative verbs, as in the following examples:

- *You are making me to lose my beauty* = **"you make me lose my beauty".**
- *He is owning two villas* = **"He owns two villas".**
- *I am needing money very badly* = **"I desperately need money".**

Lack of inversion in main clause Yes - No questions:

- *You have not heard?* **"Have you not heard?"**
- *You are coming?* **"Are you coming?"**
- *You have seen the Nfo*? **"Have you seen the Nfo (Chief)?"**

Use of *never* instead of *didn't* as tense negator:

- *I never knew he was in town.* "I didn't know he was in town."

These examples demonstrate that there are lexical, phonological and syntactic differences between CamE and the native standard variety of English spoken in Britain and America. The rhetoric pattern and speech conventions of CamE and CamPE speakers reflect their cultural environment (influence of ethnic languages and cultures). These lexical items and syntactic structures reflect the culture of the users. The unique multilingual language situation becomes a fruitful ground for language innovation. English was introduced to Cameroon as a foreign language and had to take on the local colour to properly represent its

new speakers. When a Cameroonian speaker of English says *you are going?* instead of the expected "Are you going?", it should not be seen as deviant from the normal verb predicate structure that is expected in Standard English interrogatives, but it should be considered as a unique feature that stems from a culture that is self-expressive in which the "I", the "You" and "we" have a tendency to be foregrounded (Kachru, 1986, 1990 & 1992). Furthermore, the word *fufu* is the name of an African delicacy that is typical of the region but unheard of in Europe, the birthplace of the English language. A Cameroonian speaker has no choice but transfer this traditional name into the English lexicon. It is also natural to come up with a coinage like *co-wife,* because it reflects the reality of the Cameroonian polygamous culture. In a nutshell, CamE is a variety that reflects the culture, lifestyles, and thought processes of its speakers. The diverse socio-cultural function of English within the Cameroonian context has led to new registers and genres for articulating local, cultural and religious identities (Kachru, 1997:69). CamE has proved itself unique with its own set of rules, which makes it impossible to treat it simply as a mistake of deficient English (Kandiah, 1991:275).

2.4. Socio-cultural patterns

2.4.1. Female & male place in the society

In Cameroon, women constitute about 50% of the population (Fondo, 2007:58). However, they hardly have a say in major decisions taken both in the private domain of the family and at societal level, including decisions that affect their lives such as their relations with men (Ngome, 2003; Fondo, 2007; Ngassa, 2012a & 2012b; Atanga, 2007, 2010, 2012 & 2013). One of the reasons that put women in this subjugating position in the Cameroonian society is their low economic power. Fondo (2007: 59), citing Ngome (2003), argues that "activities that confer more income earning power on women tend to increase their participation in decision-making in the household…"

A woman's position in the Cameroonian household is often improved based on her income. Fondo (2007) argues that the lack of income affects the man's decision making ability in the family setting. Immediately a woman is in a position to make financial contribution to the running of the house, she gets respect from her husband and the extended family; however, the centre of the decision making is still in the hands of the man (Ngome, 2003). Ngassa (2012a & b) is of the opinion that due to customary laws in Cameroon, women have very little or no

say where men are concerned. One of the main difficulties of the Cameroonian woman, she argues, is that by law the man is given the right to choose to be monogamous or polygamous.

There is also the question of bride price that further subjugates the women's position in a marriage and community. Marriage, paternity, widowhood and property from a socio-historical point of view expose gender roles in Cameroon from an unequal perspective. Based on a system that is governed by customary laws, religion, and governmental laws, gender role is complicated and women become even more vulnerable (Ngassa, 2012:65). For instance, the impact of bride price on the relation between spouses in a marriage or inheritance rights of widowhood or ownership of property and paternity of the children gets complicated. For instance, the payment of the bride price is an important feature that puts the Anglophone Cameroonian woman in a symbolic position of submission. She is the man's property and since "property cannot own property…" (Ngassa, 2012a: 81) all that she owns belong to her husband.

Although, from a legal perspective, the Cameroonian woman has certain rights of ownership, the society and community aided by the customary law[17] gives full rights and authority to the man who is considered superior in all cases. Even in a case where the woman is the main bread winner, the man is considered a better manager of resources. The Cameroonian society has expectations of the man and the woman; the man is the symbol of authority and power, while the woman is expected to be humble and submissive. The status of the woman is captured by Ngassa (2012), who explains:

> The fact remains that a woman, whether she be just a girl-child or a wife, is generally regarded as a source of wealth and subject of male domination and exploitation. That is to say, a man derives so much convenience and material benefit from dominating a woman. Women act as housekeepers, cooks, water and wood fetchers, baby sitters, child bearers, extra labour in the man's cash crop farms, providers of subsistence food crops, extra income from bride-price, and when they are gainfully employed, additional income for the family…one of the greatest hindrances to the elevation of the woman is that…men are unwilling to give up a social structure that they find comfortable…it becomes a taboo to challenge the status quo…(Ngassa, 2012a:68).

The Cameroonian socio-culture is patriarchal and, based on this, women have a status lower than that of men. Gender roles, following the Cameroonian culture, therefore reduce the men's involvement in household chores (Ngassa, 2012a). However, decision making is the man's traditional responsibility. Property rights and inheritance gives the Cameroonian man

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[17] Customary law is the native law and customs that operate alongside the adopted English common law in Anglophone Cameroon. The customary law is run by the customary courts headed by the chiefs and traditional rulers of the different ethnic regions and villages (Fonjong, 2012).

an upper-hand in the society. The marginalization of the Cameroonian woman in almost every sphere of life within the Cameroonian society has been confirmed by Fondo, 2007; Atanga, 2007, 2010, 2012 and Ngassa, 2012. The position of the Cameroonian woman within the household and public is reflected in the language use. In other words, language is a medium through which gender roles can be studied. Mbangwana (1996) studies the naming patterns of married career women in Cameroon, especially high-profile women of the community. He concludes that these women respect the Cameroonian culture and tradition because they take on their husband's family name after marriage. However, these educated and high-profile women do not completely give up their maiden names as tradition expects. They partly follow some Western and American cultures through the practice of taking both their husband's family names and retaining their maiden names.

According to Mbangwana (1996), this is a sign of self-affirmation. The women want to maintain their old identities. This practice is a reflection of the multiple identities of the women. For instance, they are married women with a family but at the same time they are lawyers, doctors or professors. Following this practice, these educated women wish to refute the Cameroonian traditional claim that the woman's place is in the kitchen; they wish to reassert their abilities and stand out within the community because maintaining their maiden name after marriage speaks out for itself, family name and family position is as important as marital status. Meaning is therefore conveyed via symbolic forms of names. Culture in Anglophone Cameroon, like most multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multilingual societies, has a stronghold in the communities and individuals. This means that even this practice of maintaining maiden names after marriage is usually heavily criticized in different ways (Atanga, 2007 & 2010). Although a few Cameroonian women are pushing hard to reclaim their equal rights, the Cameroonian culture tends to support gender differences. These gender-differentiated roles are reflected in language choices (Atanga, 2007, 2010 &2012). The Cameroonian men in different ethnic regions have specific address forms. These names or titles are of pragmatic importance because they are often lexically significant and gender-oriented. In the SW, we have *Mola* and in the NW we have *Ni, Nfo, Ngia.* Since the Cameroonian society has gender-differentiated roles, the Cameroonian man is expected to be respected. On the other hand, the man has to do things to maintain his authority and dignity within the family and the community. He should take on his responsibility as a father, a husband, a senior brother, the eldest or the man of the community. Traditional structure in Cameroon regulates gender roles, so questions of women's rights and gender equality are abhorred in many Cameroonian communities (Atanga, 2013:5).

The question of this research remains to find out how the freedom of the German diaspora affects the identities of Anglophone Cameroon immigrants coming from such a background. Based on the fact that language serves as an important instrument in promoting socio-cultural identity, it remains to be seen how far the Cameroonian Anglophone woman will maintain her subservient role via her linguistic choices. On the other hand, the masculine authority and identity that is characteristic of a man coming from a patrilineal Cameroonian setting will also be studied based on their language behaviour in the new context.

2.4.2. The youth and the community

The Cameroonian youth, according to the National Youth Policy of the country, is anybody between the age of 15 and 35 years (*Ministre de la Jeunesse*, 2006). In Cameroon, these groups of boys and girls are either students or workers but unfortunately following the high unemployment level, even those who have successfully studied or learnt a trade are unemployed. Approximately, 11% in the urban areas and about 84% of the youth between the age of 15 and 29 years in the suburbs and villages are without jobs (Zukane and Tagang, 2017). This situation has a great impact on both the private and the public lives of the youth. There are economic, social, and cultural factors that oblige the Cameroonian Anglophone youth to abide by the traditional rules and expectations of the family and society. Familial bonds, marital arrangements, and parents-children interactions follow certain patterns that most youth of the community are aware of and try to adhere to. The socioeconomic situation of Cameroon compels the youth to stick to the family (Zugane and Tagang, 2017). There is mutual dependence between an average Cameroonian and his/her children. For example, most Cameroonian parents take care of and educate their children in the hope that the children will eventually succeed and take care of them in return. This means that the Cameroonian youth are under obligation and pressure to implement these expectations. They have the responsibility to succeed in whatever they do not just for personal reasons but for the community and family. This is the "solidarity of interest" that guides and conditions the actions and behaviour of the Cameroonian youth (Bourdieu, 1966:24). The Cameroonian youth therefore have to position themselves in ways that both the family and community can count on them for regeneration. In Cameroon a family includes both the nuclear family and the extended family of grandparents, cousins, uncles and aunts. Sometimes the whole family lives together like in the rural settings of the countryside. However, in big cities and metropolises, some husbands and wives live together only with their children. Even in such cases, there are

constant visits from extended family members. On the other hand, nuclear families also pay regular visits to the extended families in the villages. As has been mentioned in section 2.4.1 above, the father or husband is the head of the family. Even if both parents are professionals or have equal economic power, the father is responsible for the main decisions of the family. Being a collectivist culture (Nyamnjoh &Page, 2002; Ngome, 2003), coupled with the fact that families are large and extended, the Cameroonian youth are expected to learn to "share" either with their siblings or with cousins and even friends of the neighbourhood. Some of the articles to be shared can be as intimate as food, clothes and accommodation.

A major feature that guides the characteristic of the Cameroonian youth is respect for elders of the family and community as a whole. This is an important part of the Anglophone Cameroonian culture, an expectation that cannot be neglected or overlooked. Even if a youth is allowed to be friends with an older member of the community, a younger person is still always expected to display signs of respect to the older person. Any youth who fails to comply with these expectations will be heavily sanctioned by family and community members. Since most Cameroonian youth still depend on their parents and family financially, such a sanction could take a financial character which for the said youth is usually very unpleasant. In the traditional Cameroonian society, young boys and girls are not expected to talk in any way to their parents especially to their father. There is a social distance between the youth and their elders both in the private domain of the family and the public domain of the community. For instance, young boys and girls cannot discuss every topic with elders (e.g. sex). Any boy or girl who tries this will be considered ill-bred. In the presence of elders, the youths are expected to adopt a submissive and humble disposition; for example eye contact with adults should be avoided as a sign of respect and younger persons have to extend both hands when greeting an older interlocutor. A youth of the community who is fond of maintaining eye contact with an adult in the Cameroonian Anglophone culture will be considered a rebellious, aggressive and disrespectful person. As far as language choice is concerned, a Cameroonian youth has to adopt the expected language behaviour when they speak to parents and elders of the community, for example, using the appropriate address forms with different interlocutors of the family and community (Njamnjoh &Page, 2002).

2.4.3. The *Bushfaller* fever

The CamE and CamPE expression *bushfaller* replicates a farmer who has invested his/her resources both financially and physically in felling a virgin forest. When this happens, the

farmer intends to get a rich harvest. Cameroonians who migrate to Europe, America and any developed country do so as an investment. When this happens, the migrants, just like the farmer, expect to get a very fruitful harvest. In light of the above, migration is synonymous with an investment that will lead to success and a rich harvest. The migrant therefore is a *bush-faller* and the act of migration is *bush-falling,* while the verb is to *bush-fall* (Alpes, 2011; Nyamnjoh, 2011). In Francophone Cameroon, the same phenomenon is referred to as *mbenguist*.

The idea or concept of *bush-falling*, which started in the 1990s as a result of the economic crisis that hit the country, has spread and taken up a feverish character in contemporary Cameroon. For most Cameroonians, migration is one of the few available means of survival. This means that Cameroonians who live in a country characterised by large scale unemployment and under-payment, *bush-falling* is a survival strategy and a symbol of success. The craving for *bush-falling,* which is a result of the financial and economic situation of the country, is a symbol of hope and aspiration. The socio-economic situation of the country has led to a feverish pursuit of migration at all cost since it addresses the economic crisis (Fleischer, 2011:3). There is a large salary gap between workers; low salaries and high rates of unemployment spread throughout the country from the beginning of the 1980s. All these triggered a high rate of migration to Europe and America as destination countries. These countries provide grounds for expectations and optimum chances of getting employment and improving one's personal economic situation and that of family members. Therefore, one of the main motivations for *bush-falling* is economic (Fleischer, 2011) due to the unstable and insecure economic situation in Cameroon, the home country. As from the late 1980s, due to low salary scales, teachers, nurses, doctors and even administrators have been migrating in search of "greener pastures" in foreign countries. Many Cameroonians have a dream to travel out of their country after the economic crisis of the 1980s. Emigration, for at least some of the family members, is seen or considered a necessary move.

Apart from the economic hardship, the socio-political situation of the country increases the desperation and feverishness towards *bush-falling.* The suppression and marginalization claims of the Anglophone Cameroonians has led to the "Anglophone Problem" (Nyamnjoh, 1997; Ngefac, 2010; Nkwi, 2010). This includes massive arrests, torture, and assassination of Anglophone opponents in a Francophone-led majority government. The constant oppression by the police, military and security forces has increased the desire for this group of people to migrate out of the country. The practice of bribery and corruption is another impetus for *bushfalling*. A system that is characterised by large scale bribery and corruption in all private

and government institutions leaves very little or no room for individual initiative and success. Many Anglophones see that the only way out is through emigration or *bush-falling*. The only way out for anyone who is frustrated with *"kola" biere"* and *"tchoko"[18]* is to migrate or *fall-bush*. Even the immigration process itself is characterised by *"kola"*, *"biere"* and *"tchoko*. Fleischer, in her (2011) research in Cameroon, has this to say:

> […] offering bribes to teachers, school directors or other administrative staff is also a common way for many parents not only to enrol their children in certain schools, but also to buy grades or pass exams. The same holds true for job applications. By offering something to the secretary, it is possible to receive an appointment with the respective person, who might also ask for favours when offering a position […] (Fleischer, 2011:75).

In such a scenario, it is easy to understand the contemporary emigration fever in Cameroon. *Bush-falling* is an escape route from a very unstable and corrupt system. Furthermore, the *bushfaller* fever has a socio-cultural side to it. The 21st century is characterised by large scale multimedia; the average Cameroonian, even those living in the villages and countrysides, are exposed to TV programs, Facebook, Instagram, etc. which present pictures of Europe and America as dreamlands. The countries in these continents are seen as places flowing with milk and honey. This makes migration look like an upward socio-economic venture and "travelling" is a do or die ambition. For some it becomes almost an obsession to travel to the "Whiteman Kontri" (Nyamnjoh & Page, 2002:608). It is an element of pride for the *bush-faller* and his/her family, irrespective of the intention of the journey (studies, marriage, asylum). The *bush-fallers* and the *mbenquists* are seen as symbols of socio-economic success and nobody cares to know what the person does in the said country to make ends meet. Young Cameroonians take migration as a door to untold opportunities. Even if people are aware of negative reports like terrible working conditions, difficult housing, getting legal papers, coming back home, nobody takes these seriously. The feedback is always "if others have made it out there, I can and will also make it." Many young people see no future in their country, Cameroon. Fleischer (2011:79) cites the Cameroonian newspaper "Mutation" of 12th February 2006 which writes, *Les Jeunes: Partir ou mourir* "The youth: leaving or dying". This clearly illustrates that *bush-falling* is getting into an obsession and young people are ready to take untold risks to emigrate out of their own country. *Faires ses etudes en Europe ou mourir* « study in Europe or die ».

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[18]   *Biere, tchoko* and *kola* are linguistic inventions for the word "bribe". These are coinages which are used based on the idea that bribery in itself is clandestine, so its action should be thus renamed. These three appellations mean the same thing, namely "bribe".

Fleischer (2011: 79) tells the story of a 22-year-old student in the University of Douala who committed suicide because he was refused a French visa. Fleischer (2011:80) correctly describes this as "migration at all cost."

The Cameroonian media is also a catalyst for the migration fever that has engulfed Cameroon; through music, newspaper articles and pictures, *bush-falling* is painted as a paradise. The Anglophone newspaper in the city of Buea, *The Post,* published an article with the headline "I will die a bush-faller…" (Fleischer, 2011: 79). All these show that the dream to travel has slowly become an obsession, a fever among many Cameroonians who see America, Germany, France etc. as their only hope for a better socio-economic future.

Any opening for connection to *bush-falling* is a source of investment and immediate and extended families put their resources together to get at least one family member overseas. When this happens, they hope for returns through remittances (Fleischer, 2011; Alpes, 2011). When a member of the immediate or extended family successfully travels or *bush-falls,* it is a source of pride and the status of the said family members is immediately elevated in the community. This is because they have immediate hopes for a better tomorrow. Migration choices and strategies are not individual but family-based situations, since migration is a source of hope for both. Today, *bush-falling* or migration is the central ambition for most young Cameroonians and it is an identity/symbol of success in itself.

2.4.4. Meetings and *tontines*: A sense of belonging

Meetings in Cameroon are important sources for socialisation and networking. There are different types and this practice reiterates the collectivism and communalism, which is characteristic of most African cultures and societies (Ushie, 2008; Nymnjoh & Fuh, 2013:14). There are many types of meetings, organised by Anglophone Cameroonians, who hail from the NW and the SW regions of the country. No matter where they are resident in the country, Anglophones will regroup based on their ethnicity to form association meetings. So we have, for example, different groups: *Meta, Bali, Barforchu, Nkwen, Wum, Banso, Bayangi, Bakossi, Bakweri*. The meetings take place on a regular basis and they have rules and regulations that guide and control them. The aim of ethnic meetings is for socio-cultural and socio-economic reasons. During the meetings, traditional activities and practices take place including dance and music as well as eating traditional food. In addition, some meetings serve as arena for resolving societal conflicts. Ethnic meetings also provide support in times of sadness (e.g. illness and bereavement) and joy (e.g. birth celebrations). Another type of meetings is the ex-

student associations. Here, ex-students from the same alma mater come together. For instance, in Anglophone Cameroon, we have the *SOBANS*[19], the *OPSANS*[20], the *SESHANS*[21] and the *SAERETTES*[22] as very renowned ex-student associations. In Cameroon, there are also professional meetings and meetings organised by work colleagues. There are non-governmental associations and business meetings. One of the most important practices in almost every meeting is the popular rotating and saving financial scheme known as *njangi i*n Anglophone Cameroon and *tontines* in Francophone Cameroon (Nyamnjoh & Fuh, 2013). *Njangis* or *tontines* are forms of micro-banking in which members come together, contribute an agreed amount of money and give to one member in turns. The *tontines* and *njangis* usually meet on a rotatory basis and the only collateral is the trust that members have for one another. Trust, solidarity, mutuality and reciprocity are central to this exchange (Niger-Thomas, 1995; Nymnjoh & Fuh, 2013). *Njangis* or *tontines* therefore are forms of solidarity and socio-economic networking. The main objective of *njangis* and *tontines* is to facilitate survival and socio-economic success of group members. Since the only collateral for group members is the intimate trust members have for one another, *njangi* groups in Cameroon are usually made up of participants who share something in common: same ethnicity, work colleagues, same alma mater, etc. The main point is that members of a *njangi* group "have an intimate knowledge of trust to one another" (Nyamnjoh & Fuh, 2013:13). *Njangi* is made up of a group of people who have decided to come together with the aim of saving their money. An agreed sum is put together and at each meeting one member benefits from the sum that has been contributed by every member. At the very beginning, all members decide on how regular their meetings are going to take place. It could be weekly, bi-weekly or monthly. The act of contribution is referred to as *njangi*: the popular expression is that each member has to "play his/her *njangi"*[23]. Like every meeting, each *njangi* has its rules and regulations. There are many possibilities of organising the turns. Some meetings conduct a lottery; for instance, a *njangi* that takes place once a month, twelve pieces of paper are prepared each bearing the name of a month. These are folded, put in a tray and passed round to members. Whatever month a member has on his/her paper is the month he/she is programmed to benefit from the *njangi*. This is considered very objective and fair. However, some meetings decide to overtly arrange turns.

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[19] SOBANS- Sasse old boys association
[20] OPSANS- Okoyong past students association
[21] SESHANS- Secrate Heart ex-student association
[22] SAERETTES-Saker Babtist ex-student association
[23] To "play njangi"simply means to make the necessary contribution.

Njangi meetings are generally held at the residence of the person whose turn has come to collect the contribution; such a person is called the host. Nyamnjoh & Fuh (2013) compare *njangi* to banks especially the *njangi* groups that offer loans to members; they conclude that *njangis* are better because they have lower interest rates and more importantly, they serve the function of social networking, since they bring people together. In other words, *njangi* meetings are socialising socio-economic platforms. During a *njangi* meeting, the host, who is also the beneficiary, is expected to entertain the guests. Since *njangi* involves "investment of hard-earned money" (Nymnjoh & Fuh, 2013:14), members are careful to select partners. Socially and culturally, the implication of *Njang*i is that it refers to social grouping, social solidarity. This practice is deeply rooted in the Anglophone Cameroonian culture. Belonging to a *njangi* is an important element of "social personhood" (ibid.15). In *njangi* groups, members support and assist one another, which means that *njangi* is a form of social security. Sometimes, *njangi* members are expected to join in other forms of socialising, e.g. condolences, political support, etc. "Today is my turn, tomorrow will be yours […]; help me today and I will help you tomorrow" (Nyamnjoh &Fuh, 2013:15). This reiterates the fact that *njangis* are geared towards social solidarity and are based on mutual respect for one another.

There is also another type of *njangi* known in CamPE and CamE as *Trouble Fund* (Nymnjoh and Fuh, 2013). In this *njangi,* all members put aside an agreed amount of money into a social fund. This serves as a kind of insurance in times of trouble (illness, bereavement). Members use these set-aside savings to take care of social needs. Although monetary *njangi* is the most popular, the notion has been extended to non-financial activities. For instance, in villages, a group of youth could come together and decide to jointly fetch wood for each member in turns. In this case, group members all go out, fetch wood and bring it to the residence of the beneficiary. Most associations are not officially registered with the authorities. This implies that *njangis* are not bound by any law; they depend on the trust and tradition of faithfulness. If it happens, however, that a member violates the terms, he/she is punished. First it is a scandal which can ruin the family name for generations. The implication could be that this member is ousted from the *njangi* and if it is revealed, he/she might have difficulties being admitted in other *njangi* groups in the community. In very extreme cases, especially when a very large sum of money is involved, legal actions could be taken against the culprit.

2.5. Summary

This section has exposed the background and the origin of the two Cameroonian Englishes. It has also reiterated the contact situation which is characteristic of multilingual contexts. This contact between the Cameroonian indigenous languages and the colonial languages has given birth to hybrid languages, CamPE and *Camfranglais*. Furthermore, Cameroon English is heavily indigenized and nativized as it has taken features of the languages it is in contact with. This section has also demonstrated that the language choice of the Anglophone Cameroonian is influenced by the social variables which include gender, ethnicity, age and level of education. This background information is intended to help in the study, showing how Cameroonian immigrants maintain or construct different identities in the German diaspora. This will also set the pace on how to study the different languages and linguistic views and ideas reproduced in the translocal and transnational context of the German diaspora.

Chapter 3: The Sociolinguistics of Language and Identity, Concepts, Theories and Models

3.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to review the concepts, theories and models that show the important link that exists between language and identity; a concept that concerns many aspects of life: anthropology (Bucholt and Hall, 2003); sociology (Tajfel, 1998) and sociolinguistics (Labov, 1963; Gumperz, 1982; LePage & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Joseph, 2004; Clark, 2013 and De Fina, 2016). The important link that exists between language and identity is captured by Piller (2005: 489) as follows:

> Throughout history, language and identity have been closely linked. Political boundaries have been drawn along linguistic lines, establishing national as well as ethnic division. Often, a single feature of pronunciation, grammatical and lexical markers, naming, and discourse may all be used to establish identity. The linguistic approach that is most centrally concerned with the interrelationship between identity and language is sociolinguistics.

In the light of this assertion, the present chapter starts with a clear definition of the concept of identity since the question of identity in sociolinguistics, like in sociology and anthropology, has to do with "who we are, how we perceive ourselves and how others perceive us" (Thornborrow, 2004: 158). Thornborrow goes further to argue that identity, whether it is on an individual, social or institutional level, is something which we are constantly building and negotiating with others all our lives, through interaction. Identity, according to this same linguist, is multifaceted; people switch into different roles at different times in different situations, and each of these contexts may require a shift into different, sometimes conflicting identities for the people involved. Ratansi and Phoenix (1997:103-104) reiterate this multifaceted characteristic of the concept of identity through an illustration of the diasporic communities that have new forms of articulation between the global and the local, leading to "hybrid or syncretic identities" especially among young people. This is a process that is aided by the formation of diaspora communities in the metropolitan countries. These new identities combine elements from a variety of cultural sources. The question of the fluidity and complexity of the concept of identity is reflected in this definition as illustrated by some of the approaches discussed in this chapter that illustrate relevant dichotomies such as individual versus group identities, the hierarchical differences in social identities, the acts of accommodation in language use to construct in-/out-group identities and the concept of

individual choice in social ecologies (habitus). Based on these definitions, this study adopts the standpoint that Cameroonians, like other human beings (Schneider, 2007), are social beings who need to survive and enjoy life in the German diasporic space. In this regard, they need to associate with each other. Therefore, they may have to form groups where they feel safe and protected in a world, which is not only foreign but sometimes "hostile and threatening" (Schneider, 2007:26). In such a world, group membership, the need to be identified with one or more of these groups, offers a high degree of safety and comfort.

After this presentation of the different concepts of identity, the chapter continues with an exposition of the relevant theoretical frameworks that surround the present research. These include poststructuralism, a paradigm that argues that almost every aspect of human experience, including modes of communication, social habits, values, and preferences, is based on and can be expressed via language use (Bourdieu, 1977; Derrida, 1978; Foucault, 1980; Bakhtin, 1981). This research also adopts the approach of Social Constructionism, which explains the link between language and identity based on an interactionist construct where language use is interpreted based on existing social conditions of the life of its users (Och, 1993; Meyerhof, 2006). The Community of Practice is also relevant to this study because it reflects a "collection of people who engage, on an ongoing basis, in some common endeavour" (Eckert and McConnet-Ginet, 1992:8). These communities arise due to a common interest since members help each other cope with their world. Furthermore, postcolonial pragmatics is a sub-field of pragmatics that argues, and correctly too, that Western pragmatic models will not capture the realities of the Cameroonian situation, if these realities are not explained within the background of their cultural and traditional belief systems (Janney & Anchimbe, 2011).

Last but not the least, this chapter examines three important strands and models of inquiry on language and identity; these include, the variationist model (Labov, 1963; Trudgill, 1974; Eckert, 2000), the interactionist model, as postulated by Gumperz (1982) and Ochs (1996), as well as the social constructionist or postmodernist approach by Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, (1985), Blommaert, (2012) and De Fina, (2016). This chapter shows that in spite of evolution in the approaches to researches on language and identity, the central issue in all approaches is that language serves as a vehicle for the construction of different shades of identity (Mallison, 2007). Thornborrow (2004) and Joseph (2016) both link the sociolinguistics of identity to "symbolic interactionism" which emerges from the pragmatic theory of the "self" (Thornborrow, 2004:158). This chapter prepares the study towards an examination of the pragmatic theory of the "self" during social interactions and reveals that although these models are different, most researchers have manifested an overlapping

tendency. For instance, Cameroonian speakers of CamE and CamPE are expected to base their choice of address forms not only on in-/out-group relation and social proximity, but also they are expected to follow tradition and have respect for age differences (variationist). However, because these speakers live in the globalized context of the German diaspora, they may resort to either follow or abandon culture and tradition. Here we see the effects of post-modernism and the interactionist model that examines language and identity within its social context overlapping with the rules and expectations of culture. From the social constructionist (post-modernist) model, as postulated by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) in their "Acts of Identity", we observe the following:

> The individual creates for himself/herself the patterns of his/her linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the groups with which from time to time he/she wishes to be identified or so as to be unlike those from whom he/she wishes to be distinguished (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985:181).

In this way, the Cameroonian immigrants are expected to adopt linguistic patterns that will reflect their present ecology. The mixture of languages and cultures within the diasporic space is expected to have noticeable results.

3.2. The meaning of identity

All through history, identity has been defined differently. Among the various definitions, there seems to be an evolutionary process; it is appropriate, therefore, to start a discussion of language and identity with an exposition of the meaning of the term "identity". From a sociological angle, the term identity has grown from being a stable or constant core of the self as postulated by Hall (1996) to a dynamic, inconsistent and multiple dimension among human beings (Pavelenko, 2002; Block, 2006a&b).

In sociology, the concept of identity is linked to and emerges from the pragmatic theory of the "self". Scott & Marshall (1998:294), in the dictionary of sociology, define "the self" as "a distinctively human capacity which enables people to reflect on their nature and social world through communication and language." This is in line with another sociologist, Tajfel, who in says:

> The self is a distinctively human capacity which enables people to reflect on their nature and social world through communication and language[…]that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership (Tajfel 1974:69).

Identity in this context serves as a mirror of the way individuals perceive or comprehend themselves in relation to others in the community. Some sociologists and sociolinguists believe that people only exhibit that identity or personality which is in agreement with the cultural and traditional beliefs and acceptance of a group (that is their group identity). In other words, identity resides in the individual or group's perception of selves in relation to their past and future and how they want to be viewed and understood in the present (Pavelenko, 2001; Ige, 2010). Another researcher, Menard-Warwick (2005), believes that a single definition of an important term like identity is insufficient, so she proposes a double definition in which identity is seen both as constant and dynamic depending on the context and situation. Identity, therefore, is the way people see themselves and are seen by others; she argues that identity is constructed through a blend of the social practices in which individuals take part during the course of their daily lives. Based on this, Norton (2000:5) refers to identity as: "[…] how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future." Ige (2010) supports this point of view by adding that identity is a reflection of various ways in which individuals view themselves in relation to others, that is the "similarity" and "difference" they perceive between themselves and others (Jenkins 1996:4, Woodward 1997). Bamberg (2010:1) reiterates this when he says that identity is an attempt at both "differentiating" and "integrating" the sense of self along different social and personal dimensions such as gender, age, race, occupation, ethnicity, class, nation, state, region and territory. Illustratively, when the Cameroonian Anglophones, as studied in this research, adopt or re-enact certain identities, they are in effect assimilating themselves to certain groups or differentiating themselves from them. According to Joseph (2004), identity has three hall marks: resemblance of the notion of self in a particular time and space with others of the community, peculiarity and difference of the individual in relation to others, and finally a "construction of agency" by the individual who either adopts a "world-to-self direction" or "self-to-world direction" to be able to fit or accommodate to the present reality. This view is also held by Tajfel and Turner (1979), who define social identity not as one "self", but they argue that people have multiple "selves" that relate to appropriate contexts and situations.

From a purely sociolinguistic stand, Hall (1995:7) holds that: "[…]identities actually come from outside; they are the ways in which we are recognized and then come to step into place of the recognition which others give us." Hall goes further to claim that "without the others there is no self- recognition" (ibid: 7) "Calling friends by certain names in certain

contexts might just be for maintaining communion or bonding within the group…" (Anchimbe, 2011:1481). "Bonding" and "group communion", just as is the case in many African cultures, is based on collective entities in which an individual does not exist by his own strength alone but rather as a part of a larger group. This is also the concept of *Ubuntu.* Tempels (1959) explains that according to the Ubuntu philosophy, the power of the individual depends on the other members of the community.

As exemplified by Cameroonian Anglophones, there is the necessity for hierarchy in issues of respect and solidarity (what can be called politeness in Western pragmatics). Edwards (2009) argues that there is an important relation between individual identity and "groupness" and at the heart of this is "continuity". Within the Cameroonian diasporic community, the social categories that are considered important may depend on the context. This is what Extra (2004:9) cites as the requirements for "belonging" in the social category that makes this a community of practice: attachment to a group, which is the sense of belonging and a degree of emotional attachment to a group; the sense of social embeddedness, which represents the degree to which a particular collective identity is embedded in an individual's day-to-day social relationships.

Norton (2013:4) argues that an individual's identity is formed based on "how that person understands his/or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future". Blommaert (2006) and Preece (2016) both hold that the identities that people choose for themselves are constrained by their access to different types of social discussion spaces and their relations and contact with people of different status. In these different contexts, different identities are constructed/ (re)constructed, negotiated / (re)negotiated or performed. Preece goes further to argue that sometimes individuals in a community are considered non-normative and therefore cannot participate in certain groups (he calls this "ascribed identities", i.e. identities that different individuals and persons are given in their communities).

For Clark (2013:7), therefore, identity is a "social and cultural phenomenon[…] something constructed or emanating from within ourselves". She goes on to argue in favour of Tajfel (1974) and Joseph (2004) that identity can be characterised both as "fixed and dynamic social categories" (Clark, 2013:7). However, she goes further to add that identity is "a sociocultural phenomenon that comes from and within local, interactional discourse contexts that are social and cultural in nature" (ibid:7). In light of this, one can talk of different identities: social, cultural and national as well as individual (ibid:7). However, Clark argues that even though identity is a quality ascribed to individuals, people rely on the opinion of

other human beings of the community or groups as reference points for constructing their own social identities. Riley (2007:87) reiterates this point of view by saying: "in social terms, identity can by definition only be treated by reference to others, since others are its principal source." To illustrate this, Clark (2013) cites Sartre: 2003:645 *"il suffit qu'on me regarde pour que je sois ce que je suis* (it only needs someone to look at me to become what I am). Based on these assertions, Clark (2013) concludes that social identity is as much the product of the gaze of others as it is of our own making.

Relating all of these to the present contemporary diasporic space in which my subjects find themselves, Rattansi and Phoenix's (1997) definition of the concept of identity in diasporic communities becomes relevant. They hold that new forms of expressions between the global and the local are leading to "hybrid" or "syncretic" identities which they call "SYNCRETISM" especially among young people, a process aided by the formation of diaspora communities in the metropolitan countries. These new identities combine elements from a variety of cultural sources. This also confirms Hall's (1996) view that identity is never undivided, as he maintains that in late modern times, identities are getting more and more fragmented and unpredictable (also see Rampton, 2009; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). Hall (1996:2), also argues that increasing globalisation is responsible for this fragmentation and fluidity due to the large-scale international mobility of people around the globe. They therefore conclude that identity is a process of continual "emergence". This research argues in favour of this fluidity, because it investigates a group of people who are not only multilingual but are very mobile, given the fact that they have to survive in an immigrant context.

3.3. The meaning of (re)construction of identity

In order to give a clear picture of what is meant by (re)construction of identity, this study makes use of Piller (2002), who observes that in the social constructionist framework, rather than speak of identity as a closed entity, or a label that is attached to people, identity is seen as a process, as something that is performed and done or articulated. It is this "performance", "doing" and "articulation" which is considered or termed *construction*. There are two possibilities for the actors: in this case they can either re-enact the language behaviour they used to have in Cameroon, (re)constructing old identities or they can construct new identities by adopting new linguistic habits in the new context. For instance, the collective identity of a group, like that of the Anglophone Cameroonians under study, will reflect or represent types

of national, cultural and linguistic identities. The so constructed identity is usually affiliated with or tied to an interaction with others in the community, either with other immigrants or with fellow Cameroonians or members of the host community. It is argued that the (re)construction of the self, which is the identity, is usually not an automatic consequence of context and situation (e.g. being a Cameroonian Anglophone or from the Bali ethnic group, for example). This, instead, will only become a reality via verbal articulation (Piller, 2002). This implies that identities of the immigrants in question (e.g. cultural identities) will be re-enacted and constructed repeatedly during their migratory stay. The use of address forms and kinship terms in social interactions will result in both individual and group identity (re)construction. Gumperz (1982:26) argues that the human interaction of these actors "constitutes a social reality." He goes on to claim that individuals in an interaction are able "to alter their social personae in everyday social interaction depending on the context" (ibid:27). As far as the Cameroonians in question are concerned, the co-existing cultural, social and linguistic norms will presumably influence their linguistic choices and hence their (re)constructed identities. What Gumperz (1982:14) talks of as "communicative flexibility" can, in the present context, be analysed in the use of nominal address forms and kinship terms. Their choices will help in the (re)construction of different shades of identities (depending on the sociolinguistic strategies that influence their choices). Based on this, it is possible to analyse the (re)constructed identities within a socio-cultural framework. Identity thus becomes a product of, and not the source of, linguistic practices (Buchholtz and Hall, 2005). In a similar vein, Kallmeyer & Keim (2003) observe that young Turkish immigrants use Turkish German in certain settings in Germany to index different ethnic and generational identities. Thus, it is expected that the Cameroonian immigrants will make their language choices strategically to either belong to the new community (integration) or re-construct old ethnic or cultural identities for the sake of cultural adherence.

Social psychologists and sociolinguists like Tannen (1994) and Widdiecombe (1998) are of the view that identity is a dynamic social construct which can be negotiated and situated based on context. According to Widdiecombe (1998:202), "the fragmented self is constructed through the multiple discourses in which it is momentarily positioned". In this case, a Cameroonian woman, for instance, may re-enact the identities of *a woman, a mother, an Anglophone Cameroonian, a teacher, a married wife, a daughter* and even more, depending on the situation and participants during an interaction. Kramsch (2003:131) calls this "identity types," which she claims could be recognized in different contexts and situations. Buckhholtz and Hall (2005:605) reiterate this by confirming that "because identity is inherently relational,

it will always be partial, produced through contextually situated and ideologically informed configurations of self and other." In other words, identity is partly the result of negotiation, accommodation, sometimes even a denial of some aspects within a community of practice.

3.4. Complexity and diversity of the identity concept

This sub-chapter examines individual and group identities as manifested by the concept of self, the social hierarchy of identities, how individuals and groups arrange their linguistic choices to accommodate the speech styles of their interlocutors and how each linguistic choice is an act of identity. Finally, the section relates language and identity to the concept of social ecologies.

3.4.1. Individual and group identities: The concept of self

The attention paid to the study of the identity concept has spread as a result of present-day awareness of the concept of self (Giddens, 1991). This is to say that many new concepts and ideas of this salient human phenomenon have flourished within the past decades. This study, therefore, considers it necessary to examine the various phases of evolution and conception of identity. Having given the different definitions of identity (3.1.), it is relevant to say here that identity is made up of many different facets and realms: social identity, ethnic identity, cultural identity, linguistic identity and socio-cultural identity.

Hall (1995:8) argues that the concept of identity is fluid, due to the fact that "identities come from outside, they are the ways in which we are recognized and then come to step into the place of the recognition". For Jenkins (2008:5) "identity is the human capacity rooted in language to know who's who and hence what's what." In other words, the context and intention will influence speakers' linguistic choices. This involves knowing who we are, knowing who others are, then knowing we are "us", knowing who they think we are and so on. This is a multidimensional classification or mapping of the human world and our place in it. Identification is a process and not a thing. It is not something that one can have or not, it is something that one does (Jenkins, 2008:5). From this perspective, Jenkins holds that identity can only be comprehended as a process of "being" or "becoming" (see also Bratton, 2015: 116).

Giddens and Sutton (2013) believe that human beings think of themselves in terms of personal identity, which is the "personal self" and social identity, which is the "collective self".

Based on this, Bratton (2015:116) explains that personal identity or self-identity, as postulated by Giddens and Sutton (2013), refers to the ongoing process of self-development in which every individual constructs a unique sense of himself or herself. This leads to an establishment of relationships with other people of the world around. Identity is, therefore, constructed based on social relations and discourses in the community. Bratton (2015) cites the example of gender (man versus woman), sexuality (straight versus gay), race (black versus white) etc. In this respect, ethnicity and culture are important determinants of identity (ibid: 117).

Bratton (2015) goes on to argue that the difference between personality and identity adds to the hybridity of the concept of identity. The difference between these two concepts can be seen via the answer to the question "Who are you?" The answer to this question could be: I am an introvert; I am a thoughtful person; I am reliable and patient etc. These sets of answers are a list of personality traits. However, the second possible set of answers could be: I am a husband/wife to so and so; I am a parent; I am a teacher; I am a student. These second sets of answers, unlike the first according to Bratton (2015), have no link to personality traits, but reveal a sense of identity on grounds of how the respondent is related to others in his/her community. The second sets of answers are context-oriented in the social relations in which the individuals are connected. Identity, therefore, refers to social relations, to fluid processes of becoming rather than an end state of being: identity is not something we are born with; it is structured or shaped by, and also shapes, societal influences (Bratton, 2015:117).

Andersen et al. (2009), while discussing the personal features that characterize identity construction, argue that the internal condition of identity is personal, constituting the personal story of an individual's "experiences and adventures" (Andersen et al. 2009:38). These linguists distinguish between the "I" and the "Me" in which the "I" denotes that part of the individual which "acts, reflects, thinks and embodies the conscience." The "me", on the other hand, is the inner "essence" of the persona within the individual; the part that is shown outwardly for others to see and to relate with. This is what he/she wants to show the world and this usually creates the sense of "being good enough"; it causes "self-esteem". There is, therefore, a constant conflict between the "I" and the "Me" (ibid: 39). In other words, there is often a struggle between what the individual will like to be and what his/her community will expect him/her to be. According to Andersen et al. therefore, in every context and situation each individual has to nurture the relation between the "I" and the "Me", that is to say, how one acts and the persona one is. This is portrayed in each individual's lifestyle and interaction with other people of the community in which they find themselves. All this is conditioned by aspects of the socioculture of the community. Andersen et al. (2009) further claim that "today

it is up to the individual to create his/her own world" meaning that one is the architect of one's own identity. The "constructed private world" hence becomes a collection of private and contemporary cultures, norms and values which the individual will see as the foremost important thing in his/her life (Andersen, et al. 2009:42). From the foregoing, the individual is constantly faced with new decisions that have to be made (language choice: address forms and kinship terms). "A person therefore only becomes committed to another when, for whatever reason, she or he decides to be" (Giddens 1991:91-93).

One exclusively has to choose who to be with, and when this will fit one's private world. Luk and Lin (2007) also echo this stand when they point out that an individual has a variety of identities within him. They go on to argue that none of these identities are "predetermined, fixed or static" but are sometimes "incoherent, fragmented, multiple and conflicting" (Luk & Lin 2007:50). These multidimensional and non-unitary characteristics of identity have also been echoed by Norton (2000). At one moment, a speaker could be a mother, at another a wife, an immigrant woman/worker, etc. Finally, (Blurr, 1995:40) argues that the social constructionist view on identity means that the individual's perception, feelings, behaviour and thoughts will change depending on who one is interacting with**.**

The present research is focused on various aspects of social and personal identities, such as gender, ethnic, multilingual and migrant identities, and goes on to investigate how these aspects of identity are related to language use more specifically the blend and adjustment of CamE and CamPE in the diasporic context.

3.4.2. Social identity/ hierarchy of identities

From a sociolinguistic perspective, the self and identity are in a reciprocal relationship. The "self" influences society via its actions, words, and deeds (Giddens, 1991). On the other hand, society influences the individual because each group or association has its rules and expectations that have to be reflected or shared by members. The self emerges and it is reflected by the society participants. Every structure and organisation, for example, has a hierarchy and a structural system (beliefs). This means that identity without a community or society serves little or no purpose. It is only in the social context of the community that identity has meaning. People only find meaning in created and (re)created identities by viewing themselves in relation to others of the community. In the Cameroonian context, speakers will project identities via language that is accepted, admired, or understood. Individual identities are based on race, class, level of education and nationality. This is also a reflection of the

Ubuntu concept which holds that a person is only a person because he/she has people (Temple, 1959).

Again, according to Giddens and Sutton (2013), if self-identity sets people apart as distinct individuals, social identity is the perception of *sameness* or *belongingness*, i.e. the ways in which individuals are the same or members of some human collective signs that denote who, in a basic sense, that person *is*. Examples of social identities include occupation, e.g. lawyer, teacher, doctor, etc. Social identities have a collective quality and are dependent on commonly shared characteristics, objectives and experiences. Adding to the complexity of the identity phenomenon is the fact that an individual can have multiple identities, some of which may be more noticeable depending on the context or situation. "What makes our identity dynamic, rather than static, is our capacity as self-conscious, self-reflective human beings to constantly construct and reconstruct our identities" (Bratton, 2015:117).

Bamberg (2010) illustrates the complexity of the concept of identity by arguing that on a hierarchical scale, identity has two characteristics which could be considered contradictory: on the one hand, identity can differentiate between individuals and, on the other hand, identity can help individuals get integrated along different social and personal dimensions such as gender, race, age, occupation, socio-economic and socio-political status, and ethnicity (Bamberg, 2010:1). This reiterates the view that when an individual acts in a particular way, they are either assimilating themselves to a particular group or class or at the same time differentiating themselves from others who do not belong to the group or class they have decided to align with. Woodword (2002) contends that identity is mainly differentiation. However, Joseph (2004) argues that identity construction could be like a double-edged sword that can either bring individuals together or separate them, thereby having both a unifying and a divisive force.

Traditionally identity was believed to be a fixed phenomenon but recently the poststructuralist view has been adopted to address and define the concept. This is because in a global and postmodern world, identity is considered varied, multiple, diverse, dynamic, shifting, fluid, and subject to change (Bamberg, 2010; Omoyini & White, 2006). According to Omoyini and White (2006), identities are unstable, flexible, ongoing, negotiated, and multiple. In other words, identity is made up of a multiplicity of roles or subject positions that could be described as a mixture of individual agency and social influences. Block (2007) and Zacharias (2010) conclude that instead of being fixed and coherent, identity is to be seen as a process.

Hall (1995:12) uses the term "identification" to indicate this ongoing process, i.e. an "ongoing" engagement of individuals in interaction with others. In the words of Wenger

(1998), identity is not only a category or a personal characteristic; it is a kind of "becoming", i.e. it is a social and a learning process which can also be considered local and global at the same time.

Furthermore, an individual does not possess one "self" but several "selves" which come into play in one situation or the other (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). This adds to the hierarchical and complex nature of the concept. Wenger (1998) highlights another element of identity which he postulates to be "negotiated experience" which Anchimbe (2007) calls "identity opportunism". These researchers conclude that people negotiate the identities that they want to be associated with and the identities they prefer. However, this choice is influenced by the expectations of society in which the individual belongs. Agency is a self-conscious process that gives us the chance to make linguistic choices but contradictorily these choices depend on context, place, time and interests. Bamberg (2010) concludes that identity, therefore, has elements which are both: a) given, innate, and predetermined, such as social class and ethnicity, physiologically inherited traits or characteristics; b) elements that are constructed by desire, societal expectations and necessity. This researcher observes that identity is contextually situated in a past-present-future timeframe; it is fluid, dynamic, shifting, and variant and finally it is multiple, multidimensional, diverse and accordingly negotiated due to having contradictory and conflicting selves, among which people have to make a choice. It is within the context of these complexities that the present study is expected to lay its foundation. We argue here that the language choices of the immigrants under consideration are bound to be influenced by culture and partly by "opportunism".

3.4.3. Accommodation theory: Acts of identity

Speech accommodation theory is a concept that posits that speakers can change their speech while in interaction in order to align themselves with or distance themselves from their interlocutors (Giles, 1977). Le Page and Tabouret–Keller (1985) are proponents of this theory through their research on Creole languages. These linguists have been particularly important in laying the foundational theories for sociolinguistic study of identity, because it acknowledges that a speaker is not merely a passive voice-piece of his or her social position in society but rather makes sometimes conscious choices as to how to speak. Riley (2007) confirms that speakers sometimes exploit linguistic resources available to them in order to project different identities for different contexts. Such a choice itself represents an act of identity.

People sometimes create for themselves the patterns of linguistic behaviour which will resemble those of the group(s) with which they wish to be identified by adapting to certain linguistic features to feel accepted by or integrated within certain communities. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) emphasize the agency of speakers in their ability to wield linguistic resources available to them in their attempt to project different identities during their discussions with various interlocutors. This model is evidence of the fact that speakers, by actually exploiting the linguistic resources in their repertoires, are not merely products of social structures who reproduce that same structure, but are active creators of the identities they wish to project at that time and space. Identity in this perspective is not viewed as fixed but rather a dynamic phenomenon. Buckholtz (1999) and Norton (2000) reiterate this function of accommodation when they view speakers as more than just products of social context and more as agents with the ability to select linguistic resources available in the community repertoires. Following this, speakers manipulate the languages in their repertoires to mark or gain membership in community groups or personal relationships. Buckholz (1999) holds that a speaker can actively manipulate linguistic choices to create specific identity. Language, therefore, is not seen simply as a reflection of one's general social position in the world; rather, language is constitutive of that societal expectation in a community of practice. Illustratively, Anchimbe (2007) argues that it is because speakers find a way to cope with the complexity of addressing each other based on societal expectations that they resort to teknonyms and zero address forms. Anchimbe speaks of "*linguabridity* and *identity opportunism*". These are aspects which are expected to be investigated in the present research.

3.4.4. The concept of identity & social ecologies (habitus)

Habitus, as postulated by Bourdieu (1994:261), is a structure of tendencies that can provide a useful model that maybe used to account for the sociolinguistic realities in the identities (re)construction among Cameroonian Anglophone immigrants of the German diasporic socio-ecologic space. This can thus explain the way individuals in society perceive the social world around them and how they react to events. These dispositions and tendencies are often viewed as shared or common among people with similar backgrounds, for instance social class, religion, nationality, ethnicity, and gender.

In other words, habitus is the lived experiences or the lived realities in which human beings find themselves (Bourdieu, 1994). As an illustration, the Anglophone Cameroonians in the German diaspora may have shared experiences from their backgrounds, common

objectives, dreams, and shared opportunities. The habitus, therefore, represents the way group culture and personal histories shape the body and minds of people and individuals in a community (Ratner, 2000; Heller, 2003). According to Bourdieu (1994: 261), social space defines the position adopted by actions. This could include proximity to power, occupation or the level of education. Following Bourdieu (1994), therefore the position (disposition) adopted by every individual during an interaction is what he calls "habitus". This includes the characteristics of the agents who occupy or interact within given spaces or contexts. Agha (2007) reiterates this stand when he says that agents who find themselves in such ecologies will adopt acts of interpersonal communications to adjust to new realities. This, in turn, will help shape and reshape their identities. In other words, the "self" which depends on context and ecologies is in constant *flux* (Agha, 2007). Trudgill (2005) demonstrates that habitus is what gives consistency to a social actor's persona. For Jenkins (1992:142), "habitus is a system of habits", a system of stable, adaptable, fluid tendencies that come from lived experiences of a particular group of people or society. The dispositions that characterize the subjects of the present research may be the way they walk, speak, dress, act or even eat. These habits, according to Trudgill (2005), are acquired over a period of time when the subjects slowly cultivate the habits. Thus, habitus (habits) is a clear symbol of differentiation and becomes a trait or identity mark of a community or group of individuals. Norton (2000) believes that social identity is created when the individual categorises his/her surroundings and places himself/herself in a group with which he/she shares common characteristics, in turn breaking away from other social groups. In multicultural and multilingual communities like that of Cameroonians, social groups differentiate themselves based on linguistic and cultural idiosyncrasies.

The idea of habitus as conveyed by Bourdieu (1994) indicates a "duality" (Pavelenko & Blackledge, 2004:21-101; Fairclough, 2001:122-123) that can be used to study the linguistic choices of Cameroonian immigrants in the diaspora. The dualistic nature of language practices gives room for the observed fluidity of the language practices encouraged by the multilingualism and multiethnicity of the context and the strife for human attempts at upward mobility in the present socio-political and socio-economic context of the German diaspora. Cameroonian multilinguals may have to exploit the languages in their repertoire to gain entrance into a certain community of persons. In other words, the different languages in a multilingual setting could be considered as rich resources that speakers can use to make a difference between the "self" and the "other". Thus, language choice can be exploited to signal and negotiate different options and positions at the disposal of the speakers. As a result of this, the concept of agency has to be studied to see if the Cameroonians in the German diaspora

will take part in certain "practices" (Bourdieu, 1994) that will reflect their present social ecology.

3.5. Theoretical frameworks to the sociolinguistic study of language and identity

This sub-chapter places the present research within its relevant theoretical frame which includes poststructuralism, a paradigm that argues that almost every aspect of human experience, including modes of communication, social habits, values, and preferences, is based on or can be expressed via language use (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991; Derrida, 1978; Foucault, 1980; Bakhtin, 1981). This research also adopts the approach of social constructionism which explains the link between language and identity based on an interactionist construct, where language use is interpreted based on existing social conditions of the life of its users (Och, 1993; Meyerhof, 2006). The community of practice is also relevant

to this study, because it reflects a "collection of people who engage on an ongoing basis in some common endeavour" (Eckert & McConnetGinet, 1992:464). These communities arise due to a common interest, since they help each other cope with their world. Finally, the present study makes use of postcolonial pragmatics, which holds that Western pragmatic models will not capture the realities of the Cameroonian situation if these realities are not explained within the background of their cultural and traditional belief systems (Janney & Anchimbe, 2011).

3.5.1. Poststructuralism: framework to the study

Post-structuralism is shaped by the belief that almost every aspect of human experience, including modes of communication, social habits, values and preferences, is based on or can be expressed via language use. The present study interprets this to mean that everything the Cameroonian immigrants in question think they know, their past, their present, and their future expectations (their personal identities and their world) can be expressed linguistically.

In other words, poststructuralists (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991; Derrida, 1978; Foucault, 1980; Bakhtin, 1981) think that human realities are created by the languages that people use. With this concept, the ideals and values of mankind are vehicled by the language they use to think up these ideals and values. The semantics of language and identity, as demonstrated in the address forms/kinship terms in CamE and CamPE under study, is guided by the theory of

poststructuralism, which adopts the stance that societies and communities are sites for struggles and heterogeneous arenas for linguistic expressions of truth (Norton, 2014). In such a system, Norton (2014) views language not as a neutral medium of communication but loaded with social meaning. In the light of poststructuralist theory, the relationship between the languages in the repertoire of the Anglophone Cameroonian will guide and help them construct different identities because, as Norton (2013) says, every time these immigrants speak, they are "negotiating and re-negotiating their relationships across time and space" (Norton, 2013:2). This theory is found to be relevant to the present research, because poststructuralist theories give prominence to and put emphasis on language and all forms of meaning, especially meaning in social contexts (Norton, 2013). This theory accords a central position to "…the circulation of discourses […]systems of power/knowledge that define and regulate our social institutions, disciplines, and practices" (Norton 2013:1). In the poststructuralist thinking, language is "…no longer neutral [...] language becomes a key site for the ongoing creation and contestation of identity and its performativity" (ibid:2).

Poststructuralism foregrounds the place of language in relations between individuals and the community in which they live. This is because language guides and directs as well as helps individuals and groups to construct their identities (Weedon, 1997). The poststructuralist theory has been exploited by many sociolinguists and applied linguists to research the relationship between language and identity (e.g. Norton, 2000, 2013; Heller, 2007; Blommaert, 2008; Kramsch, 2009). Nortorn (2000), researching identity and language learning, highlights learners' diverse learning contexts and how they position themselves and are re-positioned in different arenas. Weedon's (1997) notion of subjectivity positions ties with Bourdieu's (1991) identity and language through the use of power. This demonstrates how speakers and learners negotiate multiple or different identities via language, reframing and (re)constructing relationships through language use. Likewise, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) examine how identities are negotiated in multilingual contexts. This study sees a clear link between the poststructuralism theory and other socio-cultural theories such as Lave and Wenger's (1991) community of practice. Within the Cameroonian immigrant communities of practice, people exchange their experiences. They share their practices of "being and becoming migrants"; they also share their opinions and orientations, their social, cultural and linguistic values and experiences (Frank-Job &Kluge, 2015:85). Block (2006a:39-40) is also of this opinion when he says:

> A post-structuralist approach to identity frames identity as socially
> constructed, a selfconscious, ongoing narrative an individual performs,
> interprets and projects in dress, bodily movements, actions, and

> language. All of these occur in the company of others – either face to face or electronically mediated - with whom to a varying degree an individual shares beliefs and motives and activities and practices […] identity is about negotiating new subject positions at crossroads of the past, present and future. The individual is shaped by his/her socio-history but also shapes his/her socio-history as life goes on.

It is this performance, action and manipulation which are at the heart of language use of the immigrants under investigation. In line with the poststructuralist theory, this research argues that identity is not fixed but is something that is ongoing; it is "… a lifelong project by which individuals constantly attempt to maintain a sense of balance; ontological security" (Giddens, 1991:47). This search for security takes place within the frameworks of the past, present and the future. In other words, the daily interaction of the speakers under study is influenced by their histories, reconciling their current sense of self and their accumulated past "…with a view to dealing with what awaits them in the future…" (Block, 2006:35). Block (2006a) goes on to argue that this process is conflicting because of the need to reconcile contradictory forces. Elliot (1996) describes this as "tensions between self and other: desire and lack, life and death, consciousness and unconsciousness, nearness and farness" (Elliot 1996:8). "It is the state of being intimate with one's surrounding while remaining an outsider" (Block 2006:35). At one point, the immigrant may wish to re-enact his or her Cameroonian modes of respect but at the same time, the German sociolinguistic environment may have different expectations. These speakers have to reconcile their linguistic choices to suit their present ecology. While Giddens (1991) maintains that identity construction is at the free will of the individual, Block (2006:36) argues that "…the cultural supermarket is not a completely free market where any self-identity under the sun can be assumed; nor is it a reality in an equal way for all of the inhabitants of the planet…" In the light of Block's assertion, the Cameroonian multilingual immigrants of this research cannot be expected to freely make language choices as individuals and as a community because they are under certain constraints that limit individual choices. For instance, there are restrictions imposed by certain social structures such as the German setting or peer group pressure from friends.

3.5.2. Communities of practice/social groupings: Arenas for social networking

A community of practice is a "collection of people who engage on an ongoing basis in some common endeavour" (Eckert & McConnet-Ginet, 1992:464). These communities arise due to a common interest since they help each other cope with their world. These communities

"provide the accountable link between the individual, the group, and place in the broader social order, and they provide a setting in which linguistic practices emerge as a function of this link" (ibid:465).

The community of practice is relevant to this study because it guides the identification of different Cameroonian Anglophone associations and individuals (Eckert, 2006). This paradigm shows that Cameroonian communities in the diaspora are not based on abstract categories such as gender, levels of education and ethnic origins, but this classification looks at the relations of shared linguistic practices of these immigrant groups, their daily activities, their ways of doing things, their views, their values, power relations, ways of talking. These individual idiosyncrasies will also help characterize a particular community within the larger social order (in this case the German diasporic space). Thus, Eckert (2006: 2) argues that "the community of practice is thus a rich locus for the study of situated language use, language change and of the very process of conventionalization that underlies both." The communities of practice of the Cameroonian immigrants are expected to be mutually making sense of their situation in the immigrant context of the diaspora. This is what Eckert (2006:2) calls "mutual engagement and mutual understanding." Participants in a community of practice collaborate in placing themselves as a group with respect to the world around them (ibid: 2006:2). The Cameroonian immigrants will, as a community, commonly interpret their present community, and interpret their own practice with respect to those of others in the community. Language plays an important role because, due to constant repetition of circumstances and situations of events, people jointly make more sense of happenings in their environment through a deepening of participation, shared knowledge and sense of predictability (Eckert, 2006:2).

The difference between community of practice and speech community makes the relevance of the community of practice to the present study even clearer. In the concept of speech community, Eckert (2006) argues that this concept of speech community fails to make a link between the broad fundamental categories and the meanings that individual speakers are constructing in concrete speech contexts. There is a need for local explanations of linguistic variability which has given birth to ethnographic studies. Ethnographic studies place emphasis on looking for local ecologies in which speakers interact and try to make sense of their place or situation within a wider social world (Gal, 1979; Eckert, 2000). In this ecology and world, these speakers articulate their linguistic behaviour. The construct community of practice is a means of "locating language use ethnographically so as to create an accountable connection between local practice and membership in extra-local and broad categories" (Eckert, 2006:2).

The different communities of practice of the Anglophone Cameroonians in the German diaspora serve to locate the world of immigrants in Germany and other diasporic spaces.

Communities of practice here correspond to the different subject positions people adopt on "moment to moment and day to day basis" (ibid:38) throughout their lifetimes depending on who they are with: family, colleagues at work, social groups at schools.

Relating language and identity to community of practice means that identity is conditioned by social interaction and social structure and at the same time identity conditions social interaction and social structure. This is what Hall (1995) refers to as "identification", which is true of the Cameroonian situation where in order to be in good terms with your interlocutor, you have to apply the necessary form of decorum via the appropriate language choice. Identity boundaries in such a context are defined but not fixed.

Bourdieu (1994), in his theory the *social theory,* uses the term *habitus* to refer to the acquired and learned habits and beliefs that prompt social agents (or individuals) to behave in particular ways in sociolinguistic exchanges or communication within a *field* or social arena. *Social agents* try to acquire resources (economic, linguistic and cultural capital) which are considered desirable in society. Some of these include: status, knowledge and wealth. That is why negotiation of in-/out-group relations could be said to be at the heart of the language choices of the immigrants and these are also determined by their need for economic upward mobility, which is said to condition and influence the use of language among the Cameroonians' *identity opportunism* (Anchimbe, 2005).

Addressing an interlocutor within the diasporic communities requires caution because the choice of address terms can either make or mar a relationship; the correct form of address (Cameroonian, Nigerian and Ghanaian) may be a sign of friendship and solidarity, while an inappropriate form may be interpreted as a sign of looking down on the addressed person. These address terms are ways used to quickly establish a link or bond that may provide the possibility to open certain doors in the future with the interlocutors from these countries. This is an example of the socio-economic gains that can be obtained from using address forms to negotiate and renegotiate relationships, which is at the heart of the choice of address forms used by Cameroonians in the postcolonial diasporic space (Janney & Anchimbe, 2011; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). For instance, a Cameroonian woman in the German diaspora may have to adjust her language to her day-to-day experience to make life in the diaspora fulfilling, for example when a Cameroonian woman addresses a Nigerian male using the Nigerian address form of respect *Oga*. The communication practices of the Anglophone

Cameroonians in the German locality is based on experiences what Bourdieu (1977) describes as "habitus."

3.5.3. Social constructionism: A source for developing and understanding social life and linguistic interactions

From a social constructionist point of view, the relation between language and identity is seen as an interactional construct that depends on time (historical time and developmental time). Through this, language use is interpreted based on existing social conditions of life in the society of occurrence.

> Whether or not a particular social identity does indeed take hold in a social interaction depends minimally on: (a) whether the speaker and other interlocutors share cultural and linguistic conventions for constructing particular acts and stances, (b) whether the speaker and interlocutors share economic, political, or other social histories and conventions that associate these acts and stances with the particular social identity as a speaker is trying to project, and (c) whether other interlocutors are able and willing to ratify the speaker's claim to that identity (Ochs, 1993:290).

Based on this, the Cameroonian immigrant may use different terms of address to speak to the same person based on time, place and context. According to Meyerhof (2006), the social identity theory explains the way individuals strategically use language to maintain intergroup boundaries as a symbol of identity. This, she explains, can be through divergence and convergence. Divergence highlights the differences between the identity groups one belongs to and convergence, on the other hand, is when one intends to nurture a social bond with his/her interlocutors to show solidarity. Illustratively, in the Cameroonian community, a speaker may decide to play down the differences between himself/herself and a Nigerian/Ghanaian interlocutor by using a familiar form or mode of expression. In this case, the speaker is able to manipulate linguistic choices at his disposal to give a certain reading to his listener as an identity marker. The choice he/she makes can either create or reinforce the bond between them (convergence) or can work to increase the distance between them (Meyerhoff, 2006:70-71).

The address forms and kinship terms used within the Cameroonian communities of practice are the expected forms as shaped and conditioned by the sociocultural and sociolinguistic rules that guide and direct this community of speakers. These theoretic postulates and others provide the foundation for the present study, which continues the tradition of viewing language and identity as social constructs that help explain how the

language use of the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants in Germany helps shape and re-shape their identities.

3.5.4. Postcolonial pragmatics: Hybridic, complex and fluid identities via contacts with different languages and ethnic groups

Through the lens of postcolonial pragmatics, CamE and CamPE, the two varieties of English involved in the present study, constitute the so-called Postcolonial Englishes (Schneider, 2007). Due to the history of colonialism, the link between language and identity in Cameroon, like in most other postcolonial spaces, is characterized by hybridity and super-diversity. This is what Blommaert (1999:3-8) describes as "homogenization from above, diversification from below." The colonial and postcolonial situation in Cameroon portrays a community held together by a mixture of both African and European languages, cultures and traditions (Echu, 2008; Nkwain, 2014).

Cameroon is thus an example of a country that has moved from a colony to a postcolony. This is a country characterized by a high level of *bushfalling* (external migration), which adds to ethnic and linguistic hybridity. The different languages in both the Cameroonian multilingual postcolonial space and *the postcolonial diasporic multilingual spaces* (my coinage) help create different identities. This is because each of these languages calls for a different level of allegiance and attachment in relation to country, ethnicity, social and personal allegiances. In the words of Anchimbe (2007a:33), "…each of these languages engenders a different stratum of identity…" The multi-ethnicity and multilingualism of these spaces play out in the communication and language practices of these post-colonialists. This has led to the construction of multiple identities in these spaces, dubbed by Anchimbe (2007a:33) as "*fluctuating identities*". The Cameroonian postcolonial ecology, including its overseas diaspora, is characterized by "uniquely complex, hybridic communication environments that differ markedly from the kinds of social environments generally studied in pragmatics" (Janney and Anchimbe, 2011). These authors argue that the Western styled pragmatic frameworks that are monolingual and monocultural in nature often are not suitable for an analysis of postcolonial varieties of English. In other words, Western pragmatic models will not capture the realities of the Cameroonian situation if these realities are not explained within the background of their cultural and traditional belief systems. For example, to say that a Cameroonian is not polite because he accepted an invitation but did not honour it is misleading, because within the background of some of the traditional beliefs in some Cameroonian ethnic

groups, to say *No, I can't make it or I am engaged somewhere else* will be considered very rude and arrogant. What is expected instead is for the invited person to accept the invitation even if he/she knows he/she is not going to make it. Eventually if the invited person can't come, it would be assumed that he/she had the good intention but something stopped them…something important kept you from honouring the invitation. This, as we see, is quite a different thinking from the West. Thus, analysing this situation from a Western point of view would be totally misleading (Also Afful, 2006).

The present study is based on an examination of spoken discourse in a postcolonial context (*postcolonial diasporic multilingual space*) in which speakers and their interlocutors' speech habits are said to be influenced by the transfer "of pragmatic assumptions, expectations, or strategies from one ethnic, cultural and lingua frame of reference to another" (Janney & Anchimbe, 2011:2). This model, it is believed, will reveal more forcefully how the indigenous languages and trends of reasoning influence the English spoken in *diasporic postcolonial spaces.*

The research adopts the postcolonial pragmatic argument that sometimes postcolonial communities accommodate their speech to meet up with expectations of the community of practice, for instance, as regards issues of politeness/humility expectations, in terms of age and gender. The use of address forms/kinship terms (Mthobeli, 2001; Mühleisen, 2011) and lexical semantic changes in the present research have been influenced by the postcolonial sociocultural background of the speakers. A postcolonial pragmatic and empirical description of these in the conversation and interactions of their users is suitable. Postcolonial pragmatics thus provides a suitable framework that helps explain the hybridic postcolonial communication patterns of these subjects.

Framed by the poststructuralist theory of language and identity, these postcolonial immigrants within their community of practice are expected to use linguistic strategies to construct and maintain membership in one or more social groups. This is at the heart of the language choices within the Cameroonian diasporic communities of practice. It is this interaction which determines the language use and identity so constructed by interactants. Address forms and lexical choices are rich resources for networking and solidarity. This confirms Mashiri's assertion that "shifts over time in address patterns and kinship terms may provide a powerful indicator of profound social shifts" (Mashiri, 1999:94).

Although the concept of New Englishes and postcolonial varieties could be traced back to Kachru (1985), postcolonial pragmatics, as a subfield of pragmatics, is a very recent one. Braj Kachru's (1985) idea in the pragmatics of non-native Englishes moved on to Yamuna

Kashru's (1991) studies of speech acts in World Englishes. Later, we have Kasanga's (2003, & 2006) articles on requests in Black South African English, followed by Mühleisen & Migge's (2005) on politeness and face in the Caribbean Creoles, followed by Mühleisen (2011) who examines address forms in the Caribbean; Anchimbe (2008) studies politeness through kinship terms in Cameroon English. Eventually Janney and Anchimbe's (2011) publication sets the pace for pragmatic analysis to take the view point of post-colonial pragmatic analysis.

Anchimbe's (2011) name avoidance in Cameroon English is actually a demonstration of the sub-field and its relevance. There is also Nkwain's (2014) sociopragmatic examination of address forms in Cameroon Pidgin English. The present research makes a contribution to this branch of study, because it seeks to explore the hybrid identities of transplanted postcolonial subjects from Anglophone Cameroon in the German diaspora. This study is different from previous sociolinguistic studies on the language use of Cameroonians. Unlike previous studies (e.g. Kouega, 2007; Anchimbe, 2007a&b, 2008a&b; Echu, 2008; Nkwain, 2014) which examine Cameroon Englishes within the Cameroonian postcolonial context, the present study deals with the two varieties outside Cameroon, i.e. in a foreign postcolonial setting that is far from home and its original setting. Unlike Omoniyi (2010) who posits an increasing cultural and linguistic homogenization around the globe, this study argues that the movement of peoples and cultures will lead to a global hybridity of languages and cultures through a mixture of the *exotic African* and *civilized Western* styles and beliefs. It is not only the Western forms of politics, cultures and media that are spreading across the globe; others such as Asian and African cultures are also attracting Europeans; see Asian and African dressing and culinary patterns that are infiltrating the West, and besides, the "flows" are often "reshaped" adding to the hybridity. This thesis therefore, like Higgins (2012), argues in favour of the "transformation" of globalization, which holds that contemporary socio-scapes are going through a period of "reshaping" both culturally and linguistically. This is what underlies language use that allows for new identities to develop (Higgins, 2012:250). This thesis serves as a gateway to the study of other postcolonial diasporic varieties of English especially in the contemporary migration context.

3.6. Models of, and approaches to, the study of language and identity

A review of the approaches to the study of language and identity, especially in sociolinguistic and applied linguistic studies, shows that three models stand out, i.e. the variationist, the interactionist and the socio-constructionist/postmodernist strands. All three reveal that language is an indispensable part of identity both at a personal and at a societal level, and that is why Anzaldua (1987:59) states that "ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity-I am my language." She goes on to cite Smith (1987), who says, "who is to say that robbing a people of its language is less violent than war?" Anzaldua (1987:75). In agreement with this view, Hechter (1975) and Romaine (1995) say that marginalization of minority languages and cultures is, in fact, a form of colonization. Following this argument, language can be used to manipulate, express, re-interpret, redefine and revolt against institutions as a way of reasserting identity in a social world (Anzaldua, 1987).

The interconnection between language, culture and identity has been a centre of attention for many researchers and has been examined from different perspectives. From a sociolinguistic angle, Joseph (2016:19) holds that:

> Language and identity is a topic in which contemporary perspectives cannot be neatly separated from historical ones. Identity, even in the here and now, is grounded in beliefs about the past: about heritage and ancestry, and about belonging to a people, a place, a set of beliefs and a way of life. Of the many ways in which such belonging is signified, what language a person speaks, and how he or she speaks it, rank among the most powerful, because it is through language that people and places are named, heritage and ancestry recorded and passed on and beliefs develop and ritualised.

Based on this, language in the present research is viewed as an important way in which individuals function as members of different communities within specific cultures and societies. As speakers of a language or language variety, people learn both the structure of the language in question as well as the content and context of communication. Individuals use language to "navigate expectations, and to engage in interpersonal interactions…go along with or speak out against social structures and systems" (Mallinson, 2015:1).

Edwards (2009:2) claims that "identity at one level or another is central to all the "human and social sciences", as it is also in philosophical and religious studies, for all these areas of investigation are primarily concerned with the ways in which human beings *understand themselves and others.*

Since language is central to the human condition, it is the most important distinguishing characteristic of the human species (Edwards, 2009). An investigation of language and identity

can inform and give feedback into all other disciplinary and topical approaches. The variationist, the interactionist and the postmodernist models to the study of language and identity all reveal that language can be considered a marker at the individual level, e.g. people can be classified in many ways based on their accents, membership in a particular speech community (depending on variables such as: age, gender, ethnic group, class, etc.). In relation to the present study, it can be argued that, like most people who find themselves in foreign contexts, the Cameroonians' sense of allegiance may get stronger. As Smith (1991:143) puts it, "…of all the collective identities…national identity is perhaps the most fundamental and inclusive." Put differently, it could be said that language is used by individuals and groups as indexes of where they come from within a speech community; for instance, people of different age groups will speak differently (Joseph, 2016; Afful, 2006; Anchimbe, 2007a). It is through variation in speech that identities of speakers of different generations or age groups are indexed. Illustratively, any member of the younger generation who resists some new word or pronunciation or even intonation used by members of his/her age group is most probably going to have this difference interpreted by his/her mates as a perverted identity. In relation to this, Joseph (2016:20) thus observes:

> Identities are manifested in language as, first, the categories and labels that people attach to themselves and others to signal their belonging; second, as the indexed ways of speaking and behaving through which they perform their belonging; and third, as the interpretations that others make of those indices. The ability to perceive and interpret the indices is itself part of shared culture. No group can be culturally homogeneous. The urge to tribalise is too deeply rooted in human nature…

According to Edwards (2009), people need social anchors. If the older and smaller intimacies of family and village are eroded (like in diasporic contexts), then substitutes will have to be found. Commenting on Brubaker & Cooper (2000), who hold that identity is fixed, Edwards (2009) argues that the concept of identity is a fluctuating and sometimes unstable phenomenon.

More recently, sociolinguists have viewed language and society as a basically collective and bilateral entity, each influencing the other in very important but complex ways. Language bears social, cultural and personal meanings, and these are all vehicled by linguistic markers; speakers symbolically define self and society. Mallinson (2015:2) has an apt description of this when she concludes that "Language is not merely content; rather it is something that we do, and it affects how we act and interact as social beings in the world." As a result, social variables such as gender, race, ethnicity and class do not have universal tendencies towards

linguistic choices in different communities but have differences in different groups, cultures and communities. This reiterates the view that from earliest times human beings have always been concerned about the relation between language and the individuals who speak that language. In view of that, Mallinson (2015:20) adds: "…the language a people speaks play a crucial role in making them a people". In sociolinguistic terms, therefore, language has a pragmatic function; a group of people will feel connected based on the simple fact that they share and speak a common language. On the other hand, one group will feel socially distant from another because they speak a different language or different variety of a language.

3.6.1. The variationist model to language and identity

Even though the three strands are different, most researchers have revealed an overlapping tendency in their manifestations. My study of the variationist model is based on Clark (2013) and Joseph (2016), who start, and correctly too, with the claim that the variationist model as pioneered by Labov in the 1960s was aimed at exploring social and linguistic diversity in order to better explain how speakers use language to inhabit and negotiate their personal, cultural and social identities. This model concentrates on three areas of investigation: gender, social class and geographical location. For instance, the language of upper class women displayed features that had to reflect *"prestige", "consciousness", "insecurity", "emotional expressivity"* and *"sensitivity"* towards others. The language of this same class of men, on the other hand, was supposed to be *"tough", "competitive", "hierarchical" and "in control"* (Wodak & Benke, 1997:127). Social class differences had to be reflected in the style of speech, for example, pronunciation. In contrast, recent studies have focused on other social variables such as ethic groups, age and nationality to determine the relation between identity and linguistic choices. The early variationist models used quantitative studies to examine the relationship between language differences and social class. This reveals that there was a clear social stratification in linguistic habits that depended on prestige and stigma (Labov, 1963).

Empirically, Labov (1963) studied the dialect of English used on Martha's Vineyard in the USA. His findings indicate that the islanders spoke differently from the tourists who visited the island from the mainland; there were pronunciation differences in the diphthongs /aɪ/ and /aʊ/, while the speakers from the mainland used the standard diphthongs in words like *righ*t and *house*, the islanders articulated these as /rait/ and /həus/. This difference was a reflection of the uneasy relationship that existed between the two groups. The relationship between the mainlanders who visited the island all year round and the inhabitants of the island

was a complex one, involving both "dependency" and "resentment" according to Joseph (2016). Labov interprets this linguistic difference (phonetic difference) as a distinction in the identities or personalities of the two groups of speakers, that is, the islanders and their mainland visitors. This analysis displays the effect of sociological identity on language use. Labov's study characterises the work of sociolinguistics and applied linguistics of the variationist model. These studies investigate the relation between language and identity from a variational perspective.

Mansfield and Trudgill (1994) also studied the use of phonological variants by male and female speakers and came up with the conclusion that sex presents a preferential variation, where women in the speech communities often use one variant more frequently than men. Fasold (1990:92) concludes that this tendency is an acceptable "sociolinguistic gender pattern" and Chambers (1995) refers to this feminine linguistic tendency as a sociolinguistic "verity". In this case, sex is the variable, as opposed to the earlier study by Labov, where the variable is the location (here, male chauvinism tends to put women in an inferior social position in the community). Trudgill's (1972) study, which became popular during this period holds that women need to acquire social status vicariously, unlike their male counterparts who could gain or acquire social status through their occupation and earning power.

Milroy (1992) takes up the notion of the linguistic variation in Northern Ireland in the city of Belfast. She concludes that the relationship between linguistic and social structures is not necessarily best examined by an exclusive exploration of social variables such as age and class; instead, she bases her research upon the notions of social networks. Rather than grouping speakers into predetermined categories of sampling such as age or social class, the social network situates an individual within his or her relationships, both formal and informal; with other people, such as family, friends, work colleagues and with neighbourhood and relations based upon ethnicity (Clark 2013:84). Milroy concludes that dense, multiplex networks act as brakes on linguistic innovations, such as new pronunciations and new words from network to network. Sociolinguists of the social network era include Milroy (1992) and Eckert (2000). The latter examines the sociolinguistic practices of adolescents of Belton High School at Detroit in the USA. This investigator is interested in the social behaviour of these students and how they use language to construct social identities.

Eckert (2000:1-2) concludes that:

> Ultimately, the social life of variation lies in the variety of individual's
> ways of participating in their communities, in their ways of fitting in,
> and of making their mark, their ways of constructing meaning in their
> own lives. It lies in the day-to-day use and transformation of linguistic

> resources for local stylistic purposes, and its global significance lies in the articulation between these local purposes and larger patterns of ways of being in the world.

This moves away from Labov's earlier variationist approach. Most critics of the variationist approach to the study of language and identity believe that these generalisations and assumptions are tied to Labov's definition of the speech community which is considered to have a well-stratified social class. Other critics hold that the concept of standard and nonstandard is also fluid and should be viewed within context since in some cases it is based on the level of frequency of use by the higher social class. Furthermore, "the related notion of prestige is not uniform in all communities" (Milroy, 1991:76). In the Cameroonian context, this is well-illustrated by the fact that forms of address conform more on variables like age and gender rather than class. In other words, age and gender are greater determinants and are of greater significance (Nkwain 2014).

3.6.2. The interactionist strands of language and identity

Variationist models in the study of language and identity see a shift in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology as propounded by Gumperz (1982), Edwards (2009), Fishman (1999), Benwell and Stokoe (2006), Block (2009) and Norton (2013). The emphasis of these studies is on social identities. The studies conducted by social anthropologists (e.g. Gumperz, 1986; Hymes, 1972, and Gumperz and Hymes, 1986) were very influential on studies that looked at language within its social context. These researchers studied human behaviour in ordinary day-today context. They come up with the theory that language can reveal social processes and how environmental factors such as home and cultural arena can influence linguistic choices.

Tannen (1990) talks of cross-cultural communication. This model led some sociolinguists to extend ethnography to the area of communication and verbal behaviour in language, which means that "…no verbal activity has any meaning unless it is viewed in the context of its situation" (Clark, 2013:4). The interactionist strand of language and identity is guided by the works of the sociologist Tajfel (1978), whose ideas see a shift from the Labovian argument. Unlike Labov, this theorist defines social identity as "that part of an individual's concept which derives from his/her knowledge of his/her membership of a social group or groups together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Joseph, 2016:23).

As a result of this revolutionary turn by Tajfel, sociolinguists started to reorient the object of their investigation. Milory (1980), for instance, postulates that the social class of an

individual does not appear to be the main variable allowing them to select or make certain linguistic choices. Instead she finds out that the main variable is "social network" of the speakers. What Milroy (1980:174) calls "informal social relationships", in this context, has become important for linguistic choices because it is "close knit localised network structures" (ibid:174) in which the individual finds him/herself. This is somewhat different from Labov's study in which case "class" and not "network" is the key.

A clear illustration of interactionist sociolinguistic study of language and identity is Gal's (1978) study. This study examines language change and identity in a rural bilingual German Hungarian community. The language contrast between German and Hungarian became representative of the social difference between the status of a new worker who had just arrived and a traditional peasant of the village. The women of this community used their linguistic choices in interaction to tell a story about who they were (a representation of self). They used their language choices as marriage strategies. The choice of German instead of Hungarian becomes a symbol of superiority. This example echoes the interactionist conception of the period that held that linguistic choices could be studied based on social context. In this case, language choice has a symbolic value. The available languages in the repertoire of the speaker are manipulated and become a mirror of the construction of a desired identity of the Hungarian women of this village. Another very influential researcher of this model is the Canadian sociologist Erving Goffman, who claims that:

> The tendency to use signs and symbols means that evidence of social worth and of mutual evaluations will be conveyed by very minor things, and these things will be witnessed, as will the fact that they have been witnessed. An unguarded glance, a momentary change in tone of voice can drench a talk with judgemental significance. Therefore, just as there is no occasion of talk in which improper impressions could not intentionally or unintentionally arise, so there is no occasion of talk so trivial as not to require each participant to show serious concern with the way he handles himself and the others present (Goffman, 1955:225).

Joseph (2016) argues that the above assertion is a reflection of the concept of "face", which is necessary for the understanding of human interaction in any culture to become significant. Identity and face thus have much in common (Joseph, 2016:24). In other words, the interactionist sociolinguistic approach is engrossed in the ways language can be used to explain social action. This model argues that the environmental factors are very important in language use. In this case the home and cultural milieu becomes important.

Tannen (1990) is an advocate of this approach when she claims that cultural differences affect communication between men and women. She talks of "cross-cultural communication

(ibid 1990:109) and argues that cultural differences and diverse expectations as regards gender roles can be used to explain language and linguistic performances and speech styles. She also reiterates the importance of past experiences. Tannen (1990:77) posits that boys and girls grow up in contrasting cultural milieus. This means their world of experiences is different and this affects their future social habits including linguistic ones. Men eventually avoid small talk, since they go straight to the point during a conversation, as they are independent and manifest social and hierarchical command. Women, on the other hand, do most of the talking at home but are shy in public spaces. In short, Tannen (1990) argues that men are more bothered about their status and freedom, while women are bothered about their relationships and affections. All these, Tannen claims, will affect the way men and women speak and therefore should be considered during research on language and identity.

The Cameroonian men and women of this study come from different sociolinguistic subcultures in relation to others in the diasporic context. It is expected that each of these groups and individuals will have different ideas on issues of friendliness, conversational conventions, ways and means of politeness, ways and means of interpreting signs and symbols. Tannen's "cultural difference" approach here is relevant. However, the interactionist approach has been criticized on grounds that cultural differences alone cannot explain the language variation and style because they depend too much on stereotypes, and besides, the differences between gender speech can also be explained based on power differences. Lakoff (1975) had earlier argued that language style between men and women reflects position of power and dominance. This research adopts the view that the issue is complex and therefore open to many factors, for instance, an individual may not use one form of speech style on every occasion and with every interlocutor. The interactionist view of identity has also been criticized on grounds that it reflects homogeneous groups. This is considered unrealistic, because in reality people are members of many different groups simultaneously (e.g. the heterosexual groups in immigrant contexts). Identity, according to these critics, is hybridic and heterogeneous. Language use by multilinguals shows that speakers do not have one single identity but rather a repertoire of identities.

3.6.3. The Social Constructionist (post-modernist) Conception

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) in their "Acts of Identity" are considered the pioneers of the post-modernist model of language and identity. These sociolinguists, in their study of a creole-based community, observe that the speech performance of individuals is to a certain

degree acts of identity that reveal through their language use their sense of social and ethnic solidarity or difference. These sociolinguists believe that the stereotypes and norms of the community are a basis that sets the standards of the language behaviour of the community under study. This period saw a significant turn in the study of language and identity from the variationist and the interactionist strands. To understand the main principle of this model, it is necessary to examine the ideas of its proponents in some detail:

> The individual creates for himself/herself the patterns of his/her linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the groups with which from time to time he/she wishes to be identified or so as to be unlike those from whom he/she wishes to be distinguished …We can only behave according to the behavioural patterns of groups we find it desirable to identify with to the extent that: i. We can identify the groups, ii. We have both adequate access to the groups and ability to analyse their behavioural patterns, iii. The motivation to join the groups is sufficiently powerful, and is either reinforced or reversed by feedback from the groups, iv. We have the ability to modify our behaviour (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985:181-182).

Based on their survey of a creole community of St Lucia, this model highlights the fundamental and active role of language in identity reconstruction. Clark (2013) holds that a major advantage of the Acts of Identity model is that it favours studies and analysis of small groups over larger groups, as is the case with Labov (1963) and Trudgill (1974). Another plus of this model, from Clark's viewpoint, is that it is open to choices of individuals and the model is in tune with the community of practice, i.e. what is known as the ethnography of communication (Eckert, 2000; Davies, 2005). The community of practice is relevant, because contemporary studies on language and identity are most often built around the social constructionism paradigm (Strazny, 2005; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; De Fina, 2016). Relatedly, Piller (2005:489) holds that:

> Identity is now seen as relational, cultural and contingent.It is relational because it is located in connections made between people rather than in the minds of individuals. Identity is cultural because it is based on shared understandings, and it is contingent because it is a strategic performance that may fail or misfire. Speakers are seen as strategically deploying their linguistic repertoires in order to project chosen identities. However, their acts of identities are not exclusively in their own hands as they depend (a) on the repertoires at their disposal and (b) on the ways in which their speech partners choose to view them. Identities are constructed or co-constructed depending on the power relationship that pertains between the interactants. In many societies, categories such as caste, gender, or race are imposed and coerced (forced) leaving little or no room for individuals to perform or explore alternative identities that might deviate from prevailing ideologies…

Following this same line of thought, De Fina (2016) talks of postmodernist approaches to the study of language and identity. She explains that identity is a main focus in socio- and

applied linguistics, especially so due to the fact that language use and language variation are "deeply intertwined with processes of identity building and performance." She believes that:

> […] identities are conveyed, negotiated and regimented through linguistic and discursive means; therefore, linguistic processes are at the core of identity processes. At the same time, perceptions and constructions of identities fundamentally shape the ways linguistic resources are deployed. Thus, for example, battles about language varieties and even small linguistic differences mark the creation of boundaries of ethnic or territorial belonging among people. Similarly, linguistic elements at different levels from phonemes to words shift, change and are born according to the striving of individuals and communities for differentiation (De Fina, 2016:163).

By implication, since language can be used to convey and construct different types of identity (accents, indexes, geographical origin), linguistic styles portray personal characteristics of a speaker, e.g. calm, aggressive person (specific linguistic items or expressions may index a person's gender, etc.). Since linguistic analysis of identities has to deal with these different kinds of identity categories, De Fina (2016) proposes that there should be a distinction between personal and social identities (individual and collective identities), in other words, a distinction should be made between these identity differences.

De Fina (2016) investigates how language practices contribute to the construction, conveyance and negotiation of identities (i.e. what she calls transnational identities). This linguist studies immigrant (transnational) individuals and claims that these transnational individuals are people (immigrants) "who actively build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (ibid: 164). One main feature that characterises the language and identity construction of these immigrants is that they are not firmly grounded in one place; they are a set of very mobile persons. Recent migration trends are characterised by globalisation in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics. Identity is therefore, reconceptualised as a process and practice. Commenting on language use in globalised context, Clark (2013:3) maintains that since communication has become a very important feature of modern globalised societies, what counts as a language no longer only depends on geographic location but also on the historical and political background of speakers. This makes language become fluid and difficult to pin down. Following this, some of the most recent and relevant sociolinguistic frameworks of language and identity include gender identity and language, national identities and language, multilingual identities and language, migrant identities and language.

3.7. Summary

This chapter has demonstrated the relevance of the adopted theories to the concept of language and identity, which is at the heart of the present research. The concept of identity construction is a process and an experience that is realised or manifested via language use in post-onstructionism (Bourdieu 1977, 1991). In the process of exercising or realising these experiences, the agents in question have to respect or depend on societal rules, the unspoken but accepted norms that guide and control every community. This is what is embedded in social constructionism (Ochs, 1993). These are experiences (the construction of identity via language use) of the agents of a particular group, who are all immigrants from Anglophone Cameroon. Theoretically, the Anglophone Cameroonians under study make up a community of practice (Eckert and McConnet-Ginet, 1992). The experiences of these postcolonial immigrants can best be linguistically described by a framework that takes their cultural and traditional belief systems into consideration. Even though the subjects of the present research are geographically removed from their traditional postcolonial setting (Cameroon), contemporary realities make the world a global village in which modern communication systems facilitate contact with home country.

The present research, therefore, argues that the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants are postcolonialists and the German diaspora represents a postcolonial setting. Very relevantly, when these migrants make language choices and use linguistic styles that conform to the expectations of their community (e.g. use the conventional forms of address) they are enhancing and re-enacting societal and cultural expectations. Furthermore, when these agents make language choices that aim at creating in-/out-group relations, they are enacting their network systems, which is a major feature of the interactionist model (Gumperz, 1986). The language patterns of these speakers can be examined under the innovations, the unpredictability, the diversity, the hybridity and super-diversity that are characteristic of the socio-constructionist diasporic globalized space in which these postcolonial multilingual immigrants find themselves. This reflects the tenets of postmodernism, (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; De Fina, 2016).

Chapter 4: Address forms & kinship terms as vehicles of identity (re)construction

4.1. Introduction

Address and kinship patterns used by the Cameroonian Anglophone immigrants in the German diaspora, like in the former postcolonial spaces from which they emerged, not only display features of different colonial or Western and indigenous values, they also manifest features of Asian and Western European values as hybrid combinations. The present study shows that the hybridity that the postcolonial societies manifest is made even more complex in the diasporic space because the mixture of peoples and cultures is even more extended. Instead of the original setting where we find an African context infiltrated by European language(s) and culture(s), we have groups of uprooted postcolonialists who have been transplanted to new sociolinguistic ecologies. These ecologies may include one or more of the following sociolinguistic combinations:

- *Anglophone Cameroonians and other Anglophone Cameroonians.*

- *Anglophone Cameroonians and Francophone Cameroonians.*

- *Anglophone Cameroonians and Francophones from other African countries (e.g. Congo, Togo).*

- *Anglophone Cameroonians and Anglophones from other African countries (e.g. Nigeria, Ghana).*

- *Anglophone Cameroonians and Anglophones from Asia, the Americas and other parts of Europe.*

- *Anglophone Cameroonians and their German hosts.*

- *Non-Anglophones and non-Germans (for instance Russians and Polish).*

The "compounds and bonds" (Anchimbe 2011:1477) that arise as a result will explain the super-hybridity and super-diversity (Blommaert and Rampton 2011) that characterize the linguistic behaviour as manifested through the use of address forms and kinship terms. A clash of competing social values in the diasporic space is eminent (Anchimbe 2010). This study assumes that the immigrants in the postcolonial diasporic space will re-negotiate their identities sometimes using the same strategies they used at home but at other times, adopting new sociolinguistic strategies. This study shows that address forms and other linguistic forms not only display a "duality of patterns" or duality of linguistic and cultural patterns, as argued by Reisman (1974), Allsop (1996), Aceto (2002), Mühleisen & Migg (2005), Mühleisen,

(2005) and Anchimbe (2011). This study goes further to argue that the case under consideration displays not just a duality of patterning, but rather a *multiplicity of patterning*.

To think of language as a social phenomenon in which speakers are influenced by other neighbouring languages can provide a framework to this study, which examines the language behaviour of postcolonial Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants in the German diaspora. Illustratively, when Cameroonian speakers of CamE, CamPE and tribal languages converge in the diaspora through selection, restructuring, and accommodation of address forms, new linguistic forms of expressions may arise, which are different from those employed in the home country (Mufwene, 2006). The contact of Cameroonian Anglophone speakers of CamPE and CamE with speakers of other varieties of English and many other languages like German, Russian and African traditional languages evolves in a way that many new identities are created. For instance, *Ni, Nzar, Tankoh,* which in some grass field languages of West and North Western Cameroon serve as prefixes (titles) of respect to address husbands, may be substituted for example with names like *John* and *Paul.* Notably*,* for immigrants living in Germany, a term such as *Schatz* could be employed instead. If this happens, the diaspora can be seen as an ecology of sociolinguistics where the Anglophone Cameroonian women are exposed to a tradition which allows them to publicly use intimate terms of endearment, which within the African and Cameroonian tradition are rarely used in public.

Western lifestyles and speech habits are blended at both the individual and community level. Migration itself affects the traditional ecology of language contact causing some features to become underrepresented (Kerswill, 2006:3). Blommaert and Rampton (2011:1) see this as an aspect of sociolinguistic super-diversity, which is a very typical effect of contemporary migration and globalization. Following this, the Anglophone migrants "take on different linguistic forms as they align with and disaffiliate from different groups at different moments and stages." (Blommaert and Rampton, 2012:11). They "opt in and out of these groups" (Ibid) in search of group identities and convenience during their stay in the German diaspora.

In both CamE and CamPE, the word *sister* is used to refer to an older female interlocutor and *brother* if the older person is a male. *Pa* and *Ma* are used for much older persons. For instance, if the person being spoken to is called Jane, a younger speaker will address her as *Sister Jane* or *Brother Mathias* if he is a male called Mathias. Through a selection of the features available to them in the diasporic pool, these migrants may need to adjust and accommodate their speech based on their needs (Mufwene, 2006). The example cited above, where some Cameroonian women in Germany address their husbands as *Schatz* ('darling') in public, further shows that these women use language to construct and (re)construct social

realities since the normal Cameroonian tradition is for women to use terms of respect to address their husbands in public and not terms of endearment.

This thesis argues that the postcolonial Anglophone immigrants under study are not passive consumers of linguistic forms. They are rather active creators, who manipulate language to push forward the full weight of their experiences (Mufwene, 2006). Language use as manifested by address forms therefore plays a central role in how these migrants perceive themselves and how they perceive each other. Social concepts can be understood via a study of address forms (Yang, 2010). In this way, human relationships like intimacy and closeness of relations will require the use of specific address forms and kinship terms. Yang (2010) goes on to assert that the rules for the use of required address forms in some languages are very complex and therefore need careful studies because they are linked to the cultures. Therefore, "how to address people appropriately needs not only a good understanding of the rules, but also the taking of all relevant factors into consideration" (Yang, 2010:1).It is therefore important to examine the context that orchestrates the choice of address forms as used by the informants of this study.

4.1.1. Postcolonial pragmatics

The analysis of address forms and kinship terms in this chapter will be based on Anchimbe and Janney's (2011) framework of postcolonial pragmatics. This is appropriate to describe the linguistic behaviour of Anglophone postcolonial Cameroonian immigrants in the German diaspora because the German diasporic environment constitutes or reflects a uniquely complex and hybridic communication environment that is markedly different from the kinds of other settings that use English pragmatics to describe speech behaviours. Just like in the postcolonial spaces from which the speakers under study emerge, the speech habits between interlocutors here have become intermingled with not only European languages but also Cameroonian ethnic and other African languages.

The mixture of peoples and languages in this context is more complex than has hitherto been the case. For example, Cameroonians in diaspora meet with Asians and other non-Europeans speaking different varieties of English. In such a setting there are bound to emerge more complex forms of the language, in which pragmatic practices from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds become combined (e.g. Nigerians, Kenyans, Ghanaians and Cameroonians). Thus ethnic, cultural and linguistic heterogeneity is reflected in different ways in every contact and communication practice. Seen from this angle, the address forms and

kinship terms used by the participants in this study are interpreted as reflections of intermixture and hybridities that send pragmatic messages each time they are employed. Messages of the forms, functions and effects of the characteristic mixtures is something that needs a very careful pragmatic study and this can best be done with the help of postcolonial, socio-cultural and sociolinguistic knowledge as expressed by Anchimbe & Janney (2011).

Postcolonial pragmatics takes intermixed languages and communicative practices as its point of departure, investigating different forms, functions and effects of hybridic discourse in postcolonial speech contexts. Rooted in the lives of postcolonial users of language whose identities, relationships, living conditions, communicative needs, and social perceptions and expectations have been shaped historically by the complex social environments into which they were born, it seeks to explain hybridic postcolonial pragmatic practices in terms that are understandable within the societies in which they occur (Anchimbe and Janney, 2011:1451). It is the goal of the current research project to use this framework as a guide to study the sociolinguistic (re)construction of identities of postcolonial Anglophone Cameroonians via their use of address forms and kinship terms in the German diaspora.

4.1.2. Community of practice

This chapter further argues that the community of practice of these uprooted immigrants unlike the more traditional "speech community" is geared more towards a network of institutions which are very representative, because the community of practice determines who has access to the existing community (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011). In other words, one cannot just assume that one belongs to a certain community just because they are Anglophone but rather this is a situation where a level of conformity with the expectations of the community is required. Furthermore, these communities are subdivided and even an Anglophone could find himself or herself not belonging to any *Njangi (tontins)* [24]or *meeting*[25] even though he/she is Anglophone. To be able to belong there one has to negotiate entry and it cannot be taken for granted that since one is a speaker of CamE or CamPE one will be "accepted" to be a part of this community. One has to belong to one of the associations that make up this community. In

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[24]   *Tontins and Njangi* are forms of micro-banking in which members come together, contribute an agreed sum of money and give to one member in turns.

[25]   *Tontins and Njangi* meetings take place once every month on a rotatory basis. The only collateral is the trust that members have in one another. Failing a *Njangi* is an abomination that could ruin a family name for generations.

addition, one has to speak the language of conformity by following the rules and regulations; one has to abide by the rules and regulations set by the community (Lave and Wenger, 1991:8994).

Within the Cameroonian diasporic community, the social categories that are considered important depend on the context. Extra (2004:9) cites the following as the requirements for "belonging" to the social category that makes this community of practice: (i) attachment to a group, which is the sense of belonging and a degree of emotional attachment to a group; (ii) the sense of social embeddedness, which represents the degree to which a particular collective identity is embedded in an individual's day-to-day social relationships. He further goes on to cite the behavioural involvement with the community that portrays the degree of a person's commitment in the actions that directly implicate the collective identity of his/her community.

In the adopted theoretical framework of the community of practice, there are some linguistic terms used in every language and culture to address different people in different situations and these depend on community expectations. Following Lave and Wenger, who define the community of practice as "a totality of people who come together and have a particular interest and goal" (1991:116), the Cameroonian communities in the present study share beliefs, values and power relations that reflect these kinds of community of practice. For example in their *meetings, Tontines* and *Njangi* these immigrants have ways of doing things like speaking, dressing modes, dance and music, which define and distinguish them from other Africans. Anyone wishing to be "connected" or "to belong" to this community has to try to conform. Every Cameroonian knows (in an unwritten agreement) that it will be an abomination to *"fail a Njangi",* as this might tarnish one's family name forever. It is this belief and trust, which is at the heart of the success of *Njangi* groups, be they in Cameroon or in the diaspora. There are no contracts signed nor are there legal bindings. The groups grow out of "mutual engagement" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992:464). This approach will facilitate the study of the various ways in which Anglophone men and women use address forms to negotiate identities via relationships with members within or outside their communities. Some of these identities and relational conventions include:

- Married/single men and women
- Wife/ husband
- Boy/girl (good/bad)
- Mother/father
- Male/female in-laws

- Younger/older /brother and sister
- Mother/father/ (friend of parents)
- Good/bad/ friendly/respectful/polite person
- *Meeting* member/*Njangi* member
- Teacher/student
- Members of the same ethnic groups/different ethnic groups
- Tribesmen/non-tribesmen
- Other nationalities

Linguistically speaking, the address terms and kinship expressions are varied and conventionalized. The speaker has to make a choice either "mechanically" or "strategically" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Anchimbe, 2010). The present study assumes that in the diaspora, just as is the case in Cameroon, there is the need for solidarity and group bonding which constitute important determinants for the Cameroonians' choice of address terms (Anchimbe, 2011). "Calling friends by certain names in certain contexts might just be for maintaining communion or bonding within the group…" (Anchimbe, 2011:1481). "Bonding" and "group communion", just as in many African cultures, is based on collective entities in which an individual does not exist by his/her own strength alone, but rather as a part of a larger group. This concept, known as "Ubuntu", is well illustrated by Temples (1959:71), cited by Anchimbe (2011) when he says:

> For the Bantu, man never appears in fact as an isolated individual, as an independent entity. Every man, every individual link, active and passing joining from above to the ascending line of ancestry and sustaining below the line of his descendants (Anchimbe, 2011: 1482).

The power of the individual therefore depends on the other members of the community. In the African context, as exemplified by the Cameroonian Anglophones, there is the necessity for hierarchy in issues of respect and solidarity. It is therefore interesting to find out whether the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants in Germany do use the necessary address forms in respect of societal hierarchy.

4.2. Definition of linguistic variables

4.2.1. Address forms

An address form is a speaker's linguistic reference to their collocutor. Following this, Braun (1988:12) holds that the system of address includes all available forms and psychodynamics

in one language. She further argues that the pronominal and nominal forms for any given setting are limited and restricted. There are generally two broad forms of address: the pronominal and the nominal. According to Braun's (1988:7) definition, pronominal address forms are pronouns that refer to the collocutor. An example in the English language is *you*. Different grammatical persons can also function as pronouns of address if they refer to interlocutors during communication, for instance the third person singular and plural *du*, *Sie* in German, *tu* and *vous* in French. In this case, contemporary English language is different because the only pronominal form used for direct reference is *you*. On the other hand, nominal address forms are nouns, which designate collocutors or refer to them in some other ways. "The nominal system of address is the richest and the most productive of all the lexical means of addressing" (Braun, 1988:9). This is why in many languages, there are many and varied ways to address or call the same person in different contexts and situations. Lubecka (1993:42) also confirms that nominal address forms have many stylistic variants as opposed to the pronominal. We have morphological derivations, stylistic modifications like borrowings from foreign languages or languages in contact (*madam* in English is borrowed from the French language), professional jargons, slangs as address forms (like addressing a child as *kid* or a man as *dude*), metaphors (addressing a woman as *honey*). According to this sociolinguist, nominal address forms give room for the speaker's imagination and inventiveness coupled with the fact that the meaning of the nominal address forms and their level of politeness are usually obvious and culturally bound by the norms and expectations of the community of practice (Lubecka, 1993:42). They do not depend on paralinguistic contexts, as is the case with pronominal address forms. Based on this, the present research exclusively examines nominal address forms and kinship terms in the two Cameroonian Englishes as used in the German diaspora. These consist of diverse types and categories, which include first names (FN), last names (LN), teknonyms (TKN), as well as titles (TLS) used to show respect, politeness and kinship.

Crystal (1980:10) defines forms of address as "a manner of referring to someone in direct linguistic interaction based on different types of participants and different social situations." Oyetade (1995) considers address forms as words or expressions used in face-to-face communication to designate the person being talked to. Furthermore, Keshavarz (2001) holds that terms of address or address forms are linguistic appellations used to attract the addressee's attention or refer to them during a conversation. According to Taavitsainen and Jucker (2003), address forms are words or linguistic expressions that speakers use to appeal directly to their addressees.

Yule (2006) believes that an address term is a word or phrase for the person being talked to or written to. In the present study, address terms will be viewed in the light of Saeedeh (2011), who contends that:

> […] terms of address are words or expressions used to indicate certain relations between people, or to show the difference in identity, position and social status. As a result, address terms as well as other language practices can mirror the thoughts and attitudes that speakers wish or wish not to express. People use terms of address to address each other in [sic] almost all occasions. There are three reasons for using address terms. First, they are used to attract people's attention, to remind the hearer [sic] of one's professional status or the relationship between the speaker and the hearer. Second, they are used to show politeness and the difference in social class and the degree of respect in [sic] certain occasions. Third, they are used to reflect social information about identity, gender, age, status and the complex social relationships of interlocutors in a speech community (Saeedeh, 2011:183).

The present study draws from this with respect to the fact that through the address forms and kinship terms used by Anglophone immigrants one can understand the thoughts and attitudes of the speaker, understand the relationship between speakers, their social status and above all the identities the speakers wish to assume for themselves. Akindele (2002) also holds that address forms and kinship terms are important sociolinguistic reflections of a speaker's attitudes towards himself and towards other people. My study reiterates the views advanced by Afful (2006), who considers terms of address an important part of verbal behaviour through which norms and practices of a society can be identified. Other scholars such as Fitch (1991) and Morford (1997) consider the study of address terms as fruitful fields for sociolinguistics since they reveal how interpersonal relationships can be socially and strategically constructed. Both Fitch (1991) and Morford (1997) believe that speakers use address terms to negotiate or transform a cultural system. Sometimes a speaker may be considered rude, polite, generous, kind, agreeable or unpleasant just based on his/her choice of address (Brown & Levinson, 1987:311-322).

These definitions in one way or the other reflect the importance of address forms/kinship terms that Cameroonians use in the German diaspora. Through conformity or non- conformity in the use of expected address forms/kinship terms, the linguistic behaviours of these immigrants can be used to portray various identities that they have assumed for themselves. For example if a younger Cameroonian male meets a fellow Cameroonian who is older in age and starts addressing him/her by his/her first name, the addressed person will immediately feel insulted. This is because, according to the Cameroonian tradition and culture, a younger person is expected to add a title of respect to an older person's name. For instance, *Brother Paul*,

Uncle Paul or in a situation where one knows the ethnic or traditional title of a much older addressee, this title should be used, *Ni Paul, Mola Paul,* or even *"Pa Paul"*[26].

Address forms can therefore be interpreted as a mirror that reflects a people's verbal behaviour in their everyday practices. An identification of their use will tell a story of how, when, with whom they want to affiliate or disaffiliate (also see Afful, 2006). Address forms are rich resources for networking and solidarity. Building in and out of group relationships and belonging to meetings and associations for example, are very important ingredients in an African society (Anchimbe, 2011). These can be well-constructed by using the correct forms of address (also Fitch, 1991). Speakers of CamE and CamPE can use address terms to negotiate, construct as well as transform the cultural system of the German diasporic space. Issues such as age and gender belief system could be realized through the use of address forms. Do women in the German diaspora still use address forms of respect by calling their husbands *Ni/Nini, Mola, Bobe,* as expected of them? Have these address forms been replaced by other forms?

It could be argued that the diasporic space has increased the language contact situation and made it become highly super-diverse. The high degree of contact has increased the convergence of many more varieties of linguistic and intercultural situations than has hitherto been the case. In the diaspora, the language behaviour of the Anglophone Cameroonians is expected to be more unpredictable than was the case in the home country Cameroon. This unpredictability stems from the fact that they find themselves in a foreign land where socio-economic survival depends on variables such as *connections, alignment, contacts*, and *negotiations* much more than was the case in the home country where contact depended more on *man-know-man* situations and relationships.

Whenever two people meet in the diaspora, it is a question of asking oneself: *should I align or not-align with this or that person? What is profitable for me? Should I show or display solidarity, friendship, or indifference? Do I need to stay close to or befriend such a person?* All of these questions run through the minds of interlocutors either consciously or unconsciously and this determines the choice of address terms to be used, aided by variables such as age, class, gender and level of education. For instance, if one needs to befriend or stay close to e.g. a Ghanaian, then the address form to use will be *Charlie* (in a situation where the two are both men belonging to the same age group). To address a Ghanaian as *Charlie* is a sign of friendship and solidarity or *O boy* if the addressee is a Nigerian. These address terms

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[26]   *Ni* => masculine prefix of respect e.g. Ni +Paul = Ni Paul (Northwest region)
    Mola => masculine prefix of respect e.g. Mola + Paul = Mola Paul (South West region)

are ways to quickly establish a *link* or *bond* that may provide the possibility to open certain *doors* in the future with interlocutors from these countries. This is an example of the socio-economic gains that one gets from using address forms to negotiate and renegotiate relationships, which is at the heart of the choice of address forms used by Cameroonians in the postcolonial diasporic space (Anchimbe 2011; Blommaert and Rampton, 2011).

Since address forms and kinship terms are closely related to a people's culture, a change in the patterns or forms of address could be a signal in the change of the cultural values or attitudes of a group of people (Mashiri, 1999; Afful, 2010). In other words, address forms and kinship terms could serve as a mirror of a group's attitude towards different aspects of their lives: age, educational level, sex and gender differences, group's solidarity and differences. According to Mashiri, "Shifts over time in address patterns and kinship terms may provide a powerful indicator of profound social shifts" (Mashiri, 1999:94). This shift in social patterns is assumed to be behind the construction and (re)construction of individual and group identities of the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants in this study. When Anglophone Cameroonians migrate to the German diaspora, they meet people with different languages, different social values, different terms of respect and politeness, different mannerisms, different outlook towards life, as well as different intentions. Thus, there is a way of adopting different strategies of interaction in a social ingroup space (Anchimbe, 2011).

4.2.2. Kinship terms

This study adopts Task's (1999:136) definition of kinship terms, namely: "the system of terms available in a given language for naming relatives." This definition is in line with Wardhaugh (1998), who defines kinship terms as the actual words that people use to describe a particular kin relationship. Kinship terms following these definitions are words by which individuals recognize the significant groupings in the social structure into which they are born (Leach, 1958:143). A difference between this definition and the Cameroonian use of kinship terms is that Cameroonians and other Africans do believe that kinship is not strictly tied to blood relations and therefore the intimacy expressed towards a kin is often extended to non-kin relations. That is why in this study, as in other studies (Oyetade, 1995; Akindele, 2004; Anchimbe, 2011 and Nkwain, 2014), these two concepts are treated together.

The Anglophone Cameroonian speech community, like most speech communities, has its own rules for identifying family and kinship members. The collective nature of the Cameroonian community of practice is such that it gives room for kinship address terms to be

used when referring to non-family members. This, Nkwain (2014) argues, is due to the fact that preserving the culture of solidarity and collectivism is likely to make non-family members feel the warmth and closeness of family via using kinship address terms to speak to them. Kinship terms of address align with the social categories of the family and how they are genealogically related (Dwight, 2000). These include the different labels for categorizing kinships. For instance a male Cameroonian youth may address his father's friend "*Pa or Papa*", the same way he addresses his own father because he feels the need to accord the same love and respect he gives his own father to his friend, since anything less, e.g. "uncle" will create a distance. Tiemoko reiterates this fact when he says:

> Extended family systems and strong kin and lineage relations remain important in most regions of Cameroon since they provide a sense of belonging, solidarity, and protection. However, they also involve expectations, obligations and responsibilities (Tiemoko, 2004: 157).

It is within the framework of this culture that solidarity among Cameroonians and other African communities can be examined.

4.3. Determinants of address forms and kinship terms

4.3.1. Power and solidarity

Brown and Gilman's (1960) seminal work on address forms concludes that the French *tu/vous* and the German *du/Sie* pronouns of address are governed by two social considerations: power and solidarity. According to this study, one person has power over another because he/she is able to control the behaviour of that person, in this case, the linguistic or language behaviour. There is therefore a relationship between at least two persons and this is non-reciprocal, in the sense that two persons cannot have power in the same area at the same time equally. These "initiators of sociolinguistic investigation of forms of address" (Braun, 1988:14) deal with power differentiation through the pronominal address symbols T (*tu*) and V (*vous*). To the French and German speakers, the T and V pronouns represent the power semantics. The superior receives the V and less superior the T address form. Those with equal status, according to this study, address each other with the V/V or T/T if their relationship is close or intimate (reciprocal or symmetrical). Brown and Gilman (1960:255-260) cite the example of communication between a boss and a subordinate member of staff, between parents and their children and between teachers and their students. The one who has power over the other uses

T and receives the deferential V in return (in German *Sie/Du*) from the interlocutor who has little or no power. Based on this model, the linguistic choices available to a CamE and CamPE speaker to address his/her interlocutor(s) are influenced by social variables such as kinship relations, age, gender, tribe, occupation, level of education, and other social status. These variables are very important because they set up hierarchical relationships between interactants. In the Cameroonian context, the kinship system gives interactants certain rights and privileges over others within the family; for instance older family members have higher status than the younger ones. Between spouses, wives are subordinates to their husbands. These hierarchical relations are expressed through linguistic behaviours, an example of which is the address forms and kinship terms under study (Nkwain, 2014).

In every situation and activity, both at the private and community level, this plays a very determinant role. The Cameroonian situation is a reflection of earlier studies on address forms in sociolinguistics and social anthropology. Although the languages under study, CamE and CamPE, do not have the same pronouns of address "*du/Sie, tu/vous*", as in German and French, there are other solidarity and power indicators: kinship titles, occupational/professional titles, praise names, *ndap, teknonyms* of respect and honour, name inversions, names for mothers and fathers of twins such as *Manyi and Tanyi*. Wood and Kroger (1991:145) contend that address forms set the tone of a discussion or conversation "since they establish the relative power and distance of the speaker and hearer." Anchimbe (2011), on the other hand, discusses name avoidance as an interesting characteristic of an address system employed by Cameroonian speakers of CamE/CamPE. In his study, he found out that the way people address each other in various contexts has to do with "representation and social function" (also see Brown and Levinson, 1987). Anchimbe (2011:1476) argues that this representation and social function of language is guided by people's intention at negotiating power and solidarity in their daily interactions, i.e. friendliness and socio-economic benefits among others. Wardhaugh (1992) and Hudson (2001) observe that the tone and style of a conversation is usually marked at the very beginning by introductory acts such as greetings and forms of address. These forms operate as "social selectors" and powerful controllers of interaction" (Chaika, 1982:46). Power and solidarity will therefore provide an important framework towards an examination of the address forms and kinship terms used by Anglophone Cameroonian postcolonial immigrants as they consciously and unconsciously (re)construct their sociolinguistic identities in the German diaspora. In the CamE/CamPE address forms, one of the following power/solidarity scenarios is possible:

(1)   Unequal status involving the following: *employer vs. employee, highly educated vs. not so educated persons, wife vs. husband, older vs. younger person, parents vs. children, the rich vs. the poor, teacher vs. student, titled man vs. untitled man of the village, senior student vs. junior student, (student prefect vs. student without a post).*

(2)   Equal status: *same age group, classmates in school/university, same rank or position at work, titled men in the village, same level of education.* The most important of these is the age so that even if you have the same rank at work with someone and he /she is older, you still have to use a title of respect due to age differences. Another important determinant is solidarity and closeness, even if people know each other well and are quite familiar, they will still use the appropriate address forms to show respect following age differences. This does not mean that there is no solidarity and friendship amongst people just because they are of different age. Intimacy is manifested in different ways (Afful, 2006).

There are many other studies viewing the concepts of power and solidarity as a force in language use in general and applied to address terms in particular. Lin (1986) looks at the use of kinship terms in Chinese, while Braun (1988) examins address forms in many languages. Oyetade (1995), on the other hand, looks at address terms in the Yoruba culture, while Salami (2004) studies address and kinship terms in Yoruba. Other studies include: Anchimbe's (2008a) address forms in Cameroonian Englishes, Echu's (2008) address forms as politeness strategy in Cameroon Pidgin English, Mülheisen's (2011) address terms in the Caribbean postcolonial space, as well as Nkwain's (2014) address forms in CamPE. There have been many claims that the concept of power and solidarity is universal. When it comes to address forms and kinship terms, Hijirida and Sohn (1983) compare American English, Korean, and Japanese, while Wood and Kim (1984) compare Chinese, Greek and Korean speakers and all find a cross-cultural consistency in the power-solidarity relationships in address forms which follow Brown's (1965) patterns.

However, not all researchers agree with the Brown concept of universality of power-solidarity relations in address forms. Braun (1988) holds the view that power-solidarity semantics is both situationally and culturally bound and therefore can hardly be considered a universal phenomenon. To Braun (1988:309) the case of address inversion is a clear case of reciprocation of a superior status term to an inferior when a superior wants to maintain his/her authority but at the same time expresses affection to a child. Tannen (1993:166-168) also argues that sometimes ambiguity in address forms makes power-solidarity relations unclear. Tannen's position can clearly be illustrated using the case in CamE and CampE in which sometimes a father may address his daughter as *mother,* because the child/daughter was named

after his (the father's) mother. Tannen (1993:166-168) makes a case for the ambiguity of the power-solidarity dichotomies and holds that the same linguistic means can be used to create either or both. It can therefore be concluded that the concept is culturally bound and therefore can hardly be considered a universal phenomenon.

Oyetade (1995) argues that the dichotomy of power and solidarity as proposed by Brown and Gilman (1960) becomes blurred when you look at the Yoruba kinship terms and address forms. For the Yorubas and many African cultures, solidarity does not mean equality. Oyetade (1995) observes that:

> The non-reciprocal pattern is generated by two kinds of relations, namely: difference in age, and occupational status. This is shown by the fact that children address adults with titles and last name (TLN), and receive first name (FN) in return. Among the adults themselves, a difference of 15 years in age is considered significant; thus a senior person gets TLN and gives back FN to the junior person. Similarly, those with a higher occupational rank are addressed with TLN, while they use FN for their subordinate's addressee (Oyetade, 1995:516).

In the Cameroonian *associations and meetings* there is solidarity because members have something in common that brings them together; they are either ex-students from the same alma mater; or they are members of the same ethnic group from the same village or clan. In addition, they may be a group who are interested in making a certain *Njangi* or *tontins* for a certain amount of money. There is usually an element of "solidarity" because they have something binding them together. However, following Oyetade (1995), the terms of address that these people will use will have little or no reciprocation. They will not sound "officious" towards each other like in the case of *Mr. and Mrs.* used in standard (British or American) English context, but there will be the use of address forms that show respect for age and seniority. The appropriate address and kinship terms will be respected. A further illustration based on the Cameroonian context will be the case where a boss will find it necessary to address an older subordinate as *Pa Lukas* based on the fact that the subordinate is older. It follows from these arguments that power and solidarity, though usually thought of as universal, present themselves differently in different cultures.

For instance, name avoidance, which in CamE and CamPE is a politeness strategy, in many European cultures is the height of impoliteness, as avoiding or substituting one`s name is considered very rude. Furthermore, in Western cultures one uses first names as a sign of solidarity and cooperation in the relationship, a sign of equal relationship (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Bargie La et al., 2002; Anchimbe, 2011). This is not the case with the

Cameroonian and some other African cultures, where showing solidarity and friendship does not mean you have to use first names. People's socio-cultural titles and kinship titles must be respected. Names and address forms therefore play a very important role in the African (Cameroonian) solidarity- power relations, which are symbolized by images of *brother-sister, oneness, we are together*, *Ubuntu.* These concepts of *brother/sister, oneness,* and *Ubuntu* are embedded in address and kinship terms, what Anchimbe (2011:1475) calls "collectivist nature of African cultures", while Uchendu (1965:71) refers to the phenomenon as "hospitality and sociality of the Igbo culture." However, power relations and their negotiation are an important determinant in the Anglophone Cameroonian's choice of address and Anchimbe (2011:1481) has this to say:

> Special expressions of power, closeness, common bonding, respect and politeness are important in all Cameroonian cultures and hence they must also be fittingly represented in different ways in English communication. The contact between English and indigenous languages and cultures of Cameroon has altered some of the ways issues of power, respect, closeness, politeness, etc. are negotiated in Cameroonian interactions […] but it has not changed the cultural importance of the underlying issues themselves. Today, Cameroonian expressions of respect, group solidarity and politeness are perhaps not realized exactly as they would be realized in English […] Rather they are realized in complex, hybridized forms that implicitly reflect the cultures that came into contact through colonialism [...] Three fundamental influences on choices of appellative strategies [exist] in Cameroon interactions today[…] (1) Politeness: the need to show respect towards the addressee (2) solidarity: the need to bond or to maintain communication within the group (3) opportunism: the need to survive or to gain some practical benefit within a given context.

This means that the fact that the Cameroonian Anglophone immigrants have left their postcolonial African dwellings will not completely alter their linguistic behaviour (forms of address used). This study is therefore based on the premise that the diasporic space will lead to a great deal of mixing, hybridity and super-diversity (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011) so that the choice of address forms will vary depending on the context of usage. In other words, the linguistic forms adopted by each speaker will be highly unpredictable since they will depend on other non-traditional variables: what is to be gained or lost? Will I have a *connection*[27] on where and when to get a job?

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[27] "Connection" is an expression among the African immigrants in Germany which means information circuit or information network.

4.3.2. Age and gender

Age in the African culture is a symbol of knowledge, experience, and power (Shih, 1986). Age will not only give the older men in the community power and authority, it will also grant older women of the community advantage and the liberty to attend certain meetings and discussions with men they would otherwise as younger women never have dreamed of attending. Some examples in the Cameroonian setting are the *Nkwifon* and the *Takubeng* of the Kom and Nkwen ethnic groups of the Northwest region. The *"Mafor"* are titles of respect given to very elderly women of the community. It is generally accepted that language behaviour varies with social roles (age, gender, tribe, education, marital status). This is why in Cameroonian boarding secondary schools, senior students are addressed with tiles of respect by the junior students. In *Sasse College*, senior students are called "Senior + FN; in *the Queen of Rosary Secondary School* senior students have the respect prefix *Sister* attached to their FN, while in *Our Lady of Lourdes Secondary School,* they also have *Sister* plus FN. Even in the Government-aided secondary schools (public schools), which are usually thought of as loose, age plays an important role here; seniors are addressed with prefixes of respect forms attached to their names e.g. *Grand, Senior, Sister, Brother, Elder*. In these institutions, any student who repeats a class is still addressed by his/her title of respect (*Sister* Jane, *Senior* Joseph etc.). The repeater is often referred to as a *"supposed"* form five if he/she is repeating form four. Other forms of constructing this seniority is by the use of *Ni, Nini, Pa, Uncle, Ngia, Mola* etc., which are all address forms of seniority and respect in Anglophone Cameroon. This reiterates the fact that age has a very important place in this culture. Xianghong (2007:404), who carried out a study on the effects of age and gender on Chinese choice of address forms, finds out that the linguistic behaviors of his participants are subjected to age and gender variables. Of the two, "age is a more significant determinant in the choice of address forms, especially between persons of different generations than between those of the same generation" (Xianghong 2007:404). Age is seen as a powerful determinant of the choice of address and kinship terms in societies including the Cameroonian communities of practice. Speakers' choices will strongly take cognizance of how these communities are organized, and with how "power, status, age and gender are instantiated and perpetuated" (ibid:405). Mahzad (2012) discovers that in Persian age is more significant than gender in determining the pronouns in their address system. The current study, like Mahzad (2012), assumes that the differences in the choice of address terms among Anglophone Cameroonian interlocutors are heavily age-oriented.

Through *gender* language behaviours in many different cultures can be examined. This has shown that linguistic practices often mirror society's beliefs about aspects of life such as education, power, solidarity, social status and gender. Gender differences can therefore be reflected in the way people use language to speak to or about men and women in different social contexts (Salami, 2004). The literature on the influence of gender on address forms reveals that gender is intertwined in many aspects of sociolinguistic life (Lakoff, 1975; Gal, 1979; Soyoy, 1984; Salami, 2004; Xianghong, 2007). Lakoff (1975), Cameron (1990) and Tannen (1990) also studied gender differences in language use. All these studies reveal that the relations between genders manifest power inequality. There is a superior-inferior status or subordination of one gender to the other. Dipo-Salami (2002:249) concludes that in the family domain "[…] the home represents a site for women's subordination" especially in the African context.

As noted by Kielkiewicz-Janowiak (2000:185), "Address forms are an essential part of most interaction-oriented utterances." Therefore, a good way to examine gender roles and differences within kinship and other social interaction within a community is through the various kinship terms and address forms both men and women of the community use to address one another. Salami (2004), who studied the use of first names (FN), teknonyms (TKM) and pet names (PN) as address forms by Yoruba-speaking women in addressing and referring to their husbands, observes that language use helps to carry and reinforce gender relations. He also concludes that the variables of education, age and region of origin have an influence on Yoruba women's use of address forms with their spouses. Many African societies and cultural settings including Cameroon could be studied in relation to Salami (2004), who argues that:

> Women are considered weak, powerless, subordinate and dependent on men […] these assumptions do not only form some framework within which such societies operate in terms of the place of women, they get encoded in linguistic practices. Thus, the gestures of power form an integral part of the place of women in the social scheme of things. These gestures tend to remind us daily of the subordinate status of women […]" (Salami, 2004:67)

For the Cameroonian woman the household or the home is a very important site where their roles can be examined (subordinate or equal roles vis-à-vis their husbands).

An important location for the expression of gender-based relations of power (Mehta, 1999:5, citing Mallon, 1987) and the contractual nature of relations within it governs individual behaviour and interaction by defining the rights and obligations of every member. "In more complex household structures, gender and age hierarchies, apart from 'conjugal contract', also act as important factors in forming the basis for determining intra-household access to resources, organization of labour and

allocation of goods and services […]". Salami (2004:67) holds that, an increase in women's access to productive resources and income generally improves their status within the household.

Within the Cameroonian context, it can be argued that even when women become more educated and have a greater income, they can still be subordinated because of the gender ideology that reigns in their communities. That is why women who have financial power in the villages and countrysides still maintain their subordinate roles and identities much more so than those in the bigger and cosmopolitan metropolises. Just like among the Yoruba, the traditional Anglophone Cameroonian families display "hierarchical relationships" based on gender (Salami, 2004). In this culture, power relations among spouses are largely patriarchal and the men dominate, as noted by Ngassa (2012):

> The fact remains that a woman, whether she be just a girl-child or a wife, is generally regarded as a source of wealth and subject of male domination and exploitation. That is to say a man derives so much convenience and material benefit from dominating a woman. (Women act as housekeepers, cooks, water and wood fetchers, babysitters, child bearers, extra labor in the man's cash crop farms, and when they are gainfully employed, additional income for the family" (Ngassa, 2012a:68).

Additionally, Ngassa (2012a) goes on to give more evidence as regards the exploitation and subordination of the Cameroonian woman when she says:

> Under the customary and traditional practices of most tribes in Anglophone Cameroon, the problem of bride price and paternity […], the child belongs to her father, provided he […] paid bride price on the mother, because a man owns his wife, her children and all that belongs to them. (Ngassa, 2012a:78)

The two quotes above confirm Mehta's, (1999) observation, as he argues that the household is an important location to examine gender-based relations of power. Mehta (1999) concludes that an increase in women's access to productive resources and income generally improves their status within the household. On the Cameroonian scene, some village and very traditionally inclined women believe that their husbands are better managers of resources. As head of the family and based on the belief system of the man as the head of the household, these women will go as far as handing over their monthly earnings (wages) to their husbands. It will be left at the discretion of these men/husbands to decide on how the income is managed and distributed accordingly (pay children's school fees, budget for food, etc.).

As a result of the traditional beliefs and laws of Anglophone Cameroon, spouses do not enter the union from a position of equal standing. The man is always and in many ways considered superior, often the main breadwinner. If it happens that the woman is the main breadwinner, the man is considered a better manager of resources. The image of a good

Anglophone Cameroonian wife is one who is subordinate and submissive to the husband (Salami, 2004; Ngassa, 2012a). This is reflected when Ngassa (2012) attests that "the customary law position is that once bride-price is paid on a woman, she and all that she begets, including her children, become her husband's property and, as such property, cannot own property" (Ngassa, 2012a:81).

Since language is a reflection of socio-cultural realities, in many Cameroonian ethnic groups women are not expected to address or refer to their husbands by their first names but rather by some other address forms of respect. Some of these forms may include titles of respect such as *Ni/Nini, Mola, Amioeh*

- *Ndap* (Nom de remerciements= a name of thanks)
- Teknonym like *Pa Emade* (the father of Emade)
- *Papa/Daddy* (prefixing the kinship term "papa", "daddy")

These address forms can be interpreted as expressing respect between spouses. Cameroonian wives are expected by the society to accept that they are different from their husbands, who, as heads of the household, are considered their social superiors.

Since age is also an important variable, a wife who is usually younger than her husband, has to respect him based on this as well. This superiority is manifested via her adoption of address forms as mentioned above. The adoption of these linguistic forms within the Anglophone Cameroonian household sets the pace for the status of the woman, thereby establishing her subordinate position. The subordinate roles of women in the African context, it is assumed, will be encoded in their linguistic practices (Mukama, 1995; Salami, 2004; Ngassa, 2012a&b). Some of these are the extra-linguistic features that can be observed when women greet men in some African societies, for example genuflecting (Ugandan and Nigerian societies), bowing and extending two hands when greeting men, down-cast expression when talking to men, avoiding eye contact (Cameroonian culture). These extra-linguistic features are gestures of gender-related power.

When Cameroonian Anglophones address each other, their choice of address forms will usually portray the type of relationship that exists between the speaker and his/her interlocutor. In the Cameroonian context, gender roles are socio-linguistically constructed; that is why we often hear of expressions like *he has spoken like a real man!* Or *please why do you speak like a woman!* It is almost obvious that "the community helps constitute individuals as women and men, boys and girls, respectful wife, arrogant wife, good girl, bad boy" (Eckert & McConnellGinet, 1992:463). In the Cameroonian situation, men are, for instance, "*titled men*", "*husbands*", "*father of children*", and women are also classified as "*married*",

"single", "mothers", and in a polygamous marriage, as *"head wife"* (Nkwain, 2014). These are all constituents of the Cameroonian communities, which influence the way these people are supposed or not supposed to be addressed. In other words, social beliefs and practices find linguistic expressions via address forms. Any Cameroonian woman who does not abide by these societal rules will be frowned upon and considered not-so-good a wife. The societal structure in this case determines the woman's linguistic behaviour. Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1994:8) also holds that the most influential framework on gender and language is that which emphasizes gender differences or portrays men's dominance.

De Kadt (2002:84) concludes that "Gender may function as one of the forces shaping linguistic pluralism and diversity in postcolonial societies". By investigating the influence of gender on the choice of address forms used by CamE/CamPE speakers, this view is reiterated. The linguistic behaviour of these speakers is also dependent on the location, that is the rural/urban/diaspora. That is why in spite of the strict hierarchical position claimed by the African man this study assumes that changing social structures will lead to changes in the use of address forms and kinship terms. Soyoye (1984), Akindele (1991) and Salami (2004) examine how language use helps to reinforce gender relations and conclude that changing social structures can have an influence on the way women address their husbands and other men of the community. Some of the changing social structures they observe include immigration: movements from rural villages to bigger and cosmopolitan cities; education: attending a higher educational level and attaining a superior qualification; age: a symbol of knowledge, experience, and power status.

In Cameroon, like in many other parts of the world, these are norms that guide and direct gender roles. The social structure in this case determines the woman's language or linguistic behaviour. That is why this research is partly set on the premise that the diasporic space will shape different gender roles; due to economic and social independence in the new context it can be hypothesized that the Anglophone Cameroonian woman may fashion a new and not-so-subservient role vis-à-vis her husband, leading to a change in linguistic behaviour.

4.3.3. Address forms and kinship terms: Agents of politeness.

Another important sociolinguistic determinant of the choice of address and kinship terms is politeness. Speakers of CamE/CamPE want to respect the feelings of their interlocutors and want to create good impressions each time they communicate. These are usually (as is the case with solidarity and power) guided by variables such as age, gender, family relations, status,

education and social network. The social context of usage is also significant (Spolsky, 1998). When CamE/CamPE speakers take part in discussions or conversations, they consciously or unconsciously reveal their identities, i.e. belonging to a specific culture or group and their affinities to become close to or distant from others (Azadeh et al., 2013). An important sociolinguistic domain in which these can be viewed is through an examination of forms of address. The linguistic choices of these speakers are hardly impersonal; they express particular feelings and attitudes, based on the speaker's evaluation of the nature of the relationship between himself/herself and his/her interlocutor.

Brown and Levinson (1987:126) point out that the linguistic choices of a speaker are "a reflection of the speaker's attitude toward and evaluation of his or her relationship with his /her interlocutor". When a speaker of CamE/CamPE makes an appropriate choice of address in certain contexts, this speaker identifies him/herself as part of a social group while an inappropriate choice of address ceases good interaction with the said group. Address forms in this context function as an indicator of the speaker's social status as well as their social distance, displaying their sympathies towards the interlocutor and thereby saving his/her face (Akindele 2008). Address terms therefore can provide very important information about interpersonal relationships in a society, for instance the degree of politeness between people in a given community or group. One of the main reasons to be polite among the CamE/CampE-speaking communities is to be at peace with self and with members of the community. This is because non-conformity is usually frowned upon. The term politeness, as postulated by Kasper (1990, 2001 & 2006) has to do with proper social conduct and tactful consideration for other people in the community. According to Braun (1988), to be polite means to respect the rules of relationships. When these rules are not respected, one is considered impolite. It can be said that politeness is concerned with manipulation and negotiations in language use (Ouafe, 2006; Anchimbe, 2010; Muhleisen, 2011).

Pioneer linguists in politeness theory, namely Brown and Levinson (1987), proposed certain maxims as instruments or linguistic properties that minimize impoliteness and maximize politeness within a society or community. They conclude that politeness is necessary for the sake of integration and acceptance within the community and the smoothness of social relationships and face. Broadly speaking, politeness can be seen as taking account of others' feelings. A polite person therefore carefully selects his language to fit in with what is appropriate to make his/her interlocutor comfortable. In this regard, the choice of an address/kinship term could be considered a sign of politeness. Usually, the choice of polite address terms depends on the relationship between interactants: social distance vs. closeness,

power vs. solidarity, family vs. acquaintances (Holms, 1992:268). An examination of Brown & Levinson's (1987) theory on politeness reveals that address forms can be used to show either positive or negative politeness. Positive politeness is geared towards solidarity (interactants have a close/intimate relationship) and negative politeness infers power and distance in the relationship between interlocutors. In the latter case, speakers tend to be formal towards each other. For the CamE/CamPE speakers therefore, positive politeness would mean that the speaker wishes to enhance the addressee's positive face. He/she will therefore try to show or display closeness via the use of intimate forms of address, e.g. *Mombo, Boh, Massah*, etc. (Afful, 2010; Anchimbe, 2011).

The Anglophone Cameroonian speakers (Anchimbe, 2011, above) regard the addressee as a member of an in–group, whom he/she likes and wants to befriend or associate with. In this case, close and intimate terms of address are typical examples of positive politeness strategies. On the other hand, negative politeness would be achieved when an Anglophone Cameroonian shows awareness of the face of an addressee whom he considers socially distant. This is usually achieved through the CamE/CamPE use of titles, kinship terms and honorifics. It may be argued here that in most Cameroonian cultures, especially those of the North West and South West regions, the use of titles and honorifics such as *chief, honorable Ehon*e and *Kwifon* does not always imply social distance. Age, gender and status are very important determinants and even persons to whom the speaker is close but who have differences in these three domains will be expected to be addressed by their titles (Azadeh et al., 2013*:*58).

Since the choice of address forms used by a speaker clearly portrays the concept of positive and negative politeness in social relationships, it has been the source of many linguistic investigations. Fukada and Asato (2004) investigate how Japanese honorifics are related to the theory of universal politeness by Brown and Levinson (1987) and conclude that Japanese honorifics are closely related to the politeness theory if examined within the background of Japanese society. Another study, Iragiliati (2006), examines how address forms are used as expressions of politeness in the Indonesian medical discourse. Iragiliati finds out that positive face is obtained by establishing a close solidarity between patient and doctor. The doctor negotiates friendliness, solidarity and closeness by using the Indonesian versions of address forms *sir, uncle*, *sister* and *brother,* thereby establishing a positive face. On the other hand, negative face is achieved by establishing a distance in relation via the use of impersonal address forms such as titles or surnames (Iragiliati, 2006). Through the choice of address terms, the doctor approaches his/her patients; the positive politeness puts his/her patients at ease and

leads to a psychological balance that helps relieve their pain and at the same time facilitates the doctor's job as a healer (Iragiliati, 2006).

Ugorji's (2009) investigates politeness strategies of address forms in Igbo and discovers that there are different degrees of politeness between family members and non-family members. This study also concludes that age plays a very important role among the Igbo's choice of addressing especially family members. Anchimbe (2010) studies address forms in CamE/CamPE and discovers that the choice of address forms by post-colonial subjects reflects the complex hybridity that has been inherited from a mixture of European and West African sociolinguistic culture. Similarly, Mühleisen (2011) studies forms of address in Caribbean English-based Creole. She concludes that forms of address in the Caribbean constitute a complex politeness culture developed as a result of colonial background. This study indicates that in Caribbean Creole plural forms are sometimes used as a politeness device, for instance to express vagueness or indirectness when a speech act could be otherwise interpreted as facethreatening. Afzali (2011) investigates different address terms used by Iranian spouses in different social situations and reveals that these have a lot to do with power solidarity relationships and that politeness is one of the main reasons for conforming to societal expectations.

Following (Brown and Levinson, 1987:101-129) address forms and kinship terms in CamE/CamPE can be used to show how the speakers of these two forms of English use them to express politeness and what identities are created as a result. For example, a speaker may wish to emphasize his/her close relationship with a certain interlocutor and in this case, positively polite formulae like first names or nicknames (based on age groups) are most often used. Negative politeness is constructed as a means of avoiding face-threatening acts (FTAs) and this can be done by using, for example family names/surnames plus titles (especially when talking to acquaintances). The "face wants" of an addressee are thus very important in establishing a relationship. Face wants can be neglected, mended, or intensified. It is assumed that as CamE/CamPE speakers communicate with one another and other people, they are consciously or unconsciously "aware" of the "face wants" of their interlocutors. It is expected that CamE and CamPE speakers would therefore select address forms that help soften their utterances as forms of politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

4.4. Address forms and kinship terms in different sociolinguistic contexts

4.4.1. Address forms and kinship terms in Western societies and cultures

Language is a guide to the understanding of culture. Cultural peculiarities can therefore be discerned through language use. Some of these cultural diversities include values, intentions and attitude towards the world. Cultural values can be classified under two broad categories: individualism and collectivism (Shavitt et al., 2010). While the West could be said to belong to the individualist "I" culture, Africa, including Cameroon, belongs to the collectivist "We" culture (Eaton & Louw, 2000). In the West, personal achievements take precedence over group interests; allegiance to group and family is weaker. People in such societies are considered almost equal and are treated almost equally in school, at work and at home. In Western societies, children are spoken to and treated like adults. This is different from African and other collectivist societies, which live and work together for collective interests. Collectivist societies are usually based on rigid social frameworks which clearly portray in-group and out-group relationships (Eaton & Louw, 2000). People rely on in- and out-group affiliations as relatives, clans, organizations and meeting groups so that loyalty to these groups becomes very important. One way to study and understand the cultural difference between these two groups of people (the West and African culture) is through an examination of the use of address forms.

Although names/name calling and titles are not uniform in Western societies, there are huge differences when compared to African and some South-East Asian countries. Most studies on address forms in the Western cultures reveal that these societies use the first names more often than in some Asian and African cultures. "The general rule in English-speaking cultures is that you move to first name terms as soon as possible. If this is achieved, then it is felt that an equal relationship has been established" (Bargiela et al., 2002:1). The Americans quickly go into first name use with their interlocutors even if they are meeting for the first time (although this is not a sign of friendship). The British need to test the ground and the Germans need a bit more time (Bowe et al., 2014). When all these have been sorted out, they all quickly resort to first names. This is very different from the African context where naming practice is based mainly on the age of the interlocutors.

In Cameroonian communities, it is easier to know whether you should address a new acquaintance as *Sir, Madam, or Sister/Brother, Uncle/Auntie*. For most Cameroonians, if you are not sure, you avoid using any form of address or you use the almost neutral terms *Auntie/Uncle* if they are older than you are.

In their investigation of naming strategies in intercultural business or encounters, Bargiela et al. (2002) conclude that English native speakers (British and American standard varieties) when addressing non-acquainted people often use first names as "an indicator of ease of communication with strangers" (ibid 2002:1). This is a strategy to put their interlocutors at ease and to make the atmosphere less formal. They claim that this is the case for many British and American speakers. If this strategy is to be applied to other cultures, for example African or Chinese, it might lead to misunderstandings because they have different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Cameroonian speakers of English will always try to negotiate the appropriate term of address and in a situation where the form is not clear they will resort to zero address form or "name escapism" (Anchimbe, 2011:1475). However, not every British person feels comfortable with the use of reciprocal first name at first encounter as this practice is still considered inappropriate by many speakers (Bargiela et al., 2002).

At the level of Western universities, however, it is becoming popular to use reciprocal first names between students and lecturers. Formentelli (2009:193), though, observes that "the majority of students at the University of Reading stick to formal address strategies as a way to convey respect and deference." Formentelli's (2009) results are in contrast with Murray (2002:48), who investigates address forms in American English and finds that mutual first name is a very common address strategy in American English among people of different age and occupational status.

4.4.2. Address forms and kinship terms in postcolonial contexts

CamE and CamPE fall within the sociolinguistic paradigm of Post-colonial Englishes (Schneider, 2007). Along this line, we also have Nigerian Standard English and Nigerian Pidgin English, Ghanaian English, Kenyan English and Indian English as examples. A close examination of research carried out on address forms and kinship terms in outer circle Englishes (cf. Kachru, 1986) shows close similarities in these varieties. The way people address each other in postcolonial ecologies has to do with variables such as context and setting, for example at work, in school, at home in the family, at meetings in church (formal and informal). Choice of address is also conditioned by other aspects such as the atmosphere: friendly, hostile, close, distant, angry and happy. Other variables include power, status, gender and age. It is also noted that the intention of the speaker also determines his/her choice of names (address /kinship terms).

The linguistic behaviours of postcolonial speakers have been shaped by historically complex social environments that see the introduction of different languages and cultures into existing sociolinguistic ecologies (Anchimbe, 2011). Before the introduction of English into these spaces, the people had their languages, cultures, and belief systems. That is why address forms and kinship terms in these spaces have evolved through different phases; the earliest is that names used to be considered a very important feature to the African as demonstrated through naming ceremonies (e.g. at the birth of a child). After the introduction of Christian names (first names), ironically, many of these cultures are noted to have engaged in name avoidance as a strategy of respect and conformity to tradition and culture. Another feature that runs through the literature of address forms and kinship terms in postcolonial ecologies is the blend and hybridity that is often witnessed in these ecologies and the extension of kinship terms to non-kinship contexts. These features and more have been researched and studied by many sociolinguists (cf. Akindele, 1990, 1991 & 1993; Oyetade 1995; Dipo-Salami, 2002; Salami, 2004; Afful, 2006; Ushie, 2008; Mühleisen, 2010; Anchimbe, 2011; Larina & Suryanarayan, 2013; Nkwain, 2014). This body of literature has been analysed from different socio-cultural perspectives. Afful (2006) studies the address forms of Ghanaian students, while Anchimbe (2011) looks at names and name escapism by Cameroonians. Mülheisen (2010) studies the address forms in the postcolonial context of the Caribbean, while Oyetade (1995) examines address forms and kinship terms in the Yoruba ethnic group of Nigeria. Larina & Suryanarayan (2013) look at the use of address forms in the post-colonial space of India.

These studies show that address forms and kinship terms have certain trends in these spaces; for instance, kinship address terms are extended to non-kinship contexts (Afful 2006; Akindele, 2008; Mühleisen, 2010; Anchimbe, 2011). Based on these, kinship notions like *uncle, aunt, papa and mama* are extended to non-blood relations. Anchimbe & Janney (2011) hold that this is a way for postcolonial people to cope with the complex situations of using English as a foreign language to express typically African traditional concepts. One of the most outstanding features of address forms and kinship terms that run through these researches is the avoidance or lack of use of first names, or names as a whole. (Oyetade, 1995; Akindele, 2004; Afful, 2006; Anchimbe 2011; Larina & Suryanarayan, 2013). All of these researches show that there is a general tendency for these postcolonial multilingual subjects to avoid the use of personal names in addressing their interlocutors. Respect in these speech communities follows laid down traditions; for instance age is a very important variable for the choice of address and kinship terms. Furthermore, there is the need to put people at ease by using their pet names or titles of respect and honour, in- and out-group bonding being a part of the

community by negotiating one's position in the community. The tendency to avoid calling people by their names (Anchimbe, 2011; Ugori, 2009; Mühleisen, 2011) holds both within the kinship circles and the broader community as a whole. In most cases, names are substituted by some other appellations. For example, in CamE/CamPE, the following terms are used: *Moyo* (inlaw), *Mbobo,* (Namesake), *Nini,* (prefix of respect for a male in the Northwestern region), *Mola* (prefix of respect for a man in the Southwestern region), *Yango (*madam*).* Nigerian English and Nigerian Pidgin English display the following: *Dede* (address for a senior male or female of the community)*, Mallam* (elder male*) Oga* (boss/chief*) Egbo* (elder). Instead of personal names, most African communities prefer kinship terms, professional titles, deity titles and social titles (Anchimbe, 2011; Afful, 2006; Echu, 2008; Mühleisen, 2011). In his analysis of naming in the Cameroonian context, Echu (2008:124) says: "Forms of address honour the addressee, help put him/her in a good conversational disposition with the speaker and predisposes him/her to positively regard the request or message that follows the use of such a term". Commenting on this, Anchimbe (2011:1474) says "the ways in which these naming strategies occur show the social stratification of these societies, their network of inter-personal relationships, negotiation of power, superiority and balance between age and social status."

The idea that names are hardly used in most postcolonial contexts may at first seem paradoxical but a closer look at the importance that most African communities attach to names will make their covertness clear. Names carry with them very important socio-cultural values. In most of these ecologies, names are not just symbols of identification but they associate the bearer with certain families and ethnicities. People are linked to their forefathers and ancestors through the names they bear. For example, a male child would be named after a grandfather or an important uncle to indicate their heritage. If a child is named after a very honoured grandparent, the family members, as well as the father of the child, may find it necessary to avoid using the name and will therefore resort to calling the child *big papa* (grandfather). This practice is an example of what some postcolonial pragmatic linguists call "*pragmatic undertones of names*" (Anchimbe, 2011:1475). Since names are considered very important socio-cultural issues in the African postcolonies, in some African countries naming ceremonies are considered important events. Names are therefore so important that they are considered secret and therefore it could be argued that when something is respected to a very high degree you avoid mentioning it too often. You do not want to treat it as something *common.* In most African societies address forms and kinship terms are used to negotiate power solidarity relations and to use someone's first name is to put them at the same level of power with yourself (Anchimbe, 2008b; Nkwain, 2014). This is why appellations such as

uncle, auntie, sister, brother are extended to non-blood relations; the notion of family is different from the European notion.

Schneider (2007); Etchu (2008), and Anchimbe (2011) all argue that English in the postcolonial context has come into contact with many indigenous languages and cultures. The English language in these spaces may therefore not be adequate for the expression of certain African trains of thought. Wong (2006), Anchimbe (2008), and Müleisen (2005) who also carried out researches in similar domains and contexts, confirm the patterns and choices of names in other postcolonial societies. In Indian which, like Cameroon, is a postcolonial country, the choice and preferences of address terms as observed by Larina & Suryanarayan (2013) between the use of Hindi and English depends on the communicative context. As is the case in African languages (e.g. Yoruba, Lesotho, Bessene-Bendi and Mungaka), Hindi has a rich and elaborate kinship term system. This, therefore, accords the Hindi-speaking multilinguals the choice to express themselves in a variety of ways both in the family context and in other social relationships. In Indian English, like in CamE and CamPE, there is also the extension of the use of *uncle* and *aunt* to non-kinship relations (Larina & Suryanarayan, 2013).

Furthermore, based on the multilingual character of post-colonial spaces, most speakers resort to language adaptation and language manipulation. This results in a mixture of forms; at one moment there is the use of traditional native names and titles, at another there is the use of European-styled address and kinship forms, e.g. *Auntie, Uncle, Daddy*, etc., albeit with different meanings and connotations. One of the most interesting hybrid forms of address used in these spaces are teknonyms like *Mammie Paulina*. There is a general tendency for postcolonialists to mix up indigenous and borrowed European languages to adapt to present linguistic realities. Mühleisen (2010) and Anchimbe (2011) refer to this phenomenon as *hybrid communicative practices.*

The main pragmatic paradigm used by most of the linguists in relation to address forms and kinship terms in postcolonial settings are politeness, indirectness, conversational routines and variational use of speech acts conventions to create the postcolonial linguistic realities. Generally, the choice of address forms and kinship terms in these spaces depends on the variables of status, power, solidarity, gender, social status and age.

As regards the concept of face and politeness in Igbo, i.e. *ezigbo mume*, Nwoye (1992:315) explains that this is literally translated as *good behaviour* in English. He explains that the European notion of face does not seem to apply to the Igbo society which is egalitarian as opposed to the European "individualistic societies" (ibid:310). This notion is also reiterated by Akindele (2008), who states that address forms such as first names and nicknames are rarely

used by the Basotho of South Africa. Fist names are often used when addressing children or a person who is very junior to the person using them (ibid:14).

To be able to interpret the meaning of address forms and kinship terms in these societies, one has to be aware of the physical and cultural differences that exist between these spaces and the West (Ushie, 2008). For example, *sorry* is used in most African Englishes to express empathy with someone who, for instance, hurts him/herself. This, according to Ushie (2008:23-24), is a reflection of the Bantu culture, which can be translated into English as "It's a pity." According to Ushie (2008), these politeness forms are interpreted based on the speaker's value systems and worldviews. Similarly, in Cameroon Pidgin English the expression *ashia,* which means the same as *sorry,* is an expression of empathy with a friend or neighbour who hurts himself or herself; it is a way of saying *I share your pain*, *I feel sorry that this has happened to you*. This concept does not find an easy translation into German and other European languages. For instance, if you are with a German friend who accidentally hurts him/herself say whilst cutting something, and you (African) following your culture and language tell him/her *sorry* (*ashia*), he/she will quickly reply *Es ist nicht deine Schuld*, "it's not your fault." This substantiates the claim that language is culturally bound. The notion of *ashia* does not find an easy translation into the German language/culture. Hence, it is difficult for Germans to understand that you need to sympathize with someone who hurts him/herself in order to share their pain or simply as a sign that you care about their feelings. *Ashia* here is a verbal expression of comforting and soothing the pain of the afflicted person.

In Yoruba, no distinction is made between cousins, aunts, uncles, nieces and nephews, brothers and sisters; they are all brothers and sisters (Akindele 1999:7-9). Like in most African languages, cousins are *brothers and sisters*. This concept is sometimes carried over into the African varieties of the English language. Illustratively, Ushie (2008:24) summarizes these beliefs based on the pattern of the Bette-Bendi cultures of the northern Nigerian ethnic group:

- FATHER: biological father, uncle, male cousin of parent, age mate of father, any member of one's community old enough to have a child.
- MOTHER: biological mother, aunt, female cousin of parent, age mate of mother, any female member of one's community old enough to have a child.
- BROTHER: blood brother, (no distinction between full-blooded and stepbrother), male cousin, any male member of one's community of same age range as oneself.
- SISTER: blood sister, (no distinction between full-blooded and stepsister), female cousin, any female member of one's community of same age range as oneself.

- CHILD: daughter, son, nephew, niece, cousin young enough to be one's biological son/daughter, any member of one's community young enough to be one's biological child.

This according to Ushie (2008) is a reflection of what he calls African *communalism.* To this linguist, the Western nuclear family is the smallest unit of the western society which places emphasis on *individualism*, while the extended family systems of the Bette-Bendi, the Yoruba and other Africans place emphasis on *communalism* (ibid:25). As far as Ushie is concerned, "a Kenyan, Nigerian, Ghanaian, Cameroonian or South African who meets each other [sic] outside Africa would consider one another as *brother, father* and *son* without being fraudulent" (ibid:26).

This notion of *communalism* is what the Zulus of South Africa refer to as *Ubuntu* or what Achimbe calls *group-based culture.* This African philosophy holds that human beings are connected to each other and therefore cannot do without each other. That is why it is necessary to respect others and follow the rules, including address and kinship terms, that make you part of this humanity. *Ubuntu* is a reflection of the collective nature of the African cultures and societies. Shutte (2001:12) clarifies the concept of *Ubuntu* in these words:

"The idea of community is at the heart of traditional African thinking about humanity. It is summed up in the expression 'Umunty ngumunty ngabantu' (as a person through other persons). This means that a person depends on personal relationships with others to exercise, develop and fulfil those capacities that make one a person. Personhood comes as a gift from other persons" (Shutte, 2001:12).

The main feature of *Ubuntu* is a reflection of the African concept of *togetherness, sharing* and *commonness.* Therefore, the concept of autonomy and individualism is out of place in these spaces. This partly explains the use of kinship terms in referring to non-kindred. A transplantation of these address forms into a western context, if they are used in the German diaspora, removed from the African context, may change their meanings and connotations. However, De Kadt (1998) argues that an individual loses or maintains his face only as long as his or her ethnic or social group does. Based on this, it could be argued that the use of these forms within the diasporic postcolonial communities would still be relevant.

However, the movement to bigger cosmopolitan cities is changing the socio-cultural and sociolinguistic ecologies that existed in the former postcolonial spaces of the villages and countrysides in most Africa countries. Ushie (2008) notes that, as a result of borrowing from European/Western traditions, some children, especially in the urban cities, instead of calling their parents *Papa* or *Abba* are using *Daddy* and *Mummy*. The movement to cities and urban

metropolises results in yet another change. There is also the influence of TV, other audio-visual media and the internet as well as the influence of American and other Western cultures. The effects of international migration as in the case of Anglophone immigrants in the German diaspora may result in similar changes.

The categories of address forms and kinship terms in earlier studies carried out in postcolial spaces (Afful, 2006; Echu, 2008; Anchimbe, 2011; Mühleisen, 2011; Nkwain, 2014), show that the cultural norms, beliefs and values confirm the fact that the multilingual postcolonial ecology is one that is in continuous shift from one language to the other. During the process of these shifts, address forms and kinship terms are transferred from one language to the other. That is, from indigenous languages into English and vice versa.

In the Indian speech communities like in the African, age and gender play very important roles. That is why in the Indian speech community the younger/older brother and younger/older sister dichotomies are clearly marked as address forms between siblings. In this space younger siblings are addressed by their first names while the older siblings are addressed using the appropriate address forms of respect (Larina & Suryanarayan, 2013). Many traditional honorifics and address forms that are culturally bound characterize India, like most postcolonial spaces. Some of these do not actually have equivalents in the English language. It is common to have address forms and kinship terms in Hindi and other indigenous languages transferred over to English. As explained by Larina & Suryanarayan (2013) this adherence to the mother tongue is a result of the fact that there are hardly any English equivalents to indicate the different kinds of kinship relations in the family and also it is more intimate and respectful to use the indigenous forms because they create more feelings.

The hybridity that is observed in these spaces is a result of the mixtures that take place because speakers are motivated to adjust or accommodate their speech styles as a means of "Expressing values, attitudes and intentions towards others" (Giles and Taylor, 1977:322). In the India and African postcolonial spaces, it is commonplace to adopt the Standard English forms of address *Mr., Mrs., Ms., Sir, Madam, and Miss* although differently. These authors cite the use of *Good morning James sir*, which is an adoption of a more formal, Standard English mode of address at workplaces in India.

These examples show that the use of kinship terms like *auntie/uncle*, as well as other social titles in traditional and social systems give people in these societies "the means of coping with the complex systems of naming, and their connectedness to showing respect, politeness and deference" (Anchimbe, 2011:1457). Culture is therefore an important factor that influences address forms and kinship terms in postcolonial spaces. As a result, there is a

transfer of attitudes, values and beliefs into the English language by Africans, Indians and other people from postcolonial spaces when they address friends, family members, colleagues and people they are meeting for the first time. The results of these studies in Indian English, Cameroon English, Nigerian English, South African and Ghanaian English show that the manifestation of linguistic reality is culturally bound. The present research is different however, in that it makes a contribution to a post-colonial variety of English that has been transplanted from its original postcolonial space to a complex ecology of many other languages and cultures. It will therefore be interesting to examine the extent of similar cultural influences in a diasporic postcolonial context.

4.4.3. Address forms and kinship terms: The Cameroonian scenario

In the postcolonial space of the Anglophone Cameroonian setting, CamE, the standard variety, co-exists with the CamPE, the nonstandard or popular variety, together with about 166 indigenous languages. In the two regions that make up English-speaking Cameroon, CamPE is used mainly in the market places, churches, parking areas, railway stations, on the streets, school playgrounds as well as in other informal situations (Echu, 2004). CamPE, as spoken and used in Cameroon, plays an important role in the socio-economic lives of the people (Echu, 2004:3). CamE functions as the language of formality and is used in very formal contexts like in parliament, courts, on radio/TV, at very formal meetings, in schools and universities. The contact of these languages in the Cameroonian scene results in code mixing, code selection, interference, borrowing, features of multilingual and multicultural communication, as highlighted by Weinreich (1953), Ferguson (1972) and Kachru (1986). As a result of this, the address forms and kinship terms used by these speakers are characterized by considerable mixing and hybridity.

In order to have a full understanding of the address forms used by the Anglophone Cameroonians in their new diasporic setting, it is necessary to have a glimpse of how address forms are used in the indigenous Cameroonian sociolinguistic ecology. The patterns of address forms as used by Cameroonian Anglophone immigrants reflect the sociocultural background of these speakers. In most of these communities, it is a taboo to address or refer to senior members of the community by their given names. In most of these communities, it is a taboo to address or refer to senior members of the community by their given names. The linguistic scene in Cameroon is characterized by a multilingual setting of both European and indigenous languages. The main languages present in the Anglophone ecology are the European languages

English, Pidgin English, French and the indigenous languages of the Northwest and Southwest regions. Sometimes the address forms will follow the western style as in the case with very official deliberations. However, in most cases the kinship terms of the indigenous languages are used even if the speakers are using CamE as the vehicle of communication. Let us examine the following scenario:

> *Joseph is Henry's teacher at a local secondary school. He is also a friend of Henry's family. They meet on the street of Abakwa in Bamenda and this exchange takes place in CamE* (recorded in Bamenda by author, 2013).

Extract 4.4.1: A linguistic scene on the street

Joseph: **Henry!**
Henry: **Ni Joseph,** I did not see you. Good afternoon, **sir.**
Joseph: I am on my way to your house; is your father home?
Henry: No, **sir;** he travelled to Bafoussam.
Joseph: Oh! When is he coming back?
Henry: This evening, **Ni.**
Joseph: Well, tell him I tried to see him. Greetings to **Ma;** ok?

The forms of address here are a juxtaposition of both Standard English address forms and indigenous kinship terms, i.e. *sir, Ni* and *Ma* (CamE). The use of *sir* is an indication of the fact that Joseph is Henry's teacher and the use of *Ni* symbolizes the relation the teacher has with the student's family. This kind of hybridity is very common in this multilingual context. It shows that English in Cameroon has been indigenized so much so that it has taken on the local ecology of its speakers (cf Anchimbe, 2007a&b; Schneider, 2007), leading to hybridization of social patterns.

For example, the juxtaposition of social titles as seen in the exchange above shows that the line between CamPE, CamE and indigenous languages is very fluid, as sometimes indigenous kinship terms will be used during an exchange in CamE and CamPE and the same will happen during an exchange in an indigenous language.

In this section, we are concerned with the different illustrations of address forms and kinship terms that are frequently used in the Cameroonian sociolinguistic scene. As postcolonial multilingual Cameroonians interact in Cameroon, their choice of address and kinship terms will depend on the context of the situation, the intention of the speakers (to please, to argue, to befriend, to placate, etc.), the relation between the interlocutors, i.e. age, gender, class differences between the speakers, the duration of their relation (how well they know each other). All these are factors that might influence a speaker of CamE and CamPE in Cameroon as he/she interacts daily with his *sisters* and *brothers*. To be able to illustrate the use of address forms and kinship terms as used in Cameroon and give a full picture of address

and kinship terms, we examine the following aspects as revealed in Anchimbe (2006, 2011), Kouega (2007), Echu (2008) and Nkwain (2014).

Literature on address forms and kinship terms in CamE and CamPE reveals three main features that guide their uses. There is the extension of kinship terms to non-kinship relations. This, as we have seen before, is a very typical tendency in many other African countries as well (Salami, 2004; Oyetade, 1995; Ushie, 2008). Name avoidance is another typical feature that occurs as a sign of respect (Echu, 2008; Anchimbe, 2011). A third feature is that, with urbanization, partly caused by migration from country sides to cities, modernization and adaptation of western ways of life, the sociolinguistic and cultural behaviours of some CamE and CamPE speakers in Cameroon are gradually changing. An example of this, as reported by Bobda (2008), is that the marked gender roles in which wives in most ethnic groups use specific titles to address their husbands in metropolises are being replaced by the practice of wives addressing their husbands by first names even in the presence of friends and relatives. Some women, instead of addressing their husbands as *Ni* (in the Northwestern region) or *Mola* (in the Southwestern region), are using interesting forms of address such as *Daddy* or *Pa* plus first name *(Daddy/Pa+FN)*. Sometimes, it is *Daddy/Pa* plus the name of one of their children (see section 5.4. 3.2 on teknonyms). Here we have address forms like *Daddy/Pa John* where *John* is the FN of the husband or *Daddy/Pa Emade* where *Emade* is the name of one of their children. This has gone to the extent that some highly educated women in big cities use western forms of address such as *darling* to address their spouses in public. The grouping of the address and kinship terms as used in the Cameroonian scene will run as follows: (as originally proposed by Anchimbe (2011).

- Names and naming practices: Christian names, ethnic/country names, surnames, teknonyms and *ndap,* name avoidance (zero name)
- Kinship terms and titles/the extension of kinship terms to non-kin contexts
- Duty and professional titles
- Social titles

4.4.3.1. Names and naming practices in Cameroon

Names are so important in the Cameroonian cultures that they tend to be avoided. Using people's real names (first names and ethnic names) is not very common among Cameroonians. Instead, appellations and titles are rather common (Afful, 2006; Anchimbe, 2008a&b, 2011; Muhleisen, 2010). These practices have been dubbed by the above authors as *address avoidance* or *name escapism*. Some of the popular titles and appellations used by Anglophone

Cameroonians are titles, such as professional titles, kinship titles or terms, teknonyms, duty titles or social titles. As observed in the above-mentioned researches, these titles or appellations have important sociolinguistic roles in the community and a lack of conformity with the expected linguistic form is often punished. The pragmatic functions of these address forms within the different Cameroonian speech communities cannot be overemphasized. The ways in which the naming strategies in Cameroon occur reflect the social stratification of the Anglophone Cameroonian societies, their network systems, their interpersonal relationships, their power-negotiating strategies, and display of superiority, significance of age and gender differences (Echu, 2008; Anchimbe, 2011).

To start with, when Anglophone Cameroonian parents choose a name for their children, the names necessarily reflect their dreams and aspirations for the child. Cameroonian Anglophone names are based on the historical, social, cultural or spiritual experiences that these postcolonial subjects have gone through. Names and how they are eventually used is therefore an important mirror that reflects how parents would like their children to be seen in society, that is, the identities of the children, their roles, values, hierarchies or expectations within the social space of the community. Bean (1978:14) asserts that "names are linguistic codes representing individuals in meaning and sound." She goes on to say that "[…] participants in a speech act may bring almost any combination of social identities to them." (ibid: 1978:14). Speakers of CamE and CamPE have two main types of personal names: the Christian name (CN) and the ethnic name (EN). An example in the Northwest region will be *Joseph* as CN and *Ndifor* as EN (also known as country name). Another category is the family or surname, an example is *Tamufor*. This is the name inherited from one's father. Hence, a Cameroonian Anglophone's full formal name could be *Joseph Ndifor Tamufor*. Personal names are generally reciprocally used among friends, close associates and members of the same peer or age groups. The nonreciprocal use of personal names is usually determined by age and sometimes by institutionalized kinship relations or (formal) situations. Following this pattern, an older person addresses a younger person or kin by personal (Christian or tribal) name but the younger person has to reply using an address form of respect. Cameroonians would consider it very impolite, rude and insolent to address an older person by their name even if the younger person is the older person's boss at work. The younger boss has to show some respect for the subordinate's age by addressing his/her older subordinate as *Pa John*, for instance.

The Christian name is a result of the European influence, while the tribal name is a celebration of the Cameroonian traditional beliefs and culture. On the other hand, the family

name is an attempt to have a link with the ancestors. Each time a person uses one name or the other, he/she is consciously or unconsciously reflecting or celebrating one of these cultures. Since names and naming practices reflect the hybridity that is a reoccurring characteristic of postcolonial subjects, they present a window through which one can examine the different identities that are constructed or (re)constructed by immigrants in the German diaspora. First of all, do the Cameroonian parents in the diaspora still name their offspring following the threename tradition, i.e. *Christian, ethnic and family names*?

Among Anglophone Cameroonians, the family names or surnames are very important indicators of ancestral ties; surnames represent kinship and family ties. For the sake of solidarity, people usually feel closer to those with whom they share a common surname[28] Usually Anglophone Cameroonians who share the same surname come from the same tribe and speak the same dialect. This sense of closeness in relationship is easy to establish. Surnames not only establish solidarity but signal the importance that Cameroonians and many other African ethnic groups lay on family bonds. Thus, a name is a reflection of one identity or another (Nkwain, 2014).

Conforming to this address code is very important to the Anglophone Cameroonian communities, because anyone who does not, will be considered ill-bred and to be ill-bred does not speak well of your family name (Anchimbe, 2011:1474). Therefore, one of the concerns in the choice of address forms is to project and sustain the required image or identity: for example the image of a respectful young man or woman of the society who does not bring shame to his/her family.

In conclusion, it could be said that personal names are used in Cameroon among friends, acquaintances, school/class mates, peers (around the same age group). Older persons addressing younger persons may use their first names but this is nonreciprocal. Some husbands use their wives' FN and again this is usually nonreciprocal (Nkwain, 2014). The choice of names among Cameroonians is usually strategic, because it needs to conform not only to societal demands but also to personal interests of the addresser (Afful, 2006; Anchimbe 2011; Nwain, 2014).

4.4.3.2. Teknonyms

Teknonyms are address forms which in Cameroon can be used within the kinship context. However, they have been extended to other social non-kin circles. Teknonyms are relational

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28   In diaspora such people will start claiming a kinship relationship that may not exist in reality.

references usually based on kinship relation especially between parents and their children. In Cameroon, parents are renamed following the name of either their first-born child or later by the name of their favourite child or the child that friends and neighbours consider to be the parent's favourite child (Akindele, 2002; Oyetade, 1995; Salami, 2004). Teknonymy is therefore the practice of addressing or referring to an adult by way of that adult's relationship to his/her child. In some communities in Cameroon, it becomes almost inevitable that when a woman gives birth to a child after marriage, nearly everyone around, including her husband, renames her *Mammie +name of the child.* The birth of a child usually requires the father and the mother to be thus renamed. Generally, teknonyms add to the list of address forms in the community another option to display the etiquette or respect based on social norms and customs. The use of teknonyms is therefore associated with politeness strategies. Whereas personal names in the Anglophone Cameroonian setting stress the individuality of persons, teknonyms, on the other hand, are "relational" terms where the definition of "self" is derived from "another" (Eckert and McConell-Ginet, 2003). The relations expressed in this practice are links of affiliation, which are evident in teknonyms such as *Mammie Paul* or *Papa Lucas*. (See overview of Cameroonian address terms in the private and public domains in Tables 1 and 2)

In the Cameroonian Anglophone speech communities, there exist other types of teknonyms like that linked to the bearer's business or trade; some examples of these are: *Pa (Papa) + Business = Pa (papa) Butcher* (a man who is a butcher)*, Pa Shoe-mender, Pa Katanga* (an elderly man who sells *Katanga*, a Cameroonian delicacy)*. Ma (Mammie) +Business = (Ma) Mammie Puff-Puff, Ma (Mammie) Eru, Mammie Ndole, Mammie Achu* for a woman who sells *puff-puff, eru ndole* and *achu*[29]). This is very common with traders, women, and men who have petty businesses at street corners.

As mentioned before, teknonyms are sometimes used as a means to avoid addressing certain people in the community using their 'real' names; for example, a wife who does not want to call her husband by his 'real' name in front of the children or in-laws. This practice is very common in interethnic marriages, where couples are not yet comfortable with the prescribed forms of address or the correct forms of addressing each other. It is therefore very common to have spouses use this form of address as an easy way out to escape using the partner's own name as a politeness strategy. Teknonyms thus provide a convenient short cut to the appropriate form of addressing a spouse. In Anglophone Cameroon, one frequently hears

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[29] Puff-puff = Popular Cameroonian breakfast made from flour, Ndole = a vegetable dish
Achu = made from cocoyam

of *Mammie/Papa Boy or Mammie/Papa Baby*. These forms are also used by the Yorubas of Nigeria and the Basotho of Southern Africa (Soyoye, 1984; Akindele, 2002).

4.4.3.3. Parents and children

In Anglophone Cameroon, children usually address their parents as *Mammie* (mother) and *Papa* (father). In certain villages, children will address their parents by their *ndap*[30]. It is also possible that in certain Cameroonian families, children will address their parents with a teknonym (Nkwain, 2014). On the other hand, children are usually addressed by their parents by means of their personal names (Christian names or tribal names). Sometimes, when the parents wish to express their satisfaction with a child, he/she could be addressed using a pet name or *ndap* if he/she has one. If a male child was named say after a favourite grandparent at that moment, the parent will call him *Big Papa* or *Papa+Surname* (e.g. *Pa/papa Njila*). The same applies to a girl child who might be addressed as *Mammie + Surname of the grandmother* she was named after (e.g. *Mammie Akwen*). Similarly, *Big Mammie* is also used.

4.4.3.4. Spouses

In the traditional Cameroonian Anglophone context, kinship terms in the family, as well as address forms in the outside world have to conform to hierarchical relationships. At the family level, this hierarchy exists between spouses. The woman is considered subordinate, as this is a patriarchal society, and males are given more authority. This dominance is manifested in the kinship terms and address forms (Nkwain, 2014; Iragiliati, 2006).

Traditionally, the Anglophone Cameroonian woman avoids addressing her husband by his personal name. Most women even in the cities respect this pattern especially in public and in the presence of their children and important family members such as in-laws. It is not often that a traditional Anglophone Cameroonian wife will use a term of endearment to address her husband in public. Thus, the choice of pattern will be structured by variables such as age, older women will stick to traditional forms and level of education i.e. there is a general tendency for highly educated women to address husbands using Western or European-styled address forms: first names, Western-styled coinages such as *Daddy + husband's* first name, given pet names which are sometimes a shortened form of the husband's name, e.g. if the husband's name is *Timothy* or *David*, the wife might call him *T or D*.

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[30] *Ndap* = 'name of thanks' (*nom de remerciements*) is used among the Bamileke ethnic groups and some ethnic groups of the Northwest region (Bali bahock). Each family inherits a 'name of thanks' for the male and the female family members (Voorhoev, 1964)

4.4.3.5. Among siblings

In the traditional Anglophone communities in Cameroon, younger siblings have to show respect towards older siblings by using the appropriate address forms, some of which include:

- *Brother* or *Sister* plus *first name* (FN) = *e.g. Brother Mike; Sister Martha*
- *Brother* or *Sister* plus ethnic name (EN)= e.g. *Brother Tamufor or Sister Epote*
- *Ni/ Ngea/Mola* plus FN = e.g *Ni/Ngea/Mola Joe*
- Ni/*Ngea/Mola plus* EN= *e.g. Ni Tamufor or Ni Tita, Ngea Asah or Mola Lyonga*
- *Ma /Mama* plus FN/EN= e.g. *Ma/Mama Mary or Ma/Mama Akwen*

There is an interesting juxtaposition that can be noted in the address forms *Sister Akwen* and *Ni Joseph,* namely *Sister* is an English word used as an address form of respect and *Akwen* is an ethnic name, while *Joseph* is an English name and *Ni* is an address term from an indigenous language. This kind of mixture is a common feature of CamE and CamPE as spoken in Cameroon. As noted earlier, in the case of *auntie* and *uncle,* the use of *sister* and *brother* as titles of respect is usually not limited to blood siblings or kindred. Sometimes neighbours, friends, acquaintances, church and meeting members and even strangers are addressed using the kinship titles of *brother* and *sister*. Members of Pentecostal churches always address each other as *brother* and *sister* irrespective of age (Kouega, 2007; Anchimbe, 2011). Sometimes aunts, uncles, and cousins who are not very much older are also addressed as *brother* and *sist*er.

4.4.3.6. The question of the 11th Province

The phenomenon of the 11th province is a concept among English-speaking Cameroonians with a history of internal migration. These are Cameroonians from the *Ewondo, Douala, Bassa* and *Bamileke* lands whose fore-fathers had to migrate for different reasons:
1) Some had to flee from the hard labour imposed on citizens during the German colonial period as they constructed the Cameroonian railways and other facilities. 2) Others, like the Bamileke, had to leave as a result of political upheavals during the *makiza*[31] wars between Ahidjo and the UPC[32] 3), others were in search of business and good economic possibilities (Yanou, 2007). These people thus migrated from the French colonized regions of the West, Littoral and Central provinces to what are today the Northwest and Southwest regions of

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[31] *Makiza* was the name given to the freedom fighters during the war of liberation between the so-called terrorists and the French colonial regime (Yanou, 2007)
[32] UPC=Union of the people of Cameroon, a political party in opposition during the reign of Ahidjo.

Cameroon. Usually, these people have identity issues because they are by birth Francophones but cannot enact their Francophone heritage except that they have names[33] like *Chinda* (Western region), *Atangana* (Central region), *Mahop* (Littoral region). Among these, there are names and other features of their ethnic group that still persist in the Anglophone regions, since they still have contact with their ethnic group; they visit their home town and villages and are still in steady contact with their relatives in their places of birth. Some of these immigrants still speak their mother tongue or ethnic languages. Address forms and kinship terms including *ndap* are some of the language features that have spread as a result of contact with Anglophones of the cities of Kumba, Limbe, Bamenda and other areas where the Bamiléké Anglophones live or have lived (Yanou, 2007). It is important to know about the existence of this group because they make up a good number of the informants of this research. For instance, the Bamiléké men and the Bamiléké women associations in Wupertal Germany are participants in the present research and they all originate from the 11th province. Furthermore, some address forms such as *ndap* and some forms of teknonyms are from ethnicities that are found in Franchophone regions of Cameroon, they have been introduced in CamE and CamPE by people of the said 11th province.

Sometimes when the Bamiléké Anglophones go to their villages or ethnic regions, they are often greeted with outburst like" *Pe Engrishe cet* (the English have arrived). This is a sarcastic reference to their mixed identities that is not very welcoming (Yanou, 2007). As far as the present study is concerned Anglohone Cameroonians from the eleventh province constitute an important number of our informants. In this way the use of the two Cameroonian Englishes is influenced by their indigenous/ethnic languages. In other words, the CamE and CamPE as spoken by Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants from the 11th province in the German diaspora is influenced by indigenous languages from the francophone tribes. An example of this is the use of *Ndap* which is originally a Bamiléké cultural address form of respect and honour (*nom des remercîment).* This is an important feature in the CamE and CamPE as spoken by a good number of our informants in the present study.

4.4.3.7. Professional and duty titles

In Cameroon there is a general tendency to use people's professional titles even in informal contexts (Echu, 2008; Anchimbe, 2011; Nkwain, 2014). Some friends and acquaintances even address each other using their titles. For example, a young man whose friend is a medical

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[33]   In Cameroon, a person can be identified via the surname (the tribal origin)

doctor, may constantly call or address him as *Doctor* or *Doc*. Furthermore, most medical students and even PhD students are sometimes addressed as *Doc/Doctor*. In their works, Anchimbe (2011) and Nkwain (2014) have identified the following professional and duty address terms in CamE and CamPE as used in Cameroon:

- *Professor:* a university professor will invariably be referred to as *Prof* both at the university and on the streets by those who know him/her. Sometimes the title *Prof* is applied to any lecturer at the university. The address *Prof* in Cameroon is borrowed from French *Professeur de Lyceé* (high school teacher) and applied to teachers of high schools who are sometimes referred to as *Prof* (Anchimbe, 2011: 1477).

- *Doctor:* This is another frequently used title in Cameroon. Generally, it will be unthinkable to refer to a medical or academic doctor in Cameroon without their titles especially in formal contexts (Anchimbe, 2011: 1478).

- *Reverend Pastor*: This is used to address the pastors of the Presbyterian churches and the Pentecostal churches, even if they are not really trained pastors. Thus, this is used to address any preacher of the Pentecostal church.

- *Reverend Father*: The Reverend Father of a Catholic church, that is, a Roman Catholic Priest.

Illustratively, we have:

- *Father + Surname, Father +FN* or simply *Father (Fada* in CamPE)
- *Pastor + Surname (e.g. Rev. Awasome), Pastor +FN (e.g. Pastor Patrick)* or simply *Pastor +No Name (Pastor).*
- *Doctor + Surname, Doctor + FN* or simply *Doctor (Doc).*

It is rare in the Cameroonian setting for a reverend father, a reverend pastor or a doctor to be addressed at least in public without their titles.

4.4.3.8. Administrative and hierarchical titles

The system of address forms used in CamE and CamPE to indicate hierarchy especially in the administrative positions includes a wide range of forms that are usually traditionally and culturally bound to the Cameroonian norms of respect during communication. Generally, in Cameroon, institutional and administrative ranks and hierarchical status are often explicitly expressed. The following, taken from Anchimbe (2011), are some of the most frequently used administrative and hierarchical titles as used in Cameroon:

(i)   PRESIDENT: This is a frequently used title at meetings where the elected leader is usually addressed as *President* or *Presi*. The president of a meeting of, e.g. a *Tontin* group is usually addressed as *President* or *Presi* without a PN (sometimes pronounced in French). *President* is also often used to address the leader of any group in church, leader of a political party, the President of the country. This is a very popular title of status and in most cases, once you gain this title as a leader of a group, you never lose it. Even if you are no longer a president, you are addressed as *President* or *Presi.*

(ii)   CHIEF: This is frequently used in Cameroon to address any traditional leader or leader of any traditional group. It is also used to address a crowned tribal or regional chief.

Usually *Chief +surname,* e. g. *Chief Obi, Chief Oben, Chief Abumbi,* etc.

(iii)   *MR.   & MRS*; *LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:* These are official titles used in very official contexts.

4.4.3.9. An Overview of social titles as used in Cameroon

- *Manyi/Tanyi*: The birth of twins in Cameroon is a very important event. In Anglophone Cameroon, a couple who beget twins are automatically renamed. The wife is henceforth addressed as *Manyi* and the father of the twins is *Tanyi.* This address form is used by friends, neighbours, acquaintances and family members (Anchimbe, 2011; Nkwain, 2011), a practice that has also been noted in many other non-European cultures.

- *Mbombo:* This means *Namesake,* that is a name used by people who share the same personal name in Anglophone Cameroon usually call each other *Mbombo.* Some use the English version *Namesake* or simply *Name as* a way of intimacy.

- *Moyo:* means *in-law.* It is used between people who are really in-laws, but it has been extended to people who are married to spouses from the same region or ethnic group.

- *Mbanya:* Women in a polygamous marriage call each other *mbanya*, but this is usually extended and used by women whose spouses come from the same ethnic group.

- *Bo'oh/ Massah/ Ma friend/ Iyo'oh/ Dis man:* used between friends (peers) who belong to the same age group.

- *Petit/Grand frère* ('Junior/ Senior brother'): this is a borrowed appellation from the French language

•   *Petite/Grande sœur* ('Junior/Senior sister'): this is a borrowed appellation from the French language.

An overview of Kinship terms as used in Cameroon adapted from Anchimbe (2011); Nkwain (2014)[34]

Table 4.4.1: Kinship terms family domain A

Kinship Term	Kinship/Relation	Addresser/Addressee	Application
BROTHER	Blood brother, also halfbrother	Younger → older	Brother + PN [35] e.g. Brother Mike, Brother Njie
	Older (but not much older) male from one's community/tribe	Younger → older	Brother + PN, Brother + No name e.g. Brother Ngu
	Church member (especially of Pentecostal churches)	Irrespective of age (reciprocal)	Brother +PN
	Any male stranger whose age you are not sure about.	Younger → older	Brother + No Name
SISTER	Blood sister & Half-sister	Younger → Older	Sister + PN e.g. Sister Josephine, Sister Akwen
	Older (but not much older) female from one's community/ethnic group, cousins, and other family relations not very much older than the addresser	Younger relative /community member→ older relative/community member	e.g. Sister Marie, Sister Limunga
	Strangers and females meeting for the first time.	Younger → older	Sister plus zero name Just *Sister*
	Members of the same church (mostly Pentecostal churches)	Irrespective of age (Reciprocal) Younger=Older	Sister + PN e.g. Sister Joe, Sister Riter

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[34]   We should always bear in mind that there are usually overlaps and no address form is restricted to family or social domains.

[35]   PN = Personal name this can be either the Christian or the tribal name (E.g. John->Christian name; Ndumbe-> tribal (traditional) name)

Table 4.4.2: Kinship terms family domain B

Kinship Term	Kinship/Relation	Addresser/Addressee	Application
AUNTIE	A sister to the addresser's mother or father	Younger → older	Auntie +PN e.g. Auntie Mary, Auntie Epossie
	Other members of the extended family a bit much older than a senior sister, e.g. cousins	Younger → older	Auntie + PN e.g Auntie Sophie Auntie Ewudu
	Older (much older than a senior sister but not as old as the addresser's mother), female from one's community/ethnic group	Younger → older	Auntie + PN e.g. Auntie Thelma, Auntie Yaya
	Any female stranger much older than a senior sister but not as old as the addresser's mother	Younger → older	Auntie+ zero name, e.g. Auntie, good morning!
UNCLE	Any male in the community or ethnic group older than a senior brother, male friend of father/mother	Younger → older	Uncle +PN e. g. Uncle Philip Uncle Chinda
	Other members of the extended family a bit much older than a senior brother, e.g. cousins	Younger → older	Uncle + PN e.g Uncle Mike or Uncle Sama
	Older (much older than a senior brother but not as old as the addresser's father), male from one's community or ethnic group	Younger → older	Uncle+ PN e.g. Uncle Peter, Uncle Lyonga
	Any male stranger much older than a senior brother but not as old as the addresser's father	Younger → older	Uncle+ zero name Eg. Uncle, good morning!

Table 4.4.3: Kinship terms family domain C

Kinship Term	Kinship/Relation	Addresser/Addressee	Application
NI/ NINI	1) Address form used by wives and women to show love and respect to their husbands and men of the community	Wives, women of community → respectable men of the community	Ni /Nini + PN e.g Ni/Nini Edward; Ni Sama
	2) Used by blood brothers & sisters also half-brothers & sisters to address older male siblings and relatives	Younger → older	Ni /Nini + PN e.g. Ni/Nini Lucas, Ni/Nini Sama
	3) Other members of the extended family, e.g. cousins, uncles and community members as well	Younger → older	Ni /Nini + PN Ni Sampson
	4) Used to address any senior/older male stranger	Younger → older male	Ni + zero name e.g. Good morning Ni/Nini
MA/MAMA	1) Used by blood brothers & sisters also half-brothers & sisters to address older female siblings and relatives	Younger → Older	Ma/Mama + PN e.g. Ma/Mama Susan Ma/Mama Fri Mainly in the N/W region
	2) Other members of the extended family, e.g. cousins, uncles,	Younger → Older	Ma/mama + PN = Ma/Mama Delphine
	3) Used by males & females from one's community/ethnic group to address older & senior females.	Younger → Older	Ma/mama +FN (if known)
	4) Used to address any senior/older female stranger	Younger → older	Ma/Mama+zero Name.

Table 4.4.4: Kinship terms family domain D

Kinship Term	Kinship/Relation	Addresser/Addressee	Application
IYA /NYANGO	1) Used by blood brothers & sisters also half-brothers & sisters to address older female siblings and relatives	Younger → Older	Mola/Sango+Zero Name Iya/Nyango + PN e.g. Iya/Yango Susan Iya/Yango Eposi Mainly in the SW region
	2) Other members of the extended family, e.g. cousins, uncles,	Younger → Older	Mola/Sango + Zero Name Iya/Nyango + PN e.g. Iya Sophie
	3) Used by males & females from one's community/ethnic group to address older & senior females males	Younger → Older	Mola/Sango + Zero Name Iya/Yango + PN e.g. Iya/Yango Namondo or Mary
	4) Used to address any senior/older female stranger	Younger → Older	Iya/Yango +zero name
MOLA /SANGO	1) Used by blood brothers & sisters also half-brothers & sisters to address older male siblings and relatives	Younger → Older	Iya/Yango + PN e.g. Iya/Yango Susan Iya/Yango Eposi Mainly in the SW region
	2) used to address other members of the extended family e.g. cousins, uncles,	Younger → Older	Mola/Sango + Zero Name Mola/Sango + PN e.g. Mola/Sango Njo/ John
	3) Used by males & females from one's community/ethnic group to address older & senior males of the community	Younger → Older	Mola/Sango + Zero Name Mola/Sango + PN e.g. Mola/Sango Henry
	4) Used to address any senior/older female stranger	Younger → Older	Mola/Sango + Zero Name Mola/Sango+ PN e.g. Mola/Sango Andrew
NDAP: Tankoh (M) Tamah (M) Tongtah (F) Ngounchou (F)	A very senior/older member of the family who has this title	Younger → older male	NDAP + PN e.g Tankoh Solo/Tankoh Tchap
	A very senior or older member of the community who has this family title	Younger → older female	NDAP +PN e.g.Tongtah Frida/Tongtah Mantan

Distribution of social address forms in the Cameroonian context based on Anchimbe (2011); Nkwain (2014).

Table 4.4.5: Distribution of social address forms

Social title	Addresser	Addressee	Application
Manyi/ Tanyi	Family, friends, anybody in the community or neighborhood who knows that the addressee is a manyi or tanyi	Mother and father of twins	Used as an address form of respect and honor to parents of twins (Peek 2011) -Taken from ethnic languages Tanyi +PN (Tanyi Mathias) Manyi +PN (Manyi Susa)
Mbombo	Used between persons who share the same personal name	Between people who share the same personal names.	Used by persons of the same age group Sometimes an older person may wish to bring a younger person closer via this address term. It shows a degree of closeness between interlocutors. e.g two people who are both called Clement may address each other *mbombo*
Moyo	In-law	In-law	Used between in-laws both close and distant sometimes extended to persons who are of the same ethnic group, e.g. a spouse or in-law
Mbanya	Co-wife	Co-wife	used by two or more women married to the same husband in a polygamous relationship. Used by women who are married in the same family Sometimes extended to women married to men from the same ethnic group
Bo'oh/disman	Friends	Friends	Used by friends Some of these express different moods, e.g. dis man is usually used in a situation of playful/mild reprimand.
Petit(e)/ grand (e)	Younger/Older Acquaintances/friends	Younger/Older Acquaintances/friends	As a result of the contact with the French language.

4.5. Summary

This chapter has given a summary of address forms and kinship terms as an instrument for the construction of identity in different sociolinguistic contexts. Here we have seen that issues of politeness are culturally bound. This chapter has also shown that the multilingual and the multicultural ecology from which the Cameroon immigrants emerged has prepared them for a complex and very hybrid use of linguistic forms including how they address and speak to

family friends and acquaintances. The chapter ends with two charts that present an overview of the distribution of address forms in the social and pubic domains and another that captures the different kinship terms in the Cameroonian context.

Chapter 5: The Sociolinguistic Situation of the Diasporic Cameroonian Community of Practice

5.1. Introduction

Like most African immigrant groups, Cameroonians in Germany use the term 'diaspora' to describe their new habitat. The term 'diaspora' refers both to the immigrants and to their communities (Cohen, 1997; Mayer, 2005). The Cameroonian diaspora in Germany includes individuals with very different histories, expectations, strategies for survival and potentials. It is usually very difficult to give an accurate demographic figure of Cameroonians in the Germany diaspora for several reasons. First, Cameroonian immigrants are highly mobile, moving from one city to another in search of jobs, accommodation and documentation. Secondly, the fact that some Cameroonian immigrants have taken on the German nationality distorts the true demographic figure of this group of people in Germany (Fleischer, 2008). Cameroonians by law do not have the right of dual nationality so a Cameroonian who has taken the German nationality is no longer counted as a Cameroonian, according to the Cameroonian laws. Thirdly, there is a large number of undocumented Cameroonians living in Germany; this again distorts the actual demography.

However, according to a 2017 estimate by *the German Federal Office of Statistics,* there are 22,320 Cameroonians distributed all over the sixteen German states. The majority of these migrants live in four states: the North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW), Baden Württemberg, Hessen and Berlin. The 2017 figure displays an increase of the 2006 figure, which stood at 14,414 migrants with a Cameroonian passport living in Germany. The Cameroonian population in Germany is still young because massive migration started only around the early 1990s. A closer look at the residence permit of Cameroonian immigrants shows the migrants can be classified in three groups: educational migrants, refugee/asylum seekers and migrants who came for family reunion. More specifically education migrants have a temporary residence permit while the migrants on family grounds have a more permanent residency. The asylum seekers also have a temporary residency while waiting either for a positive decision of their case or a deportation upon rejection of their application (*The German Federal Office of Statistics*). Figures of the 2017 census show the following distribution of Cameroonians in the 16 states of the Federal Republic of Germany:

Table 5.1.1: Demographic distribution of Cameroonian immigrants in the 16 German states.

German States	Cam. Pop.	German States	Cam. Pop.
Baden-Württemberg	5.055	Nieder-Sachsen	1.205
Bayern	1.690	Nordrhein-Westfalen	5.305
Berlin	2.290	Rheinland-Pfalz	1.035
Brandenburg	1.755	Saarland	285
Bremen	430	Sachsen	240
Hamburg	405	Sachsen-Anhalt	160
Hessen	2.085	Schleswig-Holstein	220
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	20	Thüringen	135
Total no. Cameroonian			**22.320**

(*The German Federal Office of Statistics,* 2017)

The figures in Table 5.1.1 show that about twenty-four percent of Cameroonian migrants live in the state of North Rhine Westphalia (NRW) alone. One of the reasons for this can be that earlier Cameroonian migrants first settled in this state, which later attracted migrants from the same background. Some analysts argue that NRW is migrant-friendly and there are many job opportunities especially for unskilled labour due to the presence of many production firms in the area (Fleischer, 2008; Meierkord & Fonkeu, 2013; Meierkord et al, 2015).

The Cameroonian immigrants in Germany, like the Asian Indians in the USA (Sridhar, 2002:257), come from a traditionally multilingual and multicultural country. Their settlement concentrations in North Rhine-Westphalia, Hessen and Berlin confirms Abu-Lughod (2005) investigation on Egyptian immigrants, who form enclaves of settlements in particular parts of Cairo because they wish to settle in an area with other people of their ethnic origin. This is also in line with Milroy and Gordon (2003), who describe the social network between people as "the aggregate relationships contracted with others, a boundless web of ties which reaches out through social and geographical space linking many individuals sometimes remotely…" (ibid: 2003:117). This implies that the social influence Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants have on each other leads to these settlement clusters which are social units (families, friends, ethnicity and linguistic units). These social relationships are guided by shared cultures, education, gender etc. The interdependency of these variables are clear indications that explain or reveal why these sets of people form enclaves and settlement clusters in NRW and Hessen.

The Cameroonian migrants form social networks of involvement and interaction based on mutual and shared experiences (repertoire of norms and experiences). Therefore, the local practices of these Cameroonians interrelate with the global context in which they find themselves.

As has been mentioned above, the Cameroonian immigrants in general and the Anglophone Cameroonians in particular, come from traditionally multilingual and multicultural backgrounds whose decision to emigrate stems from a determination to improve their living conditions. Most importantly, the emigration was mainly triggered by the socio-economic crisis of the 1990s that reached its peak with the failure of the country's intellectuals to bring about the necessary political change(s). At the heart of the crisis were the eventual cuts in salaries that followed the *Operation Villes Mortes* (Operation Dead Cities) coupled with the devaluation of the Franc CFA and a massive reduction of salaries (Schmelz, 2007:1). The decision to leave home is also aided by the modern media and IT system that furnish the Cameroonian with fantastic tales of a dreamland across the Atlantic.

Based on these reasons, the Cameroonians upon migration create social networks with a clear goal or objective (Milroy, 2003; Backus, 2004). Since the *Operation Ville Morte* of the 1990s an increasing number of Cameroonians have been moving out of the country in search of greener pastures in America, Europe and other parts of the world (Schmelz, 2007; Fleischer, 2008). The Cameroonian socio-economic and socio-political situation has shown no signs of improvement; in fact, the situation has deteriorated. The Anglophone crisis, which reached a turning point in 2016, has ushered in a new wave of violence forcing a large-scale increase in emigration from the country. Figures from the German Federal Statistical Office confirm this constant increase in the flow of migrants from Cameroon into Germany as follows:

Table 5.1.2: Number of Cameroonian immigrants in Germany: 2010-2017

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Pop.	14,876	15,346	16,021	17,023	18,301	19,800	21,610	22,330

(*The German Federal Office of Statistics,* 2017)

Table 6.1.2 above confirms assertions that as a result of socio-economic and socio-political crises, the total number of Cameroonians migrating to Germany is in constant increase. As the years go by, there is very little or no socio-political change to redress the Cameroonian situation, and, as a result, the number of immigrants has kept rising. On arriving in Germany, Cameroonians re-group forming communities. These have a certain

"cohesiveness". The factors that bring about cohesion include (l) language (2) socio-economic interest and (3) ethnicity. In a way, the formation of the Cameroonian groupings is what Bloomfield (1933:42) describes as a speech community: "a group of people who interact by means of speech" (cited in Wardhuagh, 2010:122-123). A good way to identify and compartmentalize Cameroonians in Germany is to examine their groups and social networks. These social networks are usually referred to as associations. Each member within the group hopes to guarantee socio-economic survival through adherence to the group (Anchimbe, 2006; Schmelz, 2007:15). Another salient reason for group adherence is asserting pride in one's roots. An earlier report from GTZ, in collaboration with some Cameroonian informants, states that:

> There is great diversity among the associations formed by the Cameroonian community in Germany…in Cameroon itself, too, people like to form associations and they dedicate a large part of their free time on Sundays to meetings and association activities. Among the most important are associations of students, professionals, returnees or alumni, associations based on regional and ethnic background, associations focusing on development and general umbrella associations such as Challenge Camerounais… (GTZ, 2006:4).

These social networks are imitations of forms of socialization found in Cameroon, the home country. 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 (2004:9) projects the following elements as basic for collective identity: First of all, there is attachment which is the sense of belonging/emotional attachment to a group, then there is the element of social embeddedness, which is the degree to which a particular collective identity is embedded in a person's everyday on-going social relationships. Finally, Extra points to the behavioural involvement that shows the degree to which a person engages in actions that directly implicate the collective identity of the category in question. As far as the Cameroonian community is concerned, these categories are well represented. Regroupings are based on socio-cultural and socio-ethnic ties.

The Cameroonian Anglophone immigrants in Germany, like many other immigrants in the world, suffer from *"social malaise"* (Milroy, 1980:72), which involves unemployment, language deficiency, illegitimacy, low income, stressful jobs (two or more jobs). This makes the immigrants vulnerable to all sorts of exploitations. For instance, young Cameroonians are sometimes misled to join bad and criminal groups in an attempt to earn fast money. The fact that the certificates and documents of the migrants are not recognized within the German

educational and administrative system reduces their chances for socio-economic upward mobility. Furthermore, the services of the unskilled are less in demand due to large-scale influx of unskilled workers from neighbouring EU countries. This is because EU workers are given priority over Asian and African migrants. Due to all of these hurdles and difficulties, migrants, Cameroonian migrants included, place an important value on solidarity. Milroy highlights this when she says: "The maintenance of solidarity relationships is seen as a necessary buffer in times of sickness or need, or against hostile outsiders, particularly the authorities…" (Milroy, 1980:73). Here Milroy argues that solidarity or social networking is important because there is a need for the migrants to stay in close contact with each other in the presence of socio-economic difficulties. This partly explains why Anglophone Cameroonians live in particular cities or particular states. The different social enclaves of the Cameroonian immigrants in Germany can be studied in the same light as shantytowns near Mexico City (Milroy, 1980:73). This shows that the low-income groups and the needy manifest higher solidarity amongst them. "Social solidarity" is more pronounced amongst the poor who need to help and support each other.

A good way to understand the sociolinguistic patterns of the Cameroonian community of practice is to first understand the social networks in which the different groups and individuals are embedded (Trudgill, 2000). Based on this, a social network is the description of the relation between a speaker and other members of the community in which this speaker finds himself/herself. As far as the Cameroonian multilingual community of this study is concerned, the network system is heavily present and finds expression in the organization of associations called meetings.

5.2. Networking among Cameroonians

When it comes to group identities, apart from family relations, every Anglophone Cameroonian in Germany belongs simultaneously to infinite social categories and thus can be categorized in numerous ways: tribesmen, ex-students from the same alma-mater, colleagues at work and so on. The Cameroonians here see themselves in one social group or another. Sometimes the sense of belonging is tied by blood relations, sometimes by ethnic and tribal attachment, yet at other times by economic need. In a nutshell, this is a group of people whose destinies are linked. Cameroonian associations and groups in Germany are getting more attention as a result of the remittances they are engaged in both as groups and individuals (Fleischer, 2007; Schmelz, 2007; Winterhagen, 2016). Cameroonians in Germany do belong

to both host and home countries. This means that one of the objectives of the many Cameroonian groups and associations formed in Germany is to improve the socio-economic situation of their country (Kadje, 2017). As a result of all these, Cameroonian associations are glued together by a deep sense of solidarity. There are broadly speaking two sets of associations: those that are registered and those that function privately. Among the registered associations we have associations of alumni/the ex-student associations, the associations of professionals e.g. association of Cameroonian doctors; we also have development associations, which aim at putting resources together to help developmental projects back home in Cameroon. Finally, we have some socio-cultural associations that are also registered officially.

5.2.1. Socio-cultural associations

It is difficult to give a full statistical figure of the socio-cultural Cameroonian associations, because there are many that are not registered and difficult to be identified. The different "meetings" and networks are formed by the different sociolinguistic and socio-ethnic groups of Cameroonians. The following statement borrowed from Wardhaugh's definition of what a group means in sociolinguistic terms becomes relevant:

> [...] any set of individuals united for a common end, that end being quite distinct from ends pursued by other groups[...] a person may belong at any one time to many different groups depending on the particular ends in view […] At home a person may live in a bilingual setting and switch easily back and forth. She may shop in one of the languages but work in another. Her accent in one language may indicate that she can be classified as an immigrant, moreover from a specific country. Her accent in the other language shows her to be a native of one region Y in country X (Wardhaugh 2010:126-127).

Based on this definition, Cameroonian cultural and ethnic associations have been shown to have a large representation in many of the German states. Kadje (2017) reiterates the above explanation that these groups of people come together because they have ethnic relations; they speak the same language; they come from the same town, the same village or neighbourhood; they share the same past such as the same alma mater or even because they had an interaction in the past. Table 3 gives a list of some of the ethnic associations organized by Anglophone Cameroonians. Most of these associations have branches in other cities. Members of Cameroonian socio-cultural associations in Germany come from all over neighbouring cities, not only from the cities in which the association is registered. Furthermore, most of these meetings move on a rotatory basis so that each month it is hosted in a different city. Table

5.2.1 below provides a list of some of the most popular socio-cultural associations of Anglophone Cameroonians in Germany.

Table 5.2.1: A cross section of Anglophone Cameroonian sociocultural associations in Germany

No.	Name of Association	Location	Type of association
1	Wamso Helps Africa e.V.	NRW & Berlin	Ethnic
2	Bakossi Cultural & Development Association BACDA Germany	NRW	Ethnic
3	Menchum Cultural and Development Ass	NRW	Ethnic
4	Bengwi Cultural & Development Association	NRW	Ethnic
5	Bakweri Indigenous Cultural Association e. V.	NRW	Ethnic
6	Afro Mülheimers	Mülheim an der Ruhr	Sociocultural
7	Metta Cultural and Development MECUDA NRW e.V	NRW	Ethnic
8	Ayum Anneh Cultural and Development Association.	Mülheim an der Ruhr	Ethnic
9	Bamenda Women	NRW	Ethnic
10	Bamileke Men Wuppertal	NRW	Ethnic
11	Bamileke Women Wuppertal	NRW	Ethnic
12	Nkwen Cultural and Development Association - NCDA Germany	NRW	Ethnic
13	Cameroonian Pres. Community	Bochum	Religious
14	Bayang Cultural and Development Association	Berlin	Ethnic
15	North West Cultural and Development Association	Berlin	Ethnic
16	Mamfe Cultural and Development Association	Berlin	Ethnic
17	Cameroon Catholic Community, Wuppertal	Wuppertal	Religious
18	Cameroon Catholic Community Mülheim R.	Mülheim Ruhr	Religious
19	PCC Women	Ruhr	Religious
20	PCC Men	Ruhr	Religious
21	Presbyterian Community	Mülheim an der Ruhr	Religious
22	Cameroonian Catholic Community in Mülheim	Mülheim an der Ruhr	Religious
23	Cameroon Anglophone Association Hamburg e.V (CAAH e.V.),	Hamburg	Sociocultural
24	Cameroonian Community in Bremen	Bremen	Sociocultural

25	Africa Positive	Dortmund	Sociocultural
26	Cameroon Power	Berlin	Sociocultural
27	KUDECA	NRW	Sociocultural

The tendency for Cameroonian immigrants in Germany to form associations can be compared to that identified in the Turkish community in Germany, where the young Turks have formed groups like "Ünmütigen" and "Europatürke" (Backus et al., 2010). A major difference between the Turkish groups and those of the Cameroonians is the age of the members. Cameroonian associations are still mainly formed by the first-generation immigrants since the Cameroonian diaspora in Germany is still very young. A common sociolinguistic characteristic of the immigrant network is that members are able to continue living as though they were in their home country (dress, eating habits, forms of worship and language use). In a nutshell, as far as network ties are concerned, the socio-cultural associations not only re-enact their ethnic cultures and ways of life, they also organise and connect with others of similar cultural backgrounds who live in different German cities and states. Some of these ethnic associations organise conventions; for example, it was revealed within the course of this research that the Bali Cultural Association organises an annual convention that takes place on a rotatory basis in different cities and states of the Federal Republic of Germany. During these conventions, they organise cultural dances and other traditional festivals. The Bali Cultural Association represents the rich and diverse culture of the Bali ethnic group. In Germany, they have branches in NRW, in the state of Berlin and in Baden-Württemberg. Their objective, like most of the ethnic associations, is to promote the rich cultural aspect of this ethic group and promote developmental projects back in their villages of origin.

5.2.2. Njangi/ tontine groups

Socioeconomic associations are usually the well-known *tontines* and *njangi* groups. The aim of this type of meeting is mainly for economic reasons. The *tontine* or *njangi* comprise basically members who have a reason to trust each other: common origin or simply because they speak the same language. Members thus get together to start a kind of self-supporting revolving fund or microfinance scheme. Membership is usually unlimited since in one association as many as three *njangi* groups can operate simultaneously. For the sake of convenience, a *njangi* round usually lasts 12 calendar months.

In the German diaspora it is sometimes difficult to get full statistics of all the *meetings* and *tontines* since most of them are not officially registered. Also most of the cultural

associations incorporate the revolving fund or microfinance, the *njangi* scheme, into their activities. For instance, KUDECA is registered under the status of a socio-cultural group but also organizes *njangi* among interested members. The *njangi* and *tontines* in Germany function exactly in the same way as those at home in Cameroon (see Chapter 2, section 2.4.4).

5.2.3. Student and ex-student associations

In recent years, student associations have expanded their membership to include Cameroonians already employed in a profession (German statistic office, 2017). The states of North RhineWestphalia (NRW), Baden-Württemberg, Hessen and Berlin are hosts to many universities where Cameroonians are students; that is why it is common to find many student and ex-student meetings in these states. As shown in Table 4 below, associations of Cameroonian students are present in almost all universities where Cameroonian students are enrolled in large numbers. The objective of these associations is to help these migrant students with practical everyday university and student life such as studies, language issues and getting integrated into the German society. These student associations organize cultural events, excursions and parties. These students also organize events in particular fields of study and events that help prepare the students towards their professions such as lectures in computer courses, practice in submitting applications (Schmelz, 2007).

The main aim of student associations is to support their members. The student associations are a united front aimed at addressing the challenges that face them in the foreign universities in which they are registered. The students create these associations and meetings as forums to help them both during the phase of their studies and in their early career and professional lives. The main aim of these associations is for the enhancement of both academic and professional success. These groups look into the problems facing the Cameroonian students and sometimes act as a voice in International Offices in Germany and sometimes in the Cameroonian embassy in Germany. Since most members of the ex-student groups are already professionals, they promote corporation between German educational institutions and educational institutions in Cameroon (Schmelz, 2007; Fleischer 2008; Kadje, 2017). Some of these Cameroonian ex-student associations try to raise awareness of the opportunities, advantages and potentials of the German educational system. They also encourage and advance unity, friendship and solidarity among Cameroonians in Germany. They organize parties, games and other cultural activities. For instance, every year the *Challenge*

Cameroonaise[36] organizes a game competition between Cameroonians from different German states and cities. These ex-student associations also make contributions towards economic, cultural and social interaction among members via *njiangi* and *tontines*. This is to promote constant awareness of the realities of life back home. There is a constant need to send remittances to help and support the brothers and sisters back home in Cameroon (Fleischer, 2008; Kadje, 2017). There is therefore the need to remain in touch and identify with the culture and ancestral fatherland.

Table 5.2.2 is a list of some of the student and ex-student associations in Germany.

Table 5.2.2: Anglophone Cameroonian student & ex-student associations

No.	Name of Association	Location	Type/objective
1	SOBA Foundation	Essen	Ex-students, St. Joseph's College
2	Association of Cameroonian students Berlin (ACS, AES)	Berlin	Student ASS Mixed[37]
3	Association of Cameroonian Students in Darmstadt (ACSD e.V.)	Darmstadt	Student Ass Mixed
4	Cameroon Students Union Duisburg-Essen	Essen	Student ASS Mixed
5	Kamerunischer Studentenverein im Raum Erlangen Nürnberg Kasen, e.V.),	Erlangen	Student ASS Mixed
6	SESHAN Germany	Frankfurt	Ex-students, Sacred Heart College
7	OPSA Germany	Düsseldorf	Ex-students, Queen of the Rosary College
8	STESA Germany	Essen	Ex-students, Starlight Secondary School
9	BIROCOL Germany	Frankfurt	Ex-students, Bishop Rogan Secondary School
10	LESANS Germany	Essen	Ex-students, Our Lady of Lourdes Secondary School
11	SAKERRETES	Essen	Ex-students, Saker Baptist Secondary School
12	Star Light ex-students	Essen	Student Association

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[36]   *Challenge Cameroonaise* is a Cameroonian socio-cultural association organised by ex-students of different alma maters in Germany.

[37]   Mixed means that membership is for both Anglophone & Francophone Cameroonians.

The list in Table 5.2.2 is not a full list of all Cameroonian associations. These are just the associations where Anglophone Cameroonians, the subjects of the present research, have an important representation or membership.

5.2.4. Cameroonian associations of professionals

As far as the Cameroonian associations of professionals are concerned, the two prominent ones are the CAFOMEDICS (Association of Cameroonian Medical and Paramedical Professionals) and VKII (Association of Cameroonian Engineers & Computer Scientists). One of the aims of the Cameroonian diaspora associations of professionals is to promote sustainable development in the home country, Cameroon. *Camfomedics e.V.* is a registered non-profit organisation of Cameroonian medical professionals. Their commitment is to promote health care concepts in Cameroon. This association also tries to transfer and promote knowledge exchange between Cameroon and Germany. They try to help with the problems affecting the health care sector in Cameroon. For instance they train professionals, that is, the experts from Germany organise target training programs and training workshops to improve skills of Cameroonian doctors and nurses.

To sum up, the *Camfomedics* have the objective to improve practical training of medical personnel in Cameroon. They also have the objective to deliver new and advanced specialist advice, facilitate application of medical diagnostic therapeutic innovations that will improve the quality of treatment of patients in Cameroon. These professionals try to encourage the active participation of diasporic professionals so that they can also join in helping the development of Cameroon, the home country. Finally, this association helps in networking with other global professions in this field. The association of Cameroonian Engineers and Computer Scientists in Germany (the VKII) has as its objective the reduction of difficulties faced by alumni and technicians in their professional lives. The association also promotes excellence by organising an annual prize-giving ceremony of the best Cameroonian student in Germany. This group of Cameroonian professionals also designs solutions to tackle problems faced by Cameroonians in various fields of technology both at home and in Germany, the host country. The group tries to establish genuine links for the transfer of technologies. For instance, they create links between German universities and Cameroonian universities and vocational schools (Kadje, 2017). All these have the aim to meet the technological needs of the Cameroonian.

5.2.5. Women associations

Cameroonian women have a good representation within the German diasporic space. The freedom of the diasporic space offers these women a good opportunity to act out their gender roles. One of these is to form groups and associations where they can perform on their own without the watchful eyes of their husbands or partners. Like the other associations, women groups are formed based on ethnicity, religion and alma mater. However, these groups still need to adhere to the socio-cultural expectations of the Cameroonian communities. This is why, at the end of every year, the women have to organize parties and ceremonies to display to the community members what they have achieved in the course of the year. Some of these achievements may include traditional dances, children programs, and funds raised towards a particular project. Some of the women associations in the state of NRW include:

Table 5.2.3: Anglophone Cameroonian women groups in Germany

No.	Name of Association	Location	Type/objective
1	Dynamic Women	Essen	Socio-cultural
2	LESANS Our Lady of Lourdes Ex-students	Essen	Ex-student
3	OPSA Queen of the Holy Rosary Exstudents	Düsseldorf	Ex-student
4	Sakerettes Ex-students from Saker Baptist	Essen	Ex-student
5	CWA Catholic Women Association	Wuppertal	Religious
6	CWA Catholic Women Association	Mülheim Ruhr NRW	Religious
7	PWA Presbyterian Women Association	Mülheim R./Bochum	Socio-cultural
8	Favour Ladies	Essen	Socio-cultural
9	Unique Sisters	Essen	Socio-cultural
10	Candid Ladies	Mülheim R.	Socio-cultural
11	Baméléke Women	Wuppertal NRW	Ethic
12	Bamenda Women	Wuppertal NRW	Ethnic
13	Ladies of Victory & Empowerment e.V.	Essen	Socio-cultural
14	North West Daughters	Essen	Ethnic
15	Pregressive Ladies Ruhr	Wuppertal	Socio-cultural

Most of the women's groups and associations, as shown in Table 6.2.3 above, have the responsibility to raise the living standards of members and their families. The life of a Cameroonian woman is usually that of dependency, poverty and illiteracy (Fleischer, 2008). These groups help women to increase the possibility of working together. These women's groups in Germany organize *njangis/tontines*. Their savings are sometimes geared at helping

out with developmental projects at home in Cameroon and at other times they help members who have difficulties in the German diaspora. Together, these women develop methods and ways to run their families and raise their children in ways that maintain cultural dignity and the right path to future success.

5.2.6. Mixed groups

Mixed groups are those associations and groups that have both male and female membership. Sometimes the mixture could be that the association has both Anglophone and Francophone membership. Furthermore, some associations have people from different ethnicities. This implies that associations that have an interethnic and intercultural character are also mixed associations. Sometimes, associations and group membership could include members of the host country, so that we have men and women from Cameroon and men and women from Germany. The most popular mixed groups or associations among Cameroonians are the sport groups or associations. Here, we find men and women, Francophones and Anglophones, people from different ethnic regions of Cameroon belonging to one and the same association. The most popular of these is the *Challenge Camerounais,* which is a socio-cultural and sports association where membership includes all Cameroonians. Some of the most outstanding mixed Cameroonian associations in Germany include:

Table 5.2.4: Mixed Cameroonian groups in Germany

No.	Name of Association	Location	Type of association
1	Cameroon Diaspora Development Club	Frankfurt am Main	Mixed cooperative
2	KamerLiga e.V	Duisburg	Sports group
3	Africa Positive	Dortmund	Socio-cultural
4	Challenge Camerounais	Berlin	Sports & intercultural exchange (mixed)
5	Cameroun Diaspora Network (CDN.G)	Frankfurt am Main	Socio-cultural
6	AMUE GIESSEN e. V	Giessen	Ethnic Association, men & women
7	Clubcamer e.V.	Dortmund	Mixed sports
8	Duisburg United	Duisburg	Sports
9	Vétérans FC Berlin	Berlin	Sports
10	Vétérans Flambeau Club Berlin e.V. (V.F.C.B e.V.)	Berlin	Football
11	Associations de Camerounais de Braunschweig (ACAMBS)	Braunschweig	Mixed
12	Kamerunischer Sport Rhein-Neckar (KSRN e.V.)	Mannheim	Sports
13	Kamerun FC Frankfurt	Frankfurt	Football
14	Cameroonian Community of Frankfurt am Main & neighbourhood e.V. (CCFN e.V.)	Frankfurt am Main	Mixed Anglophone & Francophone
15	Cameroonian Association of Friedberg (CASFRI e.V.)	Friedberg	Mixed Anglophone & Francophone
16	Cameroonian Community of Gemersheim (CCG e.V),	Gemersheim	Solidarity, cultural, men & women, Anglophone, Francophone.
17	Cameroon Anglophone Association Hamburg e.V (CAAH e.V.),	Hamburg	Mixed: Men & Women
18	Communauté des Camerounais d'Hanova	Hannover	Mixed: Men & Women, Anglophone, Francophone
19	Die Kamerunische Gemeinschaft in München	München	Mixed: Men & women, Anglophone, Francophone
20	Cameroon Association of Stuttgart and Environs	Stuttgart	Mixed: Men & women, Anglophone, Francophone
21	Camerounais du Saarland (Camsaar, VKS e.V.)	Saarland	Mixed: Men & women, Anglophone, Francophone
22	Cameroonian Community of Siegerland e.V. (CCS e.V.)	Siegen	Mixed: Men & women, Anglophone, Francophone
23	Communauté Camerounaise de Wuppertal (ACEW)	Wuppertal	Mixed: Men & women, Anglophone, Francophone

These mixed associations have different activities that help identify them. The activities of these associations focus on different social projects. For instance, the sports association will focus on different sports activities including competitions between sports groups in different German cities. Sometimes, these associations undertake developmental projects to help the home country. For instance, Winterhagen (2016) shows that many Cameroonian associations are involved in collecting donations to help build school infrastructures in Cameroon. In his research Winterhagen (2016) identifies a total of 85 registered Cameroonian mixed associations. According to this researcher, the main groups of these registered Cameroonian associations are those that deal with international solidarity. This is followed by mixed associations that are engaged in cultural and integration activities. This research also confirms that most of the ethnic networks do not have the status of registered associations. Cameroonian associations and groups in Germany are getting more attention as a result of the remittances they are engaged in both as groups and individuals (Fleischer, 2007; Schmelz, 2007; Winterhagen, 2016). Cameroonians in Germany do belong to both host and home countries. This means that one of the objectives of the many Cameroonian groups and associations formed in Germany is to improve the socio-economic situation of their country but at the same time they like to get integrated into the German society (Kadje, 2017).

5.2.7. Families

National and transnational kinship ties and networks are very important to the Cameroonian migrants. This is because the safety and assurance of the successful migration of the Cameroonian youth depend on these networks and family relationships (Fleischer, 2007, 2008 & 2011). "Extended family systems and strong kin and lineage relations remain important in most regions of Cameroon since they provide a sense of belonging, solidarity and protection"(Tiemoko, 2004:157). This means that in order to understand the Cameroonian communities, it is important to always bear in mind the fact that, like in most African communities, the family plays an important part in the socio-economic, socio-cultural and sociolinguistic lives of Cameroonians even in the diaspora. An analysis of these communities without a reference to extended family roles will be misleading. For instance, a typical feature of the Cameroonian communities is the great importance placed on marriage and conjugal union. This is because this culture believes that marriage is a signal to family continuity (Eloundou-Enyegue and Shapiro, 2004). This is why marriage in these communities remains a major key life event (Bledsoe and Cohen, 1993). According to these researchers, this

conjugal union secures the socio-economic status of both the men and women of the community.

Another idiosyncrasy of the Cameroonian family is the age and gender division of labour within the families. In other words, there is separation of responsibilities and division of responsibilities such as financial responsibilities and labour responsibilities. Since these communities are patrilineal, this means that the father remains the head of the family even when absent as in the case of migration. The Cameroonian immigrants will therefore always contact the father or his successor before taking major decisions.

Another outstanding feature of the Cameroonian family also noticed in diasporic context is child rearing. As is the case in Cameroon, families see this as a collective duty, that is, it is not only the biological and nuclear family which is responsible, but the community as a whole. This partly explains why most Cameroonians prefer living in the same neighbourhoods in Germany. They help each other in taking care of the children of the community. Social parents, *God parents,* older siblings and other friends of the family have a hand in child rearing. This partly explains why the youngsters of these communities are under the sociocultural obligation to live according to the expectations of the community. In the diasporic context, where there are social benefits, taking fosterage of children has some long term benefits such as redistribution of child rearing costs and transfer of educational training leading to reciprocal obligations between extended family members. For instance, the extended family is involved in the decision making process on migration: who is going; who decides and what consequences will this have on the family members' departure.

Family life of Anglophone Cameroonians in Germany generally still follows the Cameroonian pattern of placing importance on the extended family ties of parents, children, grandparents, cousins, uncles and aunts. Even though migration has made it impossible for these family members to live together as would have been the case in Cameroon, there is still constant communication between these extended family members. The importance of this family adherence is that these family members still depend on each other for material support. The aunts, uncles, cousins and other extended family members are considered important not only due to cultural affiliations but because the process of migration is mostly made possible thanks to the collective efforts of extended family members. Research (Fleischer, 2007; Alpes, 2016) has shown that the decision and efforts towards successful migration are due to the efforts of the extended family:

> The family supports the migrant before and shortly after migration. It pays the costs incurred and expects remittances in return as a contribution to the improvement of the socio-economic situation of the

family as a whole. The expectations of the family in Cameroon thus place educational migrants under considerable pressure (Fleischer, 2006:6).

This reiterates the importance of the extended family and the role it plays in the life of the Cameroonian migrants as a whole and that of the Anglophone Cameroonians in Germany in particular. As a result of this, the migrant has a strong tie with the home country and this implies constant socio-cultural exchanges. The relation between parents and children, between spouses, between community members and the elders of the community as a result, may still follow the expectations of Cameroonian socio-culture. This is therefore reflected in the language behaviour of the migrants. On the other hand, in the diaspora there is contact with Germans and other non-Cameroonians. In other words, migration does not completely change the family ties and family behaviour of these migrants but at the same time there are new sociolinguistic behaviours adopted as a result of contact in the new habitat.

In the immigration context, there are many married couples who are both Cameroonians, as well as some mixed marriages between Cameroonians and Germans, between Cameroonians and other Africans and between Cameroonians and people from other European countries (Fleischer, 2007). In the German diaspora, there are generation 1, generation 1.5 and generation 2 family members. Most of the generation 1 migrants are parents of children. These children still live with their parents as would have been the case in Cameroon. However, in Germany, most children above the age of 18, unlike in Cameroon, go away from their parents' home and live on their own and only visit their parents from time to time. As far as family ties are concerned, Cameroonians in Germany still have strong ties with family members back in the home country; contemporary multimedia has facilitated these contacts. It is worth mentioning that following the Cameroonian tradition, there is a gap between the adults of family and younger members of the family; for example children are not expected to talk freely on certain topics with the adults of their family. Furthermore, children are not expected to display negative emotions to their parents (frowning, sighing and dragging of the feet).

5.3. Networking with non-Cameroonians

5.3.1. Nigerians, Sierra Leoneans, Ghanaians

For the first generation and the generation 1.5 migrants under study, the areas of contact and networking with non-Cameroonians from Nigeria, Sierra-Leone, Ghana and Germany include the domains of the church, sports, shops, work, school and NGO meetings. Shopping and church-going are important parts of the Cameroonian lifestyle. These are also domains in which these migrants meet and network with other Africans from Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone etc. Shopping on Saturdays provides an opportunity for people to meet and exchange conversations.

Most importantly, shopping arenas are indispensable information points for these immigrants. For instance, if anyone is in search of a Cameroonian in most of the cities, the best way would be to go to one of the *Afro Shops*. Cameroonians and other Africans hang around these shops, which also have refreshment *Kellers* (German for English cellar, 'basement'). Here, they meet to exchange a few beers and tips about the latest news in town and from the home countries. It is also common that these shops serve as rendezvous points for businessmen from other African nationalities. It is therefore not surprising that this domain displays a series of language activities. For instance, if a Cameroonian goes to do his/her shopping at a German supermarket, the language of operation is invariably German. However, this is not the case with African shops. More specifically, when most Cameroonians visit Nigerian-owned shops, the language of use is Pidgin English. On the contrary, with the Ghanaians most Cameroonians speak Standard English (Fonkeu, 2011). The case of speaking with people from Sierra Leone can be compared to that of speaking with Nigerians since here Pidgin English is generally used at least by the first-generation speakers. When it comes to speaking with people from non-English or non-French speaking countries like Angola and Mozambique the two parties have no common language, so they settle down for a lingua franca; in this case the preferred language is usually German. However, when Anglophone Cameroonians meet people from other French-speaking countries, they (the Cameroonians) have the advantage that they are able to communicate in French. Immigrant children born in Cameroon (Generation 1.5) are slightly different from their parents since they speak more German and less English (Fonkeu, 2011). Furthermore, they hardly speak Pidgin to Sierra Leonean interlocutors, but a few do speak it with Nigerians. An explanation for this may be

that the variety of Sierra Leone Pidgin English is much more unintelligible to the Cameroonian than is the Nigerian Pidgin, which has become more popular due to *Nollywood* (Nigerian film industry).

The speech behaviour of the second-generation speakers born in Germany displays a completely different gradient from that of the first-generation speakers. This group of speakers do not trust themselves to speak any other language with other Africans apart from German (Fonkeu, 2011). There is also the domain of sports in which these English-speaking Africans meet. In Germany, Cameroonians organize themselves into sporting teams and these teams organize tournaments with teams from other African countries. Sometimes there are also competitions with German teams and teams from other non-African countries.

5.3.2. Networking with Germans

At a very private level, there are just a few contact domains between Anglophone Cameroonians and the Germans, some of these include the domains of mixed marriages and love relationships (Fleischer, 2007 & 2008). However, in public domains such as school, church, shops and sports, there exists more sociolinguistic contact between these two groups. Cameroonian migrants in Germany form networks, activities and organizations that sometimes include German citizens. The contexts of contact between Cameroon immigrants in the present study include church activities, school/university, sports and also professional domains. In the traditional churches, say the Catholic and the Evangelic churches, there are sub-groups and associations in which the two communities come into contact.

In the schools and universities, the Cameroonian students come into contact and make friends with Germans and other foreigners. Some sport groups also integrate and accept membership from both, nationals and foreigners. Some of the biggest arenas for contact are non-governmental organizations (NGOs). This is because NGOs are charitable organizations which work towards promoting the needs of the migrants and articulating their interests. Some of these human rights NGOs include *International Solidarity Movement* and *Amnesty International*, of which Cameroonians are members. These human rights NGOs try to uphold and provide a sense of belonging to the host community in different ways; some of these include:

1) Protecting the interests of migrants in different ways, e.g. supporting their asylum applications;

2) Maintaining the tradition of the countries of origin: some NGOs provide forums where people who share the same languages and cultures meet, especially newcomers who are not yet conversant with the society;

3) Providing stability, continuity, financial backing to the migrants.

Another important point of contact between Anglophone Cameroonian migrants and Germans is in the professional domain. In the translocal diasporic space, Anglophone Cameroonians sometimes try to understand and work in harmony with the realities in which they find themselves. One way to understand these realities is to come into contact with and get integrated into the German sociolinguistic way of life. Cameroonian Anglophone migrants sometimes have to struggle between belonging or not belonging to groups and associations that bring them into contact with German men and women (Fleischer, 2007 & 2008). Sometimes these Cameroonian migrants take up voluntary activities within the Church and secular German groups. These activities are generally without pay and members take advantage of these associations and programs to meet many other non-Cameroonians with whom they share common interests. The contexts of these associations are many and varied; some typical examples include:

- Sports associations, e.g. Tennis and football clubs
- Music associations, e.g. Gospel choirs
- Socio-political associations, e.g. *International Solidarity, Amnesty International*
- Socio-cultural associations, e.g. *Kolping Family*

An examination of the various contact situations between Cameroonian immigrants and non-Cameroonians reveals that the people's background affects the societal structure. The German diaspora provides room for information and communication flows (Blommaert, 2010, 2012, 2014). More complex networks emerge because Anglophone Cameroonian migrants make friends with Germans, Nigerians, Algerians etc. This normally leads to socio-cultural and sociolinguistic admixture. This is because people will bring their friends and family into the groups and associations leading to an expansion of the flow and network. These types of network and flows connect the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrant communities from the local to the global. For example, when a Cameroonian immigrant has a feast or a function in his/her locality or community he or she may invite his or her German, Nigerian and Senegalese friends, leading to the said expansion of contact and network.

Within the realities of globalisation and technological advancement these networks lead to sociolinguistic complexities. This revelation is based on ethnographic research (Blommaert,

2012) carried out in the domain of online global realities, a new field of digital space. Digital space concerning on- and off-line studies which, although not a main concern in the present research, are worth mentioning. This on/off-line communication helps with the maintenance and expansion of the linguistic repertoires of these immigrants. The language behaviour of the Cameroonian immigrants is affected by this highly complex speech environment. According to Blommaert (2010), this leads to *truncated* repertoires because the immigrants sometimes do not have a mastery of all of the languages in their repertoire. It is therefore not surprising that this leads to fragmented and highly diverse sociolinguistic speech behaviour. In the German context, the speakers' ethnic, socio-economic and religious backgrounds come into play and have a great significance to the speaker's already multilingual repertoire. The linguistic repertoire of Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants in Germany will have an indexical value in particular spaces and contexts (Blommaert, 2010). For instance, language choice will depend on context, situation and interlocutor. In the context of globalisation, like the one in which Cameroonians find themselves, language choices become highly mobile. This means that speakers sometimes find it necessary to add new and complex resources to their already rich repertoire. This means that speakers sometimes become creative and innovative (Blommaert, 2007; Blommaert & Backus, 2013). This is because speakers learn to use the languages they come into contact within specific ways to meet specific intentions and objectives.

A good way to understand a group's use of language is to study their associations and networks. These Cameroonian associations, be they professional, ex-student or socio-cultural associations, are linked to transnational networks in different ways. For instance, they have connection and contact with similar associations in different parts of the host country as well as with sister associations in neighboring European countries. Various possibilities offered by global networks make this possible. The transnational network systems make it possible for the Cameroonian immigrants to construct strategic contacts that enable them to build social, economic bridges over their difficulties. They are also able to channel their financial benefits, information and innovative knowledge. Scholars like Le Page &Tabouret-Keller (2004) and Abu-Lughod (2005) have identified many cases where, in an attempt to maintain a balance between cultural identity and economic benefits, immigrants tend to regroup in a new environment. This is usually associated with a move towards cultural alignment and may lead to language maintenance because the immigrants keep on speaking in their own languages. Abu-Lughod (2005) cites the case of the ethnic ghettos that sprung up in American cities at the turn of the 20th century. Here, villagers segregated themselves and were in turn segregated

from urban life. Abu-Lughod (2005) notes that this was achieved through adherence to language and culture.

Through a process of "protective pattern" and physical proximity, migrants build barriers of social institutions which help them manage the difficulties of transition (Abu-Lugohd, 2005).

Le Page &Tabouret-Keller (2004: 667) confirm this when they remark that immigrants in France settled in what they call 'ghettos'. These researchers have found out that the influx of immigrants is highly motivated by socio-economic gains. However, these interests alone are not strong enough to make the immigrants give up their native tongues (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 2004:662). Through social networks and associations like the church, immigrants cling to their language and culture. This tendency has also been confirmed by Mackey (2004), who reiterates that immigrants, who are hanging together, are sometimes able to maintain their ancestral tongue for a generation or longer. Mackey (2004:616) notes that this is possible because of the strength and permanence of immigrant institutions: family, church, schools, media and commerce which function in their own languages.

Mackey (2004:616) argues that even if other domains of language use in the immigrant society such as work, education and politics are carried out in the language of the state or of the host country, the functional repartition of languages in the repertoire of the immigrants is integrated into their daily lives. Based on these arguments, it could be suggested that the Cameroonian communities in Germany will continue speaking CamE, CamPE and their ethnic languages since they are seen to regroup in their different associations and neighbourhoods.

However, it can also be argued that in case the Cameroonian immigrants feel that adhering to their own groups may prevent them from getting to learn the language and culture of the host society, these re-groupings are then seen as a threat to their socio-economic advancement. As a result, they may avoid making associations with people of their own kind, as illustrated by Mackey (2004), whose study confirms that immigrants to a new environment quickly notice that isolation will not bring them that greener pasture of their dreams that led them to a new land. Therefore he posits that immigrants who arrive in a new settlement are sometimes under pressure to learn a new language for socio-economic purposes. This means that the domain of language use in the new language will depend on necessity. He cites the case of the American military that are sometimes compelled to learn the languages of immigrants in order to facilitate interrogations (Mackey, 2004:612).

The dichotomy between the need for socio-cultural adherence and the need for socio-economic advancement, through integration with the host community, has produced certain idiosyncrasies (speech styles) in both, the host language and the immigrant languages. Backus et al. (2010) note that immigration has had some effects on the ways in which the Turkish youth speak their native tongue. Although they still claim allegiance to their Turkish language when asked, there is a wide range of language choices which have been adopted to suit their new environment (Backus et al., 2010:483). The juxtaposition of words and expressions in the Turkish and German languages spoken among the Turkish youth in Germany is an example. Backus et al. (2010) cite the case of a language variety which has accrued as a result of this "admixture" what they calls the "blurred genre" or in the terms of the youth themselves *Kartisiki,* meaning "speak in a mixed way" (Backus, 2010: 485). This tendency of "mixling" or "mischsprache" has moved outside the Turkish youth community and has spread to non-Turkish communities, confirming postulations that immigration affects both the immigrants and the host community (Backus et al., 2010:487). This research observes that contact between diasporic Englishes and different African languages has led to the development of some African terminologies widely used in the diasporic Cameroonian Englishes to classify immigrants of the community. First of all, an *adoro man/woman* is used to speak of or address a man or a woman of the community who is still on asylum. We also have the class of people who already have their *kwali.* A *kwali man/woman* is someone who already has his or her residence permit. The last group of migrants in the community are undocumented migrants who are illegal residents. They are addressed as *dargo*. Although the specific sources of these terminologies have not yet been fully investigated, they all have their origins from African indigenous languages. This is an illustration that the contact of CamE and CamPE with German may develop similar mixtures in both the German and English spoken in the diasporic Cameroonian communities. For instance, it can be predicted that some German lexical items could get borrowed into the two diasporic Cameroonian Englishes.

5.4. Summary

This chapter intended to present the sociolinguistic situation of the diasporic Cameroonian community of practice in Germany. This reveals that between 2010 and 2017, the total number of registered Cameroonian migrants in Germany has increased from 14,876 to 22,330 based on *the German Federal Statistics Bureau* figure (2017). This is reflected in the presence of many Cameroonian associations present in the different German states. The sociolinguistic

implications of this high demographic presence are twofold: on the one hand, Cameroonians through their numerous associations and regroupings maintain contact with other Cameroonians. For instance, they settle in the same neighbourhoods, where they speak the same language(s), attend the same churches, visit the same supermarkets. In other words, Cameroonians within their communities of practice maintain socio-cultural habits: dress, dance, worship and language(s). On the other hand, it is revealed that Cameroonians in Germany create and maintain contact with migrants from different countries as well as with members of the host community. For example contact with Nigerians, Sierra Leoneans and Senegalese confirm Fonkeu's (2011) assertion that a Cameroonian can hardly meet another African with whom he/she does not share a common language. Furthermore, contact with the diasporic host community members reveals that Cameroonians sometimes see the necessity to learn and master the host language and culture. This implies that Cameroonians in the present context sometimes have to adjust their sociolinguistic and sociocultural habits for the sake of socio-economic gains and sociocultural adaptation, and, in the process, this leads to sociolinguistic and sociocultural complexity and fluidity (Blommaert & Backus, 2013).

Chapter 6: Research Design and Methodology

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological approaches adopted for the present research. It starts with a presentation of the research design and its characteristics, which describe the relevance of such a design to the present study. What follows is a description of the research apparatus and its appropriateness. The chapter then goes on to describe the data collection procedures. This is then followed by an explanation of the analytical frameworks and procedures that have been adopted for the interpretation and analysis of the data. The chapter ends with an acknowledgement of ethical considerations.

6.2. Research design

This study adopts a mixed methodology that employs strategies that involve collecting and analysing the data using both a qualitative and a quantitative approach (Sieber, 1973; Creswell, 2010, 2011; Maxwell, 2010). This method can be traced back to Campbell and Fiske (1959), whose multiple methods of studying the psychological traits in their informants are termed "Multi-method matrix", which encourage multiple approaches to data collection and data analysis. These provide the basis for mixed method-approaches and today some researchers have successfully combined field methods such as observations and interviews (qualitative data) with traditional surveys (quantitative data) (Sieber, 1973; Levon, 2010). By adopting the triangulation method, this research also draws its inspiration from Strauss and Corbin (1998:34), who hold that:

> Qualitative and quantitative forms of research both have roles to play in theorising. The issue is not whether to use one form or another but rather how these might work together to foster the development of theory. Although most researchers tend to use qualitative and quantitative methods in supplementary forms, what we are advocating is a true interplay between the two. The qualitative should direct the quantitative and the quantitative feedback into the qualitative in a circular, but at the same time evolving, process with each method contributing to the theory in ways that only each can.

Following the typology of mixed methods as mentioned above, this study adopts (i) methodological triangulation, i.e. the use of more than one method in data collection and data analysis, (ii) theoretical triangulation, i.e. the adoption and use of more than one theoretical stance in data interpretation and analysis (Cohen & Marion, 1994). According to the mixed method, triangulation will portray the convergence and corroboration of findings. In this way,

different datasets and different methodologies will lead to similar or different results and allow for a more confident interpretation. Triangulation will facilitate the analysis of my data, strengthen my conclusions and give more credibility to the answers of my research questions. The main reason for adopting this method is that my informants have the practice of using the different languages in their repertoire in a continuum. A mixed method is then considered a suitable and strategic method (Creswell, 2003; Johnson, 2007).

This method of data collection and analysis is strategic especially given the fact that it is based on ethnography, which is the study of human behaviour and action in sociocultural systems (Scollon and Scollon, 2003:210).

As already mentioned, adopting a mixed method adds more authenticity to my findings due to the fact that quantitative information on the occurrence of features helps develop the interpretation of the qualitative use of the features. For instance, the frequency of occurrence of a certain address form or kinship term, say in the family domain, will give a clear indication of the pragmatic use of the feature in the diasporic context. Illustratively, do Cameroonian Anglophone wives in the diaspora still use address forms of respect to address their husbands or have they adopted the terms of endearment as used in the German tradition? To be able to make a general statement, both the results of the qualitative and the quantitative findings are necessary. If about 70% of the informants have adopted the habit, then it could be concluded that based on the present results, most Anglophone Cameroonian women have adopted the speech habit in question. In other words, the mixed method has the advantage that the quantitative information helps develop the interpretation of the qualitative findings.

The mixed method of this research combines pragmatic and quantitative information based on the evidence that emerged from transcribed data and the result of individual answers to the semi-structured interviews. The investigation is based on the premise that collecting diverse types of data best provides an understanding of the research problem and provides answers to the research questions. The intention here is to search for patterns of language behaviour which answer my research questions. I followed the ethnographic tradition of a mixed method through an intensive interaction with, and observation of, the target group. Using this approach, coupled with a semistructured interview, I was able to capture the complicated narratives of my informants. I carried an audio recorder to record naturally occurring discussions and conversations in different domains. The recorded data were later transcribed orthographically. This proved reliable because I dealt with naturally occurring contexts and situations (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003:9). This information helps to give a general picture of the language and speech habits of the target population. It then moves on to focus

on the semi-structured interviews, which is phase two of the data collection procedure. The semi-structured interviews are aimed at getting details, individual views and participant attitudes towards their linguistic choices. The guide questions that control these interviews are based on information that is taken from the transcribed data.

In order to provide an authentic and pragmatic analysis based on the mixed method adopted, this research draws on the theories of postcolonial pragmatics (Janney & Anchimbe, 2011); the paradigms of Communities of Practice (Eckert & McConnel-Ginet, 1992; Eckert, 2006) and Social Constructionism (Berger & Luckmann, 1991; Andrews, 2012). Based on these, the theory of sociolinguistic identity (re)construction is developed. As mentioned above, this study argues in favour of an ethnographic framework, since it is believed that ethnography is suitable for the study of human behaviour and action in a socio-cultural system (Scollon & Scollon, 2003; Silverman, 2011). This follows Duranti (1997:85), who holds that ethnographic research is the study of a human community with "organized social activities, interpretative practices characteristic of a particular group of people." Since I rely on sociolinguistic ethnography, this approach is appropriate because it gives me the possibility to interpret human actions based on context and background, which is later substantiated with information from the quantitative data. In this research, I have adopted the sequential procedure as advocated by Creswell (2003) and as a result, my final database contains both qualitative and quantitative information. The quantitative results of the occurrences of features as seen in the results of the semi-structured interviews and the number of occurrences of features in the transcribed discussions help support the pragmatic qualitative analysis of the transcribed recorded discussions and observations.

6.3. Sampling and sample selection techniques

The present research project is based on data collected via an ethnographic tripartite method: (i) recording and transcription of naturally occurring conversations and discussions in both the private domains of the family and the public domains of association meetings, (ii) semi-structured interviews; (iii) participant observation. Adopting these three methods for data collection makes this method tripartite (Holmes & Kirk, 2014).

The research begins with an identification of the target groups and individuals for the recordings of naturally occurring conversations and discussions, followed by the semi-structured interviews and participant observations. All three methods of data collection

depend on probability based random sampling. Based on the probability theory as postulated by Patton (1990), each element or participant of the relevant target population has a non-zero chance of selection. I also used the opportunistic sampling method (Patton, 1990) in which case I took advantage of occurrences and carried out spontaneous recordings. An example of this is a case in which I recorded (with their permission) three women during a car trip to Berlin and back. These unexpected and spontaneous recordings gave a new character and dimension to my fieldwork.

The actual research starts with an identification of the various Anglophone communities; the meetings, the sports groups, the churches and all the arenas of socialization where meeting them is possible. It is characteristic of Cameroonian immigrants to live in selected parts of the different cities; here, they also have *"meeting places"* and "Ke*llers"[38]* where they meet regularly. The objective of achieving a balance between male and female participants, single and married informants, generation 1 and generation 1.5 informants, Anglophone Cameroonian informants from the North West region and those from the South West regions is important in this selection procedure. Although the educational level does not quite play a decisive role in my selection of informants, respondents have to include both the working class, students and academics. These, I believe, represent a cross section of the Anglophone community of practice in the German diaspora. For the semi-structured interview, 80 informants/respondents are selected: married men/women, single men/women, young men/women (aged 17-35), older men/women (from 35 and above), from the North West and South West regions of Cameroon. These informants cut across the Anglophone Cameroonian community in the German diaspora in terms of age, gender, educational level, social status, ethnicity, and geographical origin. It was necessary to get informants from the two regions of Anglophone Cameroon, because they have different ethnic languages and cultures. These differences may play out in their linguistic behaviours in the diaspora. The region, therefore, serves as an important sociolinguistic variable of the study.

There are 80 participants in the semi-structured interviews as indicated in Table 6.3.1 below:

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[38]   The term *Keller* (German) is the word for "cellar" in the CamE/CamPE spoken in Germany. Most African shops in the different cities have cellars, which are very important meeting and refreshment places for these immigrants.

Table 6.3.1: Composition of group of informants

Region	Generation 1		Generation 1.5	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
SW	10	10	10	10
NW	10	10	10	10

My target population is made of generation 1 and generation 1.5 Anglophone Cameroonians. Generation 1 is the parent generation, while 1.5 are the children who migrated with their parents, who already had a language behaviour and generation 2 are the children born in the diaspora (McLellan, 1999). The reason for deciding to work with generation 1 and generation 1.5 but not generation 2 is that the Cameroonian immigrant community in Germany is quite new and most of the second generation, born in Germany, are still very young and do not yet have a steady language behaviour that can be analysed. During the sampling procedure, it was easy to identify the generation 2 speakers because most of them are still children.

6.4. Data collection procedures & strategies

The procedures for data collection include: recordings and transcription of naturally occurring conversations, discussions and debates; semi-structured interviews and the participant observation method. The data collection procedure started with a three-month pilot project. During these months, the researcher familiarized herself with the context of her investigation and enquiry especially in the private domain of the family. It was necessary for family members to acquaint themselves with the visits and recording of their conversations. After a number of visits, they became used to both the visits and the recording that took place and could relax and discuss naturally. During this trial period, families in Wuppertal (large Cameroonian population), Essen, Duisburg and Mülheim an der Ruhr were visited. During these visits, important information on the possible times for visits and the safest way to do the recordings and semi-structured interviews without interruptions was obtained. In the public domain, the researcher went to neighbouring cities where she visited the *Kellers,* the meeting houses and some ex-student association meetings. The intention was to prepare the scene and become familiar with the sites for recordings and eventual semi-structured interviews. This exploratory period set the scene for the investigation. After this, 15 months were spent visiting cities which have a large Cameroonian immigrant population, namely: Berlin, Bremen, Aachen, Düren, Dortmund, Essen and Wuppertal.

6.4.1. Recordings & orthographic transcription of recordings

Informants for the recorded data in the public domain include:

- A group of women with whom the researcher travelled for about six hours to and from Berlin.
- *The Menchum Cultural and Development Association Meeting.*
- A recording of the deliberation of *the SOBAN* meeting *(Sasse Old Boys Association)*[39].
- *The International Women's Day Celebration* in Essen.
- A debate organized by the ex-students of the *Saker Baptist College Limbe*[40].
- *A Njangi group* in Wuppertal.
- A meeting of *Club 16* in Düren.
- A *cry die* (funeral celebration) in Essen.
- Exchanges in the *kellers* of the Afro-shops in Mülheim an der Ruhr, Essen, Duisburg, Dortmund, Bochum and Wuppertal.

In all, ten different groups and associations were visited with about sixteen hours of recorded and transcribed discussions and conversations in the public domains.

In the private domain, 10 families were visited in different cities and the visits resulted in about eleven hours of recorded and transcribed data.

6.4.2. Semi-structured interviews

Interviews can be placed in a continuum, from the unstructured to the highly structured (Harrel & Bradley, 2009). The type of interview adopted in the present research, if placed on such a continuum, reveals that there was not a very high level of control over the interactions. This means that the interview adopted was semi-structured or moderately structured. The interactions followed a number of questions that guided the topics covered. In the tradition of semi-structured interviews, the questions were asked in a particular order to probe, guide, and direct relevant issues and to make sure that the relevant topics were covered. The interviewer here collected detailed information in a style that was somewhat conversational. This way the

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[39] The SOBANs are ex-students from a very renowned boys' secondary and high school in English speaking Cameroon.

[40] SAKER Ex-students have as their Alma Mater the popular girls' school, i.e Saker Babtist College in Limbe Cameroon.

extraction of complete and consistent information was ensured (Cresswell & Plano-Clark, 2006).

The aim of the interviews carried out (cf. Briggs, 2005; Silverman, 2011) was to confirm and get a deeper understanding of some of the items that were found to be recurring in the transcripts of the naturally occurring conversations and discussions. The interview questions were formulated in a way that the participants would not feel a violation of their privacy. The questions were not structured in a very strict manner; rather, they were just guides that gave room for open discussions, which permitted the researcher to subtly shape and redirect the questions and discussions. In this way, the participants also felt free to express themselves in their own words. This had the big advantage that the researcher could easily understand what the participants were experiencing in the diaspora and gain first-hand information on their opinions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Given the sensitivity of some of the social aspects under discussion (addressing spouses, for instance), the questions sometimes had to be rephrased. The semi-structured interview guides or questions were arranged in a way that the interview started with very general questions about the informant's background, e.g. *What is your name? Where do you work? Are you married? From what ethnic group are you?* These sets of questions usually put the participants at ease and then the next set of questions about their social networks and their preferences (e.g. the meetings they attend) usually led the informants into a discussion mood. Finally, there came the questions about their address forms and kinship terms used in both the private domain of the family and the public domains with friends and community members. Each respondent was asked about fifteen questions. During the semi-structured interviews, I also noted down any relevant issues raised by the informants. The semi-structured interviews can be described in terms of what Garton and Copland (2010) refer to as "acquaintance interviews" (which means that there is a prior relation between the interviewer and the interviewee). Sometimes the respondents were colleagues, friends or acquaintances who attended the same meeting or church. An awareness of this means that the researcher has to be careful not to fall prey to the "insider paradox" (Duranti, 1997) in which the insider is sometimes accused of imposing his/her ideas on the results or findings of the research. To avoid this, I wrote down all observations and answers to the questions, which were later on coded, and the informants were given pseudonyms (cf. Bulmer, 2001).

6.4.3. Participant observations

The fact that the interviewer was used to some of the subjects in the cordial environment of the church congregation and social meetings meant that conducting a structured interview with these same people created a strange feeling at least initially. This was a challenge. Furthermore, as an insider, the interviewer stood the danger of not being able to objectively report on the findings, since she was conversant with most of the topics under discussion. The question that arises here is, "to what extent can the interviewer or researcher actually distance him/herself so that he/she finds a balance between the two opposites of objective observation and subjective participation?" (Scollon & Scollon, 2003:210). As a result of her awareness of this possible error source, the researcher paused from time to time to check if the answers she had written were actually what the participants had said and not her own interpretation. However, the research here was guided by Duranti (1997:85), who posits that "sufficient identification with or empathy for the members of the group" is necessary for an insider to conduct a useful interview. This means that the researcher here was conscious of the fact that finding a balance between an objective observation and a subjective participation was necessary for the validity of the data (Scollon & Scollon, 2003:210). In spite of these points, adopting a participant observation (Spradley, 1980) method stems from my conviction that there is an inconsistency between what people believe they do or say and what they actually do or say.

The intention here was to minimize the danger of such inconsistencies in this research through a combination of participant observation with the other data collection methods adopted. The use of the mixed research tradition was guided by the conviction that this would facilitate the study of the target groups from a realistic perspective. What was observed was recorded in a field notebook, which included accounts of events, how participants behaved and reacted, what they said during conversations, physical gestures and any other details that were found relevant or just different. In the field, all relevant observations were written down directly but when the researcher got home, these were coded; for instance, participants were renamed.

6.5. Data analysis/processing

To start with, I bore in mind that the qualitative and quantitative analysis of my data was geared towards answering my research questions; address forms and kinship terms in this

research are viewed as salient ways through which a community of practice can be examined. The first step was to carry out a study of other research on address forms/kinship terms in other contexts including postcolonial contexts, and more especially the use of address forms and kinship terms in CamE and CamPE.

Four important studies were identified: Echu (2008), Anchimbe (2008a&b, 2011) and Nkwain (2014). All of these examined address forms as used in CamE and CamPE. The linguistic study of address forms and kinship terms was carried out based on the pragmatic influence of the social variables of age, gender, ethnicity and context of use. A list of the address forms and kinship terms, which had featured in these four works, was compiled. This list provides a basis for the selection, classification and analysis of the present study, especially given the fact that the informants of the present research live in the diaspora and not in the home country, i.e. Cameroon.

Based on the frameworks by Echu (2008), Anchimbe (2008, 2011) and Nkwain (2014), the transcribed data were read through and the address forms and kinship terms that had featured were manually selected and classified. First features that occurred in both the present data and in the findings of the four normative studies were selected and then features that occurred exclusively in the present data were also identified. Although some features were found in the present data that had not appeared in the four works above, they were selected for analysis as well because the researcher was aware that the geographical space of the diaspora with the existence of yet a different language might be responsible for this and would make an interesting study. For example, the use of *Schatz* (German for darling) "*adoro man*" (an asylum seeker), "*Darkie*" (African) are all appellations that understandably feature in my diasporic Cameroon English data but not in the English as spoken at home in Cameroon (cf. Echu, 2008; Anchimbe, 2008a&b, 2011; Nkwain, 2014).

Address forms and kinship terms are classified and regrouped following Anchimbe (2011), whose classification of the different address forms and kinship terms is as follows: *names and titles* as address forms in the private and public domains; *social titles* (at meetings, among neighbours, with peers); address forms and titles of parents of twins *(Manyi/Tanyi)* and *teknonyms* (re-naming parents via the names of their children, for example, *Pa John* 'the father of John')*, Booh, massa, dis man* (camaraderie, between friends). The address forms between the Cameroonian Anglophone informants of this research and non-Cameroonians are classified accordingly, for instance, between Cameroonians and Nigerians, Cameroonians and Ghanaians, Cameroonians and Sierra Leoneans, Cameroonians and Germans, etc. After this classification, the general meaning of each address term is explained. For instance, if the

kinship term *Ni Lucas* appears in a dialogue, excerpts of the dialogue in which this kinship term is used are presented in a box and the context of discussion is explained based on the relationship between the interlocutors (parents and children, between siblings, other family members, members of the community, acquaintances or strangers).

In the example above, *Ni* is the title of respect given to *Lucas* because he is a man who hails from the Bali ethnic group of the Northwest region of Cameroon. It is necessary to give information on the background of the interlocutors, for example, their personal profile: age, gender, ethnic group, profession, level of education and social status. This makes it easy to see why, for instance, *Lucas* is called by the honorific term of respect *Ni* if his interlocutor is a younger member of the community. A description of the context of use of the address form comes next. Here, the setting and occurrence of the feature is described, there are many types of contexts: family members, friends, colleagues at meetings, in church, other social gatherings. This gives a clear interpretation or indication of the use of the address form. Illustratively, the meaning of the address/kinship term *Ni* in our example above is explained based on this background information. This is followed by an analysis of the possible reasons for the choice of the feature. What is the possible aim or objective of this present choice of address or kinship term? (Respect, politeness, impoliteness, sarcasm, intimacy, to construct or establish an in-/outgroup relationship (Echu, 2008)). Where necessary, the diasporic use is compared to uses in the home context of Cameroon so that it becomes clear whether there are any changes and what message these changes signal. For instance, changes in language use may signal changes in identity (expanded in Chapter 3). Identified features at the end of the description and analysis are compared in terms of frequency of occurrence based on the social variables of age, gender, domain of usage. Features and patterns of usage are linked in order to interpret and coordinate their uses; information from the semi-structured interviews makes this possible.

The result of the semi-structured interviews of the eighty participants provides quantitative information to my findings. This way I am able to compare variables quantitatively. This will help substantiate the findings of the semi-structured interviews because what people think they do is sometimes different from what they actually perform. Recurring features and patterns of usage are linked in order to interpret and coordinate their uses (Levon, 2010). Finally, constructed or (re)constructed identities are discussed, for example, in-/out-group identities that consolidate friendship and solidarity, power identities via the use of particular address forms (Nkwain, 2014). The mixed method of analysis pays close attention to individual speakers' repertoires and language choices and the roles these

play in their "acts of identity" in the choice of addressing interlocutors (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). This is based on the argument that the individual speakers create for themselves linguistic behaviours so as to resemble those of the groups with which they wish to be identified (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985:181). Through an analysis of address forms and kinship terms, this presentation seeks to focus on the linguistic construction of identity in social interaction and relationship between individual speakers in a larger social construction process (Buckholtz & Hall, 2008). Based on this, we argue that the qualitative and quantitative methods to analyse the data reveal how and to what extent the diasporic context affects different Anglophone Cameroonian migrants (male/female; Generation1/1.5; Northwest/Southwest). The statistical data give a clear picture of these differences and similarities in the patterns of language choice and (re)constructed identities. That is why in this analysis each identified feature is linked to the context. The supposed reason for a particular choice of address is triggered by the need to conform to social expectations or establish in-group identity (e.g. indexes of the feminine role in the community echo sets of beliefs and expectations of the community, i.e. diverse beliefs about superiority/inferiority of specific groups). The aim of the quantitative analysis is to bring meaning to the identified features and to make comparisons of variables clearer (Levon, 2010). The identified features at the end of the description and analysis are compared in terms of frequency of occurrence based on the social variables of age, gender, domain of usage ethnicity and social status of the speakers. Features and patterns of usage are linked in order to interpret and coordinate their uses (information from the semi-structured interviews makes this possible). The results of the semi-structured interviews are geared at supplementing the qualitative findings of the recorded transcribed data. Based on the results of the semi-structured interviews, address forms and kinship terms are classified into four main groups for the private domain of the family; these are: address forms between parents and their children, between siblings, between spouses and among members of the extended family. For the public domain, address forms are classified under the following groups: titles and address forms of friendship (equality and parallelism), address forms and titles of respect (social distance and proximity), address forms and titles of duty and profession (titles of hierarchy and formality).

The quantitative data resulting from the speech data collected from the semi-structured interviews help us examine the frequency distribution of the sociolinguistic behaviour of the subjects under study (Labov, 1963, 1966). The quantitative analysis is done with the help of the Fisher Exact Test (R Core Team, 2014 & 2017), where the results of the semi-structured interviews are calculated using this program. The results of the semi-structured interviews are

analysed based on the null hypothesis of the Fisher's Exact Test for Count Data, which holds that the rows and columns in a contingency table are independent and the alternative hypothesis that assumes that rows and columns in a contingency table are not independent (R Core Team, 2017). For each contingency table the p-value of the Fisher Exact Test is calculated. If the p-value is smaller than the previously chosen significance level (α) then we reject the null hypothesis. Typically, (α) is chosen as 0.05. The results of the Fisher Exact Test help compare and contrast findings on how these different groups construct and reconstruct their diasporic identities with the use of different address forms. Possible identities may include multilingual, gender, Anglophone, in-/out-group identities, integrated/diasporic identities, German *bushfaller* identities. A summary of the (re)constructed identities is expressed in an identity web (cf. Blommaert, 2016).

6.6. Ethical considerations

The study respects the policies of the Sociological Research Association of the United States of America, which stipulates that each research activity should adopt confidentiality, anonymity, giving the informants feedback at the end of the study and respect the research protocol by informing the participants of the aims of the research and telling them their rights. Before each recording and semi-structured interview, I solicited the consent of the subjects even if I had done so by telephone, or even if I had an appointment with a family, I asked them again for confirmation before conducting the recording or semi-structured interview.

Each time I went to any group for the recordings, semi-structured interviews or simply for observation, I introduced myself and gave the informants a brief idea of the research aims. I informed participants of their rights of free participation, they were under no obligation to take part in the recordings or answer the questions. Even during the recordings and semi-structured interviews, they were not obliged to answer all my questions and were free to withdraw or stop the discussion at any point. I made it clear to the interviewees that their identities would remain anonymous and that privacy was an important objective in all stages of the research including data collection, analysis and publication of the results. The participants were thus promised confidentiality as regards the information provided. The venue, time and date of the interviews were always at the discretion of the participants. Names of all participants were replaced with pseudonyms to maintain anonymity (Bulmer, 2001). To protect the collected information, I adopted and enforced appropriate security measures; I

locked up files, created passwords to my computers. In this way, I protected the data from access by unauthorized persons. By coding the information and giving pseudonyms to participants and informants, information became unidentifiable to unauthorized persons.

Chapter 7: Data presentation and analysis

7.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the results of the use of address forms and kinship terms by the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants in Germany and to demonstrate how these address and kinship terms serve as vehicles for the (re)construction of identities. The address forms and kinship terms, as recorded in this study, are based on data collected via a tripartite method of data collection.

This chapter reveals that the performative and hybrid identities, as (re)constructed by Anglophone Cameroonians in the German diaspora, are made possible due to their extended linguistic repertoires. These they use to assume various translocal and transnational identities in the German sociolinguistic space (Anchimbe and Janney, 2011; De Fina, 2016). Although this research examines the use of the two Cameroonian Englishes, the contact with and effect of German cannot be ignored. The sociolinguistic implication of contact of CamE and CamPE with German is strengthened by the fact that within this transnational locality, the German language is key to academic, professional and daily success. It is observed in many contexts of this study that the German language serves as a lingua franca between Anglophone Cameroonians and people of different nationalities with whom they do not share a common language; it is used in the private domain of the family where the second generation Cameroonian immigrant children force German on their parents (Meierkord & Fonkeu, 2014). The present chapter reveals that the language choices of the immigrants under study (choices of address terms) are influenced by contact with the German language and culture among other influences such as the Nigerian and Ghanaian varieties of English. Contact with these languages and cultures provides added opportunities for these migrants to (re)construct multiple identities. All these languages and cultures add to the heterogeneity of the Anglophone Cameroonian migrants in the German diaspora.

In this chapter, I will focus on identity as central in the language use of the Cameroonian immigrants under study. Address forms are viewed as a salient way through which a community of practice can be examined. Their choice and use of address forms and kinship terms is deeply interwoven within a process of "identity-building and performance" (De Fina, 2016:163). This chapter reveals how these post-colonial immigrants manipulate the languages to convey and negotiate their position within the new environment in which they find themselves. A Cameroonian's choice of an address form is therefore seen as an index of social

meaning, that is, a distinction is therefore made between personal and social identities (De Fina, 2016). This chapter demonstrates how Anglophone Cameroonian migrants in the German diaspora act out personal, social and collective images that define them as individuals and groups. Their language use, as examined via their choice of address, captures the characteristics and attributes that define them as unique individuals and unique people (De Fina, 2016:164). The social identities refer to their membership in the different social groupings based on variables such as age, ethnicity and gender.

In this chapter, the address forms and kinship terms are divided into two broad headings and themes: address forms and kinship terms in the private domain of the family and address forms of the public and social domains. It is shown that these can be classified into four main sub-groups. For the private domain of the family, we have address forms between parents and their children, between siblings, between spouses and among members of the extended family. For the public domain, address forms are classified in three groups: titles and address forms of friendship (equality and parallelism), address forms and titles of respect (social distance and proximity), address forms and titles of formality (duty and hierarchical titles).

The presentation of the findings follows a regular pattern: first extracts from transcribed discussions are presented, these are analyzed qualitatively. The qualitative analysis starts with an identification of the address form in question followed by an explanation of the general meaning of the address term. What comes next is a presentation of the interlocutor's personal profile (age, gender, ethnic group, profession, level of education and social status), then a description of the context of use of the address form follows. In this case, the setting and occurrence of the feature will be described so that a clear meaning of the use of the address form will be exposed based on the context. An analysis of the possible reasons for the choice of a given feature comes next (respect, politeness, impoliteness, sarcasm, intimacy, to construct or establish in/out group relationship (Echu, 2008). An understanding of the relationship between speakers makes this possible, for example, between parents and children, between siblings, other family members, acquaintances or strangers. After this, other information like what motivates the speaker to use that particular form of address is provided. There are many types of contexts, family members, friends, colleagues at meetings, in church and other social gatherings. At this stage, it is possible to explain and analyze the use of the address form and kinship term as used in the present context. If possible, the diasporic use is compared to uses in other settings (Cameroon) so that it becomes clear if there are any changes and what message these changes signal.

The qualitative analysis is followed by a presentation of the results of the semi-structured interview. The results of the semi-structured interviews are geared towards supplementing the qualitative findings of the recorded and transcribed data. The quantitative analysis has two phases: it starts with descriptive statistics where results of the semi-structured interview are presented and described with the aid of bar charts, the second phase of the qualitative analysis is via inferential statistics with the use of the Fisher Exact Test (Levon, 2010). The aim of this is to bring meaning to the identified feature and make comparisons of variables clearer via a quantitative presentation and analysis of findings. For example, quantitative results of the semi-structured interviews will make comparisons of frequencies of occurrences possible based on the social variables of age, gender, domain of usage. Features and patterns of usage are linked in order to interpret and coordinate their uses. The results of the Fisher's Exact Test (R Core Team, 2014) for count data helps to give meaningful comparisons to variables.

For instance, the result of the Fisher's Exact Test tells us whether the choices of address forms differ statistically significantly according to variables such as age, gender or ethnic group. After this introduction, the chapter presents names & kinship terms in the private domain of the family, followed by an analysis of names and titles as address forms in the public domain. The chapter ends with a summary.

7.2. Names and kinship terms in the private domain of the family

7.2.1. Between parents and children

Calling out someone's name among Anglophone Cameroonians in the German Diaspora establishes a relationship between the user and his/her interlocutor (Mühleisen, 2005; Anchimbe, 2011). This is reflected in the private domain of the family in which power relations between parents and their children can be examined via the way they address each other. Extract 1 is a Family discussion between a father and his two children in Germany; *Josué is* the 26-year-old son and *Martha* the 23-year-old daughter (she is also called *Mofang*). *Martha* and *Josué* are both generation 1.5 immigrants who had a very active linguistic behaviour prior to their migration to Germany. They have Cameroon Pidgin English (CamPE) as their L1 and Cameroon Standard English as their second language (CamE). They were both born and bred in the city of *Bamenda*. This is the capital city of the Anglophone North West (NW) region. Like most children who grow up in the city, they address their father as *daddy.*

This is true of most children whose parents are educated. In most villages in Cameroon where parents are not very educated, the normal address for a father is *papa* or *pa* if they speak CamE/CamPE (Krouega, 2004). Presently the two, i.e. *Josué* and *Mofang,* are students at a neighbouring university. The theme of the discussion that follows is a comparison between the German immigration laws and those of the USA. What prompted this discussion is that an uncle from Canada is visiting and a few questions about the USA have come up during the family conversation. *James* is the father.

Extract 7.2.1: Parents and their children

1. Mofang/Martha: *If you want go payé or you want commot out of America as a whole maybe for go some different side na dat time you di go ask visa dem no get any place like Auslanderamt fo American system.*
"When you intend to go home to Cameroon, or generally when you intend to leave the US for another country, you have to get a visa; if not you will not be able to re-enter the US. There is no international office in their system as we have here in Germany."

2. James/Father: *Begin tok dat thing correct e dey the same like say man commot here too cam here, e no register, dem no di do anything…* "Say things the way they are; it is as if you are telling us that someone can come into a country and is not registered… Say, things properly."

3. Mofang: ***Daddy****, but…na true you no fit stay here wey you no Amel but fo America…* "But, Dad… It is true, Dad; you cannot stay here without getting yourself registered but in America…"

4. Josué: *you no fit stay for here wey you no register* (You cannot live here (referring to Germany) without getting yourself registered).

5. Mofang: ***Daddy*** *you no understand you no fit stay.wey you no register. You no fit **daddy** fo here but fo America…* "Daddy, you do not understand; you cannot live in that country without getting yourself registered. You can't, Daddy. But in America…"

6. James: *How wuna like fo tok some kind kind tin dem so?* "Why do you people say things like that?"

7. Josué: *Na because eh **daddy*** "Dad, it is because…"

8. Mofang: ***Daddy*** *you no understand you fit stay wey you no register, and if a stay as a student a no di go school dem no go cam fine me like fo here.* "Dad, you do not understand; you can live there without being registered, and if I am a student who fails to attend school, they will not come looking for me, as is the case in Germany."

9. Josué*: dem no get eh Meldeamt **Martha***!!"Don't they have a foreigner's registration office, Martha?"

10. James: *Wait **Mafou** make a explain am for you! See am… **Josue** see am… wuna wait first.* "Wait let me explain the situation to you, Mofang! Look here, Josue´; you people should listen for a minute."

11. Martha*: **Josue**, resident permit? Na unbefristet no'oh.* "Do you mean the residence permit? It is indefinite, isn't it?".

12. Josué: *You get for go apply fo adoro den dem give you.* "You have to apply for asylum and then you will be granted one".

13. James: *Wait **Mofan**g! Make simple analysis no just di tok papapapa. A want make we analyze **Mafou!*** "Wait, Mofang! Make a simple analysis; do not just talk "papapapa". I would like us to analyze a few things, Mofang".

14. Mofang: *Ok when eh eh dat wuna "**oh my God**" cam here nooh ask dem dem go tell wuna .* "All right when eh that your "oh my God"[41] comes here next time, they will tell you the same thing".

15. James: ***Mafou** make a tell you before you want make statement.* "Mafou, watch out before you make a statement…"

16. Mofang: ***Daddy** wait! Anmeldung dey different from this. You fit look am … dem even show am for plenty film dem you di even see am … dis person you di ask am say dis person wusai you di stay dem di tok say... **daddy** like for argue eh.* "Dad, wait! Registration is different from what you are talking about. You can see in some films…you ask some people where they live and they will answer…Dad likes to argue"

17. James: ***Mafou** make simple analysis no just di tok papapapa. Wait **Mofang!*** "Make a simple analysis; do not just ramble on like that. Wait, Mafou!"

18. Mofang*: Na only if you want commot travel out of this thing …now wey you get for go apply for visa na for dey now wey di problem di ever be, yes.* "It is only when you want to travel out of the USA that you need to get a visa for your re-entry; that's when the problem usually starts."

In extract 7.2.1, the address/kinship terms employed by this family are Christian names (CN) and ethnic names (EN): Mofang/Mafou are ENs while Josué is a CN. As seen in lines 10, 11, 13, 15 and 17, James, the father, decides to address his son by his CN and his daughter by her EN. Mofang is her EN but she can also be called Mafou (as in 10, 15 and 17 above), which a name of endearment is given to all Mofangs[42]. Since Mofang was named after James's grandmother, he prefers to address her as Mofang or Mafou[43]. The constant use of Mafou instead of Martha in the dialogue is in memory of his late grandmother (this is a typical Cameroonian practice). Some speakers will even go as far as addressing a child named after a deceased mother/father as Mammie /Papa. The name is a reminder of the loving memory of the deceased. The names Mofang and Mafou in the present dialogue therefore have an important impact on the father, hence the reason for his choice. This goes in line with

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[41] *Oh my God* is a nickname the children here have given to their parent's friend who is visiting from the USA.

[42] The *Bawock* people of the Bali Ethnic group of the North West region originally migrated from the Western region of Francophone Cameroon. Although most people consider them *Bamilekes*, they do speak CamE and CamPE as their L2 like every other Bali citizen. People from Bali Bawock are therefore of the so-called 11th province (Fokwang & Langmia, 2011).

[43] The names *Mofang* & *Mafou* have been changed to maintain required anonymity.

Anchimbe (2011:1475), who says, "[n]ames mean more than just representations…they carry with them socio-pragmatic undertones".

Every person named Mofang can also be called by the pet name Mafou (mother of spoons). In the Bali Bawock ethnic group of the N/W region from which this family originates, every child who is named Mafou can also be called Mofang as a pet name or name of endearment. The father's choice of addressing his daughter can be contrasted with how the same girl is addressed by her brother *Josué*. On no occasion in the dialogue does Josué, the brother, use *Mofang* or *Mafou*; he prefers the English or Christian name *Martha*. This is an indication that the significance of the inherited name *Mofang or Mafou* is lost on the young man. *Oh my God*, in line 14, refers to a couple who are Cameroonians residing in the USA. They are friends of Josué's parents. The children here have nicknamed this couple *"Oh my God"* because they are fond of using this expression and saying it with an American accent when they visit.

As the dialogue shows, the young man (24) and young lady (22) refer to their father as *daddy/dad* and each time they address him, they use *daddy/dad*. Almost every statement is introduced by *daddy/dad*. This is a sign of respect and politeness for their father, especially as they have divergent points of view. For the children to contradict their father's point, they use *daddy* a bit too often. It could be argued that the strategy here is to mitigate a challenge to their father's face wants (needs). Martha and her brother in this dialogue exploit the manner of addressing their father *daddy* as a strategy to show that they honour and respect their father even though they disagree with him on a certain idea. The constant use of *daddy/dad* here helps to put him (James), their father, "in a good conversational disposition" with them and "predisposes him to positively regard" their view point (Echu, 2008:124). Both Martha and Josué, in lines 1-17, start every exchange with *daddy/dad* when addressing their father directly in keeping with what has been described as "maintaining the face wants interaction'' (Brown and Levinson, 1987:61). Echu (2008:124) confirms this when he says: "Forms of address honour the addressee, help to put him/her in a good conversational disposition with the speaker and predispose him/her to positively regard the request or message that follows the use of the term."

Extract 7.2.2: Parents and their children

1. Susan/Mother: *You sure say e di work na wit e kwali Mof?* "Are you sure that he is using his own papers to work, Mof?" (Mof is short for Mofang).
2. James: *Polizei fürung e dey.* "He has got a certificate of non-conviction."

3.   Mofang/Martha: *na true* **Mum.** "That's true, Mum."

4.   Susan/mother: *...* but na with *e kwali e di work di em... security job.* "...but is he using his own papers to do the job? The security job?"

5.   Josue: *If e get Polizeizeugnis e mean say na e own* **mummy***!* **Man**! "If he has got a certificate of non-conviction, it means that the papers are his own, Mum!"

6.   Martha: *Weh* **mummy** *eh...* "Oh my mum" (jokingly)

In a similar interaction, the topic of the family discussion has changed a bit to a local/social gossip. The children tease their mother (Extract 7.2.2) a little due to her code mixing reflected in the use of the German expression *Polizeizeugnis* (certificate of non-conviction). Lines 3, 5, and 6 above reveal that these same youngsters address their mother as *mummy*. The way they address their mother in these lines show that the children speak with their mother in a more relaxed tone than they do with their father. They tease and joke with her unlike when they speak with their father. Susan, the mother, has just a basic level of education and her German is very elementary. As this dialogue reveals, she depends on her family for guidance when it comes to German.

The use of *daddy* and *mummy* (examples 1 and 2) show that these speakers have adopted the speech habits that are used in the Cameroonian metropolises, unlike in the villages and countrysides, where parents are addressed by their titles and other given terms. Here, like in the cities of Cameroon (Kouega, 2004), it is considered learned and modern to talk of *daddy* and *mummy*. To address parents in this way is recent and common in the cities and among educated families in Cameroon. By contrast, in the countrysides and villages, parents are referred to as *mammie* and *papa* in CamE and CamPE. The influence of modern media can be held partly responsible. American movies and TV as well as the internet have an impact on contemporary CamPE and CamE, as seen in this study. This influence is being carried over to the diasporic language behaviour. In the diaspora, it could be argued that modern media has added and is still adding to the hybridity that is affecting postcolonial varieties (Mühleisen, 2010; Anchimbe, 2011). This confirms what Ushie (2008) observes, as he argues that there are many changes taking place in the African postcolonies, one of which is the movement of people to bigger cosmopolitan cities, which is changing the socio-cultural and sociolinguistic ecologies that existed in the former postcolonial spaces of the villages and countrysides. The use of address forms and kinship terms and some of the hybrid forms are examples of such changes. Ushie (2008) notes that as a result of borrowing from European/Western traditions, some children in Nigeria, especially in the urban cities, instead of calling their parents *papa/abba,* this is replaced by *daddy* and *mummy*. These differences in the use of address

forms in the urban areas as opposed to those used in the countrysides and villages is a result of acculturation and adaptation (Akindele, 1991; Afful, 2006; Akindele, 2008).

In terms of power, solidarity and superiority, it could be argued here that Martha and Josué's exaggerated use of *daddy* each time they address their father illustrates his role and his position within the family. Traditionally, a Cameroonian father is listened to and hardly contradicted by his children. In this case, the two youngsters in the diasporic context are arguing and discussing and to avoid appearing disrespectful they repeat daddy at every turn. Conversely, the situation is different with their mother: Martha teases her and Josué expresses exasperation at her limited knowledge of the German language.

Extracts 7.2.1 and 7.2.2 demonstrate how calling out someone's name follows the pattern of power relations between a father as the head of the family and his children. Even though these are adult children, they still have to show a submissive attitude in the face of a heated debate with him. Furthermore, these two dialogues reveal that the diasporic space has not changed much of the conduct and expectations of these children vis-à-vis their parents. There is no reciprocity as far as addressing and calling out someone's name between parents and children is concerned. Parents address their children by any of their names but children would never think of addressing their parents by name.

Extract 7.2.3: Parents and their children

1. Visitor: ***Mammie*** *welcome* oh. "Mother, you are welcome!"
2. Frank's mother*: Yes **ma pikin** how wuna dey?* "Yes, my child, how are you doing?"
3. Visitor: ***mammie*** *we di manage.* "We are doing fine, Mother"
4. Frank's mother: ***Ghogomo, gi ma pikin*** *sometin fo chop no'oh.* "Ghogomo, please give my child something to eat."
5. Frank: ***mama*** *e no cam fo dat one.* "Mother, she did not come here for that."

In extract 7.2.3 lines 1 to5, a visitor has come to the residence of the *Ghogomo* family. A brief exchange of greetings takes place. As can be observed in the dialogue between Frank Ghogomo, a first generation immigrant, and his mother who is visiting Germany from Cameroon, the mother addresses her son by his ethnic name (EN), *Ghogomo,* but because she does not know and is not familiar with the visitor, she addresses her as *my pikin* (my child). Even though Frank's mother does not know the visitor, it is assumed, following the Cameroonian practice, that the visitor is a friend of the family, so she has to be received with hospitality. The address form *pikin* "child" here does not signify a blood relationship but is an expression of closeness (the referent is as close to her as her own child; if not, she would not

pay them a visit). The visitor also addresses Frank's mother as *Mammie* (Mother), i.e. the same way she would have addressed her own mother. The mother's verbal display of hospitality is consolidated when she tells Frank, her son: *Ghogomo, gi ma pikin sometin fo chop no'oh.* "Ghogomo, please give my child something to eat." The mother here acts in keeping with the expectation of African solidarity and friendship, which is at the heart of African hospitality, namely what the Zulus of South Africa call *Ubuntu* or group-based solidarity (De Kadt, 1998; Anchimbe, 2007).

Cameroonian communities, like in most African societies, are collectivist, where people from birth onwards are integrated in very tight cohesive in-groups which are usually made up of extended families (uncles, aunts, cousins and grandparents). In these communities, people are encouraged to work together and cooperate; everyone supports each other as a community or a family. Here, the image of African solidarity is recreated. This extract re-enacts the African hospitality via the forms of address and kinship terms *ma pikin* and *mammie* as used in CamE and CamPE. In order to make a clear statement about the kinship terms between children and their parents, the results of the semi-structured interviews are analysed with the findings illustrated by Table 7.2.1 and Graph 7.2.1:

Table 7.2.1: Family Domain: Addressing parents

Participants	Address Forms				
	Papa/mammie	**Mummy/daddy**	**Teknonym**	**Ndap**	**Total**
YM	5	11	2	2	20
YW	3	12	2	3	20
OM	9	4	3	4	20
OW	8	5	2	5	20
Total	**25**	**32**	**9**	**14**	**80**

Answers to question 1: How do you address your parents?

Total number of respondents: 80.

Young men (YM; 18-35) = 20, Young women (YW; 18-35) = 20,

Older men (OM) (35-above) = 20, Older women (OW) (35-above) = 20.

Graph 7.2.1: Family domain: Addressing parents
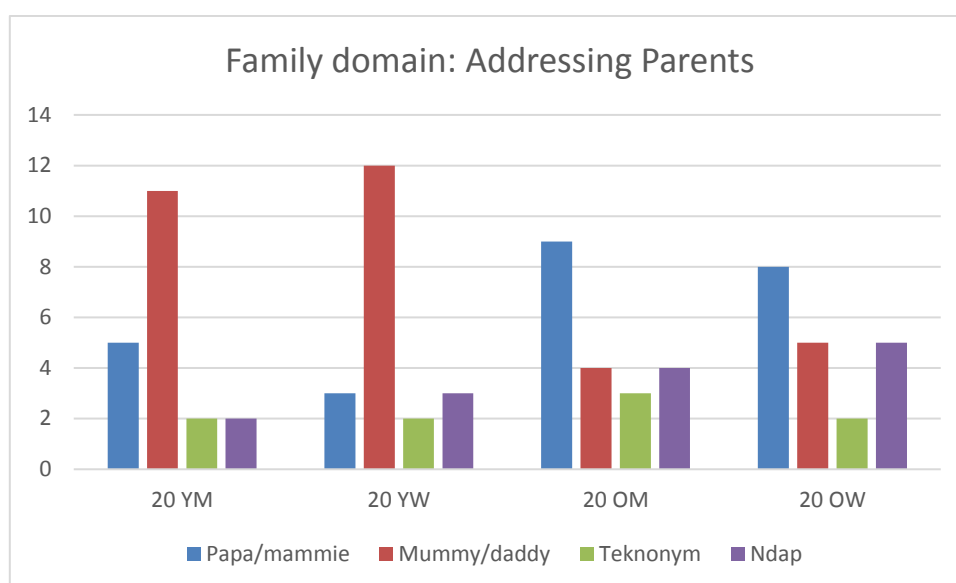
Graph 7.2.1 shows that not many young people between the ages of 18 and 35 use some of the traditional forms of address to speak to their parents. Most of the younger generations have almost abandoned address and kinship terms and titles like ndap and terknonyms. Just 9 out of the 40 young men and women who answered the interview questions admitted that they used any of these forms of kinship terms or address forms to speak to their parents. Curiously, one young woman said that she addressed her father as doctor because her father is a medical practitioner. However, among the older generation, 5 more men and women admitted to using ndap and teknonyms when they speak to their parents, even on the phone in Cameroon (14 out of 40). The most popular forms of address for the older generation are *mammie* and *papa* and for the younger generation we have *mummy* and *daddy*.

A comparative statement on address/kinship terms used by parents to speak to their children can be made based on the results of the semi-structured interviews as well:

Table 7.2.2: Family Domain: Addressing children

Participants	How Parents Address their Children				
	Name	**Ndap**	**Teknonyms**	**Nickname**	**Total**
YM	12	3	2	3	20
YW	10	2	4	4	20
OM	5	5	8	2	20
OW	4	5	9	2	20
Total	**31**	**15**	**23**	**11**	**80**

Answers to question 2: How do your parents address you?

Total number of respondents: 80.

Young men (YM; 18-35) = 20, Young women (YW; 18-35) = 20,

Older men (OM) (35-above) = 20, Older women (OW) (35-above) = 20.

Graph 7.2.2: Family domain: Addressing children
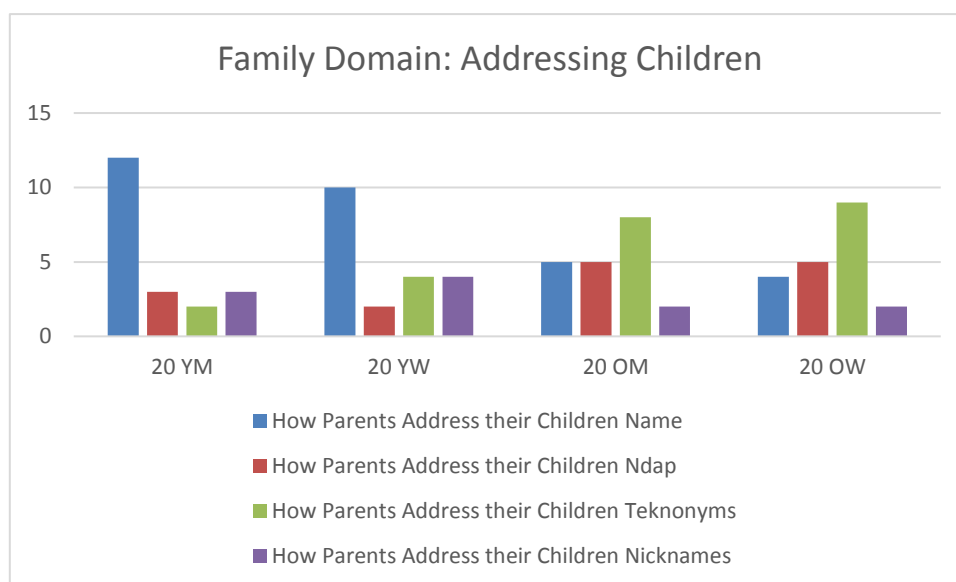
A look at Graph 7.2.2 above shows that 31 out of the 80 Cameroonian Anglophones who were spoken to in the German diaspora address their children by name. It can be noted from the presentation that the older the children get, the greater the tendency for their parents to use forms of respect such as *ndap, teknonyms* and *traditional titles* to address them. Some other forms of address replace the names, as children get older. This becomes possible when the young men and women get married and have children because then it is easier to call them by the name of their children (*teknonyms*). Following the results above, we see that a large number of mothers use teknonyms to address their children. However, the general trend is for parents to address their children by name.

Results of the Fisher's Exact Test[44] on the distribution of address and kinship terms between parents and their children confirm the fact that addressing parents is independent of gender. The Fisher Exact Test is used to verify the influence of gender in the choice of address terms used by the informant of this research in addressing their parents. The significance level is set at 0.05. The calculated P-value in this domain stands at 0.849; this is higher than the selected significance level of 0.05. This means that the null hypothesis that how a person

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[44] The figures for the Fisher's Exact Test are answers to the semi-structured interviews carried out for this research.

addresses the parents is independent of the person's gender cannot be rejected. The choice of address terms that these informants decide to use to speak to their parents is independent of whether they are male or female. In other words, both male and female speakers manifest the same tendencies. For instance, a look at Graph 7.2.1 above shows that both young men and young women use *mummy* and *daddy* and the older men and women of this same community use *papa* and *mammie.*

The Fisher's Exact Test shows that the age variable has a P-value of 0.013 for the domain of addressing parents. This means that how these speakers address their parents is dependent on the age of the speaker. Since the P-value is smaller than the significant level of 0.05, one can make a categorical statement about the influence of the age variable in this domain. Addressing children, on the other hand, manifests slightly different results: both male and female speakers follow the same pattern of addressing their children. A P-value of 0.987 reveals that most of the participants address their children by name, so gender has very little influence on the choice of address term used in speaking to children. However, age again plays a role in determining the way parents address their children. The younger parents, as seen in Graph 7.2.2, select different address terms to speak to their children compared to the older parents.

7.2.2. Among siblings

In most families in Anglophone Cameroon, younger siblings are expected to show respect to the older brothers and sisters. One way to do this is by using an address form or kinship term of respect. The regional background of the speakers determine the use of titles of respect such as sister/brother, ni/ma, mola/iya as opposed to names and other forms. As illustrated by Anchimbe (2008) and Nkwain (2014), people from the NW region of Cameroon generally have the respect forms of ni/ma and, on the other hand, those from the SW regions usually use sister/brother or mola/lya as titles of respect for older brothers and sisters. However, it should be noted that these forms and patterns are not strictly adhered to. Sometimes people from the NW also use the sister/brother forms of respect among siblings. In the North West region, an older male sibling will be addressed as Ni plus personal name so an older sibling who is John (CN) or Tita (EN) will be Ni John and Ni Tita, respectively to his younger sisters and brothers. Likewise, the older female siblings are also shown similar respect by being addressed as Ma plus CN/EN so an older sister named Susan (CN) and Agen (EN) will be addressed by her

junior brothers and sisters as Ma Susan and Ma Agen, respectively. In the South West region, an older brother is addressed as *brother* plus either CN or EN. Thus, we may have *Brother Paul* or *Brother Mukete.* There is also the use of *Mola* and *Iya* to address older brothers and sisters in the *Bakwer*i cultures of the SW region.

Extract 7.2.4: Addressing siblings

1.　　Mary: ***Gloria!*** *You no hear as reme di call you?* "Gloria, don't you hear mother's call?"

2.　　Gloria: *A di cam!* ***This pikin***. "I am coming…this child"

3.　　Mary: *Wenti nooh* ***Gloria****?* "What is going on, Gloria?"
　　　　Gloria: ***Mary*** *a di do something a beg you go hear wenti* ***reme*** *want ja.* "Mary, please can you see mother on my behalf; I am busy with something else."

In the dialogue above (7.2.4), Mary and Gloria are siblings. Gloria is about 21 and Mary is 18. They both live with their parents in the German city of Bremen. Following the Cameroonian tradition of the SW region from which they originate, Mary is supposed to add the address prefix of *sister* to Gloria's name but as we see in 1 and 3 above, Mary uses Gloria's name without the expected respect form even though Gloria is about three years older. In another context in the family of Mantang (Extract 7.2.5 below), there are four siblings, as the recorded data shows. These siblings simply ignore the use of *sister/brother* in addressing their older siblings.

Extract 7.2.5: Addressing siblings

1.　　Damian: I say **Carine** can you help me with this?

2.　　Carine: *Emmm Grammar oh wenti di happen nooh* ***sango****?* "Emm Standard English! What is going on *sir?"*

3.　　Damian: *Wuna too like pidgin for this haus. A beg make we try tok English small like time wey we be be small.* Yyou are too fond of Pidgin English in this house. Let us try to speak real (standard) English sometimes, like in the old days when we were children." Carine: *A beg leave man* ***bo'oh*** *dat time don pass.* "Please my friend, let that be bygones."

4.　　Romeo: ***Demian massah*** *leave man Grammar di bore man* (Demian, that language (Standard English) is a bore. It is no fun telling a story in Standard English).

5.　　All:　@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@ (Laughing)

In the Mantang family (Extract 7.2.5 above), the siblings tease each other about their childhood experiences. As younger kids, they were expected to speak Standard English at home and in school. This is still the situation in most families in Cameroon (Simo-Bobda, 2001) and even in Germany. Pidgin English is out of bounds for most children based on the idea that Pidgin English will ruin their English and hence their school performances. Damian, in line 3, is therefore making a joking allusion to the early days of their childhood in which they were never allowed to use Pidgin English[45]. Some young men and women of this research revealed that their freedom to speak in Pidgin makes the language more exciting and that is why many young adults, when they have the liberty and freedom to express themselves in Pidgin, stick to this variety and never want to stop because they find it more interesting as cited by Romeo in line 5. As far as the address and kinship terms are concerned, the idea of *sister/brother/nini/mama* is lost on them. Damian calls his senior sister simply *Carine* and Romeo*,* the youngest of the family, refers to his senior brother simply by his name *Demian* even though he is about ten years younger than Damian, who is thirty and Carine is about thirty-three. We notice that since these siblings are young adults, they use other address forms of friendship like *bo'oh* and *massa* to speak to each other. It can be said that in the present situation, these siblings are more interested in creating an atmosphere of solidarity and friendship among themselves than establishing a relationship of power and superiority based on age differences.

This tendency is also seen in Extract 7.2.1, where Josué addresses his junior sister as *Martha* and she addresses him, her older brother, simply as *Josu*é. It can be noted that they use either first names or ethnic names to address each other irrespective of their age differences. The traditional address forms and kinship terms of respect *ma, ni, brother* and *sister* are completely ignored during this family discussion. It should be noted that these are the same youths who address their father as *Daddy* at the beginning of every statement (Extract7.2.1). This cultural construct of higher power due to age differences is absent in the language behaviour of these two (cf. Holmes, 1995). During the semi-structured interviews, when some youngsters of this age group were asked why they hardly ever used *sister/brother* and *nini/mama* to address each other, they said that the expressions were too formal and old-fashioned. A look at the results of the semi-structured interview shows the following findings in Table 7.2.3:

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[45] In most Cameroonian schools, the use of Pidgin English is out of bounds. Even in most homes, children are forbidden to use this language. They claim it is a hindrance to their Standard English (Simo-Bobda, 2001; Ngefac &Sala, 2006). Pidgin English therefore creates an identity of inferiority.

Table 7.2.3: Family Domain: Distribution of Address forms of Respect between NW siblings

Participants	Address Forms			
	Name	**Sister/Brother**	**Ni/Ma**	**Total**
10 YM	4	2	4	10
10 YW	3	2	5	10
10 OM	2	1	7	10
10 OW	1	2	7	10
Total	**10**	**7**	**23**	**40**

Answers to Question 3: How do you address your younger/older siblings?

Total number of respondents from the NW: 40

Young men (YM; 18-35) = 10 from the NW Region, Young women (YW; 18-35) = 10 from the NW Region,Older men (OM; 35-above) = 10 from the NW Region, Older women (OW; 35-above) = 10 from the NW Region.

Graph 7.2.3: Family Domain: Distribution of Address Forms of Respect Between NW siblings
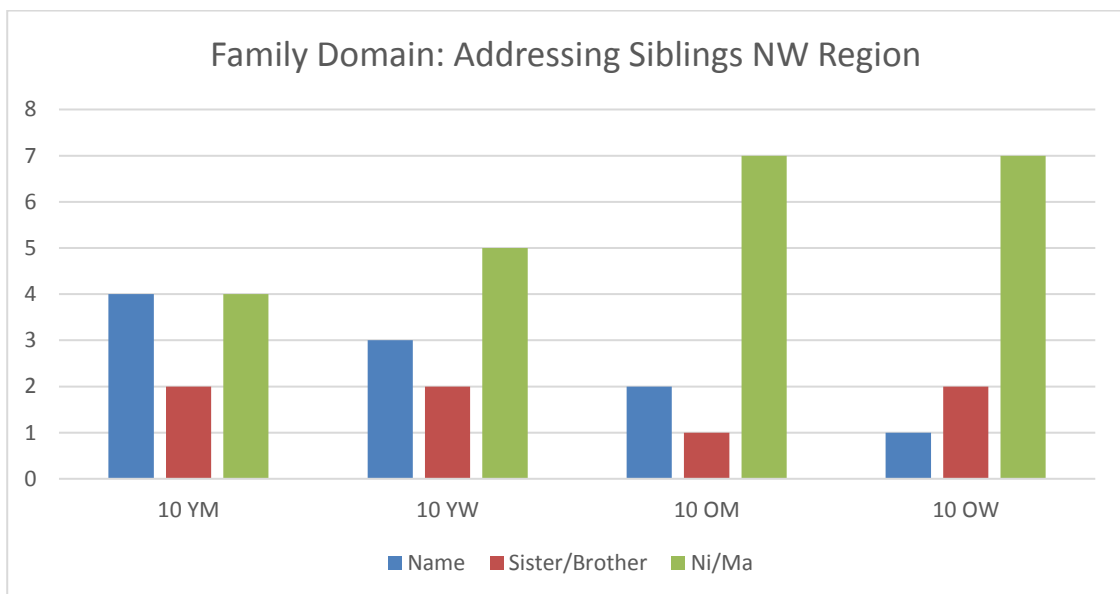
Table 7.2.4: Family Domain: Address forms of respect between SW siblings

Participants	Address Forms			
	Name	Sister/Brother	Mola/Iya	Total
YM	6	3	1	10
YW	4	4	2	10
OM	1	6	3	10
OW	1	7	2	10
Total	**12**	**20**	**8**	**40**

Answers to Question 3: How do you address your younger/older siblings?

Total number of respondents from the SW: 40

Young men (YM; 18-35) = 10 from the SW Region, Young women (YW;18-35) = 10 from the SW Region, Older men (OM; 35-above) = 10 from the SW Region, Older women (OW; 35-above) = 10 from the SW Region.

Graph 7.2.4: Family Domain: Distribution of Adress Forms of Respect Between SW Siblings
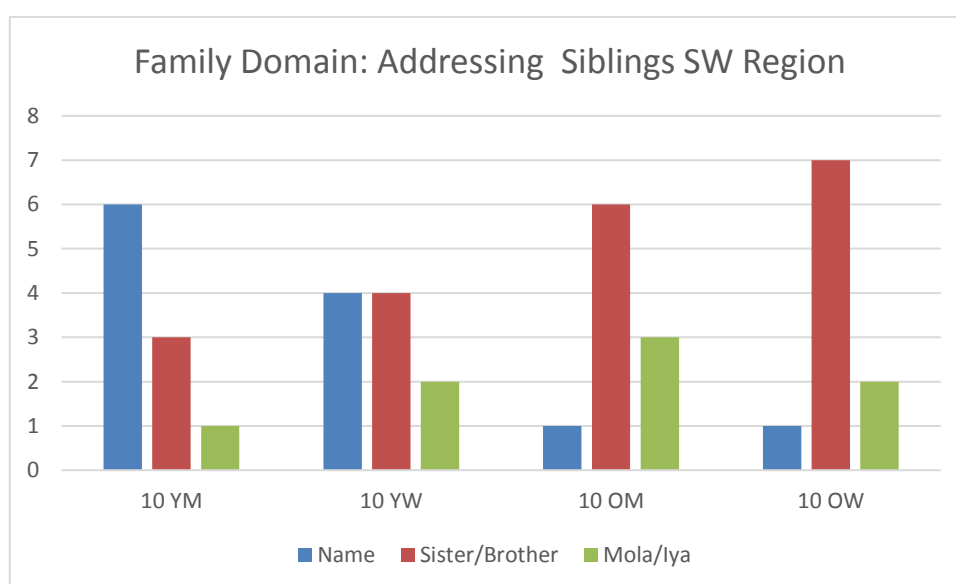
An examination of the result of the semi-structured interviews on the use of *sister/brother*, *ni/ma*, *Mola/Iya* as address forms of respect by speakers who originate from the NW and SW regions of Cameroon, shows that 35 out of the 40 older men and women from the age of 40 and above still address their older siblings even in the diaspora as *sister/brother*, *nini/mama* as the case may be. When asked, these older informants say that they believe tradition should be respected even in the diaspora. 10 of the 20 young men from the SW region (Table 4) address their older siblings by name, while 7 use the prefix of respect sister/brother and just 3 out of the 20 young men and women of this region admit that they use the traditional

address term *mola/iya*. Graph 4 above reveals that the older men and women hardly use names to address older siblings. The younger men and women do. The distribution of address forms of respect among siblings shows a difference between speakers from different ethnic regions. In the German diaspora, age plays a greater role among siblings from the SW region than it does with speakers from the same age group from the NW region.

The Fisher's Exact Test shows a P-value for address terms of respect among NW siblings which stands at 0.264 and that of the SW siblings which is 0.023. This means that the choice of using address forms of respect among people from the NW is not very much associated with age differences as opposed to the situation in the South West ethnic region. This can be interpreted to mean that the immigrants from the NW ethnic groups of Cameroon adhere more to their culture than those from the SW ethnic groups. In other words, the use of cultural address terms among the north westerners irrespective of age differences is more frequent. This could partly account for the frequency in the use of *Mol/Iya* and *Ni/Ma* in Graphs 7.2.3 and 7.2.4. respectively.

7.2.3. Between spouses

As a result of the traditional beliefs and laws of Anglophone Cameroon, spouses do not enter the union from a position of equal standing (Ngassa, 2012; Fonjong, 2012). The man is always and in many ways considered superior, often the main breadwinner. If it happens that the woman is the main breadwinner, the man is considered a better manager of resources. The image of a good Anglophone Cameroonian wife is one who is subordinate and submissive to the husband (Salami, 2004; Ngassa, 2012). As Ngassa states, "The customary law (in Cameroon) position is that once bride-price is paid on a woman, she and all that she begets, including her children, becomes her husband's property and, as such property, cannot own property …" (2012:81). Since language is a reflection of sociocultural realities, in many Cameroonian ethnic groups, women are not expected to address or refer to their husbands by their first names but rather by some other address forms of respect. These forms may include:

- Titles of respect such as *ni/nini, mola, sango, ngia*
- *Ndap* a name of thanks like *Tamah, Tankoh, Tala*
- *Teknonym,* for instance, *Pa/Papa Emade* (the father of Emade)
- *Pa/Papa Sama* (the father of Sama)
- *Papa/Daddy* (prefixing the kinship term *Papa, Daddy*)

- Other titles of respect and honour depending on the ethnic group (*Mola, Amioeh,* etc.) These address forms can be interpreted as expressing respect. Cameroonian wives are expected by the society to accept that they are different from their husbands, who are considered their social superiors. The husband is, for example, the head of the household.

Extract 7.2.6: Addressing spouses

1. Dorothy*: **Tamah** leave dat one leave dat one please.* "Tamah, can we talk of something else? Please!"
2. John/Tamah: **Mamma** *a don hear no'oh leave am so.* "Mamma, I have heard you; let it be."
3. Dorothy*: so wusai we di go after we finish chop?* "So where did you say we were going after lunch?"
4. John/Tamah: **Doro** *make a rest small ja?* "Doro, can I rest a bit after lunch?"
5. Dorothy*: but **Tamah** na you promise dis pikin dem pa.* "But Tamah, it is you who promised the children, wasn't it, **Pa**?"
6. John/Tamah: *ok a don hear **Schatz**.* "That's ok, darling/sweet heart"

The couple in the above dialogue (Extract 7.2.6) address each other not by each other's name but by some other titles or coined names. The woman calls her husband *Tamah* and he calls her simply *mamma* and sometimes *Doro*, a short form of Dorothy. For the husband, this is a name of endearment and intimacy. Although she, the wife, also has a *ndap,* the husband does not use it to address her. As the dialogue reveals, there is the possibility of multiple address and kinship terms at the disposal of these speakers. This creates a sociolinguistic and socio-cultural hybridization, which is made even more complex given the fact that this ecology exposes these multilingual immigrants to yet another language (German). John addresses his wife sometimes as *Mamma*, a typical Cameroonian form of address for elderly couples who have children. At other times, he calls her *Doro,* which is a shortened form of endearment and intimacy (of her name Dorothy); he also calls her *Schatz*, which is borrowed from the German language (this reflects the fact that they have lived in Germany for long). It can be noted that his choice of an address form here depends on context, i.e. what other people are present (family members or friends). It also depends on his mood and on the atmosphere of the interaction (Holmes, 2013:35-37). The use of multiple address or kinship terms here creates a hybridic identity and the use of the borrowed term *Schatz* highlights the multilingual language identity of the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants in the German diaspora. *Tamah* in 1 and 5 is a display of ethnic identity because it reproduces the *ndap* of respect and honour as used at home in some ethnic groups and villages.

The fact that John and Dorothy have lived in Germany so long can be discerned in the way they speak to and address each other. The wife reprimands her husband about something he is saying and immediately he apologizes and flatters her by calling her *mamma* (cf. Echu, 2008). The choice of address in this case reveals the respect the husband wishes to show he owes her. This setting can be explained when contrasted with an interaction that is recorded between a younger couple who have just migrated to Germany (Extract 7.2.7 below). The wife in Extract 7.6.6 (Dorothy) generally adheres to the traditional form of addressing her husband by using his *ndap* (at least throughout this short exchange). Here, we see that the hybridization in linguistic manifestation is through a juxtaposition of both African/Cameroon traditional linguistic forms and that of the West (or more specifically German *Schatz*). This is a public display of intimacy between spouses that is not very common in the Cameroonian context (especially in the country sides). It shows that "the thoughts, values and attitudes" (Salami, 2004:4) that this couple have, imbibed in the German diaspora, can be observed in their linguistic expressions. The relationship between them can be interpreted as a mixture of traditional, modern and liberated practices. So, following Salami (2004), it can be argued that Dorothy and John have been influenced by their geographical as well as their socio-cultural settings.

Extract 7.2.7: Addressing spouses

1. Harriett: ***Baby*** *a beg send me dat remote control ja?* "Baby, can you pass me the remote control please?"

2. Peter: ***Helen*** *a di came commot make a finish dis thing quick dem di wait me for down Keller*[46] "Harriett, I am soon going out. I have people waiting for me downstairs in the cellar"

3. Harriett: ***Daddy!*** *A say a beg for dat remote control eeh.* "Daddy, I am pleading with you to pass me the remote control."

4. Peter: *Emm… **dis woman** di try me oh, wake up take am you carry na wenti?* "Mmm… what does this woman want from me? Why don't you get up and take it yourself?"

The setting here (Extract 7.2.7) is the Babila family residence in Germany, involving an exchange between husband and wife. Harriett is a 27-year-old housewife and a mother of 4 small kids. The couple are also first generation immigrants but are relatively younger than

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[46] In some cities of the German NRW state especially where Cameroonians have enclaves, the cellars of the Afro-shops have been turned into bars and drinking spots, where these immigrants meet to spend time. These are simply called by their German names "*Keller*".

Dorothy and John (Extract 7.2.6). Apart from the support she receives from the state, Harriett is almost totally financially dependent on her husband. In other words, her economic situation is not very different from what it would have been in Cameroon. However, like in similar cases in Germany, when her children have grown up and have reached school-going age, she will be able to start work and gain a bit more economic strength and independence. Peter, the husband, is 35 and the sole breadwinner of the family, at least for the moment. In this interaction, Harriett, the wife, requests the husband to pass over the remote control of the TV to her. She addresses her husband as *baby* or *daddy*, which are words of endearment, intimacy and respect. But the husband calls her simply by her first name (FN) *Harriett.* It could be argued that since these two have not lived in Germany for long yet, their language behaviour still reflects very much the attitudes and expectation of the Cameroonian context: it is possible to find *baby* and *daddy* as forms of address used by Anglophone Cameroonian women in the Cameroonian metropolises to address their husbands. Furthermore, the lack of reciprocity, as seen in the address forms used between this husband and wife, is also typical of the Cameroonian and other African scenarios (Kielkiewicz-Janowiak, 2000:185).

In the following Extract 7.2.8, Julie is a 43-year-old teacher and a mother of three. Her husband is an industrial worker and is about 50. The exchange between them tends to reflect the African idea that it is a wife's duty to feed and care for the family. For the man to carry out certain chores, he is "helping" his wife". They have lived for about fifteen years in Germany. The following interaction takes place during a family dinner:

Extract 7.2.8: Addressing spouses

1. Julie: **Mola** *a beg help me feed* **Oddie** *ja?* "Mola, please can you help me feed Oddie?" (Oddie is their baby)
2. Mike /Mola: *Ok.* "No problem, I will."
3. Julie: *Make a go move dat meat…* "So that I can go and take out the meat…"
4. Mike: **Oddie** come **my girl**…come and eat your food ok? (Mike is speaking to the baby in the standard variety (CamE))
5. Julie: *Feed e no'oh* **Mola.** "Mola, why are you not feeding her?"
6. Mike: *A say* **Julie** *e no di gree make a do wenti?* "Julie, she does not want me to feed her, what do you want me to do?" (Turning to the baby): go… go and meet **mummy**

In this exchange, Julie addresses her husband as *Mola*, which is how a respectable *Bakweri*[47] woman is expected to traditionally address her husband. However, there is lack of reciprocity

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[47] Bakweri is an ethnic group in the SW region of Cameroon.

here because *Mola Mike* in turn should have addressed his wife as *Iya*. Although the wife is more educated, she still plays her traditional role. On the other hand, when *Mike* speaks to their children, he refers to his wife as *mummy* because this is how he wants them (his children) to call her (their mother, his wife). These address forms can be interpreted as expressing inequality between spouses. Julie here, like every Cameroonian wife, is expected by the society to accept that she is different from her husband, who is considered the head of the household even if she is the major breadwinner of the family, he is her social superior. Since age is also an important variable of respect among Cameroonians, most husbands argue that their wives, who are usually younger than they are, have to respect them based on these age differences as well. This superiority is manifested via the adoption of appropriate address forms like the case cited above. The adoption of these linguistic forms within the Anglophone Cameroonian household reflects the status of the woman, thereby confirming her subordinate position. Any woman who does not abide by these societal rules will be frowned upon and considered a less good wife. The social structure in this case determines the woman's language/linguistic behaviour even in the diaspora.

Extract 7.2.9: Addressing spouses

1. Desiré: *A say booh na you one cam **mammie pikin** and pikin dem   no cam?* "My friend, are you alone? Did your wife and children not come with you?"

2. Daniel: *Nooh dem go cam after, **Danny** be di still sleep…how for **mammie Limunga** e no dey*? "No, they are coming later. Danny was still asleep when I left… Is the mother of Limunga not at home?"

3. Desiré: ***Mammie Limunga** dey kitchen dey di turn turn… **Mammie Limunga!*** (Calling out to his wife) ***Papa Danny** don cam oh.* "The mother of Limunga is in the kitchen there going up and down…Mother of Limunga! The father of Danny has come!"

4. Sofie/Mammie Limunga: (Coming in) *Ah ah na you one cam? Wusai **mammie Danny** dey with this pikin dem*? (coming in and exclaiming). "Ah ah! Did you come alone? Where is the mother of Danny and the children?"

In the dialogue of Extract 7.2.9, Desiré's family has invited friends over for dinner. The discussion that follows presents yet another address form that family members of the Cameroonian Anglophone community in Germany use as a means of expressing respect and politeness towards each other. In 1, 2, 3 and 4 there are the teknonyms: *mammie pikin*, *Mammie Limunga*, *Papa Danny*, and *Mammie Danny*. Since these friends are parents, they show respect, politeness and fondness by referring to each other not by the use of personal

names but via the names of their children. Irrespective of their age differences, these friends have renamed each other based on the kinship relation between the parents and their children.

This highlights the importance this community places on childbearing. To be a mother or father is a very important identity marker so much so that motherhood and fatherhood are considered to improve social status. In such a community, any married couple who for one reason or the other cannot bear children are considered social misfits. The dialogue above is a replication of the Cameroonian situation, in which it becomes almost invariable that when a woman gives birth to a child after marriage nearly everyone around including her husband renames her *Mammie + name of the child*. A child's birth usually requires the father and the mother to be thus renamed according to the name given to the child. Whereas personal names in the Anglophone Cameroonian setting stress the individuality of persons, teknonyms on the other hand, are "relational" terms where the definition of "self" is derived from "another" (Salami, 2004:75). The relations expressed in teknonyms are links of affiliation, which are evident in names such as *Mammie/Papa Limunga* and *Mammie/Papa Danny* as seen in 1, 2, 3 and 4 above.

In most Cameroonian communities, the Anglophone Cameroonian enclaves in Germany included, it is almost a taboo to address or refer to senior members of the community simply by their given names (Oyetade, 1995). The use of teknonyms is therefore respect strategies (Akindele, 2008). These postcolonial immigrants accordingly use the concept of teknonyms to reconcile the complexity between European words and expressions (like names) and indigenous ways of reasoning (John+mother + of=mother of John). For instance, unlike in the West where kinship terms are limited to blood relations (nuclear families), in most African settings, kinship terms are extended to other people who are non-blood relations. Anchimbe (2008) holds that this is because these expressions (coinages) help to reduce the distance between interlocutors and make them feel like family members (for respect and politeness' sake). Echu (2008) also holds that the intention is to flatter the interlocutors into responding positively to request, apologies or commands.

Following the results of the semi-structured interviews, the spouses (across generations and regions of origin) in the German diaspora admit that they use the following kinship terms to speak to each other in Table 7.2.5.

Table 7.2.5: Family Domain: Address forms and kinship terms between spouses across generations and regions of origin.

Respondents	Address Forms						
	Name	**Iya**	**Teknonym**	**Schatz**	**Baby**	**Ma/mummy**	**Total**
YM SW	4	1	1	2	2	1	10
OM SW	2	2	3	1	1	1	10
	Name	**Mola**	**Teknonym**	**Schatz**	**Baby**	**Pa/daddy**	Total
YW SW	3	1	0	2	4	0	10
OW SW	2	4	2	0	0	2	10
	Name	**Ma/mama**	**Teknonym**	**Schatz**	**Baby**	**Mammie/mummy**	Total
YM NW	3	0	0	2	5	0	10
OM NW	2	3	2	1	0	2	10
	Name	**Ni**	**Teknonym**	**Schatz**	**Baby**	**Pa/daddy**	Total
YW NW	1	3	3	1	1	1	10
OW NW	1	4	2	0	0	3	10
Total	**18**	**17**	**13**	**9**	**13**	**10**	**80**

Answers to question 4: How do you address your spouse?

Total number of Respondents = 80

YM from the SW (18-35) =10, OM from the SW (35-above) =10

YW from the SW (18-35) =10, OW from the SW (35-above) =10

YM from the NW (18-35) =10, OM from the NW (35-above) =10

YW from the NW (18-35) =10, OW from the NW (35-above) =10

Table 7.2.5 here shows that young men and young women, aged 18-35, have a greater tendency to address their spouses by name unlike the older generation of speakers. The younger people hardly use ndap and teknonyms. Curiously, one would have expected this group to use the European expressions of intimacy between spouses like *Baby* and *Schatz*. However, the results here show that only 7 out of the 40 young men and women admit that they use *Schatz* and 12 out of 40 use *Baby* which are western address forms to speak to their spouses. 10 out of 40 of these young men and women use their spouses' personal names to speak to them. This is a bit higher than the number of the older generation, which shows that some older men and women also call their partners by personal name. As far as gender is concerned, the figures show that 6 out of 20 young women from the NW and SW refer to their

husbands by personal name, this is slightly lower with the older women where just 2 from the SW and 1 from the NW call their husbands by name. Again, 6 out of 20 young men say that they refer to their spouses by name while just 4 of the men in the older generation speak to their wives using their names. Instead, the older men and women use traditional forms such as ndap and teknonyms, while the young use names and western address forms as seen in Extract 7.2.9 (baby, daddy).

Differences can also be observed between speakers of different ethnic backgrounds. Men from the South West hardly use *Iya*, the expected address form used while speaking to their wives. In fact, just 3 of the 20 men from the SW region admit that they use address forms of respect to speak to their wives. The case is not very different with young men from the NW region where only 3 men of this region also say they use *Ma*, the North-western equivalent of *Iya,* to speak to their wives in Germany**.** The statistics also reveal that the immigrant men from SW Cameroon use names to address their wives more often than those who come from the NW region. This is an indication of change because the expected address forms as used in Cameroon is not completely reflected in this data. There is a low frequency in the use of *Iya* and *Ma,* the traditional address forms used by husbands to speak to their wives.

As far as addressing spouses is concerned, results of the Fisher's Exact Test clearly corroborate these assertions. The P-value for addressing spouses in the SW region is 0.069 among male and female, this is very close to the significance which is set at 0.05. However, since this is not clearly smaller than the significance level of 0.05, we cannot completely reject the null hypothesis that addressing spouses is not gender dependent. To be able to clearly say that gender is a significant variable in the choice of addressing spouses among this group of speakers, there is need for a larger number of informants. The P-value for the age groups also stands at 0.069, which confirms that the choice of address terms in this domain is also nearly but not clearly independent of age. For this group of speakers, both gender and age are not clearly determinant variables in their choice of addressing spouses. The results of the Fisher's Exact Test show a difference with speakers who hail from the NW region; here, the speakers manifest a greater tendency to address spouses based on gender; the P-value is 0.001.The null hypothesis that the choice of addressing spouses is independent of gender is rejected in this case. This means that the alternative hypothesis holds true that the choice of addressing spouses is gender determined by the investigated speakers from the NW region of Cameroon. Among this same group, the P-value for age is 0.05, which means that age is also a determining variable; that is why the older speakers have different choices from the younger ones.

7.2.4. Among extended family members

The concept of the extended family is different in the African and Cameroonian tradition when compared to the west. Therborn (2006:13) captures this quite clearly when he says:

> […] the region is renowned to be dominated by the extended family settings whereby a family is not made up only of a married couple and their children but also includes uncles, aunts, grandparents[…]extended families still have quite a strong hold in Africa despite the advent of modernization.

This explains why the address forms and kinship terms used in the Cameroonian speech communities are rather fluid or overlapping. This overlap is a result of the fact that Cameroonian communities like in most African societies are collectivist (Ushie, 2008; Nkwain, 2014), where people from birth onwards are integrated in very tight cohesive in-groups which are usually made up of extended families (uncles, aunts, cousins and grandparents). The anchor of every society or community is the family, which in the Cameroonian context has two types: the extended family system as practiced in Cameroon and other African societies and the nuclear families of the Western societies. A major cultural characteristic in most sub-Saharan African societies is the respect for elders and ancestors (Oyetade, 1995; Ushie, 2008; Nkwain, 2014). It is therefore interesting to study the relations between the subjects of this research, who are immigrants who have moved from the Cameroonian socio-cultural space to a new ecology where culture and traditions are different. It will be interesting to find out if these postcolonial immigrants still conform to traditional beliefs or have constructed new modes and patterns of life. For Akindele (2008) language behaviour helps to establish etiquette or status based on social norms and customs. The choice of address and kinship terms within the extended family may display conformity or non-conformity to these cultural expectations. It may also display a hybridity where both western and Cameroonian tradition styles are mixed, providing a strategic choice in naming and addressing both family members and members of the community in a way that will keep the interlocutors at ease and at the same time maintain the addresser's position as a respectful family member or member of the community. An examination of extracts from recorded discussions among extended family members will illustrate these tendencies.

Extract 7.2.10: Address forms between an uncle and his nephew/niece

1. Davidson: *so wenti be di next question now ma belly be full*. "So what is your next question? I am ready for all your questions."

2.	Raymond: *nooh a just…**uncle David**…* "No… Uncle David… I just wanted to …"

3.	Davidson*: a don chop, a don tschak wenti be di next question* (Jokingly). "I have had enough to eat and drink; what is your next question?"

4.	Bertha: *wenti a be di tok na say eh **uncle** make a ask you since you be di say people dem no di get address for America how people dem di get letter?* "What I was saying was that…**Uncle,** I was trying to ask you that since you said that people don't have addresses in America, how do they receive their letters?"

5.	Davidson: *eh ehe eh a be tok na say dem di get address no'oh but dem no get place for control. When you enter you go register na all that **Bertha**.* "I said that they have an address; the point is that once you arrive in the USA and get registered, that is all. There are no regular checks like here in Europe, Bertha."

6.	Bertha: *Den wusai you di keep dat address? Uncle **Davidson** who di keep dat register for address?* "So where are the addresses kept? Uncle Davidson who keeps the register of the addresses?"

7.	Raymond: ***Uncle,** no place no dey wey eh na particular stelle dem dey weh eh dem get your address for dey? Like for we for Germany wey you fit just go for any side dem just ask ya name dem check your address for computer?* "Uncle, is there no particular place where addresses are registered and stored? Like for us here in Germany, it is possible to find out your address through your name on a computer"

In Extract 7.2.10 above the exchange is between two siblings and their uncle. Since Davidson, who is their uncle, is a visitor from the USA, the youths want to find out more about America from him. Davidson is about 45 years old and a brother to the children's father. As an uncle, the children and their mother, according to the Anglophone Cameroonian tradition, have to show him respect through the way he is addressed and spoken to. Here we see that both Raymond and Bertha address their uncle as *Uncle Davidson,* not with his name *Davidson.* The youngsters have adopted the address and kinship term typical of the Cameroonian setting. This has the pragmatic effect of expressing politeness and respect, which should be shown towards their father's brother. Calling him simply *Davidson* would lead to a breakdown in communication. *Uncle* in this context has the pragmatic force that it clearly demonstrates a power difference. This agrees with Mühleisen (2005), Wong (2006), Anchimbe (2004 & 2008a) and Anchimbe & Janney (2011), who all conclude that the use of *Uncle* and *Auntie* as kinship terms within the family and social circles is an attempt by speakers to adjust to European naming systems while abiding by the respect, politeness and power difference, which is expected in these ecologies. From a socio-pragmatic perspective the choice of using *uncle* is appropriate, since this helps define the position *Uncle Davidson* has within this structure, a structure that pays great attention to extended familyship. These two, Raymond and Bertha, have constructed themselves as respectful children and by using *uncle* to address

Davidson (the appropriate form), they have demonstrated his acceptance within this family and created a feeling of intimacy; otherwise, the visiting uncle would feel embarrassed and unwelcome (Nkwain, 2014). It is important to note here that Davidson in saying *…a don chop* *"*I have eaten*"* (Extract 7.2.10.3) is jokingly re-enacting the importance of food and drink in the Cameroonian communities. This is re-enacting the identity of a satisfied man, whose satisfaction is obtained from eating and drinking. Food, which is considered a necessity in the diasporic community, is usually a luxury in the Cameroonian and other African communities. Speaking about food and drink in this manner is (re)constructing a Cameroonian identity. Another dialogue, this time between a mother's sister and her niece and nephew, displays the same linguistic behaviour towards the use of kinship terms:

Extract 7.2.11: Address forms between an aunt and her nephew/niece

1. Angeline: *A say my pikin dem wuna don big oh! Andrew! Rosa! Thank God fo wuna life!* "I say, my children, you are all grown up! Thank God for your lives."

2. Rosa: *Ma Angeline! Weh mama a glad fo see you oh welcome! Since wey we hear say you don cam na today we get time fo cam see you.* "Mama, I am glad to see you. You are welcome! Sorry that since we heard that you arrived in Germany, we have not found time before today to come and see you."

3. Angeline: *Me too a glad fo see wuna ma pikin how wuna dey?* "I am also very happy to see you. How are you people doing?"

4. Andrew: *Auntie we dey fine. How you leave all man fo pays auntie? How uncle, Ni Max* "Auntie, we are doing fine. How is everyone at home doing? How is Uncle, Ni Max doing?"

5. Angeline: *By His Grace …a leave all dem fine….* "By the Grace of God… I left everyone in good health."

In Extract 7.2.11 above, Angeline is visiting her daughter in the German city of Düsseldorf. She is the junior sister to the mother of Rosa and Andrew. They leave Essen to go visit their aunt. This exchange takes place during this visit. We notice that Angeline addresses her niece and nephew (Rosa and Andrew) by names but sometimes she uses my *pikin* (my child) to address them. Rosa addresses her aunt as *Ma Angeline* and sometimes she uses *Auntie Angeline*. Andrew also addresses their aunt as *Auntie* and their uncle, he uses *Uncle Max* and sometimes *Ni Max*. The mixture of the address forms *Ni* and *Ma* in this context creates a hybrid identity since they use both the NW address forms of *Ni* and *Ma* and the SW address forms of *auntie* and *uncle*. The choice of address as selected by these two youths conforms to the expectation of this community of practice. These findings can be substantiated with the results of the semistructured interviews as follows:

Table 7.2.6: Extended family domain: Addressing brother of parents

Participants	Address Forms							
	Name	**Uncle**	**Mola**	**Ni**	**Teknonym**	**Ndap**	**Pa/daddy**	**Total**
YM	0	11	1	2	1	1	4	20
YW	0	9	1	3	1	1	5	20
OM	0	5	3	4	3	2	3	20
OW	0	5	3	3	2	1	6	20
Total	**0**	**30**	**8**	**12**	**7**	**5**	**18**	**80**

Answers to question 5: How do you address your father's/mother's brother?

Total number of respondents=80

YM 18-35= 20, YW 18-35= 20, OM 35-above= 20, OW 35-above=20

Graph 7.2.5: Extended Family Domain: Addressing brother of parents
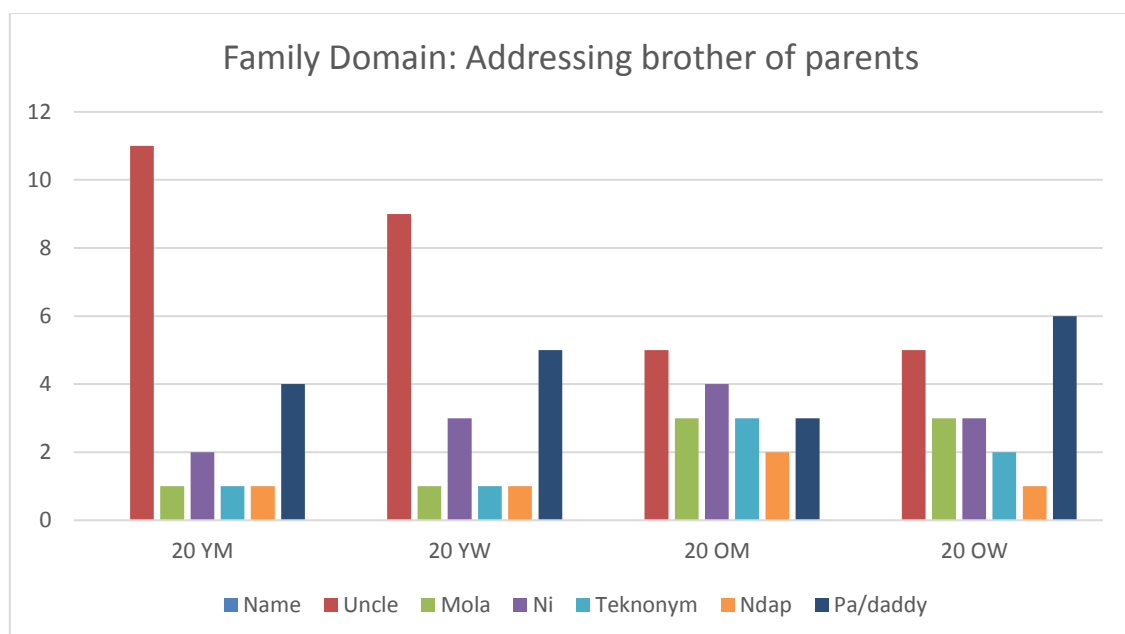
Table 7.2.7: Extended family domain: Addressing sister of parents

Participants	Address Forms							
	Name	**Auntie**	**Iya**	**Ma/Mama**	**Teknonym**	**Ndap**	**Mammie**	**Total**
YM	0	11	0	3	2	1	3	20
YW	0	9	1	3	2	1	4	20
OM	0	3	2	5	4	3	3	20
OW	0	5	3	3	2	1	6	20
Total	**0**	**28**	**6**	**14**	**10**	**6**	**16**	**80**

Answers to question 6: How do you address your father's/mother's sister?

Total number of respondents=80

YM 18-35= 20, YW 18-35= 20, OM 35-above= 20, OW 35-above=20

Graph 7.2.6: Extended Family Domain: Addressing sister of parents
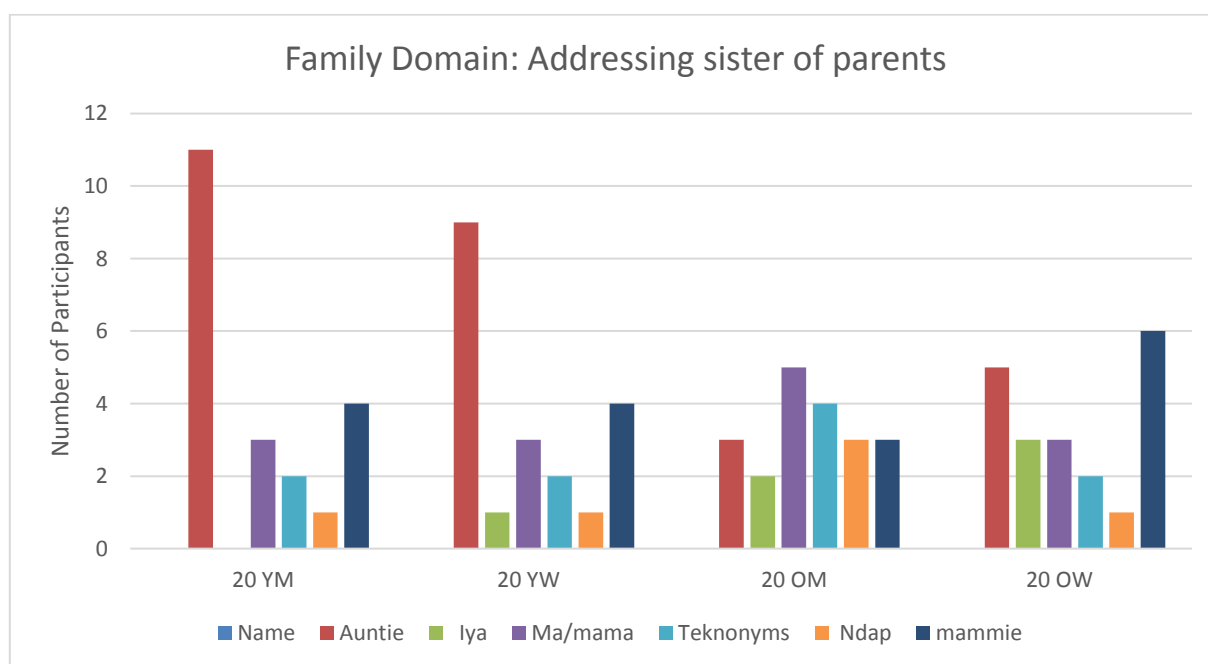
Auntie and *uncle* are kinship terms employed by 20 out of 40 young men and women of this research. Members of Anglophone Cameroonian families use these address forms to refer not only to their parents' siblings but also to other extended family members such as cousins and any older members of the extended family. The most important determinant of the choice of addressing someone as *auntie* or *uncle* is age. This is confirmed by the Fisher's Exact Test that reveals a P-value of 0.044 in the domain of addressing much older extended family members. If a family member is much older than the speaker, but not as old as a parent, the

most likely form of address is *auntie/uncle*. Sometimes, when the speaker is not very sure of how to address someone within the extended family, the most appropriate address or kinship term will also be *auntie/uncle.* At this point, it will be necessary to state that there is a general overlap of the use of *uncle/auntie* to non-kinship relations such as family friends and acquaintances of the family. An examination of the results of the semi-structured interviews shows that as compared to the use of *sister/brother, teknonyms, ndap* and other forms of kinship terms, the use of *uncle/auntie* is still very frequent among the younger generation of 18-35-year olds. The forms *teknonyms, pa/ma, sister/brother* are hardly used by this group. The results above show that while older speakers use other forms of appellations to show respect to older family members, the younger generation continue using *uncle* and *auntie*. The use of *sister* and *brother* is gradually disappearing among the Anglophone Cameroonian youths of the German diaspora. The figures in tables 7.2.3 and 7.2.4 above show that just 11 out of the 40 youths admit to using *sister/brother* as address forms within the family domain. However, it is clear that respect and politeness following the Cameroonian tradition is still alive because none of the informants claims to address an older family member by name.

Table 7.2.8: Extended family domain: Addressing much older males

Participants	Address Forms							
	Name	**Uncle**	**Mola**	**Ni**	**Teknonym**	**Ndap**	**Pa/daddy**	**Total**
YM	1	7	2	4	1	2	3	20
YW	1	6	2	3	2	2	4	20
OM	0	3	4	2	4	3	4	20
OW	0	2	5	1	5	4	3	20
Total	**2**	**18**	**13**	**10**	**12**	**11**	**14**	**80**

Answers to question 7: How do you address much older male extended family members?

Total number of Respondents=80

YM 18-35 = 20, YW 18-35 = 20, OM 35-above = 20, OW 35-above = 20

Graph 7.2.7: Extended Family Domain: Addressing much older male
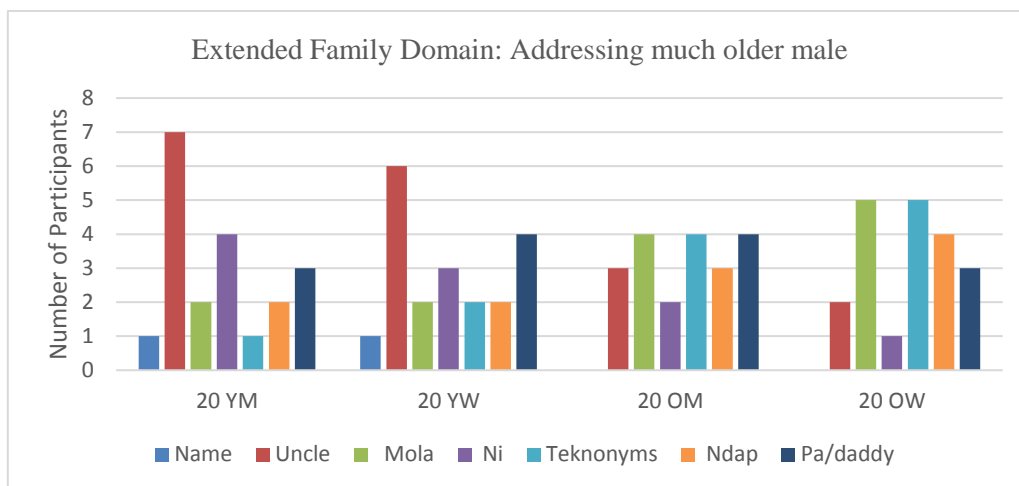
Table 7.2.9: Extended family domain: Addressing much older females

Participants	Address Forms							
	Name	**Auntie**	**Iya**	**Ma**	**Teknonym**	**Ndap**	**Mum/Mammie**	**Total**
YM	0	6	1	5	5	1	1	20
YW	0	6	0	5	5	2	2	20
OM	0	5	1	5	5	2	2	20
OW	0	5	0	4	4	3	5	20
Total	**0**	**22**	**2**	**19**	**19**	**8**	**10**	**80**

Answers to question 8: How do you address much older female extended family members?

Total number of Respondents=80

YM 18-35 = 20, YW 18-35 = 20, OM 35-above = 20, OW 35-above = 20

Graph 7.2.8: Extended Family Domain: Addressing much older females
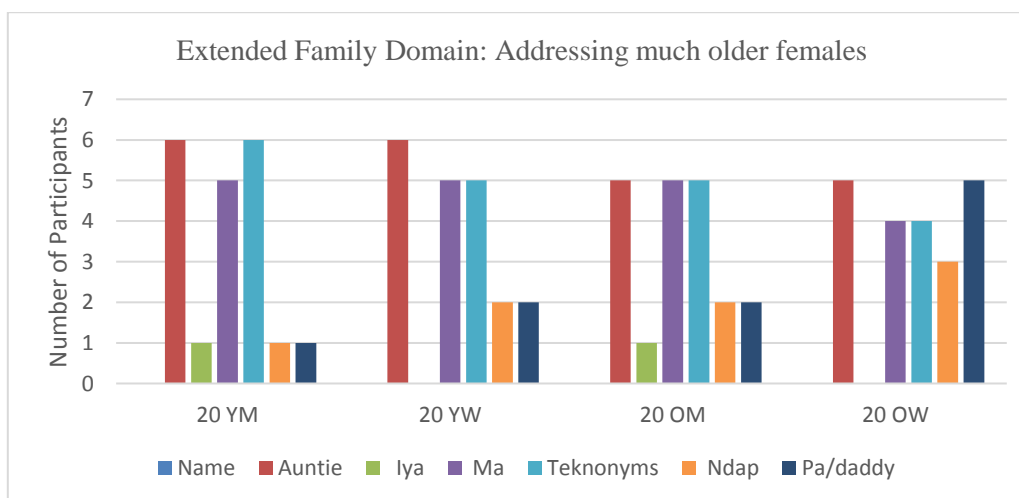
The young generation speakers as seen in Graphs 7.2.7 and 7.2.8 use mainly the address forms *auntie* and *uncle* to speak to much older family members. Again, the more traditional address forms are hardly used by the young men (YM) and young women (YW). On the contrary, the older speakers still use the traditional address forms in the immigrant context of the diaspora. When asked how they addressed family members who are just slightly older, the young men and women participating in this study said that they hardly used any prefixes of respect like *brother/sister* or *uncle/auntie*. Again, results of the Fisher Exact Test reiterate that the choice of addressing older extended family members is not dependent on the gender of the speaker. The P-value stands at 0.978, speakers of both genders display the same tendencies. However, the P-value for age is 0.044 confirming that age is much more of a determinant variable in the choice of the address term to use with much older family members. 11 out of the 20 young men and women said they used names to address slightly older members of the extended family like cousins and nephews:

Table 7.2.10: Extended family domain: Addressing slightly older males

Participants	Address Forms							
	Name	Uncle	Brother	Mola	Ni	Teknonym	Ndap	Total
YM	4	4	2	2	5	2	1	20
YW	2	5	1	1	6	3	2	20
OM	1	3	2	2	6	3	3	20
OW	0	4	1	1	7	3	4	20
Total	**7**	**16**	**6**	**6**	**24**	**11**	**10**	**80**

Answers to question 9: How do you address male members of your extended family who are just slightly older?

Total number of Respondents = 80

YM 18-35 = 20, YW 18-35 = 20, OM 35-above = 20, OW 35-above = 20

Graph 7.2.9: External Family Domain: Addressing slightly older Male

Extended Family Domain: Addressing slightly older Male
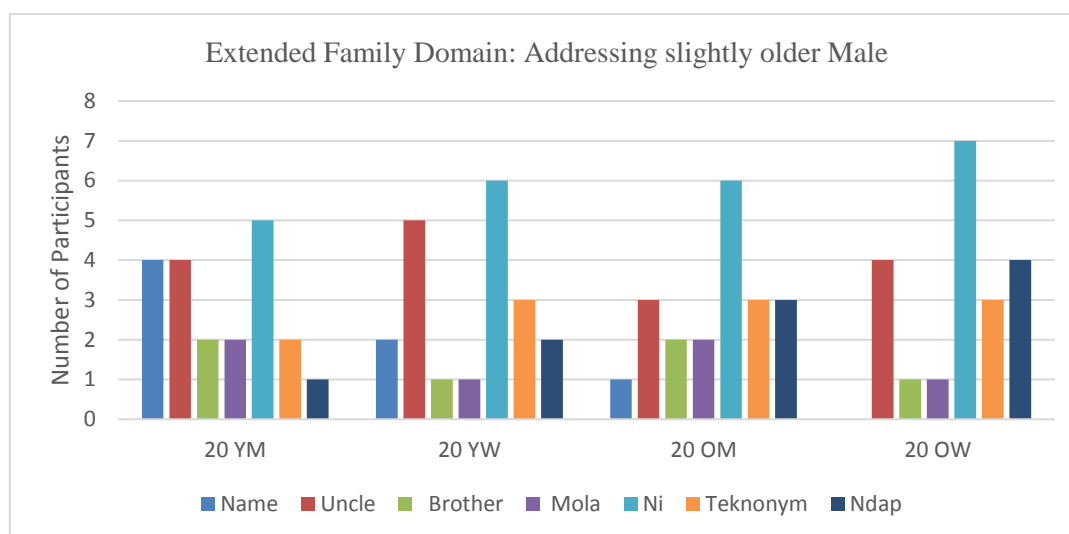
Table 7.2.11: Extended family domain: Addressing slightly older females

Participants	Address Forms							
	Name	**Auntie**	**sister**	**Iya**	**Ma**	**Teknonym**	**Ndap**	**Total**
YM	3	5	1	3	4	2	2	20
YW	2	6	1	2	5	3	1	20
OM	0	3	2	2	6	4	3	20
OW	0	3	2	2	7	3	3	20
Total	**5**	**17**	**6**	**9**	**22**	**12**	**9**	**80**

Answers to question 10: How do you address female members of your extended family who are just slightly older?

Total number of Respondents = 80

YM 18-35 = 20, YW 18-35 = 20, OM 35-above = 20, OW 35-above = 20

Graph 7.2.10: Extended Family Domain: Addressing slightly older Female


Extended Family Domain: Addressing slightly older Female
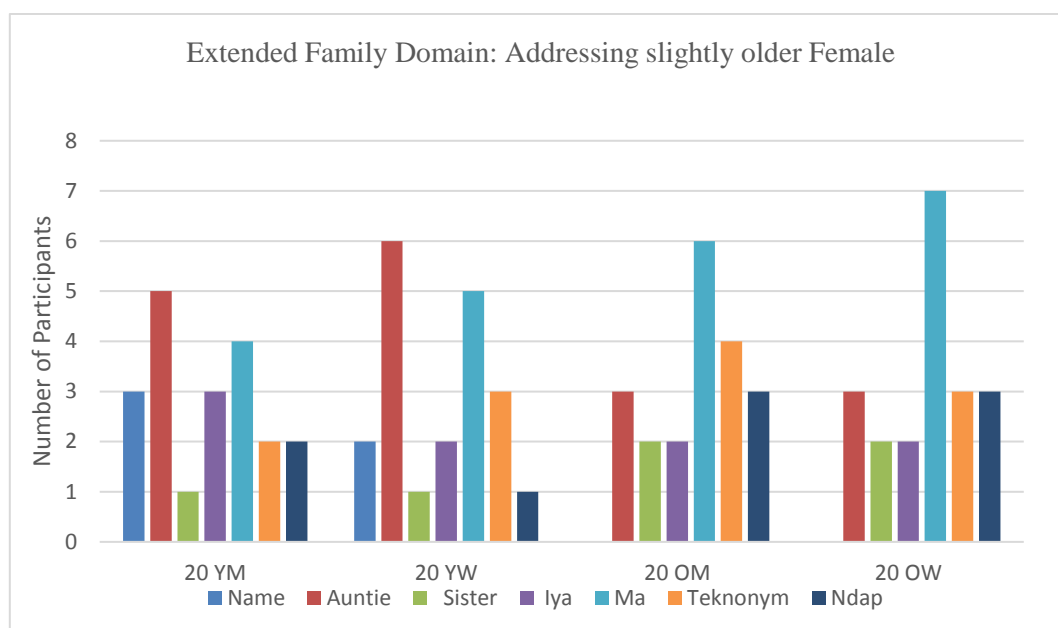
As seen in Graphs 7.2.9 and 7.2.10 above, young men and young women prefer *auntie* and *uncle* or they use the names of the said interlocutors. Again, the older generation uses more of the traditional forms of address and less of the English terms *auntie/uncle*. It could be argued that the younger generation is under the pressure of the community to use the required form of address *auntie/ uncle* to address much older members of the extended family. On the other hand, the younger generation hardly uses *sister/brother* to address slightly older members of the extended family or near peers. With their peers who are not much older, the youths in this study can afford to adopt their own linguistic strategies but they cannot do or speak as they like with much older members of the family and community. This is because they can afford to do as they like with interlocutors of the same (or nearly the same) age group but cannot dare go against the expectations of the parents' generation. They are under the pressure of the much older people of the family and community to respect regulations.

7.3. Names & titles as address forms in the public/social domains

The public domain in this sociolinguistic research considers social contexts outside the family. The address forms examined in these contexts include social titles at meetings, address forms used between friends and peers, address forms between neighbours, at meetings, in churches, and among the Anglophone Cameroonian speakers communicating with non-Cameroonians like Nigerians, Sierra Leoneans, Kenyans and Germans. It should be noted that the difference

between the private domain of, say, the family and the social domain of friends is rather fluid. This is because in the Cameroonian context, as in many other African contexts, the intimacy of family is extended to friends (Janney and Anchimbe, 2011:3-4). This explains why many of the address forms and kinship terms that were seen in the private domain of the family will resurface in the public domain. Furthermore, the language contact situation of the German diaspora has exposed these speakers to other languages that have affected their traditional address forms leading to expansion and hybridity.

7.3.1. Public domain: address forms and titles of friendship, equality & parallelism.

7.3.1.1. Among Cameroonians: *Ma friend, Bo'oh, Dis man* and *Massa*

Among Anglophone Cameroonians, the use of these four address forms is usually a symbol of friendship and equality in status. As demonstrated in the following extracts, we see that these address forms are slang expressions and coinages that signal in-group and camaraderie relations among the youths and each is employed in different contexts depending on the setting, mood and atmosphere.

Extract 7.3.1: *Ma friend & Bo'oh*

1. Joyce: ***Ma friend*** *you deh hungry?* "My friend, are you hungry"

2. Rockie: *No a… but **ma friend** we no go pay money then we no take Früschtück no`oh massa we no fit leave am Ja today* today morning I cannot leave that Frühstück. "No, my friend, we can't pay money and not eat the breakfast, can we?"

3. Joyce: ***Ma bo'oh*** *… y*ou can say that again. "My friend, you can say that again (you are right)"

4. Rockie: **Ma friend** when I was talking with that boy the way I held these phones eh

5. Joyce: ***Massa!*** Don't tell me! "Friend, say that again!"

6. Joyce: ***Bo'oh*** *we fit attend di party then cam back fo Monday?* "My friend, why don't we attend the party and come back on Monday?"

7. Rockie: *No'oh how we go kam back for Monday **ma friend** weh we get fo work fo Tuesday morning time?* "How can we go back on Monday, my friend, when we have to go to work on Tuesday?"

8. Joyce: It`s just an idea I am giving you, we must not do it you see noh ***dis man***? If we see that we are not going to schaf it then no problem. "We don't have to stay, friend…it was just an idea; if we see that we can't make it, no problem…"

9. **Rockie:** *Achso ma friend.* "I see, my friend"

10. **Aimé:** *emm… dis pikin dem!* "Emm… these children!"

In Extract 7.3.1 Joyce, Aimé and Rokie are colleagues in a female Cameroonian handball team in Duisburg. They are on their way to a *Challenge Camerounaise* festival, taking place in Berlin. In this extract, they are discussing the condition of the hotel where they are going to live during their stay in Berlin. The three young women are excited and this is revealed in the way they keep using address forms and slang of solidarity and friendship as they speak to each other (*bo'oh, massa, ma friend, dis pikin dem*). It is because Aimé is a much older woman that she addresses the girls as *pikin dem* (children). In this situation, she is reiterating her identity as a bigger sister. This runs along the same line with what Oyetade (2008) says about Yoruba respect for age, even though Aimé is a friend, her age still has to be recognized and respected**.**

Although *bo'oh*, in line 6, is similar to *massa* (2 &5, they both mean "friend"), they demonstrate different tones: *bo'oh* expresses a mood of acceptance and happiness compared to *massa*, which is usually used to express disagreement and discontent.

Illustratively, *Ma bo'oh* in line 3 stresses the fact that Joyce completely shares Robbie's point of view. On the other hand, *massa* in lines 2 and 5 (Rokie and Joyce) is used in exasperation. The address form *ma friend* in lines 1, 2, 4 is used to express solidarity and a spirit of good fellowship. Crucially, *ma friend* in line 7 is used a bit sarcastically, because Rockie expects her friend Joyce to know that she, Rockie, has to go to work the next day and can therefore not really stay to attend the party at the Cameroonian Embassy in Berlin and then come back to Duisburg a day later. Rockie's use of the address form *ma friend* when expressing a contrary view can also be seen as a way to say that even though she does not agree with Joyce they are still friends. The expression here waters down the effect of a contrary point of view; it is a face-saving strategy. Joyce's use of *ma friend* here is also an attempt to placate her friend (playfully provoking each other, they use *ma friend*).

Extract 7.3.2: *Dis man & Massa*

1. Johnnie: *A say eh dis man? How you dey your own no'oh? How you want yap me so?* "I say, this man, why are you like that? How can you disgrace me this way?"

2. Alex: *Bo'oh massa leave me so'oh a forget… you know stress fo dis country e no easy.* "My dear friend, don't worry, (don't take it at heart) I forgot. You know how stressful this country can be; it's not easy."

3.   Johnnie: *A beg bo'oh a di count on you.* "Please, I am depending (counting) on you."

4.   Alex: *Ma man no worry a go bring am.* "My friend, don't worry; I am going to bring it to you."

Johnnie and Alex are friends. Here (Extract 7.3.2) Johnnie is asking Alex about something he (Alex) has to do for his friend Johnnie but which he has not done. Johnnie's tone is that of dissatisfaction; he is not happy with Alex, hence the use of the address form *dis man.* Usually *dis man* is used to playfully or gently criticizes/reprimands a friend. If Johnnie had been happy with his friend, he would have most probably used the address form *bo'oh* or *ma friend.* As will be seen later in Extract 27 between Solomon and Peter, a call for friendship in this community is not often a sign of equality. You can be friends with someone but there is still the need to respect and keep to laid down rules for respect and politeness based on variables such as age, geographical provenance etc. Results of the semi-structured interview further reveal the pattern of address forms of friendship and parallelism as illustrated in Table 7.3.1:

Table 7.3.1: Public domain: Addressing Cameroonian friends and equals

Use/not	Address Forms				Participants
	Address Forms YM				TOTAL
	Bo'oh	Massah	Ma friend	Dis man	
Use	17	19	15	20	
Not use	3	1	5	0	
Total	20	20	20	20	20
	Address Forms OM				
	Bo'oh	Massah	Ma friend	Dis man	
Use	18	18	17	20	
Not use	2	2	3	0	
Total	20	20	20	20	20
	Address Forms YW				
	Bo'oh	Massah	Ma friend	Dis man	
Use	6	4	19	3	
Not use	14	16	1	17	
Total	20	20	20	20	20
	Address Forms OW				
Use	5	3	17	2	
Not use	15	17	3	18	
Total	20	20	20	20	20
Grand Total No. Participants					**80**

Answers to question 11: Which of these terms do you use to address your friends?

Total number of Respondents=80

YM 18-35 = 20, YW 18-35 = 20, OM 35-above = 20, OW 35-above = 20

Graph 7.3.1 (a): Public Domain: Addressing Cameroonian Friends and Equals YM

Public Domain: Addressing Cameroonian Friends and Equals YM
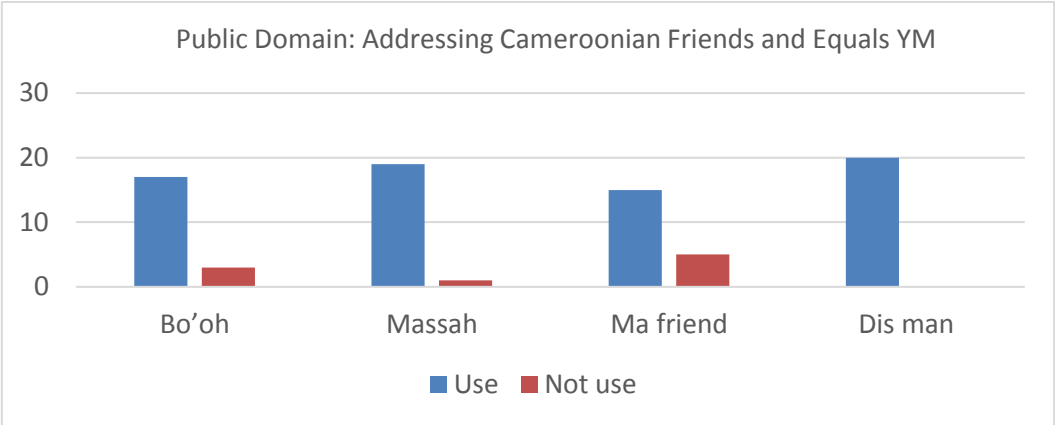
Graph 7.3.1(b): Public domain: Addressing Cameroonian Friends and Equals OM

Public domain: Addressing Cameroonian friends and equals OM
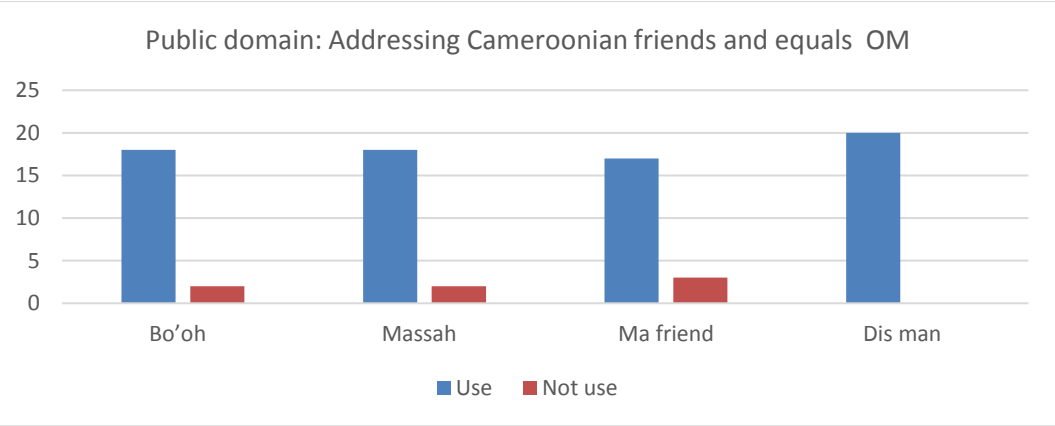
Graph 7.3.1(c): Public Domain: Addressing Cameroonian Friends and Equals YW

Public Domain: Addressing Cameroonian Friends and Equals YW
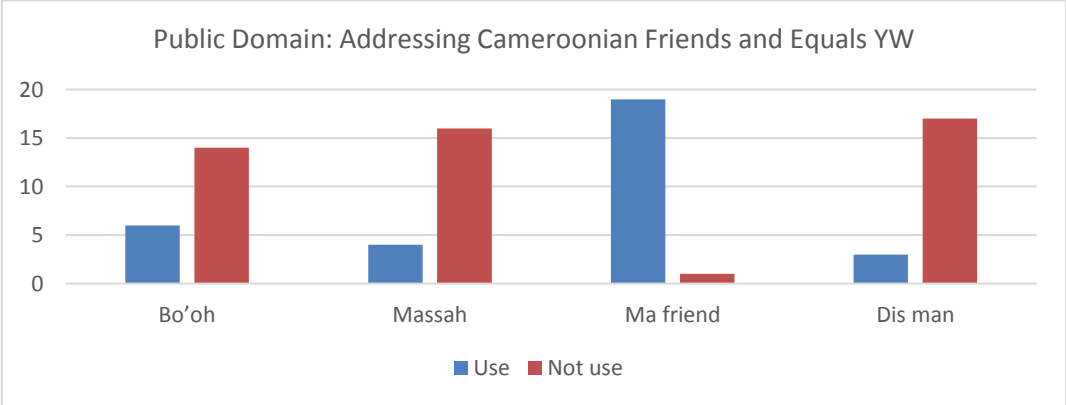
Graph 7.3.1(d): Public Domain: Addressing Cameroonian Friends and Equals OW
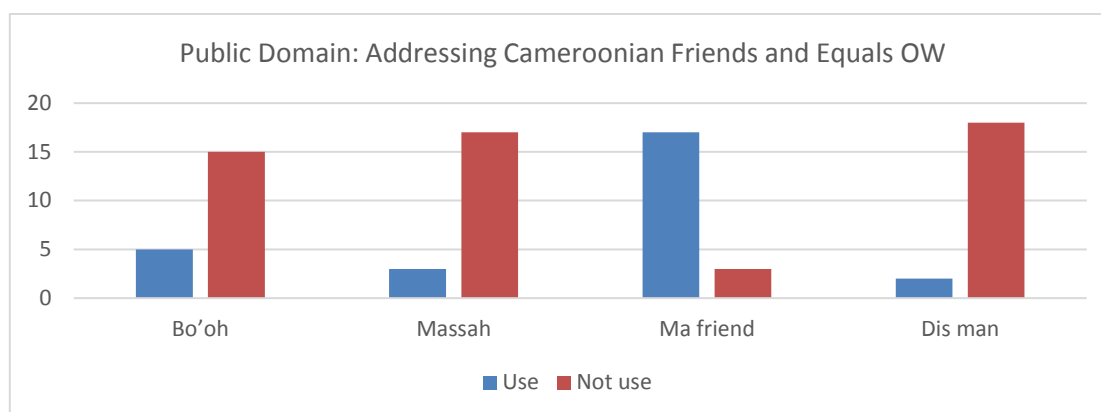
Graphs 7.3.1 a, b, c and d visualise the frequencies of how informants (YM, OM, YW and OW) claim they use the four address forms of friendship and parallelism in question. The results of the Fisher's Exact Test show a P-value of 0.000 between male and female speakers. This means that the choice of address terms used to speak to friends in the public domain is heavily dependent on gender. The address terms *dis man, massa* and *bo'oh* show a low frequency among the female speakers of CamE and CamPE as seen in Graphs 7.3.1 c and d above. The male speakers mostly use these forms of address. This confirms what we see in the Graphs 7.3.1 a and b. The older women display an even lower frequency in the use of these address terms of friendship and parallelism (Graph 7.3.1 d). This could be because of the fact that these are new forms of intimacy among the youths.

However, the P-value for the age distribution, which stands at 0.995, shows that age is not an important determinant in the choice of addressing friends and equals. This means that both the first and generation 1.5 male speakers use *bo'oh, massa, ma fiend, dis man* to speak to each other. This also validates what is displayed in the graphs which show that the frequency in the use of these terms of address is almost at the same level between the young men and the older men as well as between the young women and the older women. It becomes clear that women of both groups frequently use *ma friend* in addressing each other in this domain while the men use *dis man, bo'oh* and *massa* more than *ma friend.* This highlights the fact that the Cameroonian culture is gender oriented. Men should speak differently from women. Any woman who tries to speak like a man in this society will be considered uncivil and that is not a good or acceptable image.

7.3.1.2. With Nigerians & Ghanaians: *O boy & Charlie*

O boy and *Charlie* are two address forms used in Nigerian and Ghanaian English respectively (Onyeche, 2004; Afful, 2006 & 2007). However, they have entered the Cameroonian speech repertoire in the German setting as can be seen in the following communication events:

Extract 7.3.3: Address forms between a Nigerian and a Cameroonian

1. Nigerian: ***O boy** where you come dey*? "Pal, where have you been? You've been missing for so long."
2. Cameroonian**: *O boy** leave your man so… di wahala eh?* "Pal, really I have been through some difficulties."
3. Nigerian: @@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@ (laughing)
4. Cameroonian: ***Bo'oh** no laugh. How far now?* "Friend, it's no laughing matter…and how are doing?"
5. Nigerian: ***O boy** body dey for cloth... and you?* "My friend I am trying to get on… and you?"
6. Cameroonian: ***Massa** your man dey… na country di strong Market no di pass at all* "Man, your friend is also struggling; business is not moving at all."
7. Nigerian: **Massah** we get to fight am di wahala don pursuit us come here… "Friend, we have to fight it; the crisis has followed us here (to Germany)"

The two speakers in Extract 7.3.3 are persons of the same age group, who are also friends. Their use of *bo'oh, massa* and *O boy* are signals to the fact that they know each other. The image of friendship and equality is created via these address forms. These two speakers share the same social situation; they are both businesspersons who are lamenting the deteriorating sales. They are owners of tiny African shops that sell foodstuffs from home (Cameroon/Nigeria). Due to the heavy taxation and difficult transportation to bring in their goods from Nigeria and Cameroon, the business is suffering heavy losses. It can be noted that both the Nigerian and the Cameroonian do not retain their variety of Pidgin. Sometimes the Nigerian uses the Cameroonian address form *massa* and sometimes the Cameroonian says *O boy*. This further illustrates the hybridity and mixture that has been seen in earlier contexts. The pragmatic effect of this mixture is that it increases the bonding and friendship between the two men; it reveals the level of acceptance and familiarity between them. If you do not understand, like, admire and accept someone, you will not try to emulate their speech styles (Mehrotra, 1981:131; Holmes, 2013:26). A study of the extent to which Cameroonians emulate the varieties of Standard Englishes and Pidgins they come into contact with in the German diaspora, (Nigeria and Ghanaian varieties), might reveal the identity of integration

and cooperation among them. This level of reciprocity may be based on age and social standing of the interlocutors.

Extract 7.3.4: Address forms between a Ghanaian and a Cameroonian

1. Cameroonian: Hey! **Charlie boy** how far? "Hi pal, how are you doing?"

2. Ghanaian: No shaking **your man** is pulling "All is well; I am doing fine."

3. Cameroonian: So how is work?

4. Ghanaian: Work is fine you are still with Job center Dortmund?

5. Cameroonian: No **Charlie** I left them. "No, friend, I left them."

6. Ghanaian: **Charlie,** where are you now?

7. Cameroonian: I am arbeitslos now…but I want to try something else. "I am unemployed at the moment."

8. Ghanaian: **Charlie** is not easy at all but what can man do? "Boy, life is not easy, but we have no choice."

The two interlocutors in Extract 7.3.4 are friends and they address each other *Charlie*. This address form is not only a sign of friendship, but it is also an emotional capital, i.e. a bond that keeps the two friends from different countries together (Mehrotar, 1981). This address form defines and affirms the identities of the two men in terms of social status and age. There is not much difference. Unlike with the Nigerian and Cameroonian, there is very little or no use of the Cameroonian variety, just the Ghanaian variety. It is observed during the course of this research that this is a general tendency with the Ghanaians spoken to. They hesitate to speak any of the varieties of English outside their own. Most of them speak Ghanaian Standard English and many claim that they do not and cannot speak any Pidgin. Most Cameroonians, therefore, who seek friendship with Ghanaians, say that they try to speak the Ghanaian variety of English as seen in the examples in lines 1 and 5. From a sociolinguistic dimension, it can be said that the Ghanaians of this research are not flexible and manifest a conservative identity towards language use. The researcher here observed that the mother tongue *Twi* is a very important language to the Ghanaians in the German diaspora and most times, if you do not speak *Twi*, they will try to speak German even with other Africans (albeit with less native-like proficiency).The Cameroonians here, much more than their Ghanaian counterparts, confirm observations from De Klerk and Bosch (1997), Afful (2007), Echu (2008), Mulo Farenkia (2007), Anchimbe (2008a &b) and (2011), that in cross-cultural interactions some speakers show awareness of the linguistic norms and rules of usage. Therefore, to establish and

consolidate solidarity and friendship, those Cameroonians who contributed to this study, maintain these rules to avoid threatening the face of their interlocutors. The question here remains why the Ghanaians of this study do not try to adjust to the styles of others like the Cameroonians and the Nigerians do. Does it mean they do not care about the face wants of other Africans in the diaspora? When asked, a few Ghanaians admitted that they had difficulties adjusting; they revealed that they are so immersed in their own language *Twi* that they do not have confidence in another language outside *Twi* (especially the less educated). Results of the semi-structured interviews reveal the following statistical findings in the use of address forms between Anglophone Cameroonians and their Nigerian and Ghanaian peers:

Table 7.3.2: Public domain: Addressing Nigerian and Ghanaian friends and equals

Use/Not	Address Forms						Participants
	Address Forms YM						
	Bo'oh	Massah	Ma friend	Dis man	O boy	Charlie	TOTAL
Use	4	5	10	11	18	19	
Not use	16	15	10	9	2	1	
Total	20	20	20	20	20	20	**20**
	Address Forms OM						
	Bo'oh	Massah	Ma friend	Dis man	O boy	Charlie	
Use	9	10	17	8	15	20	
Not use	11	10	3	12	5	0	
Total	20	20	20	20	20	20	**20**
	Address Forms YW						
	Bo'oh	Massah	Ma friend	Dis man	O boy	Charlie	
Use	0	0	6	0	0	0	
Not use	20	20	14	20	20	20	
Total							**20**
	Address Forms OW						
	Bo'oh	Massah	Ma friend	Dis man	O boy	Charlie	
Use	0	0	7	0	0	0	
Not use	20	20	13	20	20	20	20
Grand Total							**80**

Answers to question 12: Which of these terms do you use to address your Nigerian & Ghanaian friends?

Total number of respondents=80

YM 18-35 = 20, YW 18-35 = 20, OM 35-above = 20, OW 35-above = 20

Graph 7.3.2(a): Public Domain: Addressing Nigerian and Ghanaian Friends and Equals YM

Public Domain: Addressing Nigerian and Ghanaian Friends and Equals by YM
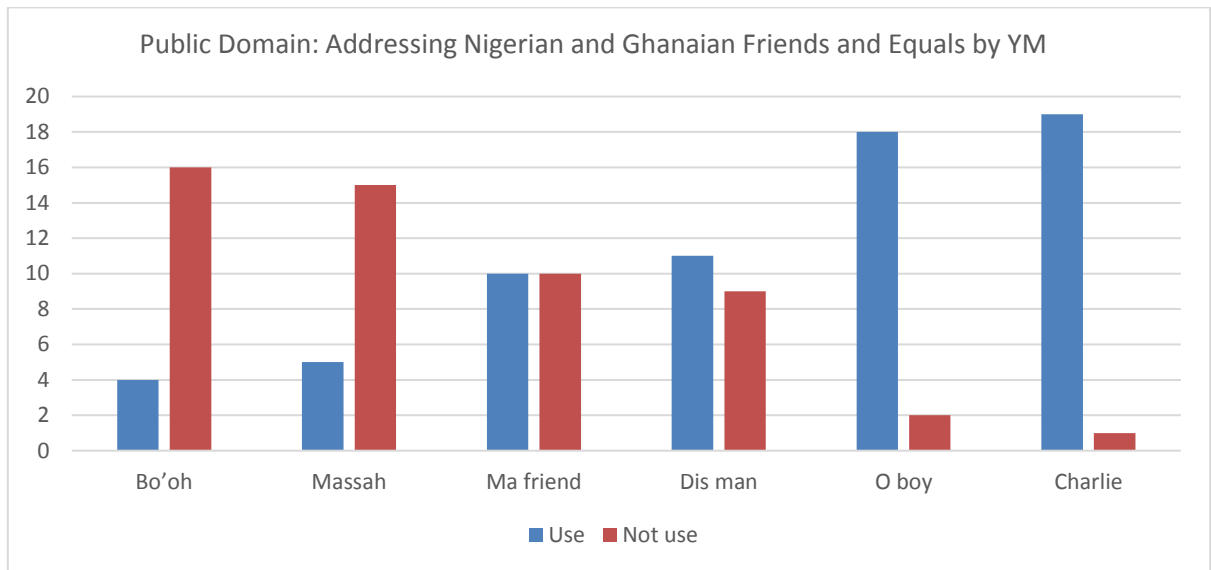
Graph 7.3.2(b): Public Domain: Addressing Nigerian and Ghanaian Friends and Equals OM

Public Domain: Addressing Nigerian and Ghanaian Friends and Equals by OM
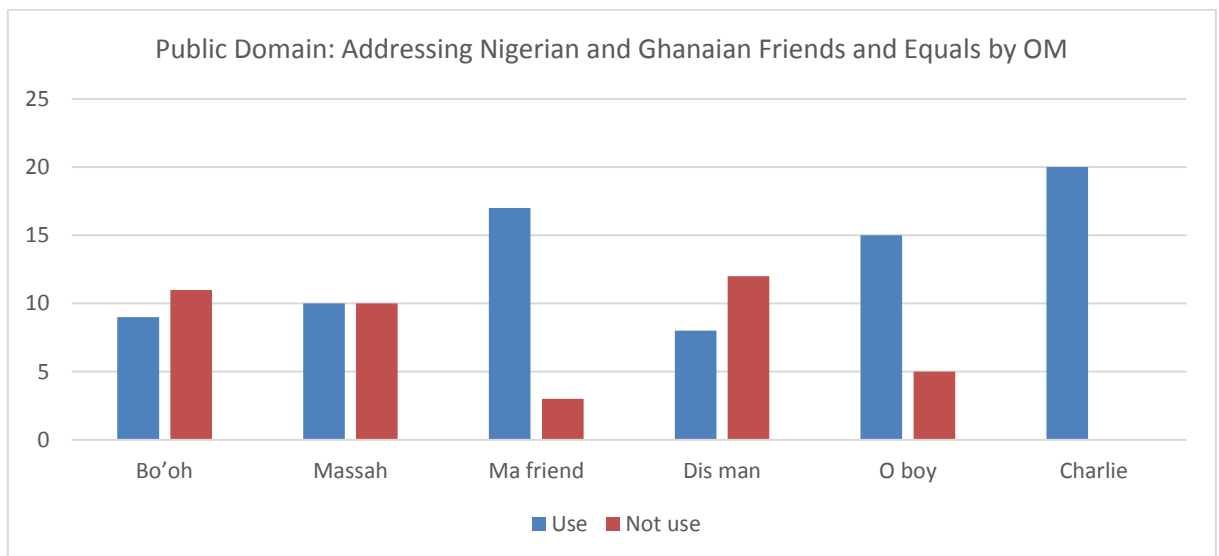
Graph 7.3.2(c): Public Domain: Addressing Nigerian and Ghanaian Friends and Equals YW

Public Domain: Addressing Nigerian and Ghanaian Friends and Equals by YW
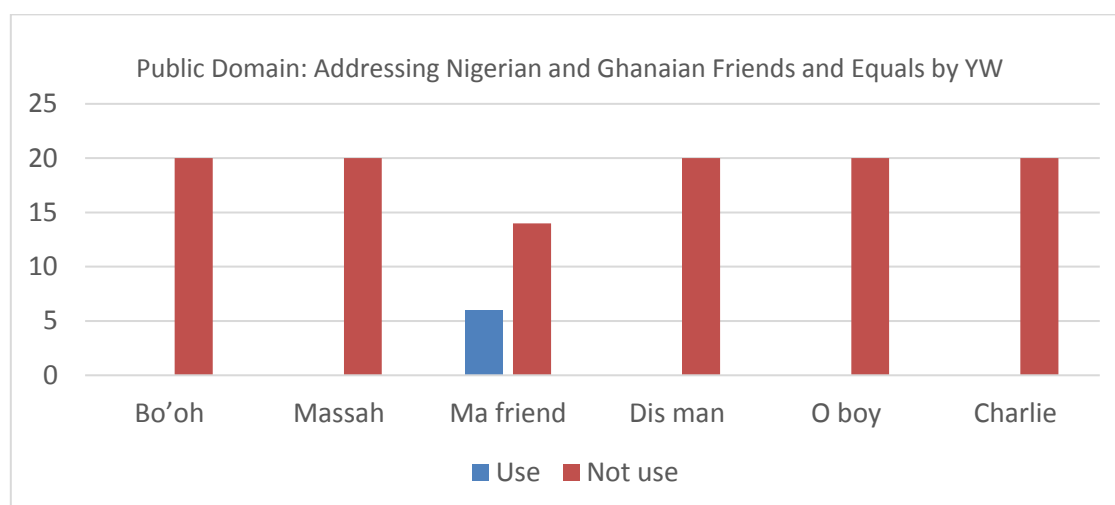
Graph7.3.2(d): Public Domain: Addressing Nigerian and Ghanaian Friends and Equals OW

Public Domain: Addressing Nigerian and Ghanaian Friends and Equals by OW
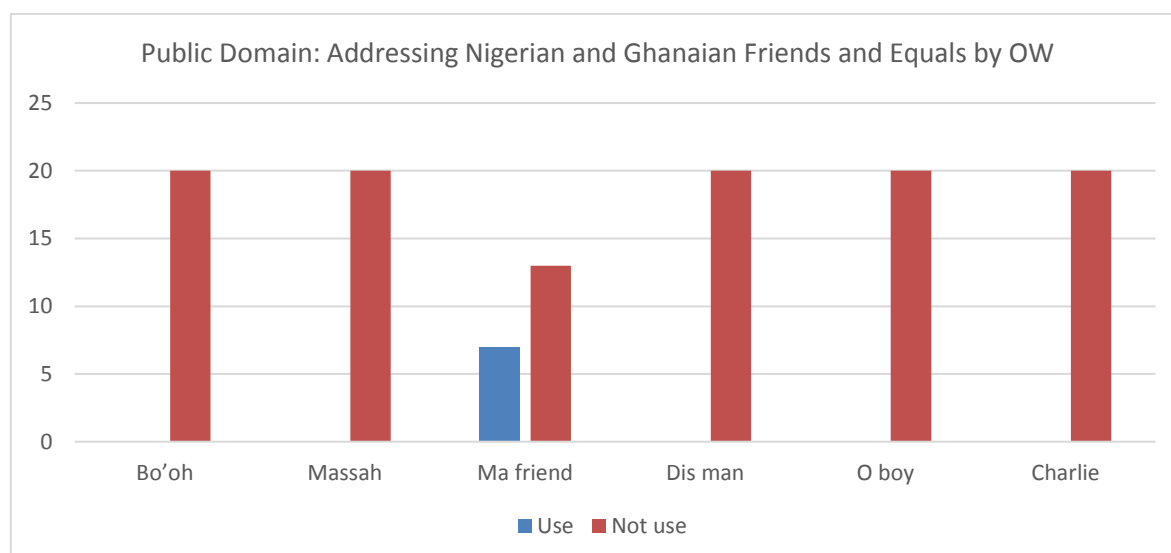
As far as addressing Nigerian and Ghanaian interlocutors is concerned, the interview results show (Graphs 7.3.2 a, b, c & d) that the participating Cameroonian speakers adjust their linguistic behaviour to adapt to the repertoire of the person with whom they are speaking. When they speak with Ghanaians, the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants will address the Ghanaian as *Charlie* and when they speak with Nigerians they use *O boy*. The result of the Fisher's Exact Test has a P-value of 0.000 for the gender variable, which means that the null hypothesis that states how an Anglophone Cameroonian addresses a Nigerian or a Ghanaian in the German diaspora is independent of gender can be dismissed here. What holds in this case, is the alternative hypothesis that the choice of addressing Nigerians and Ghanaians in this community is gender-oriented. Graphs c and d show a very low frequency in the use of

bo'ooh, massa, dis man, Charlie and *O boy* when speaking with Nigerians and Ghanaians as opposed to young men (YM) and older men (OM) who display a high frequency in the use of these address forms (Graphs 7.3.2 a and b). The graphs also show that the two groups of Cameroonian women use the address term *ma friend* when they wish to be nice and friendly to Nigerians and Ghanaians. These women hardly use the Nigerian and Ghanaian address terms *O boy* and *Charlie*. An explanation that suggests itself is that *O boy* and *Charlie* appear like masculine address terms to these Cameroonian women. The P-value for age variable is 0. 424, which means that age is not an important distinguishing factor in the address forms that these speakers use with Nigerian and Ghanaian interlocutors. Both young and older women display the same tendency as shown in the graphs. Most of the young and older men use *Charlie* and *O boy*.

7.3.2. Public domain: Address forms and titles of respect, social distance and social proximity

7.3.2.1. *Manyi/Tanyi*[48]: Social distance & social proximity

These two address forms are used by members of the Anglophone Cameroonian communities to address the father and mother of twins. If a couple bears twins, their personal names are taken over by these address forms. Sometimes their use is extended to even close family members to the extent that spouses may address each other as *Manyi* and *Tanyi* and children may call their parents *Manyi* or *Tanyi*. Just as in the case of *teknonyms,* the two address forms reiterate the value this society gives to child bearing and in this case twins. The twins themselves have special names in many Anglophone ethnic groups, these include *Manyoh* and *Ayamba* for the *Banyangi* ethnic group, *Sama* and *Nah* for the *Bali* ethnic group, and in the *the Bambui* ethnic group twins are called *Bih* and *Che* (Fubah, 2014). In the Cameroonian culture, twins are viewed as symbols of fertility and good luck (Peek, 2011); hence, their parents are given an honoured place in the community, which is clearly manifested in the way they are addressed. Furthermore, there are certain rituals surrounding the birth of twins in most of these ethnic groups. There is a special plant associated with twins and this is the *peace plant* which is usually hung on the door of a house where twins have recently been born (Fubah, 2014). The exchange in Extract 7.3.5 takes place during a meeting in Wuppertal. One of the members

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[48] Parents of twins: *Manyi*=mother of twin children, *Tanyi*=father of twin children

is a *manyi*, a mother of twin boys. This is an exchange of cordiality and solidarity between the two women:

Extract 7.3.5: *Manyi & Tanyi* **(Parents of twins)**

1. Sophie: *Ah ah **manyi** a glad for see you oh. wenti happen? Fo about two meeting now a no see you. Na how na bo'oh?* "*Manyi*, I am so glad to see you again. What happened? You have been missing for about two meetings now. How are you, friend?"

2. Lucy/*Manyi*: ***Ma Sophie** leave me so. **Tanyi** go some kind emergency waka weh a no no ma head.* "Ma Sophie, it has not been easy for me, *Tanyi*, my husband, went on an emergency journey."

3. Sophie: *Waka? Wusai e go?* "Journey? Where did he go to?"

4. Lucy: ***My sister** leave am so dem call e fo payé say e **mammie** better no dey so e be get for run go down. And you know wit dis pikin dem fo ma hand me one e no easy.* "My dear, he was called home, that his mother had suddenly become ill. He therefore had to travel immediately and you know how difficult it is to care for these children alone."

5. Sophie: *We'eh ashia ja Sorry **my dear**.* "Oh I am very sorry to hear this, my dear; take heart."

6. Lucy/*Manyi*: *Tank you **ma sister** so how fo you…* "Thanks, my dear sister, so… how are you?"

In Extract 7.3.5, Sophie is about 36 and lives in Düsseldorf. She attends meetings and socializes with the women in Wuppertal. In this exchange, she expresses joy at seeing her "sister" Lucy again after a long time. Lucy is about 32 and, as the dialogue reveals, is overwhelmed by her motherly duties. Not only is she a mother to the twin boys, she also has a daughter. Her husband, *Tanyi,* whose FN is Lucas, has suddenly travelled home to Cameroon as a result of his mother's illness. The dialogue above illustrates the fact that the traditional Cameroonian respect paid to twins and their parents is re-enacted in the German diaspora. The parents of twins are still considered as *many*i and *tanyi* even if there is no possibility of placing the *nkeng* (peace plant) at their doorsteps. One of the parents of twins that I spoke to during the semi-structured interview revealed that her mother sent her the *peace plant* through someone who was visiting home and she hung it at the door of her twin children's room for a few weeks before the plant perished. This demonstrates that our informant still places a great value on the cultural belief system. Although Lucy in the dialogue above is the younger of the two women, she is addressed as *Manyi* as a symbol of respect for being the mother of twins and she also speaks of and addresses her husband as *Tanyi.* All of the ten parents of twins that

answered the semi-structured interviews confirmed that they were called *Manyi* or *Tanyi* by Cameroonians who knew that they were parents of twins. The use *of Manyi* and *Tanyi* like *teknonyms* provides an escape route to the complexity that calling out someone's name in the Cameroonian context entails (Anchimbe, 2011; Nkwain, 2014). In the Anglophone Cameroonian communities or societies, the use of *Manyi* or *Tanyi* provides speakers with an easy possibility of respectfully addressing a brother's wife or any other male or female of the community. The semi-structured interview with the parents of twins revealed the following results:

Table 7.3.3: Public domain: How parents of twins said they are called

Participants	Address Term					
	Name	**Teknonyms**	**Auntie/Uncle**	**Ndap**	**Manyi/Tanyi**	**Total**
Fathers	0	1	1	0	8	10
Mothers	0	0	1	0	9	10
Total	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**17**	**20**

Answers to question 13: You are a mother/father of twins. How are you generally addressed by most Anglophone Cameroonians who know you?

Total number of Respondents =10 couples with twin children

Graph 7.3.3: Public Domain: Frequency of how parents of twins say they are called
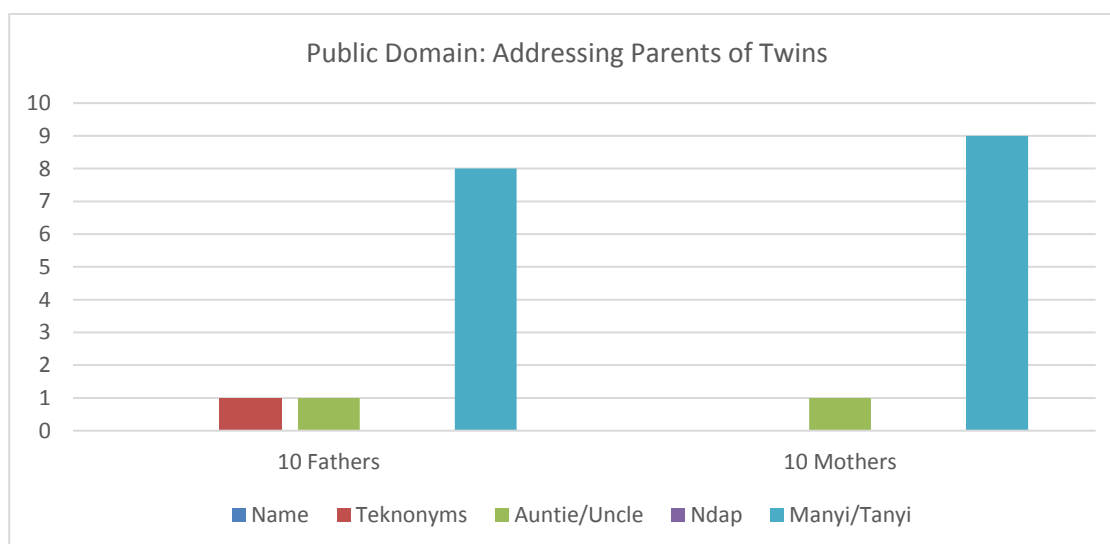
Table 7.3.4: Public domain: Addressing parents of twins

Participants	Address Term					Total
	Name	**Teknonyms**	**Aunty/Uncle**	**Ndap**	**Manyi/Tanyi**	
YM	0	1	2	0	17	20
YW	0	2	2	0	16	20
OM	0	0	0	2	18	20
OW	0	0	0	1	19	20
Total	**0**	**3**	**4**	**3**	**70**	**80**

Answers to question 14: How do you generally address a mother/father of twins?

Total number or Respondents=80

YM 18-35 = 20, YW 18-35 = 20, OM 35-above= 20, OW 35-above=20

Graph 7.3.4: Public Domain: Addressing Parents of Twins
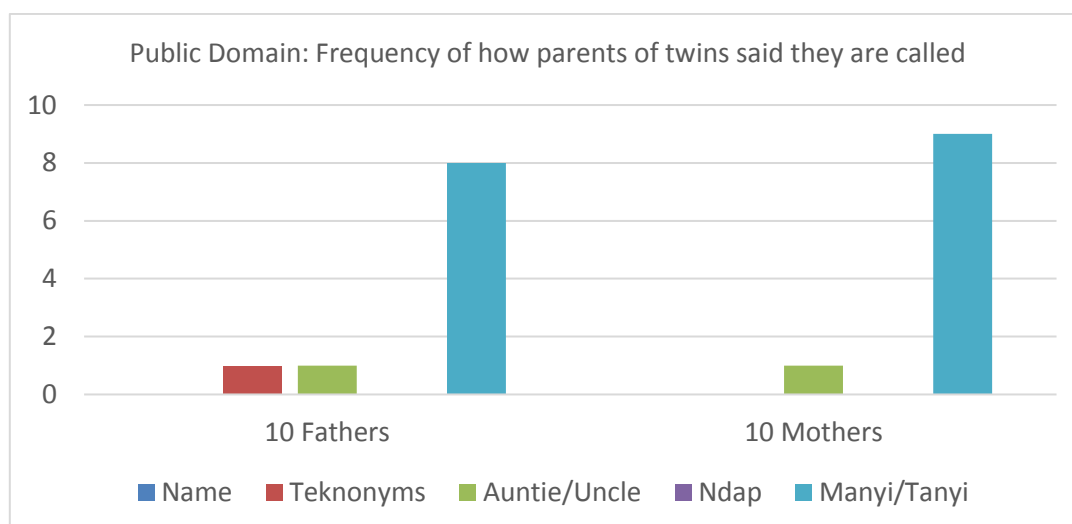
As can be seen in Graphs 7.3.3 and 7.3.4, *Manyi* and *Tanyi* are still widely used in DCamE and DCamPE to show respect. It is worthy to state that these two forms are used both in the culture of the North western regions and that of the South Western region. This could explain their popularity in the diasporic usage as well. As the tables show, almost every parent of twins agreed that they were called *Manyi/Tanyi*. Both young men and women admitted that they were so re-named by the community after the birth of their twin children. One informant revealed that he calls even Ghanaian and Nigerian parents of twins *Manyi* or *Tanyi* because he believes that it is a great honour become parents of twins. Another informant, this time a Cameroonian woman, married to a Nigerian said that her Nigerian in-laws call her *Manyi*. Within the socio pragmatic context of this community, the birth of twin children elevates the status of the family especially that of the parents. They are promoted to a position of honour

in the community. The graphs show an outstanding use of *Manyi* and *Tanyi* by both men/women and both generations 1 and generation 1.5 of the community. This result is also reiterated by the P- value for gender, which stands at 1.000 and P-value for age, which stands at 0.005, demonstrating a significant value, corroborating what we see on the bar charts. These results tell us that the use of the address terms *Manyi* and *Tanyi* within the Cameroonian speech community in the diaspora is not very different from what it is in Cameroon. The identity of an honoured parent of twins is (re)enacted within the German sociolinguistic space. To be a *Manyi* or a *Tanyi* is overtly a thing of honour. As a result of this other address terms like *auntie/uncle*, *teknonyms* and *ndap* take a lower status in the presence of *Manyi* and *Tanyi*.

7.3.2.2. *Sister/brother*, *auntie/uncle*: Social distance & social proximity

These sets of address forms that are seen as kinship terms in the private domain of the family are also used in the Cameroonian speech communities as address forms to talk to non-relatives. This is because the meaning of the social honorifics *aunty, uncle, sister* and *brother* in CamE and CamPE include both the Western concepts of "aunt", "uncle", "brother" and "sister", which are generally blood relations and the non-kin concept. This means that in the African and Cameroonian context these address forms are also used for those who are not family members (Anchimbe & Janney, 2011). Our results in the present study reaffirm the observations made by other researchers about patterns and choices of address forms in postcolonial societies (Mühleisen, 2005; Wong, 2006; Anchimbe, 2008). These show that the use of kinship terms like *aunty, uncle* as well as other social titles in traditional and social systems "give people in these societies the means of coping with the complex systems of naming, and their connectedness to showing respect, being polite, and observing deference" (Anchimbe and Janney, 2011:1457). This is what Afful (2007:1) calls "…the warm and convivial nature of African culture...". These can explain the socio-pragmatic factors that influence the choice of address forms in these communities**.** The following extracts from the transcribed data can be used to illustrate the asserted situation:

Extract 7.3.6: *Sister/brother*, social distance & social proximity.

1. Aimée: Now they don't want to pay the money… anyway as we say eh just crack another joke because…I need to drive.
2. Joyce: Am telling you, **my sister.**
3. Aimée: I need concentration.

4.   Joyce: Am telling you! You are right, *my sister*, you are right; that's true weh!
       "That's true really!"

5.   Aimée: The talk **this woman** and me we talk in Dortmund after our discussion
       in Dortmund …I am surprised at her action.
       "This woman did not keep to the terms of what we discussed and agreed upon in
       Dortmund. I am surprised at her action."

6.   Joyce: Don't worry, **sister;** that's how the world is.

The short dialogue in Extract 7.3.6 (1-6) is based on Aimée's complaint about one of the teammates who has failed to show up for the competition the players are going to have. Aimée is about 40 and she is the driver, hence her assertion "I need to concentrate". She is the oldest in the group. In line 4 above the word *sister,* as used by Joyce, does not necessarily mean that the women have a blood relationship. The normal address form Joyce is expected to use to address Aimée based on their age differences is *Auntie* but the word *sister* here is employed to express solidarity and sympathy with what Aimée is complaining about. Joyce's use of *siste*r here therefore is to empathize with Aimée.

Extract 7.3.7: *Sister/brother*: social distance & social proximity

1.   Joyce: *A say eh papa God **Tantie** in short a give you café a woman to drive 160?*
       "I say, father God, Auntie, in short, I congratulate you. A woman who drives at
       160 KMPH!"

2.   Rockie: *A deh compare now na e and **Mado**.* "I can only compare her to Mado."

3.   Joyce: *Ja, ja**, sister Mado** too oh.* "Oh yes, Sister Mado is equally good."

4.   Aimée: ***Mado** can drive!*

5.   Joyce: ***Sister Mado** too na another pro.* "Sister Mado is also a professional/expert
       driver"

6.   Rockie: *She has gotten her* Führerschein *ever since but you just … a deh compare
       you and **Mado** waoh!* "Sister Mado had her driver's license a long time ago but
       you just recently got yours and you can already be compared with her!"

In Extract 7.3.7, Rockie is about 25, Joyce about 28, Aimée 40 and the said Mado is a woman in her mid-thirties. Rockie and Joyce are expected to refer or address Mado as *Sister Mado* but we notice that while Joyce speaks of *Sister Mado*, Rockie simply refers to her as *Mado*; this is unusual. Within this community, older persons are given the required address forms of respect. The situation here could be that Rockie wants to take advantage of the fact that Mado is not present or it is simply a violation of norms. It could also be that Rockie is not

happy with both Mado and the driver here for speeding! So, by comparing her to Mado (not *Sister Mado*), she is venting her anger.

Extract 7.3.8: *Sister/brother:* **social distance & social proximity**

1.   President: *A go call on our humble sister Carty* … "I will call upon our humble sister Carty…"
2.   Beatrice: *A beg Sister Carty wait small make a prepare this tin.* "Sister Carty can you wait a bit so that I adjust this thing?"
3.   President: *because we don notice am say whenever sister Carty give prayer, anytin wey wi di pray fo di go to success.* "Because we have noticed that whenever our sister Carty prays, we get what we were praying for."
4.   Beatrice: *Sister Carty you fit gimme scissors make a kot tis tin? "Sister Carty, can you give me a pair of scissors to cut this off?"

Extract 7.3.8 above takes place in one of the socio-cultural association meetings. This is *the Menchum Cultural and Development Association*. As observed from the transcribed data, the language of discussion in this association is CamPE; however, the secretary reads the minutes in CamE, which is the standard variety. There is a general tendency in Cameroon that even if deliberations take place in Cameroon Pidgin English, writing and reading the minutes of such a meeting would take place in Cameroon Standard English. An explanation for this inconsistency is that CamPE has not been standardized and therefore there is no accepted orthography for this language. It is a language that exists only in the spoken form and most Cameroonians can hardly write CamPE. When speaking about some important cultural terms like musical instruments, ethnic terminologies are employed. In this extract, the president, who is the head of the association, is a man in his early forties and Carty, who is about 50, is the host (this meeting is taking place in her residence). The president in this meeting, as expected, is referred to as *president* or *presi*. The use of *sister* in line 3 is an expression of the usual form of respect given to older female members of the community. Even the president calls Carty *sister* because she is older. Here age is a much more important variable than social position (e.g. that of a president) (cf. Oyetade, 1995; Mahzad, 2012). As earlier mentioned, apart from *sister* and *brother*, *auntie* and *uncle* are terms of address, which are used in the public domain of socialization as well. In Extract 7.3.9 below, we experience how the kinship term *auntie* is used with non-kindred:

Extract 7.3.9: *Uncle/auntie,* **social distance & social proximity**

1. Joyce: ***Tantie****, na how many people are with Johnson?* "Aunt, how many people are with **Johnso**n?"

2. Aimée: *em three or four eh… Who pray fo us?* "There are about three or four… who would like to pray for us?"

3. Rockie: ***Auntie*** *you pray fo us.* "Auntie, please you pray for us."

4. Aimée: These **Girls**!

5. Joyce: *@@@@@@@ taim weh we enter second half eh eh a deh look a deh wait fo hear **tata Aimeé** e voice fo dis ting a no hear **... tata Aimeé** don go outside go pray (@@@@@@@ (laughing).* "When we got into the second half, I looked and I waited to hear Aunt Aimée's voice on the matter; I didn't hear… Aunt Aimée had gone outside to pray."

The use of three different versions of the word *Aunt* to refer to Aimée here symbolizes the diversity that characterizes the Anglophone Cameroonian diasporic speech community (see introduction Chapter 1). Each of the versions of the address forms has a different linguistic background and pragmatic effect. *Tata* in line 5 originates from the French word *tante*. Aimée comes from Francophone Cameroon and each time her junior friends address her *Tata* it could be a recognition of her Francophone background since these speakers would hardly have used the same address term to speak to a purely Anglophone friend of theirs. The address form would have been *auntie*. *Auntie* in line 3 is the Anglophone CamE and CamPE word for *Aunt*. The pragmatic force here is that these Anglophone speakers wish to respect and be polite to their older friend following their Anglophone Cameroonian culture. In line 1 *Tantie* is a borrowed derivation from German *Tante*. This, like *Tata*, is a recognition of the German sociolinguistic ecology in which these migrants presently find themselves. This is a symbol of their present German *Bush-faller* status. The hybridity and diversity, as manifested by these various forms and their uses, tell the story of the multiplicity of identities that are created and (re)created each time the immigrants communicate with one another. In line 1, Joyce addresses Aimée as *Tantie* and in line 5 this same Joyce addresses her as *Tata Aimeé*. It could be argued here that her choice of the version of the word depends on how forcefully she wants to draw on the addressee's person. When she says *Tata Aimée*, it points more forcefully to Aimée's background than when she simply says *Tantie* or *Auntie*. This is because *Tata* is the address form that is used in French-speaking Cameroon. If the speaker needs to add the name of the addressee, it becomes *Tata Aimée* but to say *Tantie Aimée* becomes more cumbersome hence the choice of *Tata +(FN) (Tata Aimée)* instead of *Tantie +FN*.

Extract 7.3.10: *Auntie/Uncle* **social distance & social proximity.**

1.   John: A say **uncle Rene** good afternoon!

2.   René[49]: *Good afternoon* **Johnnie**. *How no'oh long time. How ma people dem?* "How are you doing? How are my people also doing?"

3.   John: *Dem dey fine* **uncle** *but na* **pa***, old age don begin catch e small small… but* **Reme** *dey fine.* "They are fine, Uncle, but it's only my father who is gradually getting old… but my mum is fine."

4.   René: *@@@@@ old age? A beg leaf ma friend alone with palava old age.* "Please, leave my friend alone! With questions of old age."

5.   John: **Uncle** *na true oh today na foot tomorrow na back… e no fit even go work again one month wey e no take krank* "Uncle, I am telling you the truth; every day he complains about one illness or the other. He can't go to work for a month nowadays without taking sick leave."

6.   René: *So what are you trying to tell me? Me and* **Joe**[50] *who old pass?* "Joe and myself, who is older?"

7.   John: *A tell you* **pa** *e no easy at this rate …. If e no get work e no go easy for stay this country wey man no di work e no go easy at all.* "I am telling you, Father, it is not an easy situation …if he loses his job, it's going to be very bad ...to stay unemployed in this country is very tough."

8.   René: **Ma friend** *I hope you are not trying to dodge from your responsibilities.*

9.   John: **Uncle Rene***! Wey a go try ma best but e no go easy.* "Uncle Rene! Really, I am going to try my best…but I can see it's not going to be easy."

10.   René: *Well, when you reach haus salut e for me… tell* **pa** *say e don trowe me but as e no well a go cam see e. Salut* **mammie pikin** *for me too.* "Well, when you get home extend my greetings to him. Even though he has abandoned our friendship, I will find time to see him since he is not well. Also greet your mother."

11.   John: **Uncle** *what of* **auntie Jane***? E don stay too wey e no cam meeting.* "Uncle, what of Aunt Jane? It's been a long time since she attended the meeting."

12.   René: *Dat* **Ngemsi** *dem no di give e chance e dey fine…* "Those tiny little children keep her busy all the time."

This conversation (Extract 7.3.10) takes place at the beginning of a socio-cultural meeting of Anglophone Cameroonian men and women in Düren. The speaker, John, is a young man in his early thirties and René is above fifty. The topic of discussion is John's father, Joe, who is René's friend. René has not seen his friend, Joe (John's father), for a while. Joe is suffering from ill health. John, in this exchange, uses the expected address form *uncle* to speak

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[49]   René is a friend of John's father.
[50]   Joe is John's father.

to his father's friend. This is in conformity with the respect and politeness he has to show his father's friend and age-mate. *Uncle* here again is no blood relation, but a father's close friend is nothing less. Since René is *uncle* to John, his wife is also appropriately referred to as *Auntie* in line 11. These *aunties* and *uncles* in the Cameroonian thinking are dear and close to the speakers just like the blood aunts and uncles. Sometimes if you are not sure about someone's age, you can just address him or her as *uncle* or *auntie* in order to be on the safe side. It is better to address someone as *auntie/uncle* who is about your age than to mistakenly address a much older person by name.

Usually when Anglophone Cameroonian parents talk to their children about other adults they use the *auntie/uncle* prefixes of respect, although in some cases the *Mammie/Papa* titles of address are used. In an African shop in Germany, for instance, most if not all the young Anglophone Cameroonian men/women will use *auntie/uncle* to refer to the older men/women who are either friends of the family, acquaintances or even total strangers. The effects of using *uncle/auntie or pa/ma* to address non-kin is to pull people together, make them feel like members of a family. Furthermore, the use of these address forms is also geared at showing respect and politeness because it shows a way of being nice and friendly, a way to show good upbringing. The forms are considered labels of respect and hospitality in the Cameroonian communities of practice. Anglophone Cameroonians also use *auntie* and *uncle* in the German diasporic context to address other Africans say from Ghana, Nigeria, or Sierra Leone. In line 7 of Extract 7.3.10, John refers to René as *Pa*; this is not out of place because in this culture a father's friend and age-mate is a father as well. When René addresses John as *Ma friend* in line 8, it is in subtle reprimand. It is not because René wants to draw the younger man, John, to equal status with himself; it is to express dissatisfaction with John for complaining about Joe's situation. *Ma friend* here is not an expression of friendship and intimacy, it is a subtle reprimand via sarcasm. *Ngemsi* "tiny little ones" in line 12 is a way that John tenderly refers to his own children. Notice the use of the teknonym *mammie pikin* in line 10 which René uses to refer to John's mother. John fondly refers to his own mother as *reme* in line 2 demonstrating his tender feelings towards her. The results of the semi-structured interview display the following frequency in the use of *name*[51], *Auntie/Uncle, Sister/Brother, Ni/Ma and Mola* as address forms in the social or public domain.

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[51] Name here means addressing someone by his or her name only. Within the Cameroonian community of practice, it is considered very arrogant to utter someone's name if he/she is much older than the other speaker is. In a situation of uncertainty, many people resort to zero name or name avoidance.

Table 7.3.5: Addressing males/females in the community not much older

Participants	Address Term					
	Name	**Auntie/Uncle**	**Sister/brother**	**Ni/Ma**	**Mola/Iya**	**Total**
YM	16	0	2	2	0	20
YW	15	0	2	3	0	20
OM	3	0	8	6	3	20
OW	2	0	9	6	3	20
Total	**36**	**0**	**21**	**17**	**6**	**80**

Answers to question 15: How do you generally address a male/female member of the community who is not much older than you are, say the age of your senior brother or sister?

Total number of respondents=80

YM 18-35 = 20, YW 18-35 = 20, OM 35-above= 20, OW 35-above=20

Graph 7.3.5: Public Domain: Addressing Males and Females who are not much older
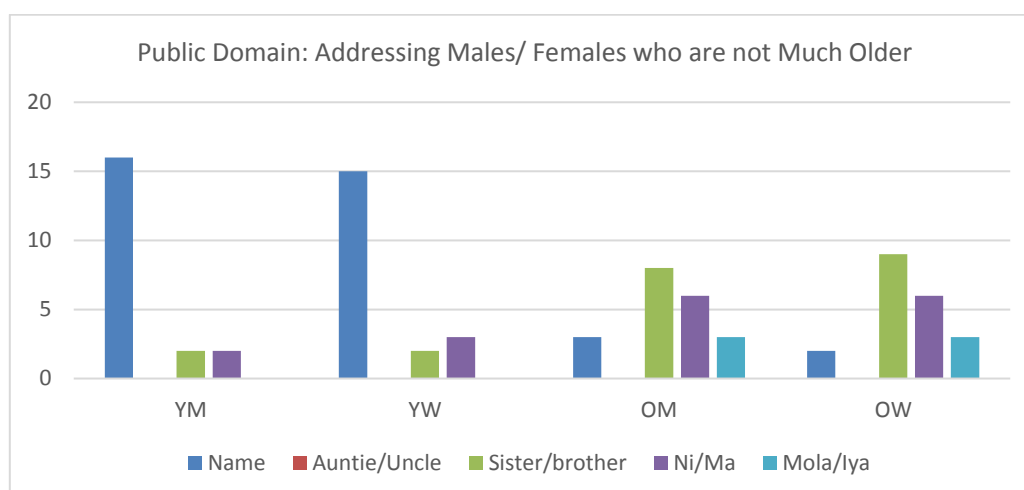
The results in table 7.3.5 show that most of the young men and young women use names to speak to persons who are not much older than they are. The use of *sister* and *brother*, which are normal address prefixes of respect to slightly older peers, is not very frequent among immigrant Anglophone Cameroonian youth in Germany. They prefer to call this group of people by their names. A greater number of the older men and women, however, admit that they still use *sister* and *brother* as address forms of respect to speak to slightly older members of the community. The results of the Fisher's Exact Test between intellocutors when one is just slightly older, shows a P-value of 0.000, this is a value far below the significance level set at 0.05, which reiterates the fact that age is a determining factor in the choice of these address forms. However, the P-value for gender is 0.800, which means that the null hypothesis holds and both male and female manifest the same tendencies towards the use of these address forms. The young men and women manifest the same speech habits with the older men and older

women. However, addressing much older persons is characterised by different linguistic choices as demonstrated in the youth's linguistic habits seen in the results of the interview in Table 7.3.6:

Table 7.3.6: Addressing much older members of the community

Participants	Address Term							
	Name	Teknonym	Aunty/Uncle	Ndap	Sister/Brother	Ni/Ma	Mola/Iya	Total
YM	0	1	10	0	0	5	4	20
YM	0	2	11	0	0	4	3	20
OM	0	3	3	2	0	6	6	20
OW	0	5	4	2	0	5	4	20
Total	0	11	28	4	0	20	17	80

Answers to question 16: How do you generally address a male/female member of the community who is much older than you are, say, who is the age of your father's brother/sister?

Total number of respondents= 80

YM 18-35 = 20, YW 18-35 = 20, OM 35-above= 20, OW 35-above=20

Graph 7.3.6: Public Domain: Addressing much older members of the community
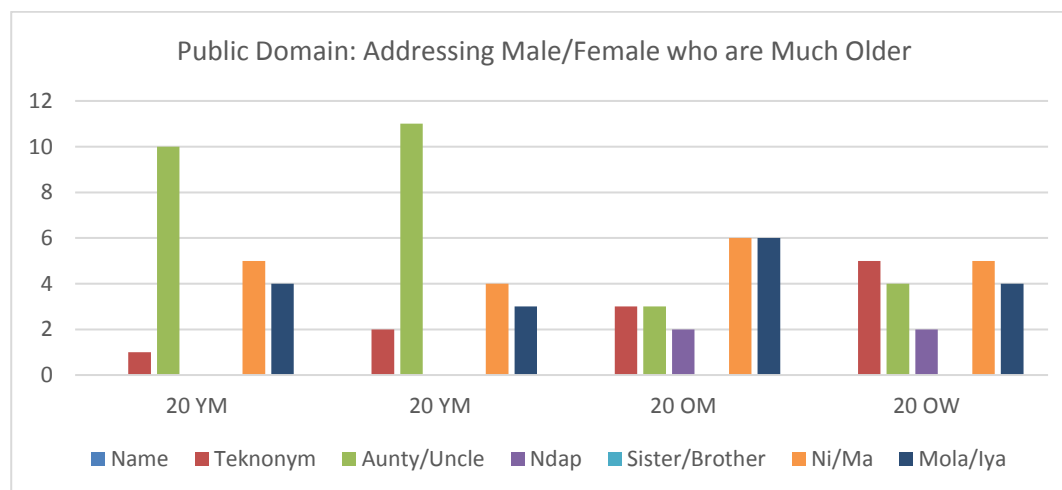
In the domain of addressing much older persons as shown in Table 7.3.6, there is hardly any use of names. Speakers avoid using the names of much older persons of the community. In Table 7.3.6 there are no names, but in Table 7.3.5 there are more informants (36 out of 80 informants) who claim that they use names to speak to members of the community who are not very much older than they are. It can therefore be argued that speakers are under the

pressure of the community of practice and this pressure determines their choice of the address form they use in different speech contexts. We see in the Graph 7.3.5 that most young men still adhere to the use of *uncle* and *auntie* as address forms of respect to speak to much older persons of the community even if there is a low frequency in the use of *brother* and *sister*. Three young men reveal that they use the address forms *brother/sister* when speaking to older people in the church but outside the church, these same people are addressed as *uncle/auntie*. Two older men and three older women also say that they prefer the address term *sister/brother* because they are not sure that there is anyone in the community much older than they are. The P- value of the gender variable for addressing much older persons in the community stands at 0.799, which confirms the null hypothesis that the choice of addressing persons of this category is independent of gender. Most of the young and older males and females, for instance, say that they use *auntie/uncle* as address forms. The older men and the older women also display similar tendencies when they reveal that they use more traditional forms of address to speak to much older people of the community (*Ni/Ma; Mola/Iya*). This confirms the fact that gender is hardly a determining variable.

As already seen in the family domains, the younger speakers do not make use of the more traditional forms of address such as *teknonyms* and *ndap*. In addition, the use of *mola* and *Iya*, which are address terms of respect for age among the South westerners, is hardly used by the youth. Comparatively, their counterparts *Ni/Ma* are still used by some Cameroonian youths in the German diaspora. It can therefore be said that the North Westerners use the traditional forms of address (20 out of 80) a bit more than the South Westerners (17 out of 80), who in most cases have abandoned some of their forms like *Iya*, which was hardly found in the data. Furthermore, the younger people have abandoned the use of *brother* and *sister* both in the private domains of the family and the public domains, but *uncle* and *auntie* are still in much use. There is a difference between addressing persons who are not much older and addressing those who are much older in the community. A majority of the young men and women of this study say that they do not feel obliged to use *sister* or *brother* as prefixes of respect to speak to persons who are just a few years older. This group of speakers claim that the use of *sister* or *brother* is oldfashioned; they feel they owe friendship and cordiality to these slightly older peers, which is not necessarily achieved through the use of address forms of respect but through being nice. However, these same informants reveal that they still use *uncle/auntie* to speak to the much older people of the community. Some informants reveal that they sometimes go as far as addressing their father's friends as *Papa* and their mother's friends

as *Mammie.* The result of the semi-structured interview shows the results presented in Table 7.3.7:

Table 7.3.7: Addressing males/females as old as parents

Participants	Address Term							
	Name	**Teknonym**	**Aunty/uncle**	**Ndap**	**Papa/Mammie**	**Ni/Ma**	**Mola/Iya**	**Total**
YM	0	0	9	0	3	4	4	20
YW	0	0	7	0	5	5	3	20
OM	0	2	3	1	5	6	3	20
OW	0	1	4	2	7	3	3	20
Total	**0**	**3**	**23**	**3**	**20**	**18**	**13**	**80**

Answers to question 17: How do you generally address a male/female member of the community who is as old as your father/mother?

Total number of respondents = 80

YM 18-35 = 20, YW 18-35 = 20, OM 35-above= 20, OW 35-above=20

Graph 7.3.7: Public Domain: Addressing Males/Females as old as Parents
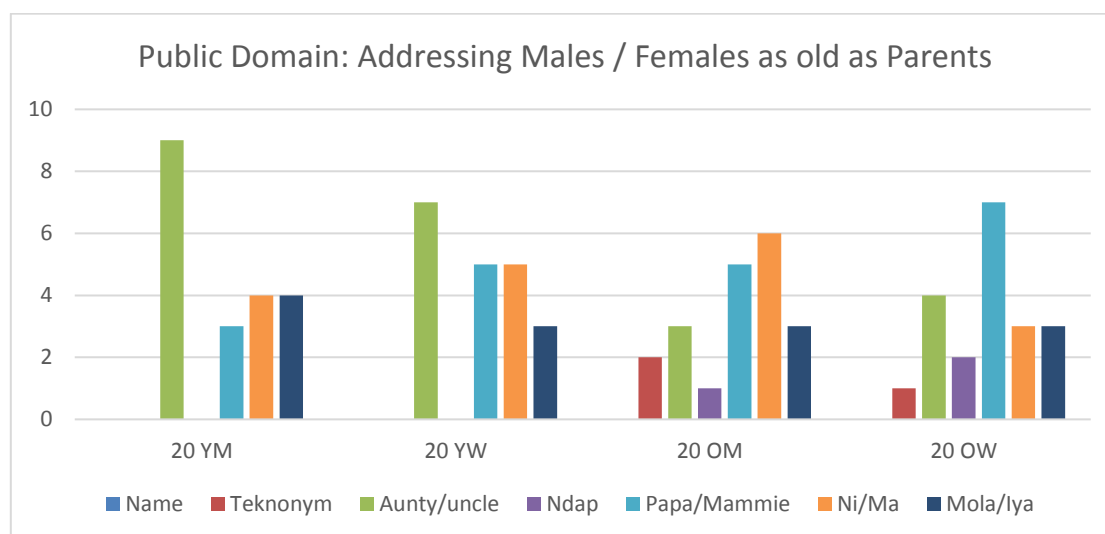
As demonstrated by the results of the interview in Table 7.3.7, 18 out of 40 young men and women say they address people as old as their parents *auntie/uncle*. Just 8 out of 40 members of this group say they refer to very older community members as *papa* and *mammie*. This is a shift from the home situation; at home in Cameroon, most young people will call women as old as their mother *mammie* and men as old as their father *papa* even if these people are strangers (Echu, 2008). On the other hand, the older women and men in this study use *mammie* and *papa* a bit more, 12 out of the 20 older men and women, especially the older women. The older generation also makes use of the traditional address terms like *ni/ma,*

mola/iya, which the younger generation have almost abandoned. The P-value of 0.852 for gender means that the choice of expression to address much older persons of the community is independent of gender. Both men and women manifest similar language choices. Young men and young women use *auntie/uncle,* while older men and older women use the traditional forms *mammie* and *papa* with a higher frequency. Age here is the significant factor in determining the choice of address in this domain.

7.3.2.3: *Ni/Ma/, Mola/Iya*, Social distance & proximity

Ni/Ma, (Nini/Mama), Mola/Iya, Amueh/Yango (Nkwain, 2014) are supposed to be traditional or ethnic address forms that represent the same situations as the use of *auntie/uncle.* Although these titles are traditional titles from the different indigenous languages, they are used freely in CamE and CamPE. Just like the use of *uncle* and *auntie,* these titles are used as strategies for the recognition of age and status or other types of power relations within the community (Nkwain, 2014:14.The need to use the appropriate form for older addressees is a requirement, which when violated, would be considered rude, impolite or a deliberate insult on the addressee. Sometimes interlocutors would avoid the names of older persons of the community because using their real names could mean a threat to their face wants (Kasper, 1990:337). The following dialogues demonstrate the use of *Nini/Mamma*, *Mola* and *Iya* as address forms of respect**:**

Extract 7.3.11 : *Ni/Ma, Mola/Iya:* **social distance & social proximity**

1. Rose: *why you go shidon down far so come closer* "Why are you sitting so far off? Please come closer."
2. Marcel: **Ma Rose** *want all we for e corner.* "Ma Rose wants all of us around her."
3. Rose: *A beg* **Mola** *put the volume light ja?* "Please, Mola, can you reduce the volume?"

Ma Rose is the eldest person (55 years) in the meeting and the president of the *Njangi* group. She hails from the Mankon ethnic group of the NW region; hence, her address form of respect is *Ma* +PN= *Ma Rose*. The choice of addressing Rose as *Ma* here stems from two reasons: firstly her age, i.e. she is the oldest member of the group and secondly, she is the *Mammie Njangi*, i.e. the coordinator of the group. Rose also uses a title of respect to speak to Marcel (45 years). She calls him *Mola* even though she is not compelled to do so, but for the sake of social balance, she speaks to him with a title of respect not only because he is a man,

but more so because he is married and a father of children. Nkwain (2014) refers to this as contextual requirement. In order for the group to have social balance, the correct form of address has to be respected. By addressing Rose as *Ma,* it is in respect of laid down norms or rules of usage as a sign of solidarity and in-group coherence. The use of *Mola* and *Ma* here is in keeping with societal stratification as well as maintaining the existing traditional status-quo even though these are kinship terms that are used to refer to non-kin.

Extract 7.3.12: *Ni/Ma, Mola/Iya*, social distance & social proximity

1. Richard: ***Monsidor***, *We get rules fo Njangi and we know di date. When you kam now di tell we say you no bi no den a no no.* "Monsidor, we have rules in this *Njangi* meeting. We all know the dates. But when you come in to tell us that you did not know, then I find it very strange."

2. Monsidor: *Nooo no bi say kam now **Ni Richard** no bi say kam now. A don always even first tok say dis date fo tis njangi no di favor me. A no di ever fail people their Njangi and when e happen so a di over vex.* "No, Ni Richard, it is not a question of coming to tell stories. I have said it before that the date scheduled for this *Njangi* meeting is not convenient for me. I have hardly missed my contributions to a *Njangi*; it has hardly happened and when it does like now I get very angry and embarrassed."

3. Richard: ***Monsidor***, *wi no want hear those stories dem see am we want na money ontop table.* "Monsidor, we are not interested in those stories of yours. All we want is to get your contribution on the table."

4. Rose: **Ni Richard…**

5. Monsidor: *make a do how noh Nini? Me serfserf a schok say ma money no pass a kommot a di run make a run go look this Kontoauszug see ma Konto make a eh ehe move di money before a di kam.* "What do you want me to do, Nini? I myself, was shocked that my account had not been credited. I ran to go and check… here look at my record of account so that you can see all the movements."

6. Rose: ***Mammie Ocean*** *wenti you think? Wenti be your opinion how we go handle this one?* "The mother of Ocean what do you think? What is your opinion on this? How do you suggest we handle this situation?"

7. Monsidor: *Some ting say make a call today na Saturday make a no just take chances na e a call eh eh a wan call na **Ma Rose** but ma card… ma handy ne di go wit **Ma Rose** e own na Lyca so a call na **Mola Otto e woman** na e weh e tell me say today na Njangi na e weh a say **Mola** a beg wait make a Kam...* "My instincts told me to call today even though it is a Saturday so that I do not take any chances; that is why I called. I wanted to call Ma Rose but I did not have the right card to call her number; that is why I called Mola Otto's wife and she told

me that the Njangi meeting was scheduled for today. That is when I exclaimed, Mola Please!"

8. Marcel: *Theresia* just leave am so **Schatz.** "Theresia, it is ok, dear/ darling."

9. Rose: *No tok say leave am so Schatz* she has made an error *we no fit start tok say* ***Theresia*** *leave am so ja?* You have made a miscalculation, which should not happen again. *No bi a matta say leave am so ja NO! NO!* **Mola,** *no bi a matta of say leave am so ja no bi a matter of* **Schatz**... *ma problem na say how we di do wit* **Oga Billie?** "It is not a matter of "It is OK, dear/darling" No! No! Mola, it is not a matter of "it is OK, darling" because it is not OK…My problem is that I cannot yet figure out how we are going to get Mr. Bille's money."

This group (Extract 7.3.12) is a mixture of ethnic groups from the SW and NW regions of Anglophone Cameroon. The choice of address terms depends on the region of origin. Marcel is a 45-year-old married man with three children. He is from the SW region; therefore, he is addressed in the community as *Mola.* On the other hand, Richard, a 55-year-old married father of two, is from the NW region. Hence, he is addressed as *Ni* or *Nini.* As mentioned above, Rose is from the NW and here she is referred to as *Ma Rose* but the usual form of *Iya* is not used to address Jane, who is from the SW. *Mola* is used as a form of respect and politeness to address older males from the Bakweri ethnic group. In this *Njangi* group, everyone calls Marcel *Mola* including his wife Jane (*Mammie Ocean*). Even Richard, who is older, finds it necessary to avoid addressing Marcel by name and instead uses his title of respect. In the same section, Rose, who is the oldest, also addresses Marcel as *Mola* and not by his bare name. In line 2, Monsidor calls Richard *Ni* even though she is not very happy with him. In the heat of the argument, one would expect her (Monsidor) to lose her temper and drop the title *Ni* but this is not the case; even in the heat of a disagreement the title of respect is maintained. It can also be observed that even though the discussion is not so peaceful, the interactants still maintain the required forms of addressing each other. Monsidor is very angry with Richard and Therese but still addresses them as *Ni Richard* and *Mammie Emade*, respectively. *Ma, Nini* and *Mammie* are all address forms of respect that are required in the Cameroon Anglophone communities. Speakers here respect the laid down rules and norms of usage in their quest for solidarity and group enhancement (Afful, 2007; Anchimbe, 2008; Echu, 2008). If, as a result of her irritation and anger, Monsidor had decided to show disrespect for Richard and Therese by dropping the titles of respect *Nini* and *Mammie*, this would not only have aggravated her situation but may have lead to a total breakdown of communication, which may have had very grave consequences.

The diasporic scenario here does not completely reflect the Cameroonian tradition. In the Cameroonian context, respect forms are not negotiable. Titles play an important role and reveal the social stratification "…and their use constitutes a means of maintaining the existing status quo…" (Nkwain, 2014:12). Curiously, Jane, who is Marcel's wife, is addressed as "*Mammie Ocean*" or sometimes "the wife of *Mola*". The normal address form would have been *Iya* but this is not used. On the other hand, Monsidor, a woman in her early forties, is called by her family name; her first name is Theresia, but it is hardly used to address her. She, on the other hand, uses the expected form of address but everyone else calls her simply "*Monsidor*". The non-reciprocity of address term here is worth noting. In Extract 23, Monsidor is trying to explain to the group why she was not able to "play" (contribute) her *Njangi*. It is a very delicate situation and members, especially *Ni* Richard, find it difficult to understand or accept, especially since Monsidor has already benefited from the *Njangi*.[52] This means that she is more than anyone else under obligation to repay what she has collected.

This is a situation that can scar her for a very long time because if it emerges that she has "failed" a *Njangi*, no other *Njangi* group will ever accept her membership. It is very strange that everyone in the community addresses and calls this 45-year-old mother of an 11-year-old son by her surname (*Monsidor*). This is not a very common practice in this community of practice. Normally, she should be called either by (i) teknonym, that is, *Mammie*+name of her son, Jammie = *Mammie Jammie* or (ii) by her first name preceded by the prefix *Ma*, that is, *Ma+ Theresia = Ma Theresia*, or even by another address form of respect like *sister* or *auntie*. A possible explanation for this rare situation is that Monsidor has failed to conform to the rules that make her an acceptable part of this community of practice. The conversation (disagreement) above is an illustration of her non-conformity. She has attended the meeting without her monthly *Njangi* contribution. It is possible that this incident is not an isolated one. It might be just one example of similar instances in which this particular informant has failed to follow the rules.

This clearly paints her as a nonconformist to the rules that would make her an accepted member of the in-group of the community of Anglophone Cameroonians. Even Limunga (in Extract 7.3.13 below), who is the youngest in the group, addresses her (Monsidor Theresia) by her surname. This might also provide a pragmatic explanation as to why everyone is calling

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[52] *Njangi* is a practice where individuals come together and agree to save money for the mutual benefit of all participants. Members make financial contributions, which are predetermined and then handed over to one member in turn (e.g. once every month). The only collateral a *njangi* has is the trust that members have for each other. This rich and long tradition of *njangi* is built on utmost trust and there is no excuse for failure to contribute when it is time to. Failing a *njangi* may ruin your family name for years.

her *Monsidor* and not *Theresia*. When *Mola Otto* (Marcel) feels sorry and tries to save her face by addressing her as *schatz* (German equivalent of *darling*) in line 5, the president (Rose) gets very angry and reprimands him. The implication of this address term *(Schatz)* here is inappropriate according to the president (Rose), who believes that Monsidor should pay the full price of her carelessness.

Extract 7.3.13: *Ni/Ma, Mola/Iya*, social distance & social proximity.

1. Rose: ***Limunga*** *a go like fo hear from you tok your opinion too.* "Limunga, I would like to hear your opinion on this issue as well."

2. Limunga: *Me a no just understand mi oh.* ***Ma Rose,*** *because mi a known… Fo mi Njangi money na fo table. Any Njangi weh e no deh a no fit support am.* ***Monsidor*** *get for play.* "I do not quite understand Ma Rose; as far as I am concerned, Njangi money must unfailingly be contributed. Monsidor must make her contribution."

3. *Monsidor: wenti bi dis wan* ***Ma Rose?*** ***Nini Richard*** *don first tok say e no go continue wey na problem weh e di vex mi.* "What's all this about, Ma Rose? Nini Richard had earlier declared that he would not continue this Njangi meeting because of me; so I am already angry about that."

4. Rose: ***Monsidor*** *you know say normally e get to vex no'oh*? "Monsidor, you understand that he has a right to be angry, don't you?"

5. Monsidor: *Dat one na true* ***Ma Rose****, but dat kana statement too no correct.* "Yes, Ma Rose, I understand that but his statement is also not correct."

Rose, the leader of the group, addresses Limunga, the youngest, by her personal name (PN), which is expected in this community of practice that lays emphasis on the value of age. However, this respect of elders is not directed towards Theresia Monsidor. This is because it is not normal for everyone, even the youngest of the group, to address her directly by her surname (*Monsidor*). Monsidor addresses almost everyone by an address form of respect but everyone calls her by her surname. This violation of regulation can best be understood when viewed within the light of the present conflict. Monsidor has committed an abominable act, i.e.coming for a *Njangi* meeting without the expected contribution is unheard of. Every Cameroonian knows the proverb or saying that:

- *Njangi Never dies*
- *Njangi Never fails*
- *Njangi is never sick*
- *Njang*i *is never late*

• *Njangi never goes on a journey* (Nyamjoh &Fruh, 2013:12-13).

This exceptional violation by Monsidor leads to a total breakdown of communication. She loses her public personality and no one has any respect for her at this point in time. What holds this community of practice together is shaken by this act, which, if not well handled, could lead to a complete disintegration (dissolution of the group). It could also result in the social isolation of some members. The use of the different address terms in Extract 24 lines 1-5 have the following implications: they consolidate existing ties of friendship because to belong to the group one has to respect and conform to the rules. If any member addresses Rose by anything other than the required form of address, he/she would be heavily frowned upon. That is why Monsidor retains the necessary address term when speaking to Richard even though, judging from her words, she is unhappy with him for putting so much pressure on her. As far as addressing *Ma Rose* is concerned, it is necessary for every meeting member to use a form of politeness and respect for her age and her position as the president of the *njangi* meeting. In lines 1-5, *Ma, Ni* and *Mola* are traditional titles that are used in place of the Western adopted forms of address such as *auntie, uncle, sister and brother*. These are cultural respect address terms that highlight the socio-cultural variables of age, gender and status in the Anglophone Cameroonian community of the German Diaspora.

It could be concluded here that respect markers and markers of seniorit*y* (*ma, ni, mola* and *oga*) make up the address forms that help identify members of the above social groups during interactions in the two Cameroonian Englishes (Nkwain, 2014). At the same time, (*ma friend, bo'oh, dis man*) are in-group and parallelism devices used to refer to members within the group. These same modes of address could be used to refer to acquaintances and even strangers as face saving acts or attempts to bring them close.

The use of the following cultural address forms in the German diaspora might show that the traditional forms of address express more meaning to their users than the western forms, which is a transferred concept. *Ni* could stand for a husband, an older brother, an uncle, a father's friend or even an older or respectable male of the community. Furthermore, using the ethnic address forms and kinship terms may sound more intimate and convey a deeper meaning of respect. *Nini* and *Mama, Mola* and *Iya* are kinship terms of address used both in the NW and SW regions of Cameroon. There is a transfer of these kinship terms to non-kinship or social contexts. The pragmatic effects that these create are that they draw the addressee closer and give him or her a sense of belonging (Anchimbe, 2008). According to Ushie (2008), the tendency to transfer kinship address forms to non-kinship contexts reiterates the communalism

of the African societies. For instance, "the Western nuclear family is the smallest unit and places emphasis on individualism…" (Ushie, 2008:27), while in the Cameroonian setting, like in most African contexts, "…the extended family system is the smallest unit and places emphasis on communalism" (Ushie, 2008: 27). It is therefore easy to see why in these ecologies a father's trusted friend is a "father" to the children of his friend. According to African beliefs, an individual does not exist just alone, i.e. "he exists because others exist" (Mbiti, 1990:109). It can, therefore, be assumed, following Ushie (2008), that the elasticity that is noticeable in the kinship terms in CamE and CamPE is due to the fact that speakers transfer/translate their traditional trend of thought into English, since the various ethnic believes influence their thinking, expressions and language choice (Boroditsky, 2009). A decision on whether to use *sister, brother, uncle, nini, mamma, mola* or *iya* is a question of language choice, which will depend on variables such as situation or context, age of the interlocutors or gender. If for instance the speakers know each other quite well, the choice will most probably be one of the traditional forms of address such *nini*, *mamma,* since the ethnicity and age of the interlocutor becomes obvious etc.

However, if the addressee is not well known, then they may settle for one of the hybrid forms such as *auntie, brother* or *uncle*. This is due to a diffusion of cultural and social patterns that Mehrotra (1977:42) calls fluidity. Although the terms *auntie, uncle, nini, mama, mola* and *iya* are kinship terms, they are often used as social honorifics to address non-family members of the community. Just like in the study of Mehrotra (1977), who developed the claim that in the Indian culture all men and women are brothers and sisters, and Ushie (2008), whose similar claim was based on the Nigerian culture, this study supports that the Cameroonian culture is a reflection of this communalism. This is a recognition of the fact that in the culture of the Cameroonian community, all men are brothers leading to the semantic reality of a broad category of kinship terms in CamE and CamPE that covers both family and non-family relations. However, if the addressed person is a total foreigner, a non-Cameroonian or Western looking person, the very official form of *sir* and *madam* etc. will be used to address them.

7.3.2.4. Petit /grand frère, petite/grande sœur : social distance and social proximity

Petit and *grand* are two French expressions borrowed from the French language and used freely in CamE and CamPE in public/social contexts. They are usually used by people as a means of getting the addressed person in a relaxed and friendly mode (Anchimbe, 2011; Nkwain, 2014). Although the older person may wish to show his fondness for the younger members of the community, the young have to show their respect by addressing the older

speakers as either *grande sœur* if they are female or *grand frère,* if they are male. This address form of closeness and proximity has been carried over to the diasporic space as illustrated by Extract 7.3.14:

Extract 7.3.14: Grand frère & petit frère, public domain.

1.   Mark: ***Petit frère*** *how far?* "Junior brother, how are you doing?"

2.   Kisito: *We dey we **grand** how you and Famille too*? "We are doing well, big brother and how are you and the family doing?"

3.   Mark: *We di push am*. "We are struggling to get going."

4.   Kisito: ***Grand frére*** *you know dis eh dis **petit frère** fo Wuppertal so… eh… Johannes eh a don forget e papa e name.* "Big brother, do you know this, eh this small brother in Wuppertal, Johannes eh… I have forgotten his family name."

5.   Mark*: Ok you mean this **Ebot** dem wey dem get die?* "I see, are you talking of the Ebots who are bereaved?"

6.   Kisito: *Yes **Grand** a think say you no no a be want tell you say dem di make cry die fo Saturday fo Hombüchel fo dat Keller.* "Yes, Senior, I thought that you were not aware of it. So, I wanted to inform you that they are organizing a wake[53] next Saturday at Hombüchel in the Cellar".

Mark, in Extract 7.3.14, is a much older person than Kisito, hence the use of *grand frère*. This is an appropriate form. The address form is a borrowed expression from French and a reflection of the influence of French on Cameroonian sociolinguistic ecology. Kisito and Mark are both classmates and ex-students of the *Sacred Heart College Mankon*. They say that is how they have always spoken to each other right from their school days. It becomes clear that using the same form that they used in their school days to address each other is a way of re-creating their school days. This can be interpreted as a way of re-living their childhood or school days' experiences. This is particularly noticeable in the German diasporic context where most of the young informants not very much older than each other have dropped the address terms of respect in speaking to each other. One of the things that holds these two young men together in the present diasporic context is their alma mater, so they persist in using the forms that most of their colleagues have dropped.

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[53]   Wake: an all-night celebration in honour of a deceased member of the community. In Cameroon, the body is laid in state for viewing at the deceased home. Funeral celebrations are accompanied by large outdoor parties with ceremonial drumming, singing, eating and drinking in honour of the dead and in celebration of life. In the German diaspora, the body is not laid in state. Cameroonians in Germany always come together to contribute money to send their dead home to Cameroon for burial.

Extract 7.3.15: *Grande Sœur & Petite Sœur*, **public domain**

1. Josephine: *Mary your eye!* "Mary, it is nice to see you again!"

2. Mary: *Grande Sœur!* "Senior sister!"

3. Josephine: *Wenti happen! Na ecole?* "What happened? Is it school that kept you away?"

4. Mary: *Nooh leave am so Grande Sœur na di Land*. "No. Don't ask me senior sister, it is not easy in this country."

5. Josephine*: Any time dem call your name you no dey a ask maself say wusai dis **petite Sœur** go e.* "Each time they called your name from the register and you didn't show up, I asked myself where this little sister had gone to"

6. Mary: *Weh how for wuna? How **Oga Max**? e no cam?* "Oh dear, how are you people? How is Mr. Max? Did he not come?"

Notice here that titles are used in CamE and CamPE with first names. This is a replication of the Cameroonian context where titles are also used with first names. This feature (used both in Cameroon and the German diaspora) is unlike the British or American English where titles generally require the presence of surnames or first names plus surnames. The speakers in Extract 7.3.15 are both Anglophones so it is interesting that they borrow the French address forms. Josephine is a young woman in her early forties, a Cameroonian Anglophone but married to a Nigerian. This explains her use of the Nigerian Pidgin expression *your eye* which means "here you are again" or "it's nice seeing you again". The use of this form more than anything else is evidence of her multivarietal status and the hybridity of her language use in the German diaspora. As seen above, we have a mixture of Nigerian Pidgin English, French and Cameroon Pidgin English. As indicated in Extract 26 *Oga Max* as a choice of address term for Josephine's husband stems from the fact that he is Nigerian. In using this form of address, Mary wishes to belong to their circle. The use of address terms to speak to Francophones on the other hand, displays the following frequencies:

Table 7.3.8: Public Domain: Addressing older Francophone Cameroonians.

Participants	Address Term					
	Name	Grand(e) Frère/Sœur	Sister/Brother	Tata/Tonton	Uncle/Aunty	Total
YM	4	7	0	8	1	20
YW	1	10	1	6	2	20
OM	7	8	2	0	3	20
OW	5	11	2	1	1	20
Total	**17**	**36**	**5**	**15**	**7**	**80**

Answers to question 18: How do you generally address an older Francophone Cameroonian?

Total number of Respondents

YM 18-35 = 20, YW 18-35 = 20, OM 35-above= 20, OW 35-above=20

Graph 7.3.8: Public Domain: Addressing older Francophone Cameroonians
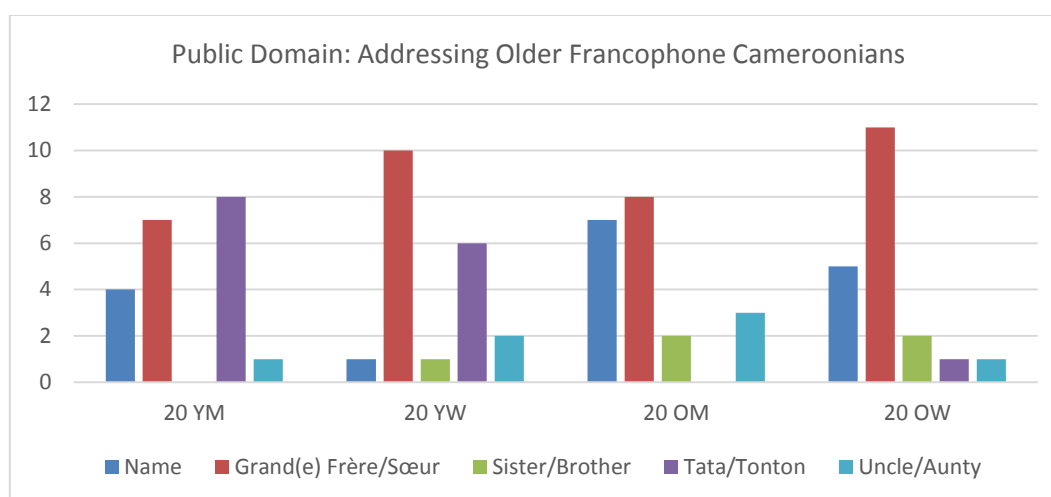
Table 7.3.8 shows that 36 out of the 80 men and women of this study reveal that they address their older Francophone Cameroonians acquaintances and friends with the usual address forms of *Grand Frère* or *Grande Sœur* as used at home in Cameroon. However, the use of name is also very common to address Francophones. Young men again have completely abandoned the use of *sister/brother*. The use of *tata/tonton* shows a higher frequency among the youth most probably because this is the French version of *auntie/uncle,* which is common among this group of speakers. Results of the Fisher's Exact Test show a P- value of 0.589 for male and female participants, which means that the null hypothesis holds: gender is not a determining factor in selecting the address form for older Francophones.

For example, both young men and young women use *grand frère/grande sœur* to address this group of persons, which is also the same case with men of the two generations under study.

However, the P-value 0.000 for young and older participants means the alternative hypothesis holds, i.e. age is a very important determinant since the different age groups have different choices. The young men, for instance, hardly use *uncle/auntie* to address Francophones while the older men and women hardly use *tata* and *tonton.*

7.3.2.5 *Oga & Igwe*: Social distance & proximity with Nigerians

Oga is a Nigerian address form used in the social context. It could be translated as "sir" or "boss" in English. As far as the Cameroonian Anglophone community in Germany is concerned, it was observed in the course of this research that they will generally use this to address or refer to any older Nigerian male interlocutor as a form of respect and politeness. Generally, you can just call the person *Oga* if you do not know his name but if you are familiar with him or know his name, the address form would be Oga+ PN= *Oga Solomon*, for instance. This is frequently used in the German diaspora where there is often the need of social networking and social alignment. Using this address form to speak to a Nigerian is assumed to please them and put the speaker in his good books.

Extract 7.3.16: Addressing a Nigerian *Oga*

1. Solomon: **Peter Massa** *how far?* "Peter, my friend, how are you?"
2. Peter: **Oga Solo** *a dey what's up?* "Mr. Solo (short for Solomon), I am fine; what's happening?"
3. Solomon: **Massa** *a come take one man.* "Friend, I have come to take a beer."
4. Peter: **Oga** *take one on me.* "Sir, let me offer you another one."
5. Solomon: *A say this* **ma friend** *nah eh.* "I say! You are a real friend!"
6. Peter: **Auntie Maggie** *a beg for Key make a take beer for beer Shrank.* "Please can I get the key of the cooler?" (Addressing the Afro-shop attendant).
7. Solomon: **Bo'oh massa** *thank you!* "Thanks, my friend of friends."

Solomon in Extract 7.3.16 is a Nigerian male of about 50 years. He is quite a popular person around the Mülheim and Essen *cellars*, where he often goes to hang out with other Africans from different countries. These two *cellars* are usually used by Cameroonian and Nigerian immigrants, mainly because the shops are owned by Cameroonians. In line 1 above, Solomon addresses Peter as *Massa*, which is an address form of friendship and solidarity in CamPE. Although Solomon is much older, he addresses Peter as *Massa*. This is a way to reduce the social distance between them. *Massa* here is an in-group marker (Nkwain, 2014:197-198) or an in-group bonding (Anchimbe, 2008:110), a way to build up a positive

communication link between the two men. Using a purely Cameroonian address form to speak to the younger Cameroonian is a very cordial invitation of friendship and solidarity. It is a way of saying "we are brothers even if you are Cameroonian and I am Nigerian". This is reinforced in line 7 when Solomon uses *Bo'oh* "friend" which is even more intimate than *massa*. Peter does not lose track because of Solomon's display of friendliness. As expected, he still shows the required respect form by calling Solomon *Oga* "sir/boss". This means that within this community, being on friendly terms with someone does not mean that you lose track of the required overt respect you owe them. Within this community, there is a dichotomy between in-group solidarity identities and power relations. Interactants have to be careful not to lose track of or to misinterpret these two.

Peter, by maintaining his respect for the older gentleman of the community, reconstructs the identity of a younger respectful Cameroonian boy who has conducted himself as expected. His conformism may have future benefits, for instance, a socio-economic advantage like getting information about important realities (for example, where and when to find a job in times of personal unemployment). The mixture of Nigerian and Cameroonian address forms in the course of a single conversation displays the hybridity that is characteristic of the diasporic immigrant context. Anglophone Cameroonians meet with speakers of other English varieties, who share a postcolonial background. Some of these background experiences are common while others are different. The diaspora is a setting for the merger of these experiences, which are all mixed for various reasons. The result is the hybridity we find here. The three forms of address that Solomon uses to speak to Peter are all Cameroonian (*massah, bo'oh* and *ma friend*). On the other hand, Peter uses a Nigerian address form to speak to Solomon. This confirms Kasper's (1990:193) observation that speakers have to choose the appropriate strategies to avoid face treats. *Oga Solomon* in the example above resorts to intimate and friendly terms with the aim of consolidating his friendship and relationship with a much younger person. He does not want the distance created by age to stand between them even though the younger person has to maintain his respect. If Peter tried to call Solomon by name only, this might be considered disrespectful even though Solomon has shown overt signs of friendship. The results of the semi-structured interview show the following distribution in addressing older Nigerians:

Table 7.3.9: Addressing older Nigerians

Participants	Address Term					
	Name	Uncle/Aunty	Sister/Brother	Oga/Madam	Igwe	Total
YM	3	6	3	4	4	20
YW	1	6	1	10	2	20
OM	4	3	4	6	3	20
OW	1	2	5	9	3	20
Total	**9**	**17**	**13**	**29**	**12**	**80**

Answers to question 19: How do you generally address an older Nigerian male/female?

Total number of Respondents=80

YM 18-35 = 20, YW 18-35 = 20, OM 35-above= 20, OW 35-above=20

Graph 7.3.9: Public Domain: Addressing older Nigerians
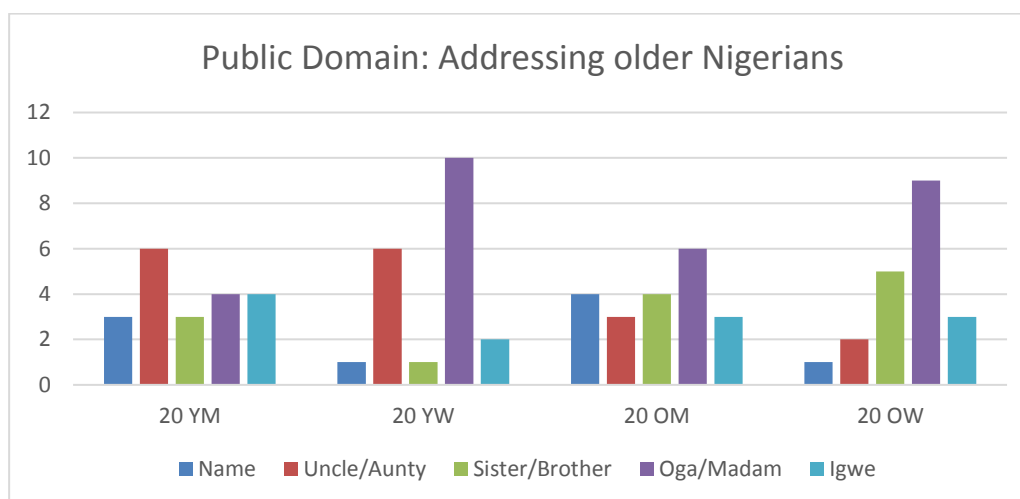
The young men and women in their responses to this question show that most young women use *Oga,* (10 out of 20) which is an important address term of respect among Nigerians. *Oga* "sir" is used more by young and older women (19 out of 40) than by young and older men (10 out of 40). The next frequent form of address used to speak to Nigerians is *Uncle/Auntie*. Again, this is a popular address term among the younger generation of speakers compared to the older ones. The use of the title *Igwe* (chief/titled man) is more frequent among male speakers. However, the older women also use the title *Igwe* to address older Nigerians who have this title. The P-value for the gender variable in the choice of address forms to speak to Nigerian interlocutors among these informants here is 0.231 and for age is 0.301. This means that the use of the different address forms to speak to or address Nigerians is independent of gender or age. This can be interpreted to mean that for Anglophone Cameroonians in Germany, the choice of terms to address Nigerians is usually made

irrespective of their age or gender. This trend and tendencies are not very different as far as addressing older Ghanaians in the German diaspora is concerned, the semi-structured interview displays the following result as shown in Table 7.3.10:

Table 7.3.10: Addressing older Ghanaians

Participants	Address Term				
	Name	Uncle/Aunty	Sister/Brother	Charlie	Total
YM	4	9	6	1	20
YW	2	10	8	0	20
OM	2	3	11	4	20
OW	1	7	12	0	20
Total	**9**	**29**	**37**	**5**	**80**

Answers to question 20: How do you generally address an older Ghanaian male/female?

Total number of Respondents=80

YM 18-35 = 20, YW 18-35 = 20, OM 35-above= 20, OW 35-above=20

Graph 7.3.10: Public Domain: Addressing older Ghanaians
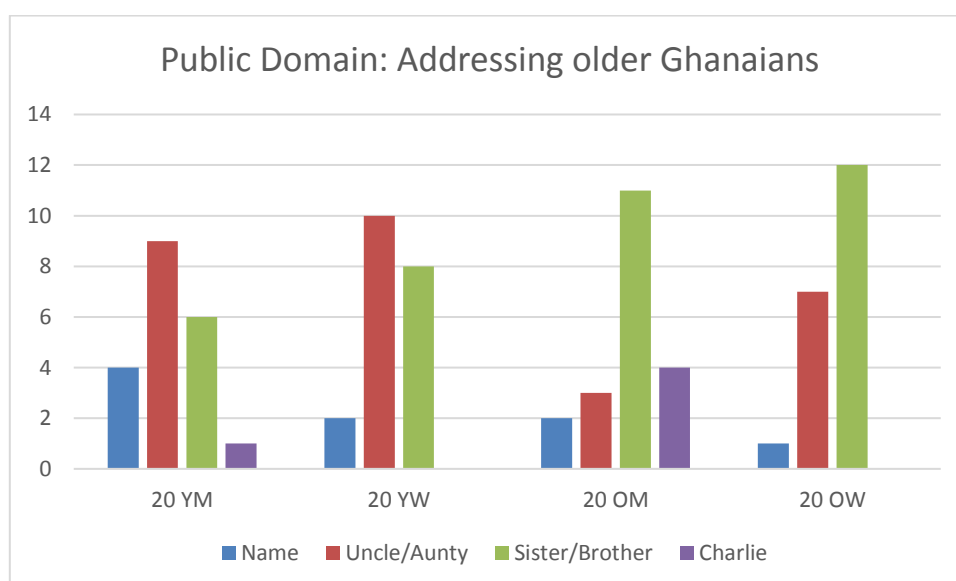
As far as addressing older Ghanaians is concerned (Table 7.3.10 and Graph 7.3.10) the young men and women use *auntie/uncle* with a higher frequency than *sister/brother*. By contrast, the older men and women use *sister* and *brother* to speak or address older Ghanaians. Some young and older men say they use the address form *Charlie* to address older Ghanaians. No woman says she uses this form. Like with addressing older Nigerians, the results of the Fisher's Exact Test show a P-value of 0.078 for the gender variable in this domain this is not

significant but close and a P-value of 0.26 for the age variable. This means that addressing older Ghanaians manifests the same tendencies between the different age groups and between the different genders in their choice of addressing older Ghanaian interlocutors.

7.3.2.6. Teknonyms: Social distance and social proximity

These are address forms of respect used both in the private domain of the family and in the social domain of the public. Instead of calling the interlocutor by his or her name, he or she is called by the name of one of his children preceded by *Mammie* or *Papa* or their short forms (*Ma* or *Pa*). For instance, a woman or a man whose child is named Martha will be addressed as *Mammie Martha* or *Papa Martha*.

Extract 7.3.17: Teknonyms, public domain among Cameroonians

1. Susa: *A say wusai dis **Mammie Pikin** dem dey no'oh?* "I say, where are all these mothers?"
2. Akwen: *Dem go came small time.* "They are going to come soon."
3. Susa*: last meeting we tok say make all man try cam fo time na yi dis.* "At the last meeting, we insisted that all should be on time and now this…"
4. Akwen: ***Ma Susa** …make we start wit item 11 a beg a di hungry bad.* "Ma Susa, can we start with refreshments (food); I am very hungry"
5. Susa: ***Mammie Napo!** Dat one na fo bring chakara a beg make we wait dem small* "Napo's Mother! That is to create disorder; please let's wait a bit longer."

Extract 7.3.18: *Teknonyms*: Public domain (Born House)[54]

1. President: *We get fo start wit registration wey na ten Euro make a start with you **Mammie Boy***. "We have to start with the registration of ten Euros. Let me start with the mother of Boy!"
2. Pamela: *Dis ma name wey e start for front so na wah.* "This name of mine that always starts first!"
3. President: ***Mammie Nicole!*** "Mother of Nicole)
4. Grace (Mother of Nicole): *a get fo call **Pa Peter*** (I have to call the father of Peter."
5. President: ***Mama Adi!** Mammie boy dis pikin want piss ya.* "Mother of Adi! The mother of Boy, (addressing the other lady) this child wants to go to the toilet

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[54] "Born house" in CamE or CamPE is a social celebration organised by family and friends to celebrate the birth of a child. During the born house, palm oil and salt are shared or distributed to guests amidst singing and wishing love, peace and prosperity in the family of the new-born baby (Feldman-Savelsberg, 2016).

Extracts 7.3.17 and 7.3.18 illustrate the use of teknonyms in the public domain. No.7.3.17 is at a *Njangi* meeting, here the president has to demonstrate his respect for the members of the meeting he is chairing and one way for him to do this is to use the appropriate forms of address, for instance when he calls the members up to the table to pay in their dues (monthly contribution). *Mammie Boy* in Extract 7.3.18 means *the* mother of a boy child in CamPE. A male child is usually addressed as *Boy* especially if his name is not known to the caller. However, in some cases, some male children are nicknamed simply *Boy*. In this case, his name is known but the address *boy* is preferred. Very often, when a woman delivers, the question asked is *Mammie, na which kind pikin you born na baby or na boy?* "What sex is your baby? Is it a boy or a girl?". It also gives an image of pride to the addressee not only because she is a mother, but more so because she is the mother of a son, which in the Anglophone Cameroonian culture is an element of pride. When a married woman bears a son, this means that she has offered her husband a successor. So, addressing a woman as *Mammie Boy* is not only a sign of respect and politeness, it is also a way to socially uplift the interlocutor and give her an element of family and societal fulfilment. As mentioned before, a teknonym is sometimes used as a means to avoid addressing certain people in the community using their names. A wife who does not want to call her husband by his name in front of the children or her in-laws will conveniently use a teknonym. The Yoruba of Nigeria, the Sesotho of South Africa and the Iranians also use Teknonyms (Akindele, 2008). Teknonyms are also employed when age and status difference is not clear to the speakers (Nkwain, 2011). In some cases, teknonyms are used when the addressees are not old enough to be called *Mammie* or *Auntie*.

Extract 7.3.19: More Teknonyms

1. Ruben: *Ist **Papa Napo** auch zu Hause?* "Is the Father of Napoleon also at home?"
2. Akere: Nein er ist immer noch bei der Arbeit. "No, he is still at work."
3. Ruben: *Und **mammie Napo** auch?* "And the mother of Napo as well?"
4. Akere: Ja, sie ist zu Hause. "Yes, she is at home."

In extract 7.3.19, Ruben switches from German to ethnic address forms and appellations. Ruben is Akere's father's friend. They have met at an African shop. Ruben asks about Akere's father, who is his friend (line 1). Here, Ruben refers to Akere's father as *Papa Napo*. Napo is Akere's brother. Ruben switches from German to an English teknonym (*Papa Napo*). Napo is a short form of the name Napoleon. This kind of shortening of names is a typical manner of

being nice and friendly in CamE and CamPE. Switching to a teknonym while speaking in German is a form of politeness and friendliness. Using this address form to speak of his friend is a way of recreating traditional respect forms and politeness, as well as going back to roots, adhering to respect and honour for the father and mother figures (lines 1 and 2 *Papa Napo*, *Mammie Napo*).

7.3.2.7. Zero name: social distance & proximity

This is a naming strategy also termed "name avoidance" or "name escapism" (Anchimbe, 2011; Nkwain, 2014). The language choice of not using any address term when speaking to an interlocutor has a number of socio-pragmatic effects on both the addresser and the addressee. This may be aimed at avoiding sounding disrespectful and impolite (Kasper, 1990:194-197). This usually occurs when a speaker is not sure of the social space between himself/herself and the person he/she is meeting for the first time. Name avoidance occurs because in the Cameroonian culture and society, names and address forms should reflect societal stratification and establish the appropriate network of relationships as well as negotiating power relations. They are also used to accept and recognize superiority and balance between people of different ages and social status (Anchimbe, 2011; Nkwain, 2014). Furthermore, patterns of addressing people at first encounters in the Cameroonian community are different from the Western culture, where people resort to first names as early as possible (after initial introduction) as a sign of solidarity and acceptance. This is quite different in the Cameroonian socio-cultural space, where you may not call someone by name just because you have been introduced to them. Cameroonians, therefore, sometimes resort to zero name in order to avoid any of the embarrassments that may come with the wrong title or address, at least until the situation is well understood. In the diasporic context, these first-time encounters are very common. To avoid creating a gap, a speaker will avoid the use of names and address terms. When asked, the informants in this research said they used the following strategies:

Table 7.3.11: Addressing unknown older persons of the community

Participants	Address Term			
	Zero Name	Uncle/Aunty	Sister/Brother	Total
YM	4	16	0	20
YW	3	17	0	20
OM	7	5	8	20
OW	6	7	7	20
Total	**20**	**45**	**15**	**80**

Answers to question 18: How do you generally address an older male/female member of the community whom you do not know?

Total number of Respondents=80

YM 18-35 = 20, YW 18-35 = 20, OM 35-above= 20, OW 35-above=20

Graph 7.3.11: Public Domain: Addressing unknown older Persons in the Community
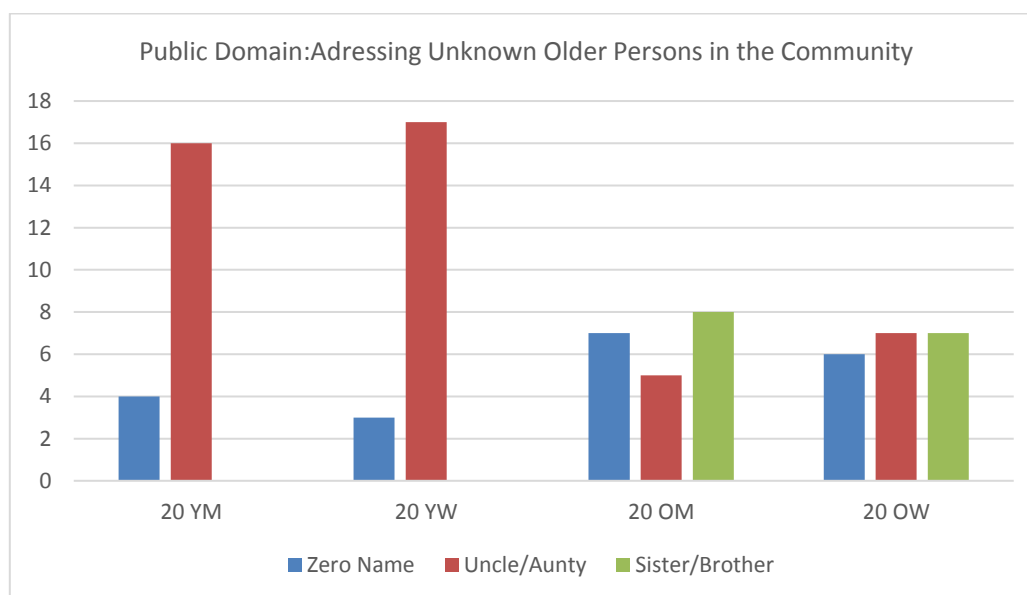
33 out of 40 young male and female informants say they use uncle/auntie to address people of their community who look older but whom they do not know. Name avoidance is used but at a very low frequency by the younger people. This is because they have the choice of using *auntie/uncle.* The older men and women use the name avoidance strategy a bit more often than they use *auntie/uncle* to address unknown persons (Graph 7.3.11). This group of speakers prefers the use of *sister/brother* in this context. The P-value of 0.00 for the age variable confirms this, because it shows that the choice of address terms used to speak to older unknown persons of the community is heavily dependent on the age of the speaker. The P-value of 0.826 for gender shows that this is not a determining variable since male and female speakers manifest similar language choices in this domain.

7.3.3. Duty & hierarchical titles: Address forms of formality

Anglophone Cameroonians have more than two codes at their disposal, namely Standard English, used in formal situations, Pidgin English and ethnic languages used in informal situations or when speaking with people they share these codes with (Kouega, 2001). In other words, the Cameroonian speech communities are multilingual. This means that in these societies languages or varieties of languages like CamE and CamPE and tribal languages exist in a diglossic or even triglossic relationship (Ferguson, 1959; Constable, 1977; Winford, 1985; Fonmentelli, 2018). Since the idea of diglossia is linked to the notion of "domain" as postulated by Fishman (1972), the sociolinguistic situation of the Cameroonian speech communities, including the diaspora, is that different settings call for the use of different languages. As shown in the previous sections, the ethnic and social meetings, the public encounters and discussions etc. are carried out in different languages or a mixture of languages. In formal contexts, however, like official deliberations, ex-student meetings, public debates and official speeches, the choice of language is usually Cameroon Standard English (CamE). This section of analysis will examine the pragmatic considerations and pragmatic factors that motivate these postcolonial immigrants to make linguistic choices such as selecting address forms for communicative, socio-economic and identity motivations (prestige, in-/out-group identity, solidarity, power relations and religious identities; cf. Wei Li, 1994; Fornmentelli, 2018).

The pragmatic effects of address forms used as duty and hierarchical titles show power relations between the speakers in particular situations. These are best seen in the data collected from natural and formal life situations, e.g. in church, at debates and sociocultural meetings. The interaction between speakers in these natural occurring discourses and scenes give a realistic picture of language use, namely address forms. Although the question of formality and informality is a fluid one within the Cameroonian community of practice, results here show that formal address forms such as *Mr.* and *Mrs., Ladies and Gentlemen* generally characterize official occasions such as debates and ex-student meetings. These forms of formal address are more distant, less intimate and lack the solidarity that characterizes the social address forms like *sister/brother, uncle/auntie,* etc.

Furthermore, the duty and hierarchical titles have less "bonding force" (Anchimbe, 2011:1481) than the social terms that are usually kinship terms transferred over to non-kinship relations; these social titles, unlike the professional and hierarchical ones, carry with them heavy cultural connotations that bring the addressee closer to the speaker. The hierarchical

and duty titles are used when the speaker wishes to create a very formal and less personal atmosphere, that are also conditioned by circumstances that express social distance, power differences and strict formality. It is convenient to explain this within the sociolinguistic and the socio-cultural norms that classify Cameroon Standard English as the language of formality within the Cameroonian speech communities. This means that interlocutors within a formal communication context will show respect for established norms or rules of usage following the standard rules for politeness and respect in formal circumstances (Nkwain, 2011). Some of the formal situations in this study include official speeches, official debates, official discussions at celebrations and deliberations at association meetings.

7.3.3.1. Address forms of formality: Official speeches

Extract 7.3.20: Welcome speech by a community Elder *Pa Hummy* at a wake.

Pa Hummy:
Ladies and gentlemen, brothers and sisters, you are welcome. No matter how solemn the occasion looks, the **MC** has been very skilful at least to lighten up our minds, em. We should just begin in time to actualise realities.

We, as a people, we as, a folk, the most times we have to meet ourselves. Now will be during wake keepings if you have to bear with us, meaning the dynamics of life are changing, we are living in a purely different dispensation now.

Eh you know for quite a period of time, **dear people**, there's that interpretation or that feeling or that fear that life has come to be a dark alley with no exit corridors but it's not true because **our brother, Pastor Bessem** preached the word.

There are others here who have lost their loved **mums** too, so **brother** just stay courageous, stay strong; there is still much that you have to do to accomplish some of those dreams she had.

Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you all for your patience. **Isaiah,** I thank you too that I can have the opportunity to speak on [at] your mother's vigil, it's an honour; I consider it an honour and I just wish and pray that the good God, who guided us all to this place, will be that same God who will take us back safely to our respective destinations.

Extract 7.3.20 is an extract from an official speech at the beginning of a *wake* in the cellar of Mülheim an der Ruhr. The speaker is one of the elders of the Cameroonian community; he is *Pa Hummy.* Even though this is a very formal context and he is using standard CamE, sometimes there is the need for him to draw closer to his listeners. That is why in line 1 he switches between the formal address patterns *ladies and gentlemen* to a more intimate but less formal *brothers and sisters.* This is because he feels a need to appeal to the

people's friendship and closeness. At the end of line 1, he formally addresses the girl presiding over the occasion by her title, the MC (Master of Ceremonies). In a less formal circumstance, *Pa Hummy* would have addressed her by name. He goes further to refer to the crowd as *a people;* again, this is a very formal way of addressing his community. In line 3, there is a dual image created when he speaks of the presiding pastor as *our brother, Pastor Bessem.* Even within the very formality of the pastor's duty at this wake, Pa Hummy sees the need to address him (the pastor) as *brother* (which also expresses the sense that he is a brother in faith). It is not only the formal duty and hierarchy of the pastor that is important in this community; the solidarity that he shares with his people is reiterated by addressing him as *brother*. This short speech ends with the formal tone in which it started; *Ladies and Gentlemen.*

Extract 7.3.21: Speech at a women's Day celebration by *Auntie Sally*.

Auntie Sally:

Ladies, we are Africans; we came from that background where every parent wants their child to be either a doctor, a lawyer; nobody wants the child to be a truck pusher NEVER!

So my **sisters,** I struggled to make the nursing one year course…

When I was in school, the teacher always said, we have three months of trial period; after three months some will go and everyone will turn and look at me. I just said oh!

My friends, it was a challenge to me…I took note when they go out to smoke; I must not stand there; I will not go. When we had the first test I did well; I had 2.

I stand here to tell you, **women,** we are important; we can fight more; don't look low at yourself, no matter what people say about you.

Ladies, what they are saying is not what you are, think big. People are running away going to London; they want to go to America. Stop there and say we have to make it in Germany. We are not making it for us. We are making it for our children to have a better tomorrow. I am happy always when I see **Dr. Susan**; I said whoa I want …I want to invite her to come to my house and sit and talk to my children.

Extract 7.3.21 is a speech at a Women's Day Celebration in the city of Essen. The speaker is a 45-year-old Anglophone Cameroonian woman who has lived in Germany for about 21 years. The title of her talk is *The Story of My Life in Germany*. Her choice of address terms betrays her feelings towards the group of women thus assembled. She wishes to share her experiences and to encourage them. This is reflected by the fact that most times she selects address forms like *my sisters*, *my friends* in spite of the formality of the occasion and even the fact that most of the women present are strangers to her. Her choice of these less formal but

more intimate address terms reflects the fact that they have something in common; they are all immigrant women albeit from different African countries. Illustratively, the formal use of *Ladies* in line 1 quickly changes into *my sisters* and *my friends* in lines 2 and 3. When eventually she moves on to officially addressing a member in the audience as Dr. Susan, it echoes her respect and admiration for the participant's title and perhaps the fact that the addressed doctor is someone to be emulated by the group of women. The CamE and CamPE feature of using titles with first names is again (re)constructed as she talks of Dr + FN= *Dr. Susan* and not Dr. + Surname= *Dr. Massango* (Surname) as would have been the case in British and American Standard English. This pattern is different from the use of address forms in official contexts in Cameroon (Anchimbe, 2008) where titles are combined with surnames and not first names.

Extract 7.3.22: A debate, "The importance of education"

1st speaker pro:

Sakerettes[55] will owe you something probably when you hold your session. So some of those things...but it goes as food for thought. I might not be very much prepared for this, but I will be able to improvise. Like **the moderator… Mme Moderator** said, eh I have two presidential (??) and I was coming from the south, five hours away from here because I attach a great importance to this…

Moderator:

Thank you very much **Mr. Agbor.** You raised very very interesting points. If we can summarize what he did say, he said, with education we can secure ourself [ves] a decent job and at the same time regain this self-confidence and self-fulfilment.

Thank you very much **Mrs. Tahiri,** for your brilliant points. They were really very interesting…

1st speaker cons:

Thank you, **ladies** and **gentlemen** and **madam moderator.**

Thank you. Good evening **ladies and gentlemen**, thank you **Frau Moderator**, you see, you don't have to be educated to become something in life…

2nd speaker pro:

Well, I do not agree with **Mr. Mandi,** who claims that education is nothing. We wouldn't be having this debate if we were not educated

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[55] Sakerettes is an ex-student association of girls and women from the renowned girls' secondary school in Cameroon *The Saker Baptist College.*

You will all bear with me, **ladies and gentlemen,** that education is the springboard to socio-economic development… **Mrs. Moderator**…

2ⁿᵈ speaker cons:

I do not believe that **my colleague** here said that education was useless… **Mr Agbor** you do not need to exaggerate to win this debate…

Madam Moderator, *Frau Moderator, Mr. Agbor, Mrs. Tahiri, Mr. Mandi, ladies and gentlemen,* in Extract 7.3.22 are significant address forms of formality that are common in the Cameroonian official settings. The pragmatic effect of these is that they represent the formality of the situation and they also show that politeness forms at such settings have to respect the British style because this is what had been handed down to them (postcolonial pragmatic point of view, Janney & Anchimbe, 2011). These honorifics encode the social relations that exist between the interlocutors in an official discourse like the formal debate from which this dialogue is extracted. These typical English address forms are reflections not only of the "correctness" that should characterize an atmosphere of an official debate but this also explains the communicative practices that characterize forms of spoken (and written) discourse in postcolonial contexts: social and professional spaces are characterized by very formal forms of address. In this case, typical Standard English-based terms (*Mr., Mrs., Ladies and gentlemen*) are all significant as regards the formality that characterizes the context of a debate. Anything less formal would be considered out of place or impolite. The choice of language here reiterates the fact that Standard English is a language of formality, while Pidgin and indigenous languages are languages of social proximity and informality (Constable, 1977; Kouega, 2004; Echu, 2008; Nkwain, 2011).

Extract 7.3.23: Address forms at a debate (closing remarks)

Mimi Shiti:[56] :

Good evening, my **sisters and brothers.** I really appreciate the fact that I see something like this. It is something that has been lacking for many years in our community. When **my sister** here told me about this debate, unfortunately I had gone to the South ... otherwise I would have really liked to participate. I appreciate your presence a lot and congratulate everyone who has taken time to come for a sitting like this.

Thank you, **madam president,**

Thank you, **ladies and gentlemen,**

Thank you, **madam moderator.**

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[56] Mimi shiti is one of the participants at the debate, who is called up to give her opinion.

Sakerrettes President:[57]

Thank you, **Madam moderator**. Well, the evening has been so long for us.

I thank you all for your patience; thank you for sacrificing your time to be here with us

Thank you for all the learned people who have given us so much information about education.

Well at the end, I could note one point; you know that I am for the panel, which is against education, that I have to support **sister Tahirih** who has worked so hard to make this work.

Extract 7.3.23 is a speech at a very formal occasion: the closing remarks at the end of a debate. The president here uses the address forms *sister* and *brother* to show her solidarity and support of *Tahirih* (the organizer of this debate) and the others present. The president is older and has a post of responsibility in the association but still finds it necessary to use an address form of respect when talking about her colleague. This shows that even in very formal contexts in which Cameroon Standard English is spoken, sometimes speakers still find it necessary to use the traditional form of respect and politeness markers. The use of the address form *sister* in line 2 above corroborates the idea earlier mentioned that most times kinship terms, as in the case of *sister* here, are used in non- kinship situations**.** Mimi's use of *sister* here is not because Tahiri is older than she is, but she uses *sister* as an expression of solidarity, friendship, equality and parallelism. This adds another dimension to the use of *sister* and *brother.* The use of *sister* and *brother* constitute the (re)construction of in- and out-group identities within the public domains. As has been mentioned before, these appellations have nothing to do with blood ties. They are geared at making the interlocutors referred to feel close and comfortable. They echo African warmness and solidarity and bonding, i.e. we see a mixture of Cameroonian cultural solidarity and the formality inherited from a postcolonial background and education. However, the formality of the occasion is constructed in the choice of address terms *madam president, ladies and gentlemen, madam moderator* (lines 3-6 in Extract 7.3.23).

Extract 7.3.24: A discussion between team-mates

1. Larisa: ja because her husband… yes, hello **Coach** what? (on the phone)
2. Jamie: who was that? **Achem?**
3. Larisa: *A say eh* **Coach** *don carry me* **pikin** *dem go keep am fo night club.* "I bet you the coach has taken the children to a night club"

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[57]   This speech takes place at the end of a debate that was organized by the Sakerrettes in Essen.

4. Jamie: *Wait wait wait make a start ask ma question. A say eh na fo night club dem done go?* "Wait a minute; let me ask ... so they have gone to a night club?"

5. Larisa: (still on the phone) *A say* **COACH! Achem,** *Wuna go see that* **pikin** *dem na fo Friday, Saturday even Sunday serf.* "Oh, *Coach Achem*, you will only see those children again on Friday, Saturday or even Sunday."

6. Jamie: *A swear!* "I swear!"

In the above dialogue (Extract 7.3.24) Jamie and Larissa are talking about the coach of their female handball team. He is called by his professional title *Coach* and his name is hardly ever used. This is polite and respectful not only for his age but his rank and position as their trainer. The speakers do not say *the coach,* they simply speak of him as *Coach,* which means his name has been replaced by his professional title. The use of this address form maintains group solidarity or inter-group communication; this address form reflects his social position and hierarchy. Therefore, its use is a form of politeness strategy. The use of the title *Coach* here can be compared to the use of the address form *president,* which is very common in Anglophone Cameroonian meetings. These naming strategies not only carry the pragmatic force of politeness but also reflect solidarity and power difference as the case may be. The level of politeness here correlates with the address form: the coach is older, and he is the "coach" hence the address term *Coach* is suitable and builds a positive image. The address form here is a formal one. If it were in a less formal context or a more social context, he could have been addressed as either *Brother, Uncle, Ni* or *Mola*.

7.3.3.2. Address forms of formality: An ex-student meeting

SOBA and other ex-student associations in the diaspora partly have the objectives of reconstructing or recreating the bonds that had been born and developed during their school years. These form an important element of their lives in the diaspora. The SOBANS[58] and the OPSANS[59] alumni form communities that have strong ties among members and a good connection with their schools and colleges of origin. Through their programs, these ex-students create a strong network of membership that keeps them together with an additional aim of helping and developing not just their members but their schools of origin in terms of academic infrastructure, e.g. college buildings, libraries, books and even scholarships to deserving

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[58]   SOBANS Sasse Old Boys Association. Sasse is a renowned Catholic boys' secondary school in Cameroon.

[59]   OPSANS Okoyong Past Students Association. Okoyong is a renowned Catholic girls' secondary school in Cameroon.

students. Members within these associations also help their members with important information like employment opportunities and career options. There exist, within the associations, financial support schemes that are geared at helping members in times of trouble, e.g. death of a member or death of important and close family. For instance, it is rare for Cameroonians to let any of their dead be laid to rest in Germany. The Cameroonian community will always arrange for a deceased person to be transported back home for the final funeral and burial rites to take place. Because Cameroonians, like most other Africans, are communal by nature, they arrange their lives based on family, villages and ethnic groups.

The family and community serve as an anchor, a powerful network for social interrelationships among members (Eckert, 2006; Mallison, 2007). That is why celebrations such as marriages, baptisms, death celebrations are very important and affect both, families and communities alike.

Extract 7.3.25: Address forms of formality at a SOBAN ex-students' meeting

1. President: Anyway, you are all aware the ...concerning the project like last meeting session we said we can't say anything about that until **Mr. Pumani** is back from Cameroon. Because we needed an update on the land issue and when he has done his presentation then can we now move to the second phase of the project, so all is in his hands. **Mr. Secretary,** can you start with the minutes of the last meeting?

2. Secretary: OK, thank you very much **Mr. President. Mr. Ekome** you had something to say?

3. Ekome: For any comment or any questions, **Mr. Pumani** will tell you people more. He was even about to sell you his land, his piece of land; you know the pressure and you know connection and background.

4. Ngomba: **Mr. Pumani** please …

5. Ndumbe: So **the president** has practically stopped the discussion concerning the plan.

6. President: No, for the second phase is something.

7. Pumani: Yes, because people have not handed in their reports as expected.

8. Ngomba: A beg, **Clement,** let me ask you something: which report? And which person are you expecting to give you the report? So that you can just let him know how to solve the problem.

9. Pumani: Let me put it this way, normally, I would have expected you, **Mr. Ngomba** and **Mr. Bessong,** to coordinate the report but…

10. Ngomba: ME? What report?

11. Pumani: Report for the forum.

12. Ngomba: What happened?

13.   Bessong: **Clement**, if they are paying 250 Euros, I think there are enough members here who can take care of that report.

14.   Pumani: **Ngomba** is something you already know, like I said, it's something like a cultural forum. Who is supposed to know?

Every discussion at an ex-students' meeting takes place in Cameroon Standard English (CamE). The discussion starts with participants addressing each other in very formal and correct forms: e.g. *Mr. President, Mr. Ngomba* and *Mr. Pumani*. These are address forms of formality that usually characterize formal Cameroonian discussions. It is generally believed that Cameroon Standard English is the language for speakers who are highly educated because this is usually acquired at school. SOBANS, especially since they come from a background that is believed to be the very first boys' secondary school, have to promote their image as a group of *grammarians* each time they meet. It will be unheard of to get SOBANS conduct any of their meetings in say Pidgin, instead they are an epitome of Cameroon English. This dialogue shows how address forms are used for strategic purposes. *Clement Pumani* is addressed as *Mr. Pumani* at the beginning of the deliberation. However, when they reach a stage of disagreement, there is almost a total breakdown in communication and members start addressing each other by first and last names without the necessary prefixes of respect. *Mr. Pumani* becomes simply *Clement*, *Mr. Ngomba* is *Ngomba.* There is a breakdown of the rules of formal politeness and respect as manifested via the use of address forms.

In this Exact 7.3.25 *Clement Pumani* expresses displeasure towards *Ngomba* and *Bissong,* who have failed to carry out their assignments. These members, on their part, become irritated and in their anger they lose control of the formality of the situation. The purpose for the use of address forms of respect and politeness breaks down during the disagreement between these interlocutors; *Pumani* is suddenly addressed in this circumstance as he would have been in a non-official context. Here we see a breakdown of solidarity and in-group coherence (Anchimbi, 2011). This breakdown can be contrasted with what happens in Extracts 23.7 and 24.7 when Monsidor has a disagreement with the other members in their socio-economic *Njangi* meeting. Within this social frame, a disagreement is not manifested by a change of address terms unlike in the very formal context of an ex-students' meeting. This could be interpreted to mean that speech behaviour is linked to culture.

At an official meeting where Standard English is the code, reactions and manifestations are Western based. The traditional and cultural Cameroonian attitude of maintaining order and to keep the group together even during a disagreement is not abandoned. From a pragmatic point of view, it could be argued that using Standard English follows the pattern of Western

culture and tradition in which case address forms reflect the mood and relationship between the interlocutors at the moment of use. In this culture, a change of mood and atmosphere signals a change in the way interlocutors will address each other.

7.3.3.3. Address forms of formality: An ethnic meeting

Extract 7.3.26: Address forms *Ladies and Gentlemen*, *Mr. and Mrs.*, *Auntie*

President:
Ladies and gentlemen, dear brothers and sisters, I welcome you to our monthly meeting of Menchum Cultural Development Association... Before we start, I will call upon you, **Auntie Carthy** to say a word of prayer for us.
After this moving and powerful prayer, by our dear member, who entreated God for healing grace and a rapid recovery of one of our senior members, **Mrs. Njog Philo.** I call **on the secretary, Mr. Ngu,** please can you read the minutes of the last meeting?

Secretary:
My brothers and sisters, I greet you all (starts reading); the meeting of last month was held at **Brother Silva's** house in Essen West.
The meeting started with a word of welcome by our **president, Ngia Dan.**

The president also revealed that **Mr. Oliva** and his wife are back from their holiday and he will have to give us a report on the drums and instruments he had to buy…

This is the *Menchum Cultural Association* meeting. The mixture of choice in addressing members is typical of this type of gathering. It is a reflection of the sociolinguistic hybridity that is typical of some of the Cameroonian communities. This mixture is a result of the sociolinguistic background of the members. Although the members of the *Menchum Cultural and Development Association* come from the same ethnic region, they all have different sub-ethnic languages, different social levels and different educational status. Some of the members present will even find it difficult to express themselves in Standard English. The language used in such a meeting is also a mixture of CamPE, CamE and ethnic languages. That is why during this socio-cultural meeting there is a mixture of forms. There is the social address form *auntie* but there is also the use of *Mr.* and *Mrs.* and again the use of the tribal address form *Ngia* especially because the secretary has to read the minutes that have been written in Cameroon Standard English (the language of formality and correctness).

7.4. Address forms in the Cameroonian diasporic churches

7.4.1. Rev., Father, Pastor, Elder, Sister/Brother

In the German diaspora, Cameroonian women go to church dressed in fanciful traditional attires, *wrappers* and *kabayangos* (Cameroonian female traditional outfits). The men, on the other hand, are also dressed up in male traditional *boubous* and *ganduras.* For most of these immigrants, the church services are a lot more than just going to serve God. These are occasions to get these men and women connected; they re-live their experiences of singing and dancing in the churches; they commune with people they have not seen for a week or more; they support each other through this kind of networking. The churches in the German diaspora represent a social network for the migrants through which they temporarily re-enact their home experiences and forget the complexities of diasporic life even for a few hours. These postcolonial immigrants need a community where they can feel comfortable in the belief that they can still depend on the support of their fellow Christian brothers and sisters. There is a common belief among Cameroonians that in order to survive the hurdles of diasporic life, they need the support of each other, they need to lean on each other. An examination of the address forms as used in the churches will illustrate this more clearly in Extract 38:

Extract 7.4.1: A CWA[60] Meeting

1. President: You are very welcome to the March meeting. I think before we start with today's deliberation **Sister Maggie** should lead us in an opening prayer.
2. Maggie**:** ***Sister President*** *a beg wuna na me a lead prayer last time make some other person lead today a beg.* "President, I beg of you; I am the one who led the opening prayer at the last meeting. I think someone else should lead us in prayer today, please."
3. President**: Sisters** please someone should offer to pray for us…
4. Secretary (reading): Last Month we drew up the list for dishes we are going to cook for the "Big day Maria". **Father Lebe** suggested that we should not sell the food and that the men led by **Brother Richard** will also provide the drinks free of charge.
5. President: *So, **sister dem** are we all agreed on this arrangement?* (dem= CamPE plural marker e.g. Sister + dem= Sisters).

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[60]   CWA: The Catholic Women Association is an important women's group in the Catholic Church in Cameroon.

6. Caro: *Well in that case anybody go cook the amount wey e fit nooh since dem no go give we money for the cooking.* "Well in that case everybody will prepare the quantity of food she can afford since we do not get any money for the cooking"

7. President: *Make we hear from **Ma Beatrice** our **big mammie** for CWA, **Ma Bea** wenti you think?* "In this case, let's listen to Ma Beatrice our CWA grandmother. Ma Bea (short for Beatrice), what do you think?"

8. Beatrice*: For me we no get plenty occasion dem like this one. Even for pays big day Maria na day weh all man know say **CWA Mammie** dem di make their small fund raising.* "In my opinion, we do not have many such opportunities. Even back home in Cameroon everyone knows that the feast of Assumption is the day that the CWA women raise funds for their Association."

9. Harriet: I see with **Ma Bea,** make we decide then go tell **Father** and CMA[61] **President Brother Richard.** "I am of the same opinion as Ma Beatrice; let's decide and then take our decision to the Reverend Father and brother Richard, the president of the men's group."

The address form *sister* features in lines 1, 2, 3 and 5 of Extract 7.4.1. In line 2, the president is addressed as *Sister President*. There is the need to add *sister* to her title *president* because what is important in the church community is not the power position she holds but her solidarity with the other members of the group. They are sisters in Christ; that is more important. The president is a much older woman who would have been *auntie* or even *mama* in a more secular context. *Sister* is used here following church regulations and expectations. This also holds for *Brother Richard* in line 4. Brother Richard is the president of the CMA, but he is also *brother,* not president. The only exception is *Ma Beatrice* in line 7. Although she is about the same age as the president, everyone calls her *Mama.* She is a mother figure to the group. *Father,* in line 4, refers to the parish priest. This address form follows the Catholic regulations, i.e. this is how everyone in this congregation addresses a Catholic priest.

Extract 7.4.2: Presbyterian Church celebration

1. Pa Suni: The choir is two years old today and as their **president, Elder Tim,** said, we have to try to support them in this fund raising so that they get their choir robes

2. Rev. Pastor Mukete: Dear **brothers and sisters**, our **Rev. Pastor Galame***, the* **Moderator** of the Cameroon Presbyterian church, is visiting us; we have to prepare to receive him too.

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[61]   CMA: Catholic Men Association in Cameroon (The same arrangement has been carried over to Germany.)

3. Brother Tim: **President of the choir,** let's call on our **women leader** to tell us what they have prepared. **Sister Osla,** please come in front.

4. Pastor Mukete: **Brothers, sisters,** let us give a hand of welcome **to Elder Osla** (to applaud).

5. Sister Osla: Well, my fellow **brothers and sisters**, I will like to start by thanking the women of this congregation who spent so much time in spite of their tight schedule to make this day a reality. I will like to thank most especially **Sister Maggie** and **Sister Dudu** for the decoration, **Mammie Ashu** for drawing up the menu and distributing the dishes… the men are not left out **Pa Suni** and **Brother Tim,** who helped transport most of the things we needed to move around; we thank you all.

Extract 7.4.2 above is taken from different speech events made by different people on the occasion of a fundraising activity organized by the Cameroonian community of the Presbyterian Church in Bochum. We notice that the address forms in the churches are semi-formal; sometimes the speakers will stick to formal terms of address, especially when referring to the Pastors and the religious heads. The use of *brother* and *sister* in lines 3, 4 and 5, follows the same pattern as the speakers of the Catholic congregation. However, the use of *mammie,* and *pa* is not directly associated with church address forms but used here to show that these persons are like the father and mother of their congregations. From the above data, it could be said that the church is one context in which the use of the address forms of *brother* and *sister* is still very active. This means that the use of *sister* and *brother* is orthogonal to age. In the semi-structured interview, Church members say that everyone is called *sister/brother* because they believe that they are all sisters and brothers in Christ. The use of *Ma* to address Beatrice(Extract 7.4.1) is an exceptional case; maybe it is because she looks like a mother figure to the congregation. The president is about the same age as Beatrice, but she is called *Sister President* not *Ma*. There is a need to follow proper church etiquette addressing church leaders. Formal address terms are used. These formalities help make church members respectful in terms of authority and hierarchy. Language use by these communities reveals that religion is an important part of their identity. Multilingual, multicultural sociolinguistic diversity Tim, in line 1, is called *Elder Tim* in church, but in another context, he may be called *Ni Tim*. The way he is addressed depends on context and interlocutor. Different sociolinguistic identities are recreated each time a different address form is used. The use of *sister* and *brother* as indexes of respect and power in the secular domain is different in the churches where *sister* and *brother* are used as indexes of spiritual affiliation. Results of the answers to the semi-structured interviews in Table 7.4.1 below reveal the following:

Table 7.4.1: Public domain distribution of titles of formality

Address Forms YM						
Participants	Mr. & Mrs.	Ladies and Gentlemen	President	Chief	Pastor	Father
use	20	18	20	11	20	20
Not use	0	2	0	9	0	0
Total	20	20	20	20	20	20
Address Forms OM						
	Mr.& Mrs.	Ladies and Gentlemen	President	Chief	Pastor	Father
use	14	8	20	20	20	20
Not use	6	12	0	0	0	0
Total	20	20	20	20	20	20
Address Forms YW						
	Mr. & Mrs	Ladies and Gentlemen	President	Chief	Pastor	Father
use	19	16	20	13	20	20
Not use	1	4	0	7	0	0
Total	20	20	20	20	20	20
Address Forms OW						
	Mr.&Mrs.	Ladies and Gentlemen	President	Chief	Pastor	Father
use	12	5	20	20	20	20
Not use	8	15	0	0	0	0
Total	**20**	**20**	**20**	**20**	**20**	**20**

Answers to question 19: Which of these titles of formality do you use in an appropriate context?

Total number of Respondents=80

YM 18-35 = 20, YW 18-35 = 20, OM 35-above = 20, OW 35-above = 20

Graph 7.4.1 (a): Public Domain: Distribution of Titles of Formality YM
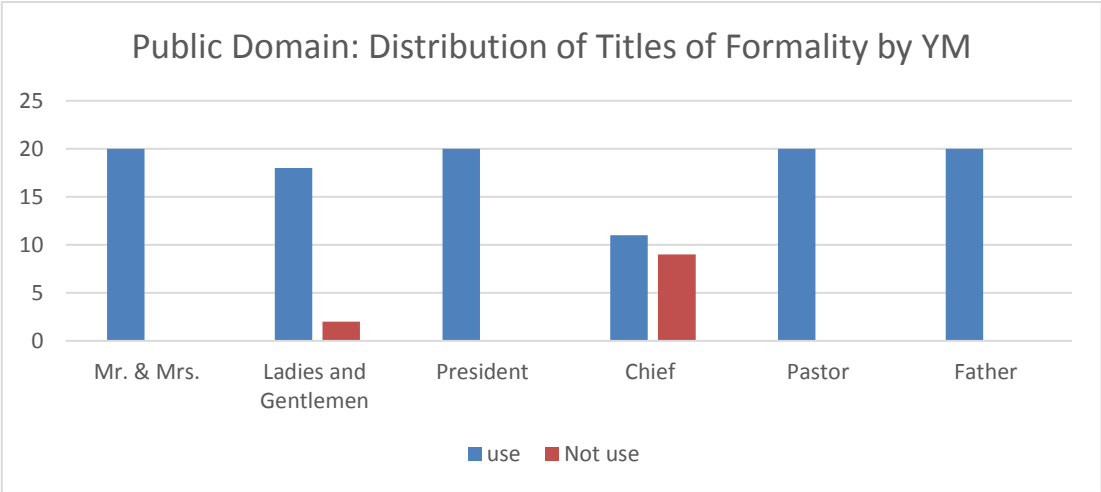
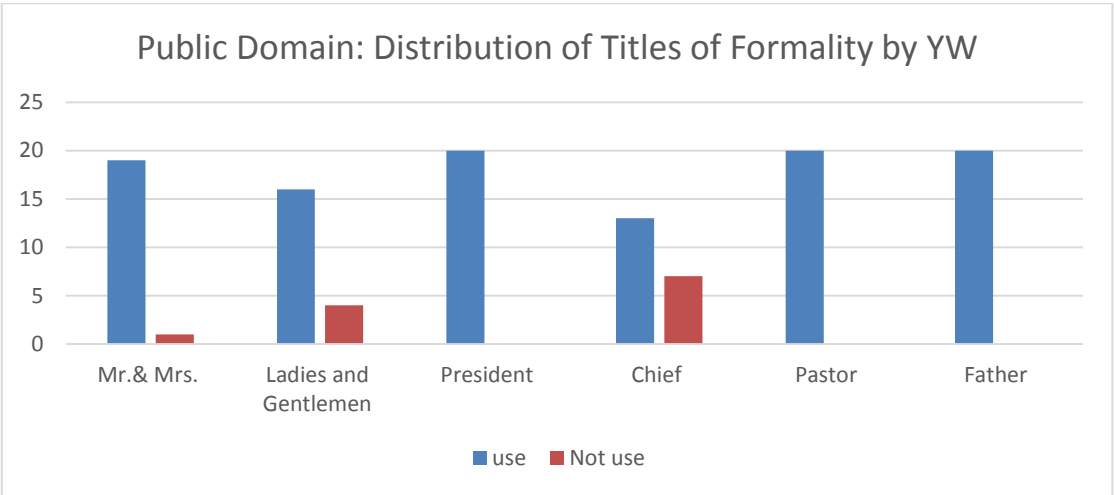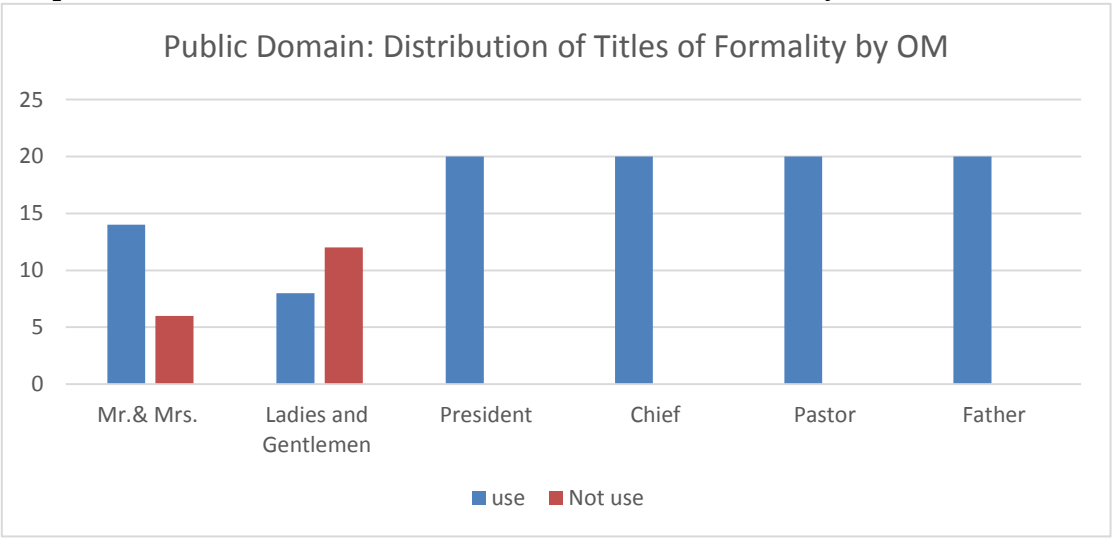**Graph 7.4.1 (b): Public Domain: Distribution of Titles of Formality YW**

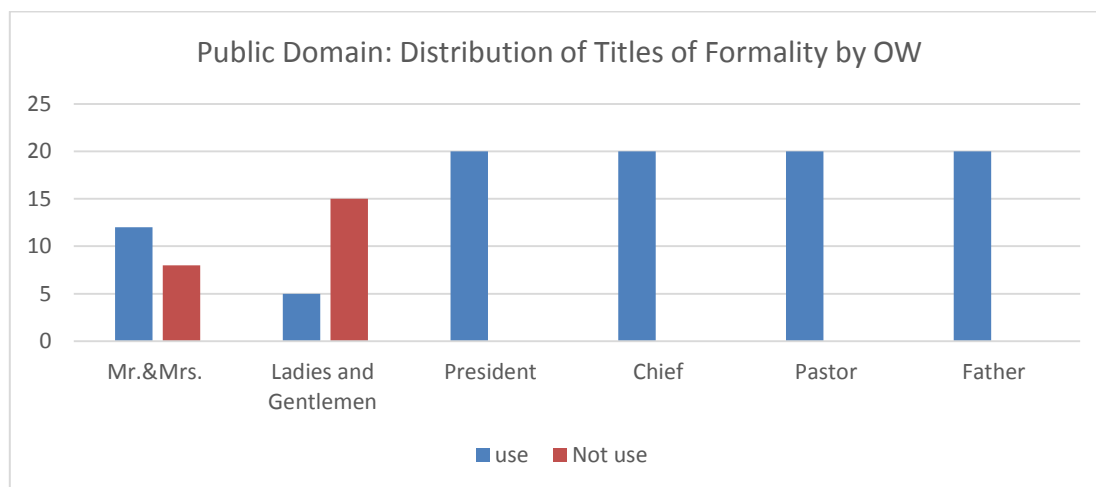**Graph 7.4.1 (c): Public Domain: Distribution of Titles of Formality OM**

Graph 7.4.1 (d): Public Domain: Distribution of Titles of Formality OW

Table 7.4.1 as visualised by graphs 7.4.1 a, b, c and d exposes the different titles of formality that are generally used in CamE, the standard variety. Within the relevant context, speakers of different age and gender use these address forms as expected. However, the younger men and women in this study (Graphs 7.4.1 a and b) admit the use of *Mr. & Mrs. a* bit more frequently, 39 as opposed to 26 older men and women who said they used these address forms. The older men and women used titles such as *chief* and *president.* The data also reveal that the younger speakers use *ladies and gentlemen* with a higher frequency than the older speakers. The address form *Father* (Rev. Father) is used with the same frequency by all speakers. The older women claim that they hardly use *ladies and gentlemen*. This could be because they have hardly been exposed to official contexts in which they have to use these formal address forms. It could also be a signal of the educational level of the female informants. In other words, the older informants, male and female, are hardly exposed to situations in which they have to speak or address people in the standard variety of English that require the use of these address forms.

7.5. Contact with and effects of German on CamE & CamPE = DCamE & DCamPE

CamE and CamPE as spoken in Germany are not only influenced by other varieties of Englishes such as the Nigerian and Ghanaian varieties but also by German, the majority language (also Kallmeyer & Keim, 2003; Fornmentelli, 2018). Anglophone Cameroonian children in this context learn German in school, there is contact with German through the media. Other sources of input in the German-speaking environment include the work places,

the shops, the markets and on the streets. These language contact situations result in linguistic differences as manifested in the different address forms used among these multilinguals in Germany. This study argues that the CamE-German and CamPE-German contact phenomenon leads to a new inventory of linguistic forms (including address forms) resulting in the unique features that make up DCamE and DCamPE. As seen in the data of this research, the result of this contact is that DCamE & DCamPE become *mixed lects*, which form part of the speakers' repertoire and is characterised by a certain degree of variability as shown in Extracts 7.5.1(a), 7.5.1 (b), 7.5.2 & 7.5.3 Due to the fact that communication between Anglophone Cameroonians and Germans usually take place in the German language, an examination of language use in such contexts goes beyond the scope of this research. Here we are concerned with the use of the two varieties of Cameroon Englishes. However, it can be observed that German has a significant influence in the use of these two English varieties. Through codeswitching, borrowing and coinage of lexical items (Myer-Scotton, 1993), the speakers in the following extracts switch between CamE, CamPE and the German language with very meaningful effects:

Extract 7.5.1 (a): Code switching between CamPE & German

1. Marline: *Wait when we don go play Dortmund Came back then you can schwanger*

    "Wait, after we have played the match with Dortmund, you can then get pregnant"

2. Rose: *No problem that's how Susan's daughter* **schwangered.** "No Problem that's how Susan's daughter got pregnant"

3. Mary: *Your daughter* **schwangered...**ah "Your daughter pregnant?"

In Extract 7.5.1 (a), we see that the word *schwanger* is the German word for "pregnant". It has been carried over into English and speakers have gone as far as conjugate the borrowed word using the English inflection for the simple past tense for regular verbs (-ed past tense marker) this leads the loan word *schwanger* to become *schwangered,* s*chwanger* +ed = *schwangered*. The effect of this switch is that the speakers display their German *Bushfaller* identity, they are German *been tos*[62] as evidenced by their variety of English which is characterised by switches into the German language. Just like *bushfallers* in other parts of the

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[62] *Been to* is a west African expression which means the same as bushfallers; these refer to people who have migrated to more advanced countries of the world e.g. to the USA, Europe etc. (Blench, 2005) http://www.rogerblench.info/Language/English/Nigerian%20English%20Dictionary.pdf (18.10.2018)

world (American, British etc.), these immigrants make use of and display features of languages they come in contact with.

Another example is the speakers' use of German exclamations illustrated in Extract 7.5.1 (b) below:

Extract 7.5.1 (b): Code switching into the German language

1. Robbie: *ah ah so dem be wan take their fine that time cam carry am give we make na We pay.* "So they want us to pay their fine /penalty for them?"
2. Joyce: *a tell you!* "I bet you!"
3. Robbie: **Meine Gott!** *"My God!"*
4. Joyce: *Dat one na really* **Scheiss***!* (That is really rubbish!)

The use of the curse word *Scheisse* in line 4 is a loan word also in lines 3 and 4 of the same extract, there is codeswitching into German swear words *Mein Gott!* "My God!", and *Scheiss!* "shit!" In the excitement of the moment the speakers are observed to codeswitch into German swear words and expressions. These immigrants come from a background where swearing is considered immoral and is frowned upon at the level of the individual and community. Switching into German or using German swear words and expressions during a conversation in English could be an indication that it is easier to swear in a foreign language where the full meaning of the swear word is lost on the speaker (Dewaele, 2004). It could also be that these multilinguals can talk of highly emotional things in a foreign language (Caldwell-Harris, 2014) more easily. This means that swearing in German does not bear the same emotional weight like it would have in CamE/CamPE. These informants will not feel as emotional in a foreign language as they would in their own language.

A further example of the influence of German on diasporic CamE and CamPE can be observed in Extract 7.5.2. The informants here, who are travelling by car from Essen to Berlin, are commenting on a fight they just observed on the street. In their excitement, they switch and mix German in their CamE and CamPE, the result is the coinage and variation that we observe in the following dialogue:

Extract 7.5.2: Code mixing, CamPE & German

1. Joyce*: na fake Oyibo or na* **Deutscher?** "Are they false Europeans or Germans?"
2. Robbie: **fake dem***…* a no think say na **Deutscher** *dem.* "I think they are fake. I do not believe that they are Germans"
3. Joyce: *the problem na say eh dis* **pipo** *dem.* "The problem with these people*…"*

4. Robbie: *em em dis people dem*. "Emm these people!"

5. Joyce: *see dat man weh e go separate the fight you see wenti dem done do fo e eye noh?* "Do you see what they have done to the man who went to separate the fight? See what they have done to his eye**."**

6. **Robbie:** *Weh these **fake Oyibo** and their palava.* "These false Europeans are very problematic"

7. Joyce: *because… ja e deh really make am so blood deh commot* "Because yes…his eye is really bleeding heavily"

In lines 1, 2 and 6 of Extract 7.5.2 the use of *Fake Oyibo* can be explained as follows: *Fake*= "counterfeited", "fabricated" or "affected" & "not true", *Oyibo*= "white person", "European", "Caucasian". The address form *Fake Oyibo* therefore means "fabricated Caucasian". For example, the white skinned people from North Africa, Turkey and the Middle East. These people are called *fake Oyibo* in DCamE and DCamPE because they look like Europeans but are not true Europeans. The use of *Fake Oyibo* to refer to white skinned non-Europeans is a way of saying that these people are not any better than they (the speakers) are. Even though these non-Europeans have a European complexion, they do not meet European standards. They "pretend" to be European, but they are not. Another example of language/code mixing is the use of *Remenga* to address or speak to an old woman who dresses like a young girl. This is a common practice in the German diaspora, where even older women wear jeans trousers. This coinage *Remenga* replicates an older woman with a younger mind-set. *Reme* is another address term for "mother" or "elderly woman" and *Nga* means "girl". It becomes obvious that "mother" and "girl" contradict each other and therefore shows that "*Remenga"* is an oxymoron. The juxtaposition of *Reme* "mother/elderly woman" and *Nga "*girl" creates the image of an older woman who is struggling to look like a younger girl. This is believed to be one of the characteristics of the *bushfaller* women because at home in Cameroon older women will often dress in *wrappers*[63] and *kabba*[64] and not trousers and jeans.

Extract 7.5.3: German address forms of closeness & intimacy transported into CamE/CamPE

1. Monsidor: *this one week a nova go ma account so a get money dem wey dem eevn kam in a just use am so use am so use am so weh if a bi go dat account a fo know say money no deh dey*. "For the past one week I did not check my account I just assumed that I had some money that came in and I used it without knowing.

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[63] Wrappers: a long elegant styled fabric worn for outings and other occasions by women in Cameroon

[64] Kabba: a long free flowing casual dress worn by women at home or during casual visits or shopping

> If I had checked my account, I would have known that I do not have enough money".

2. Michael: *Therese just leave am so **Schatz*** "Therese my darling take heart don't worry"

3. Rose: *no tok say leave am so **Schatz** she has made an error if we start tok say **Therese** leave am so ja?* You have made a miscalculation, which should not happen again. "Don't tell her "take heart dear/darling" It is wrong of you to say such a thing to her. She has made a serious mistake that should not be repeated"

The use of *Schatz* (darling, dear) in Extract 7.5.3 is a borrowed expression of intimacy from the German language. The pragmatic explanation here is that the speaker uses *Schatz* in an attempt to reduce the embarrassment and the shame that the failure to contribute her *Njangi* money has brought on the speaker in question. Under normal circumstances, it is unlikely that a senior member of the community like Michael will address another woman "*darling"* in public. His choice of address here is an attempt to comfort her. However, the head of the association (Rose) immediately reprimands Michael. Rose thinks that Monsidor needs to be punished and not consoled. The use of *Schatz* here redefines her group membership to say; "even though you have committed an offense, you are still part of us". *Schatz* here can also be seen as a borrowed tradition, since in the Cameroonian tradition intimacy is hardly expressed publicly.

Extract 7.5.4: German address forms in a formal speech in DCamE/DCamPE

1. **Ist speaker Cons**: Good evening **ladies and gentlemen**, thank you **Frau Moderator** "Madam Moderator", Herr Johnson *"*Mr. Johnson", Frau Tahiri "Mrs. Tahiri", you see you don't have to be educated to become something in life. Look at Mr.??? Today he achieved his goal and social status as one of the most successful comedians in Africa today. He was not trained in school to be what he is today

2. **Tahiri:** as the speakers on the cons side **Herr --** said we are living in an epoch in which education is not the only gateway to success…

In Extract 7.5.4, which is the formal context of a debate, in lines 1 and 2 we see the use of some German official address forms. The different Anglophone Cameroonian immigrant groups in Germany can be described as people whose socio-cultural background and orientation is influenced by the different worlds with which they are in contact. In the German diaspora therefore, the reality is that German is the predominant language of the society.

Sometimes the speakers of CamE and CamPE switch into German unconsciously but at other times this switch is consciously aimed at creating different impressions.

Extract 7.5.5 (a): German address forms

Speaker: Ladies and gentlemen it is our pleasure to be with you all today… As **Mr. Ndoumbe** earlier said, we are anxious to get the best education for our children... I now hand over to **Herr Wolfgang** who will go on to explain to us the role of the social service in providing free education for all including migrant children…

Extract 7.5.5 (a) is at a conference in Germany; the speaker, a Cameroonian, addresses the crowd as *Ladies and Gentlemen*. He also speaks of *Mr Ndoumbe* when referring to his Cameroonian colleague. However, when this same speaker in the same speech event wishes to address a German colleague, he says, *Herr Wolfgang* "Mr. Wolfgang". In yet another situation, this time at a women's day celebration in Essen, the speaker says:

Extract 7.5.5 (b): German address terms

Speaker: We have a prominent educated woman among us right here in the hall, she is even a city counsellor, a politician of the Grün Partei, **Frau Yeboah…** (The Green Party, Mrs. Yeboah"

Here the speaker addresses an African colleague using the German address term of respect *Frau.* We see that mixture of linguistic address forms displays the reality of a contemporary globalized society. The standard German rule that the address forms *Frau* and *Herr* are used with surname is violated when the speaker says *Herr Wolfgang* "Mr. Wolfgang*".*

These two examples demonstrate that Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants sometimes create or display the personality of an integrated migrant or the German *bushfaller*. When these Cameroonians address their German colleagues, they follow the German culture and tradition. For instance, the address forms of respect that are used within the Cameroonian speech communities are completely abandoned. Notably, a very young Cameroonian is forced to address a very elderly German by name. During the course of this research some university students revealed that they address some of their lecturers and professors by first names, with no titles of respect or formality. This is a great divergence from the Cameroonian situation (Echu, 2004). Furthermore, some Cameroonians revealed that they find this difficult and they resort to addressing the elderly Germans as *Herr Simon* and *Frau Dorothee.* This is another

example of the hybridity that is reconstructed when two languages and cultures come into contact in a social domain. The development of the social style of communication as seen in Extracts 7.5.1 (a) and (b), 7.5.2, 7.5.3, 7.5.4, 7.5.5 (a) and (b) confirm earlier studies of immigrant communities in Germany (Kallmeyer & Keim, 2003 & Ziegler, 2016) that German, the majority language of the society, influences the Anglophone Cameroonian speech community.

Based on Extracts 7.5.1 (a) and (b), 7.5.2, 7.5.3, 7.5.4, 7.5.5 (a) and (b) of the present research, it can be observed that CamE & CamPE in contact with the German language results in linguistic transfers (Grosjean, 1992 & Myers- Scotton, 1993). The code switches and borrowing of address forms and other lexical items observed in the language behaviour of these immigrants serve an interactional purpose that helps these speakers (re)construct different shades of identities as will be elaborated in Chapter 8.

A summary that captures the different address forms and kinship terms found in this research is provided in Tables 7.5.1 and 7.5.2 below:

Table 7.5.1: Distribution of the address forms and kinship terms in DCamE and DCamPE: Private domain of the family

Kinship Term	Context	Speaker/Addressee	Application/Examples
Name: Ethnic names EN Christian Names CN Nicknames Names of endearments	Addressing children Addressing spouses Among siblings	Parents -> children Children -> parents Older siblings -> younger Older family members -> younger family	Mofang->(EN) ethic name Josue-> (CN) Christian name Mafou-> nickname
Pa/mammie Daddy/mummy	Children → parents Younger family members → much older family members	Children -> parents Younger -> much older	Simply: Daddy, Papa, Pa, Mammie /Ma, Mummy. Daddy + name = daddy James Papa +name = Papa Mathias Pa+name = Pa John Mammie + name = Mammie Julie Ma + name = Ma Mary/Aboh Mummy + 0 name = Mummy
Sister/brother	Respect and politeness towards older family members among siblings & extended family members	Siblings: Younger -> older Extended family: Younger -> slightly older	Brother + CN = Brother Tim Brother + EN = Brother Ngu Brother + No name Sister + CN = Sister Mary Sister + EN Name = Sister Akwen
Auntie/uncle	Used to address: brother/sister of parents Any members of the extended family of about the age of an uncle or aunt.	Younger -> older Younger -> older	Auntie + CN = auntie Thelma Auntie+ EN = auntie Mah Uncle +CN = Uncle Sylvester UNCLE+EN = Uncle Njoh Auntie+ Zero Name Eg. Auntie, good morning!
			Uncle+Zero name E.g. Uncle welcome!
Ni/Ma	Ethnic address form NW region Cameroon Used to address: brother/sister of parents Any member of the extended family. Members of the extended family of about the age of an uncle or aunt.	Younger -> older Younger -> older Junior -> superior	Ni+CN = Ni Lucas Ni+EN = Ni Mofor Ma+CN = Ma Sophie Ma+EN = Ma Akwen

Kinship Term	Context	Speaker/Addressee	Application/Examples
Mola/(Iya)	Address form SW region Bakweri Ethnicity of Cameroon. Used to address: brother/sister of parents, any member of the extended family members of the extended family of about the age of an uncle or aunt	Younger → older Younger → older Junior → superior	Mola + CN = Mola PeterMola +EN = Mola Otto
Teknonyms 1	Mother of a child, used to address any woman who has mothered a child	Used by everybody, younger and older interlocutors irrespective of age, respect for motherhood	Mammie + name of child = mammie Emade Or Mammie Sophie/Mammie John
Teknonyms 2	Father of a child used to address any man who is a father to a child	Used by everybody, younger and older interlocutors irrespective of age Respect for fatherhood	Papa/Pa+Name of child = Pa Emade Papa/Pa Raymond

Table 7.5.2: Distribution of the different address forms in DCamE and DCamPE: The public and social domains

Social titles/Address terms	Context	Speaker/Addressee	Application
Manyi/Tanyi	Family, friends, anybody in the community or neighbourhood who knows that the addressee is a mother or father to twin children	Mother and father of twins	Tanyi+CN = Tanyi Lucas Tanyi + EN = Tanyi Sichui Manyi+ CN = Manyi Susan Manyi + EN = Manyi Ngomba
Sister/brother	Older but not much older male/female of community or ethnic region	Younger -> older	Brother + CN = brother Mike Brother + EN = brother Agbor Sister + CN = sister Mary Sister + EN = sister Limunga
	Church Member mainly of the Pentecostal churches	Irrespective of age (reciprocal)	Brother + CN = brother Pius Brother + EN = brother Njoh Sister + CN = sister Maureen Sister + EN = sister Egbe
	Any older African male/female stranger whose age you are not sure of but who does not look very much older.	Younger -> older	Brother+No name = brother Sister + No name = sister Good afternoon brother!

Antie/uncle	Older member (much older than a senior sister/brother but not as old as the speaker's mother/father) from one's community	Younger -> older	Auntie + CN = Auntie Thelma Auntie+ EN = Auntie Namondo Uncle +CN = Uncle Max Uncle + EN = Uncle Elembe
	Any female/male stranger much older than a senior sister/brother	Younger → older	Auntie + no name = zero name Uncle + No Name = zero name good afternoon uncle/auntie!
Ni/Ma or Nini/Mama	Address form NW region Cameroon, address older & senior male/female of the community/ethnic region.	Younger → older	Ni + CN = Ni Michael Ni + EN = Ni Sama Ma/mama+CN = Ma/mama Susan Ma/mama + EN = Ma/mama Agen
Mola/Iya	Address form Bakweri tribe SW region Cameroon, older & senior males of the community	Younger → older	Mola + CN = Mola James Mola + EN = Mola Massango Iya + No name = Nyango Iya + EN= Iya Limunga
Mammie+Name of child = teknonyms	Females of the community with children, irrespective of ethnic group/age = parents	Younger → older Also irrespective of age respect of motherhood	Mammie+CN of child = mammie Paulina Mammie + EN of child = Mammie Emade
Pa+ name of child = Teknonyms	Males of the community with children, irrespective of ethnic group/age = parents	Younger → older Also irrespective of age, respect of fatherhood	Papa+CN of child = papa Paulina Pa/papa+EN = papa Ebude
Tankoh/Tongtah = Ndap(male/female)	Family oriented address Bali Bahok tribe NW region Cameroon. Used by friends, community members & acquaintances who know addressee. Also used in the family domain	Younger → older Also irrespective of age, general respect	Ndap+CN = Tankoh/Tongta Michael/Martina Ndap+EN = Tamah/Tongtah Tankoh/Tongtah Ngassa/Ngounchu
Grand(es) Frère/soeur	Used to address older friends, acquaintances, community members	Younger → older	Sometimes used when the name of addressee is not known. But also used to express closeness Grand(es) Frère/sœur + name or zero name
Petit(e) frère/sœur	Used to address younger acquaintances/friends	Older → younger	Sometimes used when the name of addressee is not known. But also used to express closeness petit(e) frère/sœur + name or zero name

Bo'oh Massah Dis man	Used among friends & acquaintances	People of about the same age group	Used by friends, some of these express different moods, e.g. dis man is usually used in a situation of playful/mild reprimand or sarcasm
O boy	Used to address a Nigerian male of about the same age group	Same age group	This is synonymous with the Cameroonian Massa, Bo'oh & Ma friend in-group and solidarity
Oga	Used to address an older Nigerian male	Younger → older	Oga+CN = Oga Vincent simply Oga with zero name
Igwe	A very senior Nigerian male who has this title	Younger → older	This is a very important title among the Igbos of Nigeria; it is something like a chieftaincy title. Always used on its own = Igwe you are welcome!
Name/No Name/Zero name	Avoid using an address form or title if you are not sure of the addressee's age	Younger → older	Generally, when you meet an older person, but you are not sure about their real age group and situation; out of respect and the fear for not disrespecting them, you avoid using any of the titles or names.
Herr Frau	Addressing non-German men & women in very formal contexts. Addressing German men & women in informal contexts Referring to Non-Europeans who are white in complexion	Irrespective of age	These two address forms are used to speak to Germans generally but sometimes they are also used within the Cameroonian communities in very formal situations
Darkie	Address term for all Africans south of the Sahara	Irrespective of age Solidarity In-group	Every black African is a darkie
Oyibo	Europeans Whiteman		Oyibo vs darkie
Fake Oyibo	White skinned non-Europeans		The Turkish & the Syrians for example.
Paysan	Cameroonians	Irrespective of age & ethnicity	Used exclusively in the diaspora by all Anglophones
Pays	Cameroon the country		Used exclusively in the diaspora by all Anglophones.

7.6. Summary

This chapter has displayed how Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants in the German diaspora use their linguistic resources to (re)construct their identities. The immigrants use the languages in their repertoire to reproduce their social worlds (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). We have seen how their linguistic choices in the *Njangi* houses, *Kellers* and other settings reflect the power and social relations of their communities (Heller, 2007). The German setting has given these postcolonial diasporic Africans a new sense of self as they navigate the different languages in their multilingual repertoire for personal and societal advantages. Here we see that questions of age, gender and ethnicity still have a place in the language choices of the immigrants, as we see them struggling between two worlds: that of their community (the Cameroonian community of practice (Eckert, 2006)) and that of the host community, including the trans-national world with other migrants from Nigeria, Ghana etc. For instance, the younger men and women have almost abandoned the use of sister/brother, *terknonyms* and *Ndap,* which are typical address forms of respect in the Cameroonian setting. Instead these young immigrants argue that they do not need to use these forms of address to show respect. Furthermore, the hybridity observed in the use of English by Anglophone Cameroonian migrants in Germany is a result of the new context in which these varieties have come into contact with the Nigerian, Ghanaian and other varieties of the language, e.g. *O boy, Oga* and *Charlie* have found their way into CamE and CamPE leading to what is called DCamE and DCamPE in this research.

This data presentation has demonstrated how this group of migrants use elements of language to adjust and re-adjust in this transnational diasporic space to achieve the objectives of their immigration. For instance, when a Cameroonian adjusts and re-adjusts his/her language behaviour to that of his/her interlocutor, it is a means of gaining the attention of that interlocutor with all the advantages that come with it. This chapter has shown that these postcolonial migrants have not completely abandoned what they left behind. There is large-scale (re)construction of socio-cultural and sociolinguistic behaviour as they interact within the diasporic German space. The address forms and kinship terms as presented in this chapter demonstrate the present sociolinguistic realities in which these immigrants find themselves (Ige, 2010; Blommaert, 2014). There is need to conform to societal expectations but at the same time there is need to be accepted and integrated into the host community.

Chapter 8: Discussion, (re)constructed Identities

8.1. Introduction: Complex interwoven hybrid identities.

The results of the research on language use within the Cameroonian Anglophone multilingual communities in the German diaspora show that their choices of address forms are "series of acts of identity which reveal both their personal identities and their search of social roles" (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985:14). The language use of the immigrants functions not only as an expression of identity but also as an important and available resource for identity (re)construction. It could be argued that the Cameroonian immigrants in this study (re)construct the identity of social interdependency "as part of the self-concept" (De Fina, 2016:171), which is common in collectivist cultures. Within this community of practice, social interactions are two-fold: there is need to conform to societal sociolinguistic expectation with other Cameroonians and at the same time there is need to get into successful communication with Germans and other immigrants. This duality of purpose plays a great role in the transformation of the Cameroonian identities through social interaction with others (Gupta, 1992). As mentioned in 7.1, there exist many contexts where the German language serves as a lingua franca in the Cameroonian communities of practice in Germany. As observed in Meierkord & Fonkeu (2013), when Cameroonians meet an interlocutor with whom they do not share a common language, German becomes an important tool for communication.

This study has demonstrated that Cameroonian immigrants construct multiple and intersecting dimensions of identities. The immigrants, through address forms and kinship terms, (re)construct multilingual, multiethnic and multicultural identities. Furthermore, there is a creation of other personal and group identities such as the Anglophone identities, the family identities of father and children, male/female identities and the German *bushfaller* identities. Through address forms and kinship terms these speakers make conscious and sometimes unconscious efforts to maintain Cameroonian ethnic norms and customs but at the same time get integrated into diasporic life with non-Cameroonians. As a result of this, they set up friendship networks with other Cameroonians and people from different countries. As manifested by the very essence of their numerous associations, which are themselves sociolinguistically and socio-culturally oriented, identities are (re)created by Anglophone Cameroonians. The (re)constructed identities are translocal and transnational in character. This is because they demonstrate a mixture of African, Cameroonian, American and other

western idiosyncrasies. This implies that identities as (re)constructed by these migrants are not fixed; they are mobile and unpredictable (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004; Heller, 2007; Pennycook, 2010; Blommaert, 2014). The fact that Cameroonian identity traits are manifested across international borders in the German diaspora suggests the mobility and dynamism of identities. This study argues that sometimes the Anglophone Cameroonians change (transform) their present locality and reshape their present ecology via their socio-cultural and socio-economic activities and in the process they are also being transformed. The fluidity, complexity and hybridity that emerges from such dual transformations is evident (Blommaert, 2014). The blurring, fluidity, elasticity and hybridity of identities (re)constructed by the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants in the German diaspora is linguistically based as manifested via the address forms and kinship terms in their diasporic use of CamE and CamPE. This becomes evident in a situation where Cameroonian women start using terms of endearment instead of address forms of respect to address or call their spouses in public. The multilingual repertoire of Cameroonian immigrants plus their experiences of migration and mobility have helped them reconstruct knowledge and negotiate multiple identities in their present socio-cultural setting. The historical baggage of these postcolonial immigrants adds an important meaning to the sense of self: via their language use, they give an impression of who Cameroonians are; their personal identity, their ethnic identity, their gendered identity and even their national identities are revealed.

This study further reveals that the re-enactment of identities is because of the human consequences that the immigrants face as a result of a global phenomenon which is migration (Blommaert, 2010). They do not wish to lose all that they left behind in terms of socio-culture. Therefore there is the need to reconstruct the past communities and relationships. At the same time they wish to be integrated into the German socio-economic system. In an attempt to mediate culture and sustain relationships between the diasporic groups and, at the same time, maintain relationships with the home country, some of the ethnic Cameroonian Anglophone associations insist on the use of traditional address forms and relevant kinship terms during ethnic meetings. The organizers and those who run these associations claim that this helps the speakers or participants maintain linguistic and cultural knowledge whilst in diaspora. *They do not want to forget where they came from and where they are going to* (to put this in a purely CamE expression). Ethnic and cultural identities are recreated via the use of these forms. This is made possible because modern technology has made contact and communication with the home country very easy. The (re)creation of multiple and shifting identities linked to

relationships of power in society is illustrated in this study through the use of *adoro (*asylum seekers) and *kwali* (people who have their legal status *paper*).

Chapter 7 displays evidence that there is a connection between socio-cultural identity and language choices of the immigrants of the present study. Illustratively, they still speak with the necessary address forms of respect (to parents, to spouses, to older family members, to older persons of the community etc.). The significance of cultural influence is further manifested by the fact that addressing Germans and other non-Africans does not respect the same tradition. For instance, German contacts are addressed by name irrespective of the age difference between speaker and interlocutor. The data of this research also show that age, gender and level of education are important variables in determining the choice of addressing people of the community. The current analysis reveals that the following identities are (re)constructed by Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants within the German diasporic space: multilingual identity, Anglophone identity, male/female identities (wife/husband, father/mother), ethnic identities, in-and out-group identities, identities of community elders, German *bushfaller* identities.

8.2. Multilingual identity

Among all the communicative resources available to the Cameroonian, the community of practice plays an important role in the process of identity (re)negotiation. Linguistic adherence is a very important property for identity (Le Page &Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Preece, 2010). That is why we see CamPE, CamE, French and ethnic languages still very active ingredients in the (re)construction of the Cameroonian identities in the German diaspora. When Cameroonians meet, they use the different languages in their repertoire to (re)create different identities. The use of CamE, which is one of the official languages, necessitates the use of formal address terms as opposed to the use of CamPE and indigenous languages which often involves the use of social, traditional titles and sometimes nicknames. This means that even in the diaspora a diglossic relation still exists between the use of CamE and CamPE (Ferguson, 1959). Multilingualism is an important resource to the immigrant Anglophone Cameroonians, who have left their original linguistic community in favour of a new place that promises socio-cultural and socio-economic upward mobility (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). In this context, the Cameroonian migrants become even more aware of the sociolinguistic challenges that they face. The Cameroon immigrants in the present study emerged from a postcolonial context that

is multilingual. Each of these immigrants can speak at least three of the following languages: one of the 270 Cameroonian indigenous languages, Cameroon Pidgin English, Cameroon Standard English, French and Camfranglais (Kouega, 2003). The globalized context of the German diaspora has added a new understanding and the possibilities for new relationships to the lives of these immigrants, thereby extending the possibilities of their identity (re)creation. These new migrants in the present research have therefore developed new multilingual identities in their new host communities. Multiculturalism and multilingualism in this study are evidence or an indication of the colonial past of the immigrants and a reality of their present status quo (Sandhu & Higgins, 2016:183). Cameroonian Anglophone immigrants use the different languages in their repertoire to perform social actions and identities. For instance, each of the Cameroonian association meetings starts with a prayer (prayers are often said in CamE because that is the language that was used to introduce Christianity). The minutes of the meetings are also always read in the standard variety of English and the general discussions are sometimes done in Pidgin English or in some ethnic languages. As observed in the present study, the *Bali Nyonga* meeting of Essen NRW, carries out its deliberations in *Mungaka*, a Cameroonian ethnic language. The idea here, when asked, is that these migrants want to maintain their culture and they do not want their children to lose their mother tongue. This is a clear example of the interwoven multilingual identities that are (re)constructed. It can be argued that as a result of trying to keep their original ethnic identity, these immigrants extend their multilingual status because their children maintain the ethnic language and of course learn the language of the host country. Significantly, there is a juxtaposition of traditional titles of respect *Manyi* and *Tanyi* to address parents of twins, kinship terms of respect *Ma* and *Ni* with very formal Standard English address forms such as *Mr* and *Mrs, Ladies and Gentlemen*. The use of both traditional and Standard English address forms in the same speech community portrays the multilingualism of this speech community. The mobility of languages through the linguistic activities of Cameroonian Anglophone immigrants is influenced by their English-speaking background. These Anglophone immigrants mix CamPE with ethnic languages, CamE and German. The consequence of this is that hybrid multilingual and multicultural identities are (re)created. For instance, when a mother is addressed as *Mammie Emade* (the mother of *Emade*), we have here *mammie* (mother), a Pidgin word that emanated from the English word *mother* or the French word *mama,* used in combination with *Emade,* an ethnic name of a girl child. This kind of combination is only possible because these speakers have these languages in their repertoire and are able to manipulate them. This reveals

the multilingual status of these speakers. Here we do not just find a re-enacting of multilingualism but a celebration of the ethnic and cultural train of thought among this group of people.

Furthermore, the immigrants have adopted some of the local linguistic features in their already rich repertoire. This arises from contact with German and other immigrant languages in this globalized context, for example, when a speaker says *leave am so Schatz* "don't worry darling/sweetheart". The address form *Schatz* "darling/sweetheart" is a borrowed word from the German language. This creates not only a multilingual identity but specifically draws the image of someone with a German language ability, this also reveals an immigrant identity because in Cameroon this address term is not often used in public. In addition, contact with Nigerians and other Africans demonstrates the fact that the multilingual status of these immigrants has been extended as evidenced in this study when a Cameroonian addresses his/her interlocutor *O boy* or *Oga*, as well as *Charlie*, which are Nigerian and Ghanaian address forms respectively. This means that linguistic diversity, as a result of contact with German and other immigrant languages, evidently adds to the hybridity of Cameroonian diasporic linguistic identity. This hybridity further leads to sociolinguistic transformation. Notably, the address forms used in the German workplaces, schools, universities and other contexts are different from what they would have been in Cameroon (Nkwain, 2014:193). Most times, these transformations and relocations are geared towards adjustments (Blommaert, 2014), for instance adjustments to make themselves understood by speaking the Nigerian variety of Pidgin. Here, the social actors have adopted a dynamic and changing identity to fit into a socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-historical German reality (Joseph, 2016). The ability to use different codes in a multilingual setting like the German diasporic communities is advantageous for the immigrants because it helps them "develop a pluralistic mode of thinking where they celebrate different cultures and identities" (Canagarajah, 2002:247). In the German diaspora, "…a Cameroonian can hardly meet another African with whom they do not share a common language" (Fonkeu, 2011:23). These two quotes reveal the extent of the diasporic Cameroonian multilingual/multicultural identities. This means that the Cameroonian in in the German sociolinguistic space shares elaborate sociolinguistic and socio-cultural identities with immigrants from different counties and cultures. People's train of thought is usually related to the language(s) in their repertoires.

As seen in this study, the language contact situation of the German diasporic space has given room for the Anglophone Cameroonian migrant to extend the (re)construction of

multilingual identities. As a consequence of language contact, cultural transformation has led to more hybridity and coinages. For example, as indicated in 7.5. in the German diasporic Cameroon Englishes, one often hears of appellations like *Remenga*[65], and *house man*[66]. These appellations highlight some new diasporic images and identities.

8.3. Anglophone identity

An Anglophone Cameroonian is someone who was born in and grew up in the postcolonial setting of English-speaking Cameroon, i.e. the NW and SW regions of the country (Echu, 2004). Speaking English in its two forms in itself is a (re)constitution not only of an Anglophone identity but also a postcolonial identity; a sign that these immigrants came from a country that had once been colonized and run by the British. When the respondents in this research express themselves in English, they are not only reconstructing the Anglophone identity but they are also replaying a colonial legacy (Canagarajah, 1999). Viewed from a poststructuralist perspective (Bourdieu, 1977) the identities of the immigrants reflect how these individuals see themselves and how they re-enact their roles within the different contexts of the diasporic settings. They both transform and reproduce the postcolonial and traditional culture of the Anglophone Cameroonian in this ecology. Within this space, the conceptualization and (re)construction of different shades of Anglophone identities is more complex than was the case at home in Cameroon. The sociolinguistic, socio-cultural and socio-economic context is different. For example, the results of this research show that some Cameroonians try to speak the Nigerian variety of English/Pidgin when they communicate with Nigerians. This is because of the socio-economic gains that may be achieved by befriending a Nigerian interlocutor. Addressing an older Nigerian male as *Oga, Sah,* "Mr.", "Sir" or *Igwe* "titled man" may help open certain doors in the German diaspora. In the immigrant context of the German diaspora, everything depends on socio-economic survival.

The ability to speak CamE and CamPE has an important cohesive force in this community. A binding force that is recreated not only among the Cameroonians but between Cameroonians and people from other English-speaking countries such as Nigerians, Ghanaians, Sierra Leoneans, Ugandans, the British and Americans. The individual and group

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[65] *Reme Nga:* address form used to speak to an old woman who dresses like a young girl. This is a common practice in the German diaspora, where even older women wear jeans trousers (an older woman with a younger mind-set).

[66] *Houseman:* a man who stays at home and takes care of the children. This is unheard of in Cameroon, where it is considered the woman's duty to stay at home and take care of the children.

identities of the Anglophone Cameroonian show that the ability to speak English has an important place since it adds to the linguistic capital of the migrant. Most of the university graduates reveal in the course of this research that their employment opportunities in Germany upon graduation has been facilitated by their knowledge and aptitudes in the English language. In other words, the fact that they are Anglophones has had an added advantage. In most cases, especially in the globalized business world of today, English plays an important role and every computer expert is expected to have some knowledge of the English language. In inter-linguistic exchanges with other Africans in the German diaspora, the English language identity of the Cameroonian is an advantage. There is no sign of the inferiority that goes with a limited language repertoire in an intercultural or inter-linguistic setting.

The global value of English as a lingua franca or English as a world language is an added reason for these immigrants to (re)construct their Anglophone identities repeatedly. For instance, even if the migrants want to make sure that their German-born children acquire the German language skills, English is maintained as a home language, because they do not want their German-born children to lose this important part of their heritage. Some Germans with the Anglophone Cameroonian background send their German-born children to England or back home to Cameroon for some time to maintain this sociolinguistic asset (as revealed by some informants in the present study). It can be seen from the results of this study that these immigrants manifest a sense of commitment to the two varieties of English (CamE and CamPE). It is a language they feel at home with, in which they express themselves best (Alobwed'Epie, 1993; Anchimbe and Janney, 2011).

The address forms used by the immigrants in the public domains aid the (re)construction of different shades of Anglophone identities: For instance, *sister* and *brother, auntie* and *uncle* are CamE and CamPE address forms that are widely used in this community. These address terms serve as important instruments for networking among Africans. English address terms facilitate the ability to communicate among this group and help them construct themselves as international people who can fit in well and cope with a globalized world. The ability to use two varieties of English by these immigrants in the wake of contemporary globalization is constantly being reconstituted and it introduces new types of language use (via address forms). This helps shape and reshape the everyday life of the immigrants.

The Anglophone Cameroonians in the present study (re)construct their Anglophone identities as a means of manipulating interlocutors into in-group (solidarity) and out-group (exclusion) relationships. In the *Kellers* of the African shops, an Anglophone speaker may

decide to exclude say a Congolese, who he feels does not belong to their circle. This is achieved by maintaining the Pidgin variety of English that is not understood by the Congolese. This immediately excludes him and defines him as an outsider, a non-English speaker. This same attitude can be adopted towards a Francophone Cameroonian who does not know Pidgin English, who although Cameroonian, is not an Anglophone Cameroonian. The English language is therefore an integral part of the Anglophone Cameroonian sociolinguistic identity and it is demonstrated in several different ways within patterns of socialization in the German diaspora as demonstrated in the present study. The type of CamE spoken is also a mirror of the individual's educational level as seen in the following dialogue in which *Rockie*, in a conversation with her teammates, recounts how she takes someone's car keys and pretends that the car belongs to her:

Extract 8.3.1: Educational background

1. Rokie: … one of my friends is having *Führerschein*[67]; eh she came with the car.
   All of us came together; as we were going, she gave me her key.
2. Aimée: Then, what happened?
3. Rokie*: ... one of our handball girls, she gave me her keys. I now took the keys,
   eh telling people I will be going eh *tschuß* [68]with the keys…"

This conversation, more than anything else, reveals and reconstructs the educational background/level and the social status of the interlocutors. Furthermore, if an Anglophone Cameroonian cannot speak Standard English, he/she is considered an illiterate because this is the academic variety introduced and used in the school system. The image of Cameroon Standard English as the language of the educated is also re-enacted in the diasporic context. This diglossic relationship between the two Englishes is demonstrated in Chapter 7 of this study as we see that debates at ex-students' meetings are all conducted in CamE, which is the language of formality. In all official ceremonies CamE is the language of use: in the *SOBA* meetings, the *Sakerette* debate in Essen, the speeches at the *cry die* in Wuppertal are all conducted in CamE. On the other hand, the image of CamPE as the language of familiarity and closeness is also played out in the diasporic context in which case most of the non-formal discussions and conversations are carried out in this language of the masses (Kouega, 2004).

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[67]   *Führerschein* German word for English "driving license"
[68]   *Tschüß* is German for English "bye-bye".

Most Cameroonians in this study are clear about their ethnic and sociolinguistic identities. These immigrants have the legacy of native languages plus the two Englishes. An international exposure has not contributed to the abandonment of the English language in favour of the host language, German; instead, it has contributed to a continuity of this postcolonial linguistic legacy. In the German diaspora, English is still very prevalent in the lives of these Anglophones especially in their day-to-day social communication, e.g. at meetings in the *Kellers,* in church. This study shows that English is a language that the Anglophone Cameroonian identifies with and claims ownership of as also argued by (Wolf, 2001).

In spite of their multiple linguistic identities, they are above all Anglophones, as identifying with English is very important to the Anglophone Cameroonian even more so in the German diaspora, because here "the feeling of unity is so strong that being Anglophone denotes a new ethnicity, transcending older ties" (Wolf, 2001:223). In other words, the need for solidarity among Anglophones is even stronger in the diaspora than it was at home in Cameroon. English as the first official language is an important element of the Anglophone Cameroonian identity and this fact is always re-enacted each time they use any of the two types of English. For instance, each time they refer to an interlocutor as *sister* or *brother* they are re-enacting their Anglophone bonds/network. It is therefore with the "scars of brotherhood" (Canagarajah, 1999:5) that Anglophone Cameroonians rally around the two varieties of English.

8.4. Ethnic identities

The ethnic identity of the Cameroonian immigrants of this study is their construction of the sense of self within their present social world. As argued by Tajfel, "[t]hat part of their individual self-concept that is derived from their knowledge of their membership of a social group…together with the value and emotional significance of that membership" (Tajfel, 1981:255). This means that the sense of identity that the Anglophone Cameroonian as a cultural group has is based on their ethnic heritage. The different ethnic groups share a common language, dress style, cuisine. They identify with one another based on these common sociolinguistic and socio-cultural experiences and ancestry. The different ethnic groups have a consciousness of their common cultural bond. This is reflected in their many socio-cultural associations organized and heavily attended in the diaspora. The bond that

exists between these migrants develops because of their unique historical and social experiences and based on this, they claim an ethnic identity (Joseph, 2016).

Address forms and kinship terms as employed by the Anglophone Cameroonians in this research are influenced by the speaker's ethnicity. Their linguistic choices (e.g. addressing one another/others) help (re)create their ethnicity. In this way it can be said that ethnic identity is the glue that holds the Anglophone Cameroonian community of practice together (Fokwang, 2011; Noels, 2014). This is because the linguistic choices of these speakers are reflections of their ancestral background; the NW and SW ethnic groups all have different address and kinship terms. Each time the appropriate form of address is used to speak to an addressee, he/she feels respected and honoured. The importance of ethnic origin is observed in their sense of self, when a Cameroonian says *No bi Paysant a be?* "Am I not a Cameroonian?" or "*I am a Meta man*" (Meta is one of the large ethnic groups of the NW region). A (re)construction of identity is also obvious through the self-esteem witnessed during association meetings when a member says, *I am a son of the soil* "I am an indigene of a particular ethnic group." The reconstruction of ethnic identity is also enhanced via a sense of belonging among different community members who have something in common, for example ethnic groups that speak the same language come together to form cultural associations. In this way, they play out the identity of linguistic belonging. They use language in the diaspora to (re)construct their socio-cultural identities. As a popular saying among these immigrants in Germany, parents will always advise their children or younger siblings…*Don't forget where you came from … and where you are going to.* This phrase tells how much awareness the migrants have of their heritage. The reconstructed identities can be observed in their address forms which reflect and mirror ethnic and kinship ties, for instance the use of *mola, iya* and *bamba* to address someone from the SW *Bakweri* ethnic group, *amoueh/yango* to address a South Westerner from the *Bakossi* ethnic group, *ni/ma* to speak to someone from the NW *Bali* ethnic group, *nini/mama* as address terms for people of the *Meta* and *Baforchu* ethnic groups of the NW region, *tankoh, tamah* to address persons from the *Bali Bahock* ethnic groups, *Manyi/Tanyi* used by most ethnic groups in Anglophone Cameroon to address mothers and fathers of twins.

The migrants from the NW and SW regions of Cameroon celebrate their rich and vibrant socio-cultural identities in the German diaspora via these address forms as evidenced in this study. The process of the reconstruction of sociolinguistic identities is accelerated in this context by the need to belong or be accepted in the community with the added advantages that

come with such acceptance (Eckert, 2006). We have seen in the present study that when community members come together, for survival in the process of migration, they use all the linguistic resources in their repertoire to recreate their identities for self-benefit. They need to help each other to meet the necessary steps that it takes to succeed in the migration process. In their different communities of practice, the linguistic belonging of each Anglophone Cameroonian is important, because it gives them a sense of identification. They feel closer to people with whom they speak a common ethnic language. For example the regrouping into socio-cultural and sociolinguistic associations is one indication of this in Germany, where we have seen that there are the *Bakossi Cultural Association, the Bali Association,* the *Meta Cultural and Development Association* and the *Bakweri meetings.* These are all indications of the need of these migrants to re-enact their socio-cultural ways of life while away from home. In these association meetings, they relive their ethnic group; they speak *Bakossi, Mungaka, Meta, Bakweri* and other ethnic languages, which is a way of reconstructing their ethnic identities. During some of these meetings members are encouraged to dress traditionally. During the meetings, members look forward to eating traditional meals such as *foofoo* and *eru, achu* and *timbernambuser* and *kwakokobible.*

The ethnic and cultural identities are embedded in a web of situations and contexts as is seen in activities like Cameroonian cultural feasts and festivals, cultural associations and *njangi* meetings. All these help the immigrants to foster their identities in the globalized and international context in which they find themselves. During the course of this research, (Chapter 7) it was observed that the *Bali* and the *Menchum* cultural and development associations in NRW make use of cultural iconic and graphic resources. *The Menchum Cultural and Development Association Meeting* has imported traditional outfits and traditional musical instruments from home, which they use for meetings and other cultural celebrations. Another attempt at (re)constructing home culture and societal belonging is the (re)constitution of *njangi* and *tontine* houses, which are socio-economic gatherings like what happens in Cameroon. Here people meet to spend time together, discuss issues and carry out financial transactions. The very running of the *njangi* meetings and other associations could be seen as a (re)construction or a transfer of Cameroonian lifestyles to the German diasporic space. This process of translocation is common within this migrant community. The meetings and associations provide an opportunity for Cameroonians to relive (re-enact) and practise their Cameroonian lifestyles. The modern media has facilitated the reconstruction of ethnic and

home identities because these migrants are still very much in contact with home. This is made easy via *Skype, Emo* and other modern network facilities.

Another important signal of reconstructed ethnic identity within the Cameroonian communities in Germany is the need to send off the body of a deceased *brother* or *sister* back home for burial. In the Cameroonian community of practice, death is treated with a lot of reverence and the dead member of the community has to be shown honour by sending his/her body back home for burial rites. Cameroonians in the German diaspora believe that to bury a dead *brother* or *sister* in a foreign country is a terrible social and cultural failure on their part (Geschiere & Nyanmjoh, 2000). The act of repatriating their dead for burial will send a signal back home to Cameroon that the German *bushfallers* (Alpes, 2011) have maintained traditional norms and values. This more than anything else provides a context for reflection on the meaning of identity and belonging among the migrant community. By returning the body home for burial, the notion of cultural transnationalism among migrants is rearticulated. Furthermore, Cameroonian Anglophones see themselves as a people of varied ethnic languages and cultures but whose individual identities have been made to merge and function in a union of thought moulded by the English language. The Anglophones in this study are a group of Cameroonians who belong to any of the ethnic groups of the NW and SW regions of Cameroon, a colonial legacy which was part of British Cameroon (Alobwed'Epie, 1993). Even though these groups of people have different ethnic identities, they are united by their common socio-cultural background as Anglophones.

However, as shown in the present study (5.4.3.6), the Anglophones also include people from the *eleventh province*[69]. The socio-cultural background of this group of immigrants to some extent complicates the picture when it comes to the cultural and ethnic identities (re)created in the globalized context. In other words, sometimes in this study the identities so recreated will go beyond the NW and SW to the West because the people of *Bali Bahock* for instance migrated from the Western region of Cameroon. This is a demonstration of the sociolinguistic inconsistency and confusion that colonialism and post-colonialism introduced in the socio-cultural lives of some Cameroonians. The sociolinguistic and socio-cultural mixture of this group is complicated by this colonial history. The people of the eleventh

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[69] People from the 11th province are Anglophones who do not originate from either of the two Anglophone regions. Their socio-cultural background is from Francophone Cameroon, but they were raised and educated in Anglophone Cameroon (Echu, 2004).

province are Anglophones who have a Francophone heritage. This means that they originate from ethnic groups that are today French-speaking. For example, the *Bamileke,* the *Bassa* and the *Douala* ethnic groups have many Anglophones. The use of *ndap* such as *Tankoh, Tamah* as address forms seen in Chapter 7 of this research originate from one of such backgrounds. The linguistic process of recreating ethnic identities by the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrant becomes further complicated in the German diaspora because migration has removed them from their original space where most of the ethnic and socio-cultural activities are self-evident. The diaspora makes some of the cultural practices remote and sometimes out of place. For example, it has been noticed that the normal *born house "*birth celebration*"* and *pikin planty*[70]*,* which are cultural celebrations at the birth of a child, are giving way to the American practice of *baby shower* in the German diaspora. This implies that in this research cultural identities like most identities recreated in the diaspora are interwoven and hybridic in character (cultural and linguistic hybridity).

The Cameroonian Anglophone immigrants in this study, as has been mentioned before, have two legacies: the cultural/ethnic and the colonial legacy, which is western or near western in nature. On the one hand, there is the use of the formal western address forms *Mr. & Mrs., Ladies & Gentlemen, Sir.* There is also the use of western names and appellations: *Peter, John, Mary, Susan*. On the other hand, we see the use of ethnic names (e.g. *Ebude* and *Emade*) and titles such as *mola/iya, ni/ma*. Sometimes ethnic names and titles are juxtaposed with western names and titles. This results in mixtures like what we have in teknonyms (*Mammie/Papa Emade; Mola John*). This is clear evidence of indigenization taking place in address forms and kinship terms because *Mammie/Papa* are Pidgin English address terms for mother and father and *Emade* is an ethnic name of a young girl whose mother is *Mammie Emade*. This mixture is also true of *Mola John* because *Mola* is an ethnic title and *John* is an English (western) name. Furthermore, social titles like *bo'oh, massah, dis man* carry the identity of the Cameroonian culture because they have been heavily indigenized.

This study shows that the use of German, Nigerian, Ghanaian and other non-Cameroonian address forms is the creation of a new linguistic belonging, i.e. a cultural identity that has been adopted in the present ecology of the German diaspora. When a husband calls his wife *Schatz* or a student talks of *Herr* or *Frau Moderator* during an ex-students' debate in CamE, when a Cameroonian man addresses his Nigerian and Ghanaian friends as *O boy* and

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[70]   *Pikin plant*y is a special dish of plantain prepared exclusively to eat at the celebration of a new-born baby.

Charlie respectively, these mixtures are indications of the adoption of new sociolinguistic images and identities. The immigrants try to accommodate and find their feet in their new linguistic reality and in the process different identities are constructed. This is done as they try to get integrated via their linguistic practices and language choices. It could be concluded that the immigrants are living between two socio-cultural spaces: one that is geared at maintaining and recreating the sociolinguistic past and the other which is aimed at being accepted and integrated into the existing socio-cultural and socio-economic reality of the host country. In other words, the results of this research show that the linguistic behaviour of these immigrants reflects both their ethnic culture and some elements of trans-nationality. It follows that they tend to seek membership within the Cameroonian immigrant communities of practice and at the same time try to integrate in the host community. It is an attempt at maintaining and sustaining their social networks in diaspora through the use of address forms as indexes of social meanings (Myers-Scotton, 1993). This means that not only is the Cameroonian immigrants' sense of ethnicity "a multifaceted, subjective experience defined in terms of multiple ethnic reference groups…" (Noels, 2014:91). This sense of ethnicity is also contextually variable and it is linked to differences in macro-social, group-related characteristics. That is why we see that the generation 1.5 immigrant groups in this study are abandoning certain address forms of respect like *sister/brother.*

8.5. Gender identities

The gender identities of an Anglophone diasporic Cameroonian man or woman are many: single/married men and women, husband/wife, father/mother, brother/sister, elder man/woman of the community. The address term used will reveal or construct the expected identity. The relationship between gender, linguistic styles and social networking helps the Anglophone immigrants in this study to (re)construct these different male and female identities. The use of the different address forms and kinship terms reflects the multifaceted nature of gender relationships in the Cameroonian diasporic community of practice. The question of gender roles and identity is a very important element in any Cameroonian society. This is not different in the German diaspora (Jones, 2016). The reason for this importance is that in the socio-cultural tradition of this community, gender roles are defined in such a way that husbands and wives have different roles and expectations. Since their gender defines their roles, a violation or crossover is usually not welcomed by the community. In such a setup,

women are sometimes considered victims of the Cameroonian social structures (especially in many of the customary laws). Based on these customary laws, the women have negligible control in the family domains. In most ethnic groups and regions in Cameroon, women are subjected to male authorities and masculinity is considered central to the decision-making process both within the family and in the community as a whole (Berg, 1995; Ntongho, 1995).

Informants in this study exposed the fact that even in a free context like Germany, the position of the woman is still conditioned by certain customary laws (e.g. bride price). Some women said that they needed their partners to go home to pay their bride price otherwise they would not be considered married. This means that the bride price still has a very powerful image because via the payment of bride price to the family of the bride the legitimacy of the children born in that marriage is sealed. In the diaspora, most Anglophone Cameroonians, as seen in this study, even after many years of *Came we stay* or *marriage made in Germany* (as living together without having conducted the traditional marriage rites is called in the Germany diaspora), many of these couples still find it necessary to go home to Cameroon to legalize their marriage. Legalizing marriage here means performing the traditional marriage rites that include paying the bride price. This can be very expensive because in some families this is conditioned or influenced by the level of education of the bride, how much the parents have spent to train the girl/woman (Ngassa, 2012a). Another significance of the bride price even for married Anglophone women in the German diaspora is that it gives the woman an identity of a traditionally married woman. Thus, she feels confident that she is legally bound to remain as the husband's partner throughout life. This is important because Cameroonians come from a background where polygamy is the custom. Furthermore, paying the woman's bride price is a source of satisfaction to both partners especially in the diaspora which is a *hustling ground*, and very few men wish to settle down and be committed to one partner. Finally, yet importantly, the bride price gives the parents of the bride satisfaction in the community. The community considers the image of a successful home keeper important for a woman, not just academic success. The man on the other hand, is supposed to take up the responsibility of caring for his wife and family as long as they live. Based on these traditions, it is obvious within the Cameroonian community to see that the identity of a married woman is that of pride for her family and the community. The identity of a single woman on the other hand, is not a prestigious one based on the traditional belief that expects all women to be married. Some women in this study claimed that they would rather be in *came we stay* or

marriage made in Germany relationships than remain single. This is because at least they would be in relationships with hopes that these could be someday made traditionally legal.

A higher status, which is even higher than that of a married woman, is that of a mother. Even in the German diaspora, a married woman who gives birth to a child is elevated to a higher position of recognition in the community. This, in this study, is illustrated via the address form of a *teknonym*. Even an unmarried woman in the German diaspora who has children is renamed and is called *Mammie+name* of the child e.g. *Mammie Epote* (the mother of Epote). It is very rare to get a woman who has a child being referred to by her name. In an extreme case of disregard as seen in the case of *Monsidore* in Extract 7.3.12 of Chapter 7, the 42-year-old mother of a twelve-year-old son is referred to by her surname, *Monsidor,* instead of the normal *mammie+name* of her child or even *auntie, sister* or *ma*. This extreme situation demonstrates the level of disregard the community members have for non-conformity. It is rare to have a woman who has a child referred to by her name especially in the presence of her children. In other words, childbearing elevates the status of the mother and gives her a new identity. This is the same for the father's image.

The identity of the mother and father of twins, as has been discussed in Chapter 7.3.2.1, is a very important gender identity in the Cameroonian community of practice in Germany. Following the home tradition, the parents of twins are referred to as *Manyi* "mother of twins" and *Tanyi* "father of twins". The identity of twin parents in both the NW and SW regions of Cameroon is a special one. In these regions, a twin is generally regarded as a gift from God. This means that the birth of twins is usually celebrated. The diasporic talk of *baby shower* is a celebration before the birth of a child. This mode of celebration is an adaptation to the Western world more specifically the American culture of celebrating the baby before its birth. This is in sharp contrast to the traditional Cameroonian norms and customs, where a *born house* is only celebrated after a baby is born. The *baby shower* illustrates the co-existence of cultures that have influenced the Cameroonian immigrants. Diasporic Cameroonian communities have adopted other forms of identities while still keeping their own. This is an example of the hybridity and heterogeneity in identity construction that is typical of immigrant contexts. These forms of celebrations are characterized by dynamism and fluidity. At the same time they connect the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants to other cultures and societies in a contemporary globalized world.

The Anglophone Cameroonian man in the globalized context of the German diaspora manifests similar identities to those observed at home in Cameroon. He finds it normal to

spend hours hanging out with friends while the wife is expected to stay at home and care for their children (Atanga et al., 2012). The immigrant Cameroonians, via their address forms and kinship terms, express gender identities distinct from those of the host community. As illustrated by the present study, among Anglophone Cameroonians marriage gives both man and wife a new social status. Added to this, marriage signifies the new relationship that incorporates both the couple and their families. In Cameroon, like in many other African cultures, marriage is not only between the man and the woman, but it is between two families (Akindele, 2008). That is why certain ethnic groups in Anglophone Cameroon expect that the bride or newly married woman be addressed by a title. This is usually to get the in-laws avoid using the woman's name (as this does not show respect). Some of these include *Mama* plus *FN* (first name), *Sister* plus *FN* or *Auntie* plus *FN*. In a few ethnic groups in Anglophone Cameroon like the *Bali Bawock* of the North West region there is the use of *ndap*. If the woman is not from the same ethnic group as her husband, the husband's family will give her one.

However, in most cases when the woman begets her first child, the problem is usually solved because she is then given a *"teknonym"* (Akindele, 2008). Husbands usually address their wives by this name especially in the presence of family members or in public. It is indeed within this sociolinguistic and socio-pragmatic context that the presentation of personal identity and individuality can be discerned. This relates to the importance of childbearing within these cultures. A woman is "elevated" to a new and important status through the birth of a son or a daughter (Akindele, 1991; Salami, 2004). Not only are the linguistic terms *sister, auntie, tongta, tankoh, mammie* and *papa* associated with name avoidance but they can be analysed to mean the bond that holds these societies together. They are signs of conformity and respect between spouses and between community members.

The freedom of the German diasporic society has not completely stopped the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrant women from using the expected address forms of respect to speak to their husbands in public (*ni, tamah, mola, pa, teknonyms)*. Most of the older women still reconstruct the Cameroonian ways of speaking to their husbands. However, some of the younger women use terms of endearment such as *baby, schatz* and sometimes *daddy*. As shown in section 7.2.3, the linguistic behaviour of the older female informants in the study shows that most of these women are afraid of losing face within the community and therefore they abide by societal expectations in their choice of addressing spouses and other members of the community. They wish to maintain their roles as good women. However, the

results in this study show that some of the women of the younger generation (generation 1.5) between the age of 17 and 35 have adopted readjustment strategies in the freedom that the German diasporic space allows them. These women have to face the conflicts between stereotypical cultural beliefs that expect them to adhere to restricting societal expectations versus international and German human rights that allow the freedom and emancipation of women (Schiffer, 2005). The diaspora is a socio-cultural ecology where these women are exposed to a tradition which allows them to publicly express intimate terms of endearment which within the African and Cameroonian tradition are rarely expressed in public. The two groups of Anglophone women (generation 1 and 1.5) sometimes adopt different positions in response to these conflicting roles. Some of the younger generation have abandoned the use of certain overt linguistic habits expected of them, for instance address forms of respect towards siblings and spouses. Instead, they employ the western terms of endearment or first names to address spouses and siblings. The Cameroonian Anglophone man in the German diaspora faces similar conflicts. The German diaspora sometimes forces the men to construct unexpected identities that in Cameroon would have been unheard of, for instance the *houseman* identity where a man has to stay at home and take care of the children while his wife goes to work. The few men who accepted to comment on this expressed dissatisfaction and said they would do all in their power to change the situation. Generally, the Anglophone Cameroonian diasporic men are still very much in control of their families and are still dominant and do as they please. This means that the patriarchal position of the Cameroonian man is generally still re-enacted in the German diaspora.

8.6. Individual in- and out-group identities

This study has demonstrated that the Cameroonian communities in Germany share a sense of living together and they consider themselves a community of brothers/sisters as a basis of their diasporic existence. In other words, the social setting of the community offers these immigrants the psychological balance and ultimate security as it gives them both physical and ideological identity as a people (Emeakaroha, 2002). This people therefore maintains its language behaviour as a means of reconstructing and emphasizing community life. This communalism reflects a living principle of which the basic ideology is community identity. However, there is need to be integrated into existing realities. This generates the creation of new linguistic behaviour as manifested through the use of new address forms. By using the

newly constructed address forms the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants, when speaking to or addressing Nigerians, Ghanaians or Germans in the diaspora, could make a case for eventually becoming and belonging to the immigrant mixed communities they share opinions and orientations with. The Cameroonian immigrants want to "belong" and be "accepted" in these communities via the Cameroonian social culture or linguistic features, values and experiences. Likewise, they want to jointly (re)construct new migrant identities and become a part of a community in which the practice of mixed nationalities of the migrants is present (Frank-Job & Kluge, 2015).

This study has illustrated that linguistic belonging depends on context, which determines the language choices of the immigrants (e.g. speaking the Nigerian or Cameroonian variety of Pidgin with a Nigerian interlocutor). In other words, the choice of a certain address form or kinship term may be the trademark/insignia of membership in a particular community of practice. On the one hand, there is the use of certain address forms/kinship terms to signal the degree of successful integration into the German diasporic society. On the other hand, immigrants do not wish to lose their hold and position as regards the home language and culture and therefore do not wish to give a signal to the fact that their pre-migratory cultural characteristics are disappearing. This is reconstructed via the use of address terms such as *bo'oh, ma friend, dis man.* These two opposing needs give room for the (re)construction of culturally and linguistically composite identities of these immigrants. The choice of address forms and kinship terms is composite, leading to multiplex identity formations based on the degree of respect, politeness, social distance and closeness, intimacy. This is a bonding the speaker wishes to create at the moment of speaking. The creation and adherence to *Njangi/tontine* houses, meeting groups and associations signals the need for a close-knit in-group adherence. This adherence is signalled by the use of the appropriate forms of address terms. The choice of an address form is a linguistic signal that speakers belong together. Address terms are markers of shared experiences and heritage: friends, colleagues, partners and family on the one hand and superiors, strangers and foreigners on the other including in- and out- group identities.

8.7. Age identities

Cameroonians and other Africans believe that what an old man can see sitting a young man cannot see standing (Achebe, 1960:42). The age identities (re)constructed in the migrant

communities in Germany reflect the way Cameroonians and other Africans venerate their elders. The elders in these communities are respected for their wisdom and life experiences. In the family domain, elders are the heads. This is illustrated by the specific address and kinship terms that are reserved for speaking to the elders of the family and community. The address forms have deep and ingrained respect for old age. Even if there is no reason to admire a particular elder, his/her age alone is reason to show him/her courtesy and politeness (Also Mbiti, 1975 & 1990). Within these communities it is believed that elders are the teachers and the directors of the young. The elders are expected to tell the truth of life experiences to the young who on their part are expected to heed to these counsels. The present study shows in section 7.3.2 that this custom and tradition is generally still adhered to, especially by the first generation migrants.

The impact of age on the linguistic behaviour of the Cameroonian immigrants under study and the extent to which age is an important variant in the choice of address forms has been revealed as it contributes to the (re)construction of identity. Age identity is revealed as a social construct, namely the social dimension which contributes to building different forms of identities during their interaction with people who originate from different regions/ethnic groups, different social and age groups. The immigrants construct different identities out of the "social discourse culturally available to them" (Burr, 2003:106). From the post-constructionist position on which this study is partly based, identity is not something that the immigrants have, but it is something that they "perform" (Butler, 1990). It is therefore subjective and this explains why it changes with context and situation between friends, with older members of the community, with unknown persons with whom they speak differently and use different address forms to construct different age-oriented identities. These speakers adopt "specific subject positions" (Andrew, 2016:338) which is an ongoing process. The choice of addressing older interlocutors with special address and kinship terms is based on the social (re)construction of societal norms.

Conflict is observed with the youths who struggle at the level of discourse with their peers or near-peers to reject certain social forms (e.g. *sister/brother; teknonyms* and *ndap*). The impact of age on the sociolinguistic experiences of these young people therefore depends on context and setting and where each of them positions themselves within the community of practice (Andrew, 2016). This explains why there is still a large scale use of *auntie/uncle* to address much older persons of the community and why the use of formal address terms is still widely adhered to. The results of this research show that culture has a significant role and

effect on the (re)construction of age identity. The age identities, like the other identities, are constructed differently based on position and circumstance. This is done sometimes for the acquisition of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977), at other times for upward economic mobility (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011), yet at other times for the (re)enactment of youthful rebellion towards institutions and culture. This is the case when informants reveal that they do not need to use address forms of respect to speak to their siblings as expected by culture and society but they need to be nice and friendly with their siblings. Chapter 7.3.2 concludes that dominant cultural discourse is still important to this community of practice. This is illustrated by the fact that age gives a woman a new identity in the traditional Cameroon community, a higher status. Examples are the *Takubeng* (Fonchingong, 2007) of the NW region of Anglophone Cameroon. Because of their age, this group of women is often invited to join men in community meetings to deliberate on important issues of the community. In the present study this is manifested through the use of the address forms *ma* for all women above fifty (e.g. *Ma Susan, Ma Beatrice, Ma Helen*) for they are considered the *mothers* of the community due to their age.

8.8. Religious identity

The use of address terms in diasporic Cameroonian church communities reveals a cultural continuity, which re-enacts the importance and the centrality of religion in these communities as shown in Chapter 7.4.1. The trauma of immigration adds to this importance, where churches provide opportunities for socio-economic upward mobility. They also serve as an escape route, a source of refuge and a place of comfort from a wider society that is sometimes discriminatory (Han, 2011; Souza, 2016). In such a world there is need for sociocultural (re)construction of identity. The three main religious groups found in this community are the Catholics, the Presbyterians and the Pentecostal Christians. There is an inherent commonality in all three denominations: the fear of God and the fear of the unknown add to the desire to belong and conform. The address forms and names used point to the cultures of different religious groups. The Catholics refer to their priests as *Father,* the Presbyterians and the Pentecostals talk of *Pastor* and *Elder*[71]. The use of *sister* and *brother* to address each other by

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[71] Elder: In Christian churches, an elder is someone who has a post of responsibility in one of the church groups.

all three denominations displays certain features and this is shown to be different from the use of *sister/brother* in the social/secular domain. The use of these two address forms in the churches occurs irrespective of age. It is not an address form with power connotations. The users actually believe that they are brothers and sisters in Christ as seen in Chapter 7.4.1, these informants address each other *sister* and *brother* irrespective of age differences. These address forms keep them as distinct groups and intensify group membership and cohesion.

For the Cameroonian Anglophone immigrants, therefore, the diasporic church communities provide settings in which they practice their religious background and experiences and reconstruct their personal religious identities. The different church communities provide an escape route from isolation. Some Cameroonian informants of this study (Chapter 7.4.1) say that they find more confidence in church communities because they give them a sense of belonging. Language use in these communities reveals that religion adds an important dimension to the sociolinguistic diversity of their identities (multilingual, multicultural, religious and sociolinguistic diversity). For example an individual named Michael is called *Brother/Elder* Michael in church, *Ni/Pa Michael* at home and sometimes *Uncle Michael* in the public domain. The way he is addressed depends on context and interlocutor. Different sociolinguistic identities are recreated each time an address form is used: *brother/elder* = religious identity, *Ni* = cultural identity, *daddy/pa* = family identity. Sometimes the same interlocutor will address the same person differently depending on the context.

To speak to a Catholic priest by addressing him *Father* recreates his spiritual identity and reflects his authority as a father to the congregation, where people are under his care. Churches have distinguishing titles and marks of respect. Laws and traditions are still heavily adhered to by the Cameroonian diasporic communities, in the same way they are at home in Cameroon (Kegoua, 2007). The address terms used highlight the role of religion as identity markers. However, the effects of the variables age, gender and ethnicity on the choice of address terms in churches are different from those of the secular community. A good Christian habit (correct or appropriate address form) will secure these migrants a respectable status within the church community (Souza, 2016). The church is a setting that provides these migrants with access to specific social networks. It provides a recognition of their social status (respectability) within the religious institution as well as a positive sense of belonging. The immigrants of this study search for refuge through religious identity and religious attachment confirming Peek (2005) that the Church provides shelter and is a place for comfort.

8.9. German Bushfaller identities (integration)

Migration in contemporary Cameroon is termed *bush falling* in CamE and CamPE. The migrants are called *bushfallers.* This term originates from two Pidgin words *bush* (farm) and *fall (ing)* (to cut down). This coinage is figurative and replicates a farmer who invests his/her resources to cut down a virgin forest in the hope of eventually getting a rich harvest. In order to fully understand the address term *bushfaller* as used in the German diaspora, one has to understand what this term means in the home country, Cameroon. When asked in Cameroon what they meant by the term *bush* and *bushfaller,* some Cameroonians had this to say:

Bush is:

- Any country where people go to in search of greener pastures or to acquire skills and knowledge
- Where there might be ample opportunities, a place of plenty
- A place where you can achieve something after hard work
- A place where people go to help and develop themselves and their family (cf. Alpes, 2011:231).

A *bushfaller* is:

- Someone who goes abroad and hustles to send money to his family and also to better his life
- Someone who travels overseas in search of jobs to come and better their family's life
- Someone from a less developed country who travels to developed countries for greener pastures
- Someone who goes to a place out of their country where he/she can make quick or fast money (Alpes 2011:232).

Within the German diasporic space, these immigrants (re)construct the same images, they want to be seen and recognized as people who have come to make it. This is portrayed in the way they speak of themselves and each other. Within this space, however, the image of *bush* has been extended because the reality is somewhat different from the home conception of *bush* (Chapter 2.4.3) as a land of milk and honey. The reality of *bush* is that there are different levels, strata or classifications of the *bushfallers*. As demonstrated in this research, different classes of bushfallers are all portrayed in the different address terms accorded to groups and individuals. In Germany, we have *bushfallers* who have got their papers, these are called persons with *kwali*. They have a high status in this community. Even those with papers are of different categories: we have those with temporary residency; those with permanent

residency and the highest status are those with German nationality. On the other hand, we have *bushfallers* who are on asylum (with temporary documentation), these are called *adoro* persons. Lastly, we have Cameroon *bushfallers* who have no documentation, these are called *dargo. Kwali, adoro* and *dargo* are the different identities of the Cameroonian *bushfallers* (see 6.3.2). Each time any of these address terms is employed, the status of the person within the community is revealed or reconstructed. These address terms are used with certain implications, for instance if you are a *dargo* or an *adoro* person, you might not be accepted in some of the *njangi* houses because your residency is not certain. The risk of repatriation is often high. The identity of an *adoro* and a *dargo* person is obviously a degrading image and people often feel offended when addressed in these terms. Although *bush* generates an elevated social status (financial power of *bushfallers*) in the home country, the reality in the German setting is different. There are different levels and categories of *bushfaller*s as demonstrated by the different address terms used.

Another address term that is used within this community to (re)construct the *bushfaller* identity is *darkie*. Cameroonians, like most Africans in Germany, call themselves and each other *darkie*. This is a metaphor that originates from the word *dark*, it refers to the black African skin. This is an address term of solidarity and belonging among Cameroonians and other Africans. It is similar to the *brother/sister* address term that signifies *Ubuntu*, i.e. we are together. It should be noted that *darkie* is exclusively a diasporic address term, addressing someone as *darkie* at home in Cameroon will be totally unacceptable.

The (re)construction of a patriotic, faithful and proud Cameroonian identity is illustrated in a dialogue that takes place in the cellar of one of the African shops in Mülheim an der Ruhr between two Cameroonians and a Nigerian. The address terms *pays* and *paysan* are used to (re)construct these identities:

Extract 8.9.1: Bushfaller identity

Nigerian: I heard you studied in Nigeria?

1st Cameroonian: Yes, in Calabar; then I went back home for a year.

2nd Cameroonian: *for Pays?* "Home to Cameroon?"

1st Cameroonian: *Yes oh* "yes of course."

2nd Cameroonian: Then you decided to bushfall "then you decided to migrate."

All: @@@@@@@@@@@@@ "laughing"

1st Cameroonian: Yes, I did, *how man go do? No bi paysan a be?* "We have no choice. Am I not a Cameroonian?"

2nd Cameroonian*: L'impossible n'est pas Camerounais*. "To say impossible is not Cameroonian."

Nigerian: *Pays guys!* "Cameroonian guys!"

In this dialogue that runs from lines 1 to 9, we see that the address terms *pays a*nd *paysan* are used by the Cameroonians and their Nigerian friend to construct the Cameroonian *bushfaller* identity. Cameroonians here claim to be a very determined people who do not easily give up. In their own words they say that they are not *give-up-teurs*[72] (Kouega, 2003). The address forms *pays* and *paysan* are used only in the diaspora. The construction of identities here are three-fold, speakers take pride in reconstructing their multilingual background by switching into French to reiterate their determined and hardworking nature. We also see the (re)construction of Cameroonian and patriotic identities when they refer to themselves as *Paysan* and their country as *pays*. This more than anything else reflects their love for fatherland and their nation. They take pride in showing off the uniqueness of being a Cameroonian.

The use of *Herr* and *Frau* in a discussion that takes place in either of the two Cameroonian Englishes illustrates a code switch that demonstrates the German *bushfaller* identity. It reflects that the Cameroonian immigrant is a *bushfaller* in Germany and is determined to get or feel integrated into the German socio-culture; a good way of manifesting this integrated personality is via language choice or language behaviour. Contact with Germans within this space takes place in the domains of the church, school, sports arenas and NGO associations (Fleischer, 2008). During these contacts, not only do Anglophones come into contact with the German language, but also with the socio-culture. Linguistic evidence of this can be observed in the exclamations and curses used by Cameroonian immigrants at the least provocation or irritation *Scheiße!* "Shit!" or when a Cameroonian tells his/her interlocutor *a no go schaff*[73] *am*, "I will not make it", *a dey go Bahnhof*[74] "I am going to the train station". These borrowed expressions and address forms reveal the new personality/identity that they acquire or try to assume for themselves in their new habitat. These expressions more than anything else reveal the *German Bushfaller* identities of these Cameroonians.

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[72] A *give-up-teur* is someone who easily gives up when faced with a difficult situation (Someone who is not very determined). This expression is from Camfranglais (Kouega, 2003).

[73] *Schaffen* German word for make or achieve

[74] *Bahnhof* German for train station

Informal networking with Germans as a result of Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants' attempt to settle into their new location can be observed in the aforementioned contact domains. The reality is that these immigrants are faced with a vast array of information in different situations and have to access and process these to get themselves settled and integrated. For instance, upon arrival these migrants are confronted with issues of housing, employment, negotiating and getting their children into schools. These are all everyday needs that require language of communication. For a new immigrant, this is complicated and there is need to quickly learn a few German expressions. The level of proficiency in the German language therefore reflects different levels and shades of identities and personalities. A Cameroonian who can already speak fluent German is respected and has a higher prestige among the people of his/her own community. A person with such status can easily expand and facilitate networking with the Germans (Fleischer, 2008). Cameroonian networking with Germans is thus influenced by the German language proficiency because people/immigrants with very low German proficiency will tend to shy away from networking with Germans and remain within their own residential enclaves where they speak with people of their own language groups. Within their enclaves, these immigrants stay together like one family to support and help each other. For instance mothers take turns in caring for each other's children (a form of day care). Cameroonian migrants seek contact with other Cameroonians or sub-Sahara Africans. This makes networking with Germans far more distant and complex. Even though these migrants live in Germany, networking with members of the host community is sometimes very distant. This gap between members of the German host community and the Anglophone Cameroonian migrants is revealed by many informants of this research.

These migrants accept that apart from very official contexts such as in the shops, places of work and the church they have very little or no contact with members of the host community at a private or personal level. The results of this research show that Cameroonians (Generations 1 and 1.5), as revealed by their many associations and meetings, cling to people of their own kind within the German diaspora, where they re-enact their traditional sociolinguistic behaviours and just from time to time with touches of German sociolinguistic influence. We have seen in Chapter 7 that Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants sometimes create the *bushfaller* identities by adopting the German culture and system of addressing older interlocutors by their names. Some Cameroonians feel so uncomfortable with this culture that they use *Herr* and *Frau* in informal contexts and with first names. This results in structures such as *Herr Simon* and *Frau Dorothee* (see Chapter 7) which reiterates the hybrid structures

that are produced when languages and cultures come into contact. The examples of *Herr Wolfgang* and *Frau Yeboah* in Extracts 7.4.4 (a) and 7.4.4 (b) in Chapter 7 show that these speakers use the language feature at their disposition in their tradition to suit their own sociolinguistic needs. This recreates the linguistic flexibility of these multilingual immigrants as manifested by their language choices. This means that the Anglophone Cameroonians exploit their linguistic/cultural situation, made even more heterogeneous within the German sociolinguistic and socio-cultural space to reconstruct different identities. The multilingual/multicultural German space has added to the diversity of the sociolinguistic repertoire of these migrants.

This research has shown that the language behaviour of the first generation and generation 1.5 immigrants from Anglophone Cameroon in Germany is characterised by features of contact of languages. These features generate hybridic personalities, some of which include work personalities, school personalities, integrated German *bushfaller* personalities. One other conspicuous arena where identities are (re)created is the domain of religion. Here the churches serve as places of contact between immigrants and Germans. Other socio-cultural contexts include sports media, cuisine and music.

The question of German on the multilingual repertoire of these immigrants and how this influences their socio-cultural behaviour and thus the (re)construction of identity has been observed in this study. Illustratively, we see that generation 1.5 informants still find it necessary to use the appropriate address forms when speaking to the elders of their communities even if they speak German. As illustrated in Chapter 7 Extract 7.3.19, even though the exchange takes place in the German language these speakers find it necessary to use the expected forms of address, e.g. *Papa Napo* and *Mammie Napo.* Even though these are German *bushfallers,* the home or traditional identities are still reconstructed. A spontaneous exchange between a mother and her son taken from Fonkeu (2011:70) further illustrates the effect of contact with the German language in the family domain:

Extract 3.8: Code mixing (Fonkeu, 2011:70)

Mother: Sama! I have told you to stop it! Sit on your own chair and stop fidgeting!

Sama: **Ich bin das nicht er ist** … (pointing to his brother). "I am not the one he is…"

Mother: Go to your seat!

Sama: **Aber** mum… "but mum…"

Mother: Oh yes, I mean it. If you do not stay quiet this minute, I will send you to your **kinderzimmer!** "Children's room" Brother: Can we go?

Mother**: Was? Guck mal Ich habe keine Lust ok?** Now sit quiet you´ll soon get a **Saft** to drink. "What? Look here I am no longer interested ok?" "Juice"

Mother**: Dis pikin dem go kill me. Infact some time a no di know wenti fo do wit dem.** "These children can drive one crazy. In fact, sometimes I no longer know what to do with them"

We see here that code switching between German, CamPE and CamE serves a communicative strategy. The children call their mother *mum*, which is the expected standard CamE address term. They do not use the German address form *Mama.* At the same time, linguistic choice points to the identities of the speakers, it conveys meaning about who they are, intensifies relations; for instance power relation is marked by standard CamE. On the other hand, closeness, intimacy, solidarity, in-group membership and friendship are all marked by the use of the non-standard variety CamPE. This is why the mother says *dis pikin dem go kill me.* She code-switches to Pidgin because she wants to share this feeling with the interlocutor who is also a speaker of that variety. At that moment she needs friendship and solidarity, someone to share and understand her frustration with the situation. Code switching into CamPE at this point is a conscious invitation for empathy. This mother thus creates the identity of the stressful side of motherhood.

The choice of address terms as observed in the extracts in Chapter 7 reveal a sociolinguistic adjustment to socio-economic and ecological conditions of the migrants. One of the conditions we observe in this study is the coinage as noted in the use of *schwangered* "to be pregnant", *fake Oyibo* "white skinned non-Europeans", *darkie* "black Africans". We observe specific communicative patterns at different linguistic levels. These features from different linguistic contexts are combined to form unique socio-linguistic patterns observed when Anglophone Cameroonians speak English in the German diaspora. Some of the pragmatic idiosyncrasies observed include:

- Social distance & social proximity (*Darkie* vs. *fake Oyibo; O boy* vs. *name*).
- Defining group membership/Outsider vs. insider (*Adoro* vs. *Kwali*).
- Contextualizing the different social categories (*Oyibo* vs. *Darkie* vs. *Fake Oyibo*).

Elements of one language are locally combined with elements of another language leading to variational practices. *Oyibo* (European) is a Nigerian Pidgin word that has entered CamPE and *fake* is an English word. The use of German words and expressions (*Schatz,*

Herr/Frau) to address people implies that Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants intend to align with the majority language and community. It is also evident that these speakers build up competitive defence strategies in their intertwining of borrowed words and expressions. Here they use *fake Oyibo* to address a certain group of people. The effect of this is that social differentiation, social equality and social integration are created through the use of some of these coined expressions and address forms in the German diaspora. One of the connotative meanings or implications as revealed in this study is that *fake Oyibo* (fairskinned non-European) are also from a background that is not very different from poor and undemocratic African and Asian countries. This identifies these people more with Africans and Asians than with Europeans in spite of their fair complexions. This adds to the revelation that in the globalised context in which these multilinguals find themselves identities are re-enacted at different levels: with Germans, with Nigerians and with other Cameroonians.

Anglophone Cameroonians use the expected forms of address on the one hand in conformity with their community of practice and on the other hand in conformity with the host community. As Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants try to settle down and get integrated in the German society, informal networks with Germans and other migrants are created leading to different shades of identities and personalities. This reiterates the fact that Cameroonians in Germany do not "…belong exclusively to either home or host country; they have connections with and pay allegiance to both" (Kandje, 2017:8).

8.10. The identity web of Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants in Germany

The (re)creation of multiple and shifting identities linked to relationships of power in society, as found in this research, is represented in an identity web. This web shows that through the use of address terms like *adoro* and *kwali* to address or refer to the immigrants in question, multiple sociolinguistic identities are (re)constructed. This web also reveals that cultural identities like most identities recreated in the diaspora are interwoven and hybridic in character (cultural and linguistic hybridity). The Cameroonian Anglophone immigrants in this study, as mentioned before, have two legacies: the cultural/ethnic and the colonial legacy which is western or near western in nature. The immigrants want to "belong" and be "accepted" in these communities via the Cameroonian socio-cultural or linguistic features, values and experiences. Similarly, they want to jointly construct new migrant identities and become a part of a community in which the practice of mixed nationalities of the migrants is present.

Cameroonians in Germany belong to both home and host countries (Kandje, 2017). These ideas are captured and represented in the following identity web Graph, No. 8.10.1. Below:

Graph 8.10.1: Identity web of Cameroonian immigrants in Germnay
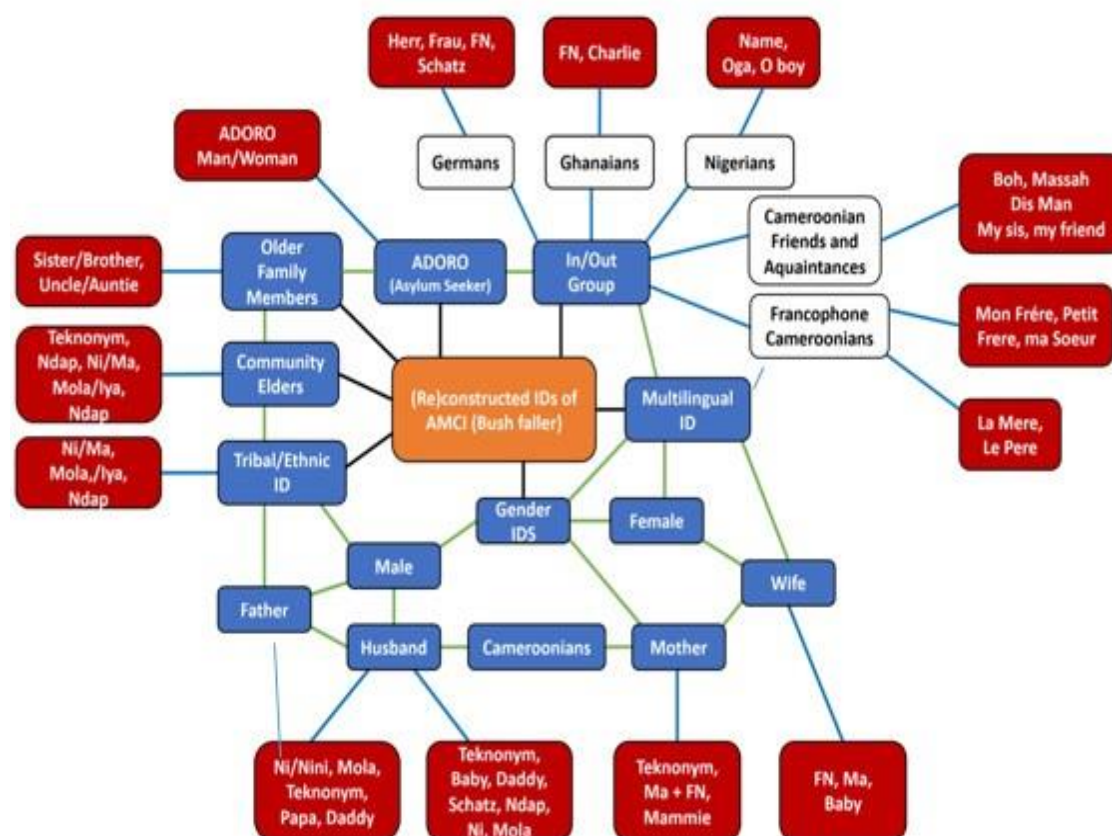
KEY

 Domains/interlocutors

 Address forms and Kinship terms

 (Re)constructed identities

This web Graph 8.10.1 visualises how address forms and kinship terms in the Anglophone Cameroonian communities of practice in the German diaspora are central to the (re)construction of multiple identities. This identity web displays the overlapping, intertwining super-diversity and complexity of the address forms and kinship terms within the Cameroonian diasporic communities. It also reveals that the different identities (re)constructed via these address forms are equally superdiverse in nature. The address forms and kinship terms in the diagram constitute the linguistic variables of this study and how these

serve as a powerful instrument in the (re)creation of identities aided by the social variables of age, gender and context of use. For example, Cameroonian meetings in the German diaspora do not follow or imitate the Western pattern of discourse. To start with, these meetings display high levels of multilingualism; there are at least three languages used in every encounter: the minutes of the meetings are written and read in Cameroon Standard English, discussions could start in CamE but shift to CamPE when discussions get serious and then to the ethnic languages. This demonstrates the multilingual and multiple identities of these postcolonial immigrants. Furthermore, the meetings at the *Kellers* and *njangi* houses provide a context for these Anglophones to re-enact their *Cameroonianness,* as the *Kellers* and *Njangi* houses have replaced the many bars and drinking spots in Cameroon, where people go to network. The need for social networking is even more urgent in the German diaspora than in the home country. The interconnected web of (re)constructed identities as represented in the diagram is evidence of the need to get connected. Since address forms play an effective role in negotiating entry into relationships among the Africans, they thus become a powerful tool in the hands of the immigrants. Although some old identities are maintained, it can be seen that some new ones are created. It can be noted that in their attempt to build in-group relations with Nigerians, Ghanaians and Germans, the Cameroonians speak differently**.** To speak to a Nigerian by addressing him *oga* if he is older or *O boy* if he is about the same age, a Cameroonian male speaker has created a friendly and receptive atmosphere that may lead to future benefits. The globalised context of the diaspora as demonstrated above has added to the multilingualism and multiethnicity of the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants as they negotiate and (re)create their identities.

Cameroonian migrants build up friendship networks with other Cameroonians, and people from other socio-cultural and sociolinguistic backgrounds. The German *bushfaller* identities as shown in the web *(Herr, Frau, Schatz, Adoro)* is employed with Germans and non-Germans alike. Sometime these speakers use these forms consciously and at other times unconsciously to show off their *German bushfaller* status as when they talk on the phone to Cameroon and use these words and expressions (Fonkeu, 2011). The reality of the German situation is that sometimes these *bushfallers* are faced with the image or identity of marginalization. This is both a sociological and historical fact that the immigrants have to live with. An *adoro man* will do everything in his power to change to a more prestigious identity. This can only be achieved if he gets his *kwali*. The identities of the immigrants can best be understood when viewed in relation to their historical and socio-economic background

(Joseph, 2016). These are people who have come with the intention *to make it*[75]. This is reflected in the complex web of identities that they build in their different communities of practice in the new global context of migration. It is therefore understandable why Cameroonian Anglophone immigrants construct multiple, interlocking, intertwining and intersecting dimensions of identities. There is a need to reconstruct past community lifestyles and maintain contact with home and at the same time there is also the need to get integrated and be successful in the German society; for this to happen, contact with other people of the host community is necessary.

This web displays a pattern that reveals the complexity of the sociolinguistic community and networks of the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants in Germany. As the key to the web shows, the same address terms are sometimes used both in the private domain*s* of the family and in the pubic domains of friends and acquaintances. For instance, the address terms *sister/brother, uncle/auntie, Ni/Ma Mola/Iy ndap* and *terknonyms* feature both in the public domains of the community and the private domains of the family. This leads to the intertwining and interlocking that can be described as a crossover in the use of address terms. The effect of this is that the gap between the public domains of socialising and the intimacy of the private domain of the family is not very wide. The narrow gap in between these domains reiterates the concept of collectivism, which is a typical characteristic of the Cameroonian sociolinguistic culture. A father's friend is a *father*; the same expressions of love and intimacy shown a father is carried over to his friend as manifested via the way he is addressed. This expresses or reconstructs Cameroonian and African solidarity, which is one of the main features of the Cameroonian community of practice. Sometimes even an older stranger will be addressed in a very affectionate address term as a politeness strategy since in this culture age commands great respect. However, the result of this research has revealed that the younger generation of speakers are showing a different language behaviour from that of the parent generation in some contexts. For instance the use of *sister* and *brother* as address terms of respect to older siblings is being overlooked. Some informants of this research declare that they do not need to use these address forms of respect to speak to older siblings. However, results reveal that these young speakers still use *uncle* and *auntie* to speak to much older members of the community and family. This can be interpreted to mean that these young

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[75] *To make it* is a popular expression among African migrants, which means "succeed in an undertaking". Germany is a *hustling ground* where every *bushfaller* intends to *make it.*

people sometimes adopt certain speech habits because they are under societal pressures. Between siblings, there is not as much pressure as there is between uncles/aunts and nephews/nieces or between the young people of the community and much older persons. The older generation speakers of this research have manifested a greater consistency in their language choices because they stick more to the forms of address that reconstruct respect for age, ethnicity and gender through the use of *Ma* and *Ni, Mola, Tanyi* and *Manyi,* etc. As a result of all these intricacies, an outsider coming from a different socio-cultural setting will need time to adjust to such a complex and overlapping address system. For instance, addressing a much older member of the community is different from addressing a member of the community who is not so much older.

8.11. Summary

This chapter shows that there is a relation between socio-cultural identity and language use of the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants in the German diaspora. This is demonstrated by the use of address forms and kinship terms to reconstruct different shades of identity. The contact of languages and cultures has sociolinguistic and socio-cultural implications. The language choices of these migrants show that the social variables of age, gender and level of education still occupy an important place and still guide power relations between interlocutors of this community. Even though the younger generation of speakers are manifesting a reluctance in the use of some of the address forms that indicate respect for age differences such as *sister* and *brother*, societal pressure still keep them in check. This is why most of the younger generation of speakers still widely use address and kinship terms of respect owed to the most senior members of the community, e.g. the prefixes of respect *auntie* and *uncle* are still widely used. Furthermore, on no occasion do we see a child addressing his/her parent by name.

The social life and linguistic interactions of the immigrants have been developed, analysed and understood based on social constructionism (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). This analysis confirms that the identities of the immigrants under study are socially (re)constructed. This demonstrates that there is a link between linguistic choices and identity. Anglophone Cameroonians constitute a community of practice, which is an arena for social networking with other Cameroonians and people from other nationalities. Contact with people from

different sociolinguistic and socio-cultural background produces hybrid, complex and fluid identities (Wenger, 1998). The Cameroonian community of practice in Germany still has an important influence on the sociolinguistic behaviour of these immigrants.

Viewed through the lens of postcolonial pragmatics, this chapter shows that the community of practice of the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants in Germany is uniquely complex and hybridic. It is a communication environment in which pragmatic practices from different languages and ethnic groups are subtly combined (Janney & Anchimbe, 2011). This is further complicated by contact with other languages and cultures. The results of this research reflect this complexity; language choices are sometimes influenced by cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977) and at other times by economic mobility (Blommaert, 2014). The use of traditional Cameroonian, Nigerian, Ghanaian or German address forms are choices speakers have to make strategically. Furthermore, there is addressing older interlocutors with special address and kinship terms or avoiding an address term by using no/zero address term in appropriate circumstances (Kouega, 2003; Echu, 2004; Fornmentelli, 2018). This means that the mixture of people and cultures in this globalised space adds to the sociolinguistic mixture and super-diversity in the linguistic choices of these speakers (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Blommaert, 2014). The address forms, as used, are not fixed. They are in constant flux: at one point in the same conversation a speaker addresses her interlocutor as *auntie* while at another point the same speaker speaks to the same person and calls her *tantie* and *tata*. This is a reflection of the unpredictability and numerous possibilities available in the diaspsoric context and we cannot be completely certain about which of these choices speakers are going to select in a given context (Blommaert, 2014). The hybridity and complexity that is manifested through language choice of the immigrants in question is from two broad perspectives. The historical baggage of these immigrants has added an important meaning to the sense of self. They therefore re-enact their past by conforming to societal and cultural norms through the use of *ndap*, *teknonyms* and *manyi/tanyi*. At the same time, they need in-group affiliations with Nigerians, Ghanaians and Germans. They also need to be integrated within the German socio-cultural, sociolinguistic and socio-economic system. This influences the choices of address forms (*oga, O boy, Charlie, Schatz, Herr/Frau*). This study reveals, however, that the freedom of the diasporic space has not completely disrupted the diglossic relation that exists in the use of CamE and CamPE. The address forms and kinship terms show that Cameroon Standard English is still used in formal situations and Pidgin and ethnic languages are still widely used in informal and the private domains.

For the first-generation immigrants, there is a greater sense of cultural attachment and an attempt to portray their background. These immigrants do not wish to lose all that they left behind in terms of socio-culture. There is the need to reconstruct the past communities and relationships. However, the freedom of the diasporic space has led to a level of super-diversity and transnationalism (De Fina, 2016) as we see that the younger generation of speakers (generation 1.5) are slowly resisting the use of some features (e.g. *sister/brother* in the private and public domains). Moreover, the revelation by some university students in Chapter 7.5, that they address some of their lecturers and professors by first names with no titles of respect or formality, is a great divergence from the Cameroonian situation (Echu, 2004). In spite of these differences it is obvious that for both these groups of first and generation 1.5 multilingual and multicultural immigrants the in-between-ness of their experiences of displacement signifies the identity dilemma often faced by such individuals and communities. This is made even more complex in the German diasporic setting due to the presence of yet another European language and another European culture.

Chapter 9: Conclusion and implications of the study

9.1. Introduction

The Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants of this study have demonstrated that:

> For [them] the border is no longer located at any fixed geopolitical site. [These immigrants] carry the border with [them], and [they] find new borders wherever they go… For [them] home is both here and there (Gómez-Peña, 2002:750)[76].

The quotation above captures the fact that the language use of the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants in the German diaspora is dynamic and fluid leading to the (re)construction of changing and complex identities. In other words, the boundaries between the translocal and the transnational are not always categorical or obvious.

The Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants, as shown in this study, negotiate and perform different identities in an attempt to adapt between languages and cultures in different contexts. There is evidence to conclude that the Cameroonian Anglophone migrants do not belong to either home or host countries; they often build up connections with and owe allegiances to both: they are *here* (Germany) and *there* (Cameroon) (Kadje, 2017). On the one hand, Cameroonians in Germany live and manifest the stereotypical Cameroonian and African identity but on the other hand, they display elements of *Germano-Cameroonian* cultures both linguistically and culturally.

The evidence for this is that these speakers still use the address terms of respect *ni/ma, mola, uncle/auntie*, *teknonyms* (*mammie Emade/pa Emade*) and *ndap* within their communities. At the same time, they display elements of the German sociolinguistic culture, as shown by Anglophone Cameroonian student informants, who reveal that they address their lecturers by name, which is a great shift from the Cameroonian culture. Furthermore, the use of the address form *sister/brother* to speak to older siblings among generation 1.5 Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants is losing its popularity in the German context. These cultural and linguistic mixtures and admixtures lead to the hybridity and complexity shown in this research.When, for instance, a Cameroonian Anglophone in Germany says to his/her friend, *Massa, that woman got schwangered* [77] "Man, that woman got pregnant" or *You no go*

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[76] This serves as an epilogue to the research findings.

[77] The expression to be *schwangere*d here is from the German expression "schwanger sein" which in CamE is "to be pregnant" or in CamPE "*get belle*". We see here that *"Schwangered"* has been borrowed from German and has been conjugated following the CamE grammar (past participle marker –ed). It is a form of DCamE (Disaporic CamE).

Schaffam[78] "You will not make it", these language patterns display the innovations, the unpredictability, the diversity, the hybridity and super-diversity that are characteristic of the socio-constructionist diasporic globalized space in which these postcolonial multilingual immigrants find themselves (De Fina, 2016; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). This is in keeping with the poststructuralist theory, which posits that identity is not fixed but is something that is ongoing; it is "… a lifelong project by which individuals constantly attempt to maintain a sense of balance…ontological security" (Giddens, 1991:47).

Some Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants demonstrate in this study that performance, action and manipulation is at the heart of their language choices. That is why a Cameroonian who wishes to befriend a Nigerian will speak to the Nigerian by addressing him/her using the Nigerian appellations and not the Cameroonian in certain contexts (e.g. the Nigerian *Oga*). Furthermore, the Cameroonian immigrant in Germany will do everything to speak the German language in a context where he/she knows this will lead to socio-economic benefits, e.g. getting a job or getting a cheap or affordable accommodation. This agrees with Heller (2007), who argues that languages in multilingual settings can serve as a set of resources which circulates within the social network and discourse space. In this research, Anglophone Cameroonians have shown that they are in search of security which takes place within the frameworks of the past, present and the future. To put this differently, the constant communication of the Anglophone Cameroonian speakers has shown that they are influenced by their histories, which helps them reconcile their current sense of self and their accumulated past with a view to dealing with what awaits them in the future (Block, 2006:35). To reveal the extent to which this research has succeeded in answering the research questions set at the beginning, section 9.2 below gives a synopsis of the research goals.

9.2. A recapitulation of the research objective

The aims and objectives of this study were to investigate the relation between socio-cultural identity and language use of the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrant in the German diaspora. Address forms and kinship terms were set as the linguistic features, the choice of which will indicate the (re)constructed identity based on the social variables of age, gender, level of

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[78]   *Schaffam* is a borrowed word from the German language "*schaffen*". It has been conjugated to fit into the CamPE grammar and sound system *Schaffam* (make it = *Schaf+ am(Scahffam*)

education and ethnic background. In this study, I investigated language use in both the private domain of the family and a cross section of the public domain. These included contact with other Cameroonians, Anglophones and Francophones, contact with Nigerians, Ghanaians, Sierra Leoneans and Germans. Specifically the choice of address terms in these different contexts was aimed at revealing the identity options (e.g. home vs. diaspora, in-group vs out-group identities). This is because the socio-cultural and socio-economic conditions and objectives are at the heart of the language choices of the immigrants.

This research is set out to investigate the Cameroonian identity traits as manifested across international borders in the German diaspora. Another premise of this research suggests the mobility of identities. It is eventually revealed that the behaviour of the immigrants blurs translocal and transnational borders because the immigrants in question do not stick to one culture. The heterogeneous character of the (re)constructed identity reiterates this fact. The (re)constructed identies are meant to be facilitated by the multilingual and multicultural linguistic repertoire that the Cameroonians possess. This repertoire enables the informants to transform the colonial identities to such an extent that they are able to fit in the new environment; they are expected to act out their identities in both their communities of practice and the German, Nigerian, Ghanaian and other immigrant communities.

9.3. General conclusion

The results of this research show that there does exit a relation between the socio-cultural identity (re)constructed by Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants in Germany and their language use.This research demonstrates that address forms and kinship terms are important tools for the (re)construction of sociolinguistic identities. It is schown that the choice of address forms as used by the Cameroonians reflects their thoughts, attitudes and even their social status (Akindele, 2002). These speakers have confirmed that address forms and kinship terms are important sociolinguistic reflections of a speaker's attitudes towards themselves and towards other people. Address forms, as used by the Cameroonian immigrants, are shown to mirror or reflect their verbal behaviour in day-to-day interactions and communications. For instance, their choice of address and kinship terms reflects with whom they wish to affiliate or disaffiliate (Afful, 2006). This research shows that address forms are a rich resource for networking and solidarity as well as for building in- and out-group relationships (belonging and not belonging).The eventual birth of DCamE and DCamPE reiterates the view that address

forms and kinship terms can serve as fruitful tools for the negotiation or transformation of a cultural system leading to the hybridity that is observed in the present investigation.

This study also demonstrates that age, gender, ethnicity and context of use are important social factors that condition and determine the linguistic choices of these immigrants. Based on the fact that the Cameroonian postcolonialists are members of a community of practice, there is a need to conform to the expectations of the community if they want to be accepted members. The results of this research confirm that language is necessary for the ongoing creation of identity and its performativity, thus confirming the poststructuralist idea that language is not neutral but is important in the relations between individuals and the community in which they live.

The address forms and kinship terms, as used by these multilingual immigrants, reflect their social habits, values, and preferences (Bourdieu, 1977; Derrida, 1978; Foucault, 1980; Bakhtin, 1981). In the process of using language to build up different identities, the agents in question have to respect societal rules, the norms that guide the community of practice in which they belong (Eckert &McConnet-Ginet, 1992; Ochs, 1993). The constructed identities and experiences of the immigrants reflect their postcolonial status. This is because their cultural and traditional belief systems are reflected in their linguistic choices and language use (Anchimbe &Janney, 2011).

The German context has given these African immigrants a new meaning of self as they manoeuver the different languages in their multilingual repertoire for personal and social gains. We see that questions of age, gender, and ethnicity still have a place in the linguistic choices of the immigrants, even though they struggle between two worlds: that of their community, i.e. the Cameroonian community of practice (Eckert, 2006) and that of the host community, including the trans-national world with other migrants from Nigeria, Ghana etc. For instance, the younger men and women have almost abandoned the use of *sister/brother, teknonyms* and *ndap* which are typical address forms of respect in Cameroon. The young immigrants contend that one does not need to use these forms of address to show respect. They hold that respect is manifested by the way people behave towards each other not via address forms. The diasporic situation of the youth can be compared to the home country in which the code *Camfranglais* is mainly used by the young speakers between the age of 15 and 30 years. Speakers from the age of 40 years, irrespective of the official language background, hardly use *Camfranglais*, they use their indigenous languages, CamPE and the language that identifies them as either Anglophones or Francophones (Ngefac, 2010).

However, the young group of postcolonial Anglophone immigrants in Germany have not completely abandoned their Cameroonian speech habits. There is still a large-scale use of *auntie* and *uncle* to speak to much older people of the community. Furthermore, the use of *mammie* and *papa* to address parents and friends of parents is still very active among people of the younger age group. It could therefore be concluded that these young people are under societal pressures to act in conformity with societal expectations. This explains why they cannot afford to lose face with the much older members of the community by abandoning the expected address forms. The language behaviour of the speakers therefore reveals that the Cameroonian immigrants in this study (re)construct the identity of social interdependency "as part of the self-concept" (De Fina, 2016:171), common to collectivist cultures. As members of a community of practice, the social interactions need to conform to societal sociolinguistic expectation with other Cameroonians. However, there is a need to get into successful communication with Germans and other immigrants (Grupta, 1992). Address forms and kinship terms help these speakers make conscious and occasionally unconscious attempts to maintain Cameroonian and ethnic norms and customs but at other times there is a need to get integrated into diasporic life with non-Cameroonians.

In this study we see that the immigrants, through address forms and kinship terms, (re)construct multilingual, multiethnic and multicultural identities. There is also a creation of personal and group identities such as the Anglophone identities, the family identities of father and children, male/female identities and the German *bushfaller* identities.

The globalised context of the diaspora, as demonstrated by the results of this research, adds to the multilingualism and multiethnicity of the Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants as they negotiate and (re)create different identities. For the first generation speakers, socio-economic benefits compel them to use the German language as a means of survival in the new host country. At the same time, group alignment and a sense of ethnic identity expects them to use CamPE and CamE. At one point the immigrants wish to re-enact their Cameroonian modes of respect but at the same time, the German sociolinguistic environment has different expectations. This research shows that these postcolonial immigrants (re)construct complex identities, manipulate and (re)structure their social and linguistic resources and habits to adapt to their new habitats. Cameroonian migrants have been shown to (re)structure their speech habits in their present locality yet they retain aspects of their language use as an ongoing and evolving process of adaptation. The research shows that the immigrants make sense of their motivation for migrating via their linguistic choices, for example, accommodating their

speech behaviour to that of the host community and language styles of other immigrants (e.g. Nigerians and Ghanaians).

These speakers have to reconcile their linguistic choices to suit their present ecology. The Cameroonians in this research have been shown to follow the "positioning of others and self" (Block, 2006: 39) or "ascribed identities" (Blommaert, 2014). As a result, the different identities constructed are simultaneously individual and collective in nature. The contact of the two Cameroonian Englishes in the globalised space of the German diaspora has led to an evolution of DCamE and DCamPE. This reiterates the fact that contact phenomena lead to a new inventory of linguistic forms (including address forms such as *darkie, paysan, pays, adoro*) resulting in the unique features that make up DCamE and DCamPE.

9.4. Limitations of the study

This study cannot boast that it is without shortcomings. To start with, the informants who took part in the semi-structured interviews were visited just once. Since data was collected in the four states which have the greatest number of Cameroonians, there was a lot of movement during this phase of the research. It became difficult to meet these same people again. For instance, after recording informants during the annual *Challenge Camerounais* festival in Berlin, it was not possible to speak to the same group of informants again, as tracing them became too difficult. This resulted in the fact that the informants who provided information for the transcribed recordings were not the same participants with whom I conducted the semi-structured interviews. If I had had ways of using the same people for both methods of data collection, it might have been interesting to compare their language production (live recordings) with the answers to the questions of the semi-structured interviews. In other words, the address forms the informants said they used and what they actually used during the live discussions and conversation could not be corroborated. For instance if an informant *A* said that he/she used a certain address form, it would have been interesting to compare this claim to the actual address form the same informant *A* used when speaking in a certain context.

The recordings in the public domains were sometimes problematic to transcribe orthographically. In some contexts, especially in the public domains, there was usually too much noise in the background. For instance, the recordings in the *Kellers* and the football fields were difficult to transcribe and this affected the accuracy. The fact that the interviewer

was used to some of the subjects in the cordial environment of the church congregation and social meetings meant that conducting a structured interview with these same people sometimes created a strange feeling at least initially. This was usually a challenge. As a result of all of these limitations, there might be some pitfalls in my findings, but not too severe to affect the overall results of the research and the linguistic behaviour reported in the research.

9.5. Implications of findings for future research

This study is timely because it has been carried out at a time when political unrest and socio-economic needs are pushing more and more Cameroonians out of their country to destinations such as Germany. The fact that this research finds out that there is a gradual development of DCamE and DCamPE as new forms of Cameroon Englishes in diaspora provides an impetus for similar researches in different countries with Cameroonian immigrant population. The address forms *pays*, *paysan*, *darkie, adoro man* and *adoro woman* could be investigated in indifferent diasporas such as different European countries and the USA to see the similarities and differences of these varieties.

In researching the language behaviour of generation 1 and generation 1.5 immigrants from Cameroon this research creates a path or opens the door for an investigation of the language behaviour of generation 2 speakers of the same group born in Germany. It will be interesting to investigate the use of the Cameroonian varieties of English used by this generation to make a comparative study of their language use with that of the parent generation. It could be that as a result of trying to keep their original ethnic identity, the second generation immigrants extend their multilingual status because they maintain the ethnic language(s) and of course acquire German, the language of the host country in which they were born.

The present research makes a contribution to the field of sociolinguistics, language contact and language evolution. As a result, the study provides information that could help policy makers in planning educational and other policies that would facilitate the accommodation and integration of this group of immigrants within the German system.

The result of this research supports the view that cultural and national identity is deeply embedded in and intertwined with aspects of an individual's life. The implication on the host community is that different varieties of languages and cultures come into contact. It will

therefore be interesting to study the effects of the contact of CamE and CamPE on the German language in the German diaspora.

This research sets the pace for and creates a necessity for future research on the long term effect of the use of DCamE and DCamPE on both the host community and the coming generations of the Anglophone Cameroonian communities, for instance a study of the second generation of Anglophone Cameroonian immigrants to examine the extent to which they maintain some of the language behaviours of the parent generation to reconstruct national and transnational identities. This research provides useful information that may help German educational, administrative and cultural authorities distribute and assist future immigrants to adapt and get easily integrated in the sociolinguistic and socio-cultural life of the German host society.

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