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Academic Writing Across Disciplines in Africa: From Students to Experts

edited by
Josef Schmied &
Daniel Nkemleke

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Academic Writing
and Research across Disciplines in Africa

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Josef Schmied & Daniel Nkemleke

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Preface

The cooperation between Chemnitz and Yaoundé in Cameroon has been long and fruitful. Over 20 years ago, in October 1995, Augustin Simo-Bobda and David Tiomajou visited the new department of English in Chemnitz and brought with them a Corpus of Cameroon English which they had started to compile under the stewardship of Antoinette Renouf then in John Sinclair's COBUILD Research Group at Birmingham University. The collaboration was the first discussion of comparative corpus research on English in Africa based on our Corpus of East African English which comprised Kenya and Tanzania according to the guidelines set up in the numerous discussions within the International Corpus of English (ICE) framework at Chemnitz. Almost at the same time, Moira Chimombo and Gregory Kamwendo from Malawi visited us, and thus we discussed corpus compilation and exploitation in three different parts of Africa.

The experience with English in Cameroon did not start with these visits, however. My first discussions on English in Cameroon I had started with John Spencer over ten years before, when we both worked at the University of Bayreuth and he was passing on his rich experience with English in Africa to me (Spencer ed. 1963 and 1971).

In these discussions, John Spencer looked back at his Africa career (Spencer 1990) similarly to me now and he expressed a special concern: "I am constantly troubled by the feeling that linguistics, in its theoretical basis, and in its terminologies – for it has much terminology, and a number of terminologies – has moved so far away from the common understanding of educated laymen that what we write for each other has to be translated before it is comprehensible, let us say, to language teachers". Linguistics has become a more arcane discipline than ever before. And yet I believe we can write more simply, if we try, and if we aim to address a wider audience than our academic peers." (Spencer 1990: 16). After many years of corpus compilation and more than 25 years after John Spencer's reminder, I feel that we have come back to the applications of English in Africa that should be very fruitful for the future of African universities as a whole: The training of young scholars in Academic Writing so that they can address a wider audience "is a key concern of this volume". It testifies to the attempt to combine theory and practice and is evidence enough that despite the difficult circumstances scholarship is still flourishing at Yaoundé University. With the help of their European counterparts (Schmied 1991: 208f), African scholars can discuss (non-native) standards openly and choose their own research identity.

This volume is evidence of such a successful cooperation, because it shows that African contributors can put together a spectrum of scholarship at a conference that is exemplary. African scholarship may not be easy but it is competitive in international circles. The network presented here under the guidance of Daniel Nkemleke with the financial support by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation is evidence that the linkage between departments can make a contribution well beyond the individual collaboration. Albeit the individual collaboration is a solid and firm basis for cooperation because the exchange of information in scholarship more than many other cooperations has to be based on mutual trust and understanding. The willingness to expose one's work to critical analysis and comparison is the *conditio-sine-qua-non* that helps to provide a basis on which academic knowledge generation and distribution have to be based.

The individual contributions show, also in their styles, the different research and style traditions in European and African universities. The emphasis on practical approaches in teaching and research allows us to take theoretical backgrounds into consideration wherever needed and still makes this project and this volume accessible to young researchers. Author-specific idiomaticity and some grammatical special features (like the well-known article usage by speakers of some African languages, the position of adverbs, or British/American spelling conventions) were left untouched when the general understanding was not affected. Even the formatting of references was only harmonized when functional necessities appeared prominent (e.g. to distinguish independent publications like books from dependent publications like articles). It has to be emphasized at the very beginning of this volume that "standards" discussed here are not intended as a model that has to be followed by graduates in all parts of Europe or Africa, but that this is a documentation of the different conventions and practices of academic writing, which graduates in this field must be aware of, so that they can make their own decisions about which conventions to follow and which conventions to neglect in their own writings. Thus, they may find a good compromise between the necessities of the field and their own identity as independent scholars.

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Juli 2016 Josef Schmied

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Introduction: Research Capacity Building through Academic Networks and Mentoring[1]

Josef Schmied & Daniel Nkemleke (Chemnitz University of Technology / University of Yaoundé I)

Abstract

In this introductory chapter, we discuss the value of academic networking and highlight the benefits for junior scientists within the sponsorship schemes of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. In the context of fewer and often higher unsuccessful applications for the Humboldt scholarships schemes from Africa (Cameroon and Nigeria, for example), we show that the work of The African Centre for Academic Writing Excellence can make a positive contribution. The concepts that underlie the work of the Centre are network and community of practice, this is why we sketch their development and applications to cooperation between "North" and "South". The overview of the chapters in this book shows the current state of discussion on academic writing and illustrates the multiplicity of styles encountered in this network – as a basis for comparison with others.

Keywords: academic network, community of practice, research capacity building, junior scientists, academic writing, Alexander-von-Humboldt Foundation

1. Academic writing, networks and reciprocity

Our conception of this academic network is largely influenced by ideas from social capital and exchange theories (cf. Bourdieu & Wacqant 1992; Willer & Skvoretz 1997). Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (cf. Bourdieu 1985, 1990). These networks provide access to social capital by creating routes in which resources (e.g. books, expertise, feedback on research, publication opportunities, workshops and conferences) flow. Network members, or *nodes*, may activate these routes — also called *ties* (connections, relationships) — within and between institutions for particular purposes, according to what they can contribute and what resources they seek (cf. Polodny & Page 1998). From a social exchange perspective, individuals expect to deploy this social capital and reap returns from their "investment" in the form of opportunities from which they can "profit". For instance, Katz et al. (2004) argue that the return on individual's investment accrues from their ability to "broker" the flow of knowledge and information between network members. Studies have indicated that collaboration via academic mobility helps gain knowledge and skills, as well as methods and

[1] We wish to thank our advisers, reviewers and proof-readers, in particular Matthias Hofmann, Jessica Dheskali and Rico Glemnitz, and all colleagues in Cameroon who made this successful conference and publication possible.

equipment that the partners can provide (Melin 2000). Although there is often unequal power relation among network members, fundamentally, networks operate on the basis of exchange and reciprocity (Plickert et al. 2007). It is this exchange and reciprocity that this present programme intends to cultivate among junior and senior scientists in the University of Yaoundé 1 and TU Chemnitz, with the long-term goal of increasing participation of Cameroonian scientists in the sponsorship opportunities that the Humboldt Foundation offers.

2. The African Centre for Academic Writing Excellence[2]

Academic networking is an important factor in the development of (junior) scientists. One of the goals of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation is to strengthen regional and professional networking between alumni and stimulate junior scientists' interest in its post-doctoral research programmes (AvH 2008). Recently, the Foundation announced additional funding to increase the number of scholarship awards per year for all its programmes, notably the Georg Forster Award, which specifically targets young academics from developing countries (Newsletter 3/2013). This measure demonstrates the commitment of the Foundation to get more junior scientists from these regions to benefit from its scholarship offers, expand the frontiers of knowledge and contribute to the development of their home countries through teaching, research, and innovation. Despite this wide ranging opportunity, the number of successful applications in the Humanities (e.g. languages & literatures, history, law, philosophy, and performing & visual arts) coming from Sub-Saharan Africa over the years have at no time exceeded 5 % of the global total. Yet Humanities studies constitute the bulk of students in most universities in the region. However, while application statistics for the Humboldt scholarship from this region have always been low (around 4-5 %), those in subjects such as linguistics and literatures have surprisingly been encouraging. For example, there were 232 applications in the Humanities (social science inclusive) between 1993-2012 for Cameroon and Nigeria, and 90 of the applications were successful (38.8%). The figures for linguistics and literatures in this sum stood at 78 (34 %) with 41 (44%) successful. What this trend indicates is that although the numbers of junior scientists in the Humanities who submit applications for the Humboldt scholarship are relatively low, there is a greater chance to have successful applications in certain subject areas if many apply. This sense of optimism has been one of the reasons behind the creation of the African-German Centre for Academic Writing Excellence (AfriG-CAWE) at the University of Yaoundé I. This was part of the activities of the Humboldt Alumni Prize Award that Professor Daniel Nkemleke received in 2014; but at the same time, it honoured fruitful research cooperation between Chemnitz and Yaoundé. The centre links academics from five African countries (Cameroon, Nigeria, Ghana, Tanzania, and Kenya) and TU Chemnitz, and aims to provide a platform

[2] http//www.academicwriting-network4africa.org

for constant interaction between junior scientists and their mentors in the form of feedback on their text, information on conferences and publication outlets etc.

The second reason for establishing the centre was advocacy — provision of information on the Humboldt scholarship programmes in Germany. Over the years, it was realized that general information on the Humboldt scholarship opportunities was often not widely available to junior scientists in universities in ways that they relate to it personally. The work of regional Humboldt associations and other networks in universities, though significant, is often too centralized and ad hoc; such that information may not always get to most junior scientists who work in the same region/institution. Third, to a certain extent, junior scientists in the region often lack the skills and expertise necessary to write successful projects. Our own experience in working with graduate students on project writing has taught us that the least common things we assume people know may turn out to be the most difficult. Writing a convincing and winnable project is often not an easy task. Consequently, any alumni network that strikes a neat balance between mobilizing junior scientists, and mentoring them in project writing stands a good chance to achieve desirable results. Further, the standards required for publication in English-medium journals are not easy, either. The literature on academic writing in non-native settings show that for (junior) scientists with limited academic resources, meeting the range of demands for international publication may be challenging (cf. Lillis & Curry 2010: 61).

This background set the stage for the organization of an international symposium on academic writing and mentorship for junior scientists in 2015 in Yaoundé under the theme: *Academic Writing across Disciplines in Africa: socializing junior scientists in the discourses of research, and maximizing their changes for successful Humboldt Applications.* This event brought together more than 40 participants from partner countries—students and experts—who presented papers and/or discuss projects. This volume records some of the presentations at that symposium, supplemented by specially commissioned contributions to experienced research partners in the field. Other presentations not published here are in gestation, and look set to be available as PhD theses, research articles or projects for the Humboldt applications. We see the symposium event as an important milestone in the broader Chemnitz-Africa academic relations, a link that has so far produced significant results with the primary support of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, including the DAAD and KAAD funding bodies. For example, from the African side three Humboldt scholars from Cameroon and Nigeria have researched in Chemnitz, eight PhD students (DAAD/KAAD) from Cameroon, Nigeria, Kenya, and Tanzania have completed their theses in Chemnitz. Further, Chemnitz has hosted many DAAD senior scholars from Cameroon and Nigeria for short term research stays over the years. On the German side, one senior scientist has been hosted by the University of Yaoundé I under the Humboldt return fellowship scheme; one PhD student and several MA students have spent extended periods of time collecting data for research in Cameroon.

Thus, the long and fruitful correlation between Chemnitz and Yaoundé has been intensified over the last few years and it is the first summary of the cooperation.

3. Key concepts of networks

The academic basis for this volume can be seen in the two concepts of networks and community of practice. In sociolinguistics, the idea of networks has been exploited profitably since Milroy's ground-braking study in Northern Ireland (Milroy 1978). The academic networks in Africa are quite complex and not always fruitful. As indicated a long time ago, the tradition of sharing academic knowledge is not always well-maintained in African scholarly circles (Schmied 1991). In the varied and difficult circumstances of scholarship at African universities, the possession of resources like books and computers and links to "Northern" scholars are seen as an advantage that is a treasure for international academic success. Interestingly enough, as in many sociolinguistic studies, the weak ties, researchers that are not central to one network but have links to different networks, are sometimes more influential or innovative than the strong ties, if we see the hierarchy of scholars at African universities. The strength of ties obviously depends on the multiplicity and type of research interactions. A comparative study of (electronic) research connections of African and European researchers might shed an interesting light on network activities, in which different social (age, gender, country/region, university type and discipline) and textual variables (cf. network genres below) would have to be considered.

The concept of community of practice has made a great carrier, since it was introduced by Wenger 20 years ago in the context of knowledge and social learning (cf. Wenger 1998, but also Willer/Skvoretz 1998). It was expanded to a processes of collective learning in a shared domain of human endeavour (e.g. in management, as in Wenger/McDermott/Snyder 2002), which we need for our argumentation on academic writing here. The current state of discussion can be seen in E. & B. Wenger-Trayner (2015). They deconstruct some myths about communities of practice: that they are always self-organising - not necessarily, but "most communities need some cultivation to be sure that members get high value for their time", that their role is to share existing knowledge, but they also "invent new practices, create new knowledge, define new territory, and develop a collective and strategic voice" and that "a technology is best for communities of practice", but "A tool or technology is as good as it is useful to the people who use it" (ibid: 6f) – all this seems to be particularly important for African scholars today. E. & B. Wenger-Trayner even emphasise "There is increasing recognition that the challenge of developing nations is as much a knowledge as a financial challenge" (ibid: 5). They consider three characteristics as crucial for a community of practice (ibid: 2): domain (including commitment and competence), community (with joint activities, discussions and information sharing), and practice (with joint experiences, stories, tools, etc.). For African linguists interested in knowledge dissemination in academic writing in the widest sense, this includes the following community activities:

- writing emails for various purposes (not only to request information or help, but to share in general),
- inviting colleagues to guest lectures, symposia, and conferences,
- establishing national competitions and review standards in professional associations,
- discussing and applying for (joint) research projects, and
- following colleagues in the subdisciplines in social media (like academia.edu).

These community activities have to be intensified to establish mutual trust and collaboration for the development of applied linguistics in the broadest sense in African nations.

The application of the conceptual communities of practice to academic writing is particularly useful, because it can be fruitfully applied to many publications on academic writing (e.g. Hyland 2012). The basic idea that the conventions of academic writing have to be agreed on by the practitioners themselves is generally accepted, although the complex network of publishers, contributors, and readers has changed enormously over the past ten years. Thus, the global view of genre structures like Swales' CARS (Nkemleke 2016) and the discussion of international conventions at national level by non-native speakers and writers of English (Schmied 2016) is particularly important today. The free accessibility of information on the world-wide web, in particular in portraits like Research Gate and academia.edu (Schmied fc.) has offered new chances for "Southern scholars" since Northerners can provide at least pre-published versions to their partners. Such digital humanities approaches may help to close the digital divide between North and South in the long run. The increased connectivity in Africa and the availability of secure internet and cloud options should make the open exchange and discussion of standards possible technically – and this should be the basis for the open exchange for the benefit of all. This should include explicit and transparent standards in different academic genres, from the internal qualifications of BA, MA and PhD theses to on-line academic journals, and project proposals and funding applications. Africa must be part of academic discourse on the tightening standards in all these academic genres to be able to participate effectively and successfully in international exchange and collaboration. In this development, Centres like the African Centre for Academic Writing Excellence in Yaoundé can make an important contribution through physical and virtual cooperation, i.e. through workshops and conferences as well as through guidance via web portals and other book publications like the present volume.

4. Overview of contributions

In the context of a focused attention on academic writing and the role it plays in advancing scholarship and empowering young academics, this present volume brings together students' and experts' text for two pedagogic reasons. First, the expert texts highlight some relevant issues of concern for any successful research paper, which junior scientists can learn. Second, junior scientists' texts bring to the forefront aspects of their on-going research, which experts-as-mentors should be conversant with, as they engage with them. Indeed, the contributions are varied, highlighting the various contexts from which they originated. Some papers examined empirical data of near-experts/non-experts writers, others focus rather on broader issues of academic writing, yet others are mainly theoretical and case studies. Irrespective of orientation, the chapters contribute to orientate our reflection on what we can do within our Alumni network to accompany (junior) scientists in the often complex trajectory of text conception, writing, revising and publication.

The first set of chapters address issues of academic writing for students and advanced writers in non-native settings. **Josef Schmied** discusses how young scholars can use metalanguage to position themselves as researchers between disciplinary conventions and individual identities in their theses and project applications. He gives many examples how they can increase their professional credibility and even argues that comparative empirical studies may help to establish new functional standards of academic writing that may even contradict the old native-speaker conventions. In the following chapter, **Daniel Nkemleke** analyses the structure of research articles to uncover how advanced writers write in this genre, and to ascertain the degree of convergence to and/or divergence from the CARS Model. The Model remains a dependable format for structuring research introductions and the task of writing introductions to research papers requires ability to integrate a range of skills, which may be gained through reading and writing in the discipline. **Samuel Atechi** and **Jacinta Edusei** take on the problem of hedging in students' writing in Cameroon and Ghana respectively. While Samuel's chapter is a socio-pragmatic investigation that looks at gender differences in the use of hedges and boosters among postgraduate learners of English in Cameroon, Jacinta focuses on the degree to which Ghanaian students differ in their use of certain forms of hedging, namely epistemic evidential and judgement verbs vis-à-vis native speakers. **Camilla Arundie** examines cohesion in students' research proposals in the University of Maroua, and discusses how some of the cohesive devices are problematic for her students. At a more macro-level, **Comfort Ojongnpot** analyses the trouble spots in the end-of-course-long essays written by undergraduate students in the University of Buea. On their part, **Alexandria Esimaje /Susan Hunston** report on tense usage by university students in Nigeria, comparing results with data from native speakers. This chapter is a reminder that tense remains a learning need even for advanced writers in the university. The chapter by **Dunlop Ochieng / Jessica Dheskali** is an account of how the internet can be a useful source of information for students from the North and the South. It describes how the internet may provide the young academic writers with online dictionaries, style guides, software, online spelling and grammar checkers etc—resources that can make a difference in the quality of a scholarly production for an ESL writer.

The second set of chapters concentrates on language description in a Cameroonian /West African context. In the first chapter, **Augustin Simo Bobda** uses data from West African (including Cameroon) Englishes to illustrate how Ln learners of English worldwide follow similar routes in their attempt to reach the English pronunciation, which they consider acceptable. The language that results from their learning strategies is always simpler than the orthodox and conservative prescriptions. The second chapter by **Bonaventure Sala** is an attempt to provide an account of ellipsis and anaphors in Cameroon spoken English. In this chapter, some marked distinctive properties of Cameroon English ellipsis are highlighted, including the possibility of inherent ellipsis with exophoric recovery from a wider context, the discoursal and syntactic functions they play and the difference in genre of use. This is followed by **Napoleon Epoge's** analysis of the syntax of non-focalized *Wh*-question in Cameroon spoken English. This chapter focuses on the way non-focalized *wh*-questions are constructed in Cameroon English, as distinct from British English. In both these chapters, Bonaventure and Napoleon attempt to highlight subtle influences of the linguistic ecology of the Cameroonian environment in the way ellipsis and non-focalized *Wh*-questions are realized in spoken discourse. The next two papers in this series analyse aspects of the semantics and/or pragmatics of language use in Cameroon. While **Mohamadou Moubarak** uses the theory of Natural Semantics Metalanguage to offer some perspectives on the Cameroonian/African notion of time and punctuality, drawing parallel from data obtained from American Peace Corps Volunteers, **Lozzi Martial Meutem** uses Halliday's functional grammar theory to account for how language is used by certain groups of persons in restricted contexts to hide meaning that might otherwise be perceived as inappropriate.

Next in line are two chapters by **Justina Njika** and **Valentine Ubanako**. The former describes the language performance of two groups of postgraduate students in a teacher training institution, namely Anglophones and Francophones, and shows how the latter tend to do better in writing and grammar because they can transfer experiences from their study of another language—French. The latter is an overview of the demand and supply of English language in Cameroon. It draws statistics from enrolment in private language teaching and learning centers in the city of Yaoundé, to investigate why so many people are willing to study English and the potential that such an influx offers for the Cameroonian language services business.

Layi Butake, **Pani Nolowa Fominyen** and **Humphrey Ngala** bring to the volume non-linguistic contributions—a truly interdisciplinary perspective that is emphasized in this project. Their different chapters offer us the possibility to see academic writing as a common set of conventions that cut across different subjects. Layi writes on the language (image signifiers) of contemporary Anglophone Cameroon cinema, the message, as well as the mediums of dissemination of this cinema, underscoring the correlation between mediums of dissemination and audience response to the video films, and Pani examines the influence of Nollywood on Anglophone video films and the issue of representation therein. The last but not the least chapter by **Humphrey** discusses the geography of health in

Africa in the context of increase air traffic in the last several years. The paradox that Africa's share of disease in international health is higher than her involvement in international commercial travel is put as a challenge for Africa to improve its health care systems.

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Academic Writing World-Wide: Comparing Metadiscourse Conventions, Credibility, and New Functional Standards?[1]

Josef Schmied (Chemnitz University of Technology)

Abstract

This chapter discusses key concepts of academic writing, especially metadiscourse, credibility, and functional standards. It discusses them in theoretical terms, but it also offers practical advice in the two genres, BA/MA/PhD theses and project proposals, which are crucial for young scholars' success in the research community today. It uses examples from comparable corpora from Africa, Europe and China to illustrate writing issues. It compares empirically usage and norm conventions and argues that discrepancies may not be due to mother-tongue interference exclusively, but due to English system problems; they can thus be discussed as possible acceptable deviations in the norm-developing process of non-native academic English, an advanced variety of *lingua franca* English.

Keywords: comparative student writing, comparable corpora, metadiscourse, argumentative patterns, style conventions, credibility, functional standards, conjuncts

1. Introduction

In the context of international networking for academic cooperation, especially between African and European scholars, writing conventions play a decisive role, for establishing contact, for funding applications and for publishing proposals, to name just a few types of cooperation that have become an essential part of international digital communication over the past 20 years. The globalisation of academic cooperation and the further spread of English as a *lingua franca* have also lead to a discussion of conventions and their differences between various academic cultures and between native and non-native speakers. From a constructivist perspective, it has been pointed out that there are no "native speakers" of academic writing and conventions can be negotiated to some extent by individual writers seeking to construct their academic identity in their disciplinary contexts (Hyland 2012). For young scholars from Africa, this raises fundamental issues, which have not been adequately addressed in teaching and research.

This chapter therefore explores three key concepts in international empirical comparison, metalanguage, genre-specific argumentation structure, and functional standards. My main argumentation is that the way to professional academic writing

[1] I wish to thank all colleagues in the Chemnitz Academic Writing Research Group for the continuous discussion that lead to this contribution and this volume, our partners in Cameroon and the Alexander-von-Humboldt Foundation for their longstanding collaboration and support.

is similarly difficult for non-native writers from Europe, China and Africa, and a comparative view may help all writers in their respective communities to develop their specific writing skills more easily, possibly also in contrast to traditional native conventions. All three key concepts are related to rhetorical consciousness raising in a new sense. The writers' pragmatic consideration when constructing texts for the specific discourse community in their disciplinary genres is particularly important for non-native users of English.

In the practical sections, this article discusses similar issues as the practical handbooks by Siepmann et al. (2011: 3), which "is geared specifically towards the needs of German-speaking readers", and by Swales/Feak (2012), which is widely used internationally. In its consistent "from – to" sections, this article tries to help young academic writers to move confidently and successfully from their own individual experience to an awareness of their academic community's conventions either in independent studies or as an initial input in graduate tuitions. My approach is generally functional in three senses: First, I try to give examples of practical guidelines and strategies that will help writers to produce a more effective academic text; second, I try to explain the functions that govern conventions and question them when these functions are not obvious; and third, like most similar text books, I use a functional grammar (like Halliday) as a theoretical basis without taking this theoretical basis for granted.

2. From individual to community-specific metadiscourse

2.1. Metadiscourse definitions

Young researchers often assume that they just have to report "objectively" the "facts", but tend to forget that other researchers can only read these "facts" properly, when they are written in their proper context. This does not only imply all the technical terms that young scholars have been told to master in their respective theoretical contexts, but also what is traditionally often seen as "subjective" elements. Of course, in the history of rhetoric and argumentation theory the contrast between *ad rem* and *ad hominem* (i.e. focus on the object or the recipient of scientific discourse) has been discussed and in practical classes, simple guidelines (like to replace "subjective" *I* by passive constructions) have been given for a long time. The strong focus on the writer - reader relationship is relatively new, however, so that formal exclusion of the scientist seems to be replaced by open and explicit inclusion of the scientific writers in their texts. Hyland (2015: 303) even says "authors are everywhere in their texts, presenting stance towards their topics and readers". This is today often called metalanguage or metadiscourse; both terms suggest literally "beyond" the mere content or proposition, focussing on the pragmatic and communicative contexts. The difference between the two terms is small, except that metalanguage is more used in programming and philosophy, whereas metadiscourse rightly emphasises the pragmatic writer-reader relationship, which is particularly important in our context.

Interestingly, the term metadiscourse does not feature prominently in the practical handbooks by Siepmann et al. (2011) and Swales/Feak (2012). The latter provide at least three references with the useful definition and somewhat play down its importance (ibid: 147):

> sentences or phrases that help readers make their way through the text by revealing such things as organization, referring readers to relevant parts of a text, or establishing logical connections. Metadiscourse is a noticeable feature of academic writing, although its value and frequency of use varies from one writing culture to another.

This definition does not only restrict metadiscourse in cultural terms, it also neglects the "subjective" or rhetorical elements. Hyland (2007) rightly emphasises the interaction in his subtitle *Metadiscourse. Exploring Interaction in Writing*. Since then, his systematic case studies have found many followers, who contributed little to the concept and more to the comparisons world-wide. Kawase (2015: 115), for instance, discusses a number of definitions and summarises carefully in Halliday's theoretical context: "It appears that the majority of metadiscourse theorists […] have adopted the notion that metadiscourse does not serve an ideational function (i.e., to construct propositional content) but textual and interpersonal functions". This is confusing to beginners, since they do not consider non-propositional elements important and writer-reader interaction not objective.

For us, metadiscourse comprises all expressions that organize the content and convey the author's beliefs and attitudes towards it. Researchers do not simply discuss facts or ideas, they also wrap up their content in metadiscourse, i.e. seek to claim solidarity with their readers, evaluate previous research and their own analyses, acknowledge alternative views, etc. As Hyland (2012: 206) wrote:

> Raising student's awareness of the language options available to them in negotiating an identity they feel comfortable with is also important in EAP classes. Once again, teachers can use corpus evidence to help students move beyond the conservative prescriptions of textbooks and style guides and into the preferred patterns of expression of their disciplines. An orientation to instruction based on access to choice through genre teaching and consciousness-raising can help students understand how writing conventions are enabling rather than deterministic. It can reveal the ways that typical patterns provide broad parameters of choice through which they can craft a distinctive self.

2.2. Argumentative structure

For over 20 years, Swales has developed his genre-approach, which lead to the widely-used textbook *Academic Writing for Graduate Students* (Swales/Feak 2012). This "is conceived as providing assistance with writing part-genres (problem-solutions, methods, and discussions) and genres (book reviews and research papers)" (ibid: viii). In this chapter, I focus on the genres theses and project applications, which are particularly important for young scholars from Africa (and beyond). Whereas applications function as scientific offers, hopefully convincing plans to carry out a project in a specific frame (time. budget), theses are the conventionalised reports that are to demonstrate that the candidate is worthy of being admitted to the next level of academic qualification, from BA to MA to PhD to full researcher, who knows their field and the core genres research articles, text books, handbooks, etc. Theses and project applications are less often discussed in terms of Swales' moves and steps (cf. Nkemleke 2016) as the well-known IMRD (Introduction, Methodology, Research, and Discussion; cf. Schmied 2015) macrostructure seems to be expanding from the most central academic genre, the research paper or article. It also seems to spread from the natural sciences into the social sciences and humanities, although in the latter we find many more structures depending on the topic and sub-discipline. Siepmann et al. (2011: 41-56) start from the first academic text genre at universities, the term paper, and distinguish between the traditional "literary essay" and the "linguistic mini-article". The trend in this direction is so clear that international "Writing Services" sometimes segment their offers into "Chapter 1: Introduction", "Chapter 2: Literature Review", "Chapter 3: Methodology", "Chapter 4: Analysis", "Chapter 5: Discussion", "Chapter 6: Conclusion", in addition to offering to write the (more expensive) complete thesis.

At the micro level, a common problem in theoretical - descriptive writing is the (mis-)use of repetition, esp. in sequences like *I am going to show/demonstrate/prove* – [some examples] – *I have shown/demonstrated/proven*. Repetition without convincing evidence (cf. 4 below) does not make claims facts - and illustrative metaphorisation neither. This does not seem to be a technical term in English, but in French métaphorisation and even métaphorism stands for the excessive use of metaphors. Although Siepmann et al. (2011: 450f) list a number of advantages in favour of metaphors ("colour", "reinforce", "facilitate memorisation", popularisation, even "embellish"), it is not always clear to non-native writers to what extent they are effective in the readers' culture.

The development of individual moves in sections is exemplified in Swales/Feak (2012), especially for the research paper, but little for the seminar/term paper or thesis. In contrast, Siepmann et al. (2011: 24-27) discuss in detail that the problem of working from excerpts from a reading list to an individual literature review can be solved by "*interacting*", e.g. grouping and selecting points, establishing a perspective, determining an intention, dividing the material into sections, and entitling sections and paragraphs. Of course, too many quotations disturb the flow of an academic text and may tempt readers to skip sections if the topic is in their well-known field. The hierarchy of quotations seems to be: non-integrated quotation of original (!) first or key definition of a concept, integrated quotations of further steps towards your working definition and paraphrases only for the less important special points (but still properly acknowledged to avoid plagiarism).

Finally, I would like to emphasise that young researchers should be aware of these pattern conventions since they add decidedly to the credibility of academic writers in their research community, i.e. the examiners who read and mark their theses and evaluators who read their research proposals. Even breaking the conventions or playing with them requires a sophisticated awareness of effective handling of metadiscourse features, structural decisions and stylistic choices.

2.3. Usage/style conventions

Modern students who have been taught in English using communicative methods often find it difficult to develop a feeling for style and register. This is, however, particularly important for academic writing, because it adds greatly to the impression the reader and examiner has of the scholarliness of a text. Siepmann et al. (2011) devote a whole "Module" to "Style and stylistic competence" and identify the five principles of aptness, clarity, concision, variety, and elegance "in order to obtain optimal results" (ibid: 415). I do not want to conceal that these principles can be contradictory, i.e. specialised terms may be concise, but it is not always clear whether they are well-known to all readers. For this purpose, (general) academic word lists have been developed (Coxhead 2000). Here, 570 "semantic fields" (or rather lemmata) have been identified and classified into ten subsets of 60 words according to frequency (later discipline-specific lists have been added for finance and agriculture, for instance). This implies that many words are considered quite general, whereas only few are used more or less exclusively in academic writing (like *context* and *environment* and *approach* and *theory*, respectively in the most common list – and even the meaning of *approach* in academic texts is different from the included adjective *unapproachable*). Of course, this does not mean that it is sufficient just to use as many academic words as possible or that readers just scan through a text to judge its professionality on the basis of the quantity of technical terms used (like the Oxford Text Checker; cf. Ochieng/Dheskali 2016).

The academic word list has been developed further into the more extended New Academic Vocabulary List, the Academic Formulas List and the Phrase List (Martinez/Schmitt 2015). This shows the work in progress in the corpus linguistic approach in academic writing research and its application in teaching.

3. From plausibility to professional credibility

Young academics have to learn that their writing has to be convincing and that they have to use appropriate rhetoric to make sure that their readers and listeners perceive what they write as professional. An initial step in this direction is, of course, the argumentative plausibility. The plausibility of an argument can be enhanced by adding references, which may prove that other scholars have pursued similar ideas and thus the current argumentation is not extreme. This is particularly important for African and Chinese scholars who sometimes feel that they stand on the shoulders of important predecessors, not only from Europe and America but also from the first generation of post-independence scholars that have made an impact on the discussion of varieties of English in Africa. In this endeavour, the correct referencing and evaluation of previous work makes a good basis, which can be underlined by different verbs of saying, *claim* vs. *prove* in (1) and *admits+attests+argues+states* in (2), as well as the well-known linguistic features of hedging (3) and boosting (4), the following examples illustrates this:

(1) Besides that, its presence betters the learning environment and enriches the learning experience. (Markovac and Rogulja, 2009) Punie (2007) claims that ICT enables the child to process the learning content in an entertaining and interesting way, while McPake, Stephen, Plowman, Sime and Downes (2000) have proved that the usage of ICT also develops the child's competences. (CAMDIPESII2015FCPA)

(2) Povey (1983:7) admits that it is hard to determine how many languages are spoken in the country. Quoting Mbassi-Manga (1973), he attests that there are 285 existent languages in Cameroon. Kouega (1998) argues that there are some 236 home languages which are spoken natively in Cameroon. Echu (2003) states that "Cameroon is a linguistic paradise comprising 247 indigenous languages". (CAMDIPESII2010FCNM)

(3) Also, by surveying the intelligibility of such learners, we may possibly discover that the supposed teaching of RP in classrooms is still unfeasible (CAMDIPESII2010MCDM).

(4) This certainly explains why Ulysses is considered by many critics as the mirror image of this period. (CAMDIPESII2012MSAV)

The other more data-related feature that enhances the plausibility of results is the compatibility with previous work and in particular with project-specific data. This can be emphasised by a long list of references, but often it is more convincing when this list is well-integrated into a more detailed argumentation so that the parallels and differences become clear (as in the first examples above).

Another, related feature that helps to enhance plausibility is the visualisation of methodologies and in particular results. Here, the differences between tables and different types of diagrams have to be trained in detail because they are the bread and butter of a convincing empirical applied linguist.

In the end, of course, the concept of credibility combines all the features of plausibility and professionality discussed so far. Credibility is particularly difficult to achieve in an age, when through daily experience, especially on the internet, young scholars tend to lose the belief in differences and face the crucial issue of evaluation of scientific writing. Credibility of older scholars seems easy because their position is sometimes even visible in the email address and the previous scholarly achievement speaks for itself, although even older scholars seem to have to learn to market their own successes today more than ever before. Another feature of credibility is the most detailed documentation and stepwise argumentation: This is based on the principle that, whoever can explain what they do in detail, is not afraid of making their thinking available for detailed criticism, but also that reproduction of research results may be possible this way. In this context, it may also increase the writers' credibility if they make their data available in data repositories, as has been propagated by the European CLARIN initiative.

The following argumentation tries to demonstrate why six criteria for professional credibility are logically important, especially for young scholars, who can use them as a checklist to see whether they have used enough of these "formalities" to convince their readers.

3.1. The importance of being formal

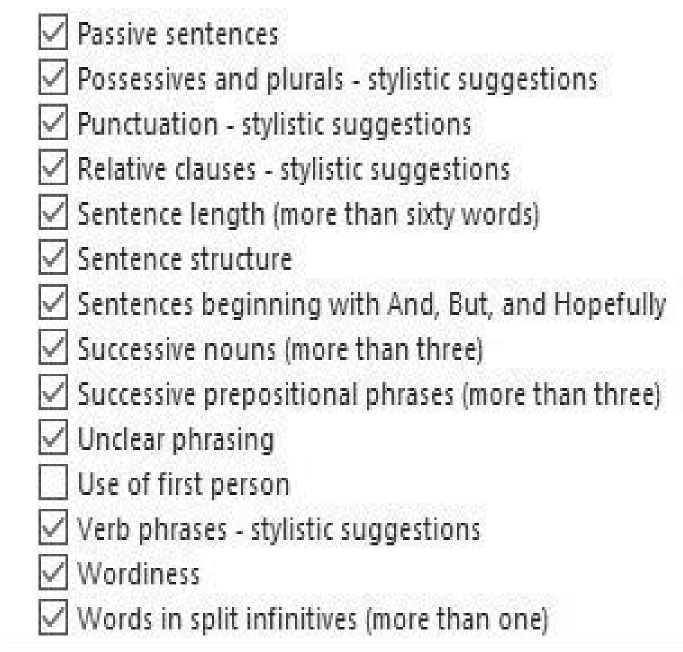
In their short list of style principles, Siepmann et al. (2011: 418) define:

> ’aptness’ means that your communicative choices must be in conformity with the norms of contemporary academic style, which is characterized first and foremost by objectivity, economy and precision of expression, and by a comparatively high degree of formality.

They relate formality to professional credibility offering many examples that illustrate much more than the usual avoid list (contracted forms like *don’t*, vague expressions like *a lot of*, etc.) and demand to “try to achieve congruence between substance and form” (ibid.: 419). This seems elementary for applied linguists, who are trained language specialists after all, but even for advanced learners of English, the specific richness of English vocabulary and the intricacies of English idiomaticity pose a particular challenge. Young researchers are forced to check whether they have used all technical terms and the discipline-specific multi-word routine formulae consistently, and whether they have replaced all informal words and phrases, so that their reader has the professional impression required. Here, community-specific discourse conventions show the in-group examiner or evaluator immediately whether the writer is part of their group and receives a favourable verdict.

3.2. The importance of formatting and other “formalities”

Formatting academic texts today is relatively easy and well controlled by current word processors, which provide style checks and an outline view (see boxes) that allows writers to see whether their thesis (or rather its table of contents) has a consistent hierarchical structure, if the corresponding formatting is used appropriately. This is particularly important for the professional reader (examiner, referee, etc.), who wishes to decide quickly whether a project proposal, for instance, should be considered seriously.



This article, for instance, shows a clear hierarchical structure:

- Academic Writing World-Wide: Comparing Metadiscourse Conventions, Credibility, and New Functional Standards?
  - Josef Schmied (Chemnitz University of Technology)
    - Abstract
    - 1. Introduction
    - 2. From individual to community-specific metadiscourse
      - 2.1. Metadiscourse definitions
      - 2.2. Argumentative structure
      - 2.3. Usage/style conventions
    - 3. From plausibility to professional credibility
      - 3.1. The importance of being formal
      - 3.2. The importance of formatting and other "formalities"
      - 3.3. The importance of concept discussion
      - 3.4. The importance of references
      - 3.5. The importance of evidence in tables and figures
      - 3.6. The importance of exemplification and evidence in examples
    - 4. From usage standards to functional standards
      - 4.1. A new debate of standards in academic writing
        - 4.1.1. Towards a new definition for non-native academic English
        - 4.1.2. Eye-tracking experiments
      - 4.2. Examples for functional redundancy of British English rules
        - 4.2.1. Grammatical underdifferentiation in unambiguous contexts
        - 4.2.2. Lexical choices in unambiguous context (collocation rules)
    - 5. From comparative studies of features to comparison of text-collections
      - 5.1. Comparing features world-wide
      - 5.2. Comparing academic theses world-wide
      - 5.3. The ChemCorpus as a model
      - 5.4. Quantitative comparative case studies: conjuncts
    - 6. Conclusion
    - References

Since the most important function of academic writing is the discussion of the writer's own work in the context of relevant existing scholarship, the handling of references is crucial. Here, conventions have changed greatly in humanities over the last 50 years, from a seemingly endless number of footnotes to a radical "in" if relevant or "out" if it does not contribute essentially to a conclusive argumentation – or an excursus in a substantial endnote. Of course, providing "masses of references" is not a virtue any more today when references can be extracted from international libraries and journal article collections quickly, it rather suggests that the writers found it difficult to decide on the most relevant references. Or it even suggests that the writer did not take the readers' right seriously to check all references easily in order to distinguish clearly between the writers' own scholarly contributions and others' and between an independent publication (like a hand- or text book) and an article in a refereed journal with impact factor or "only" a collection of conference contributions. Again, the consistent application of the standard reference system (APA for social sciences, including linguistics, or MLA for humanities, including literary studies, see Dunlop/Dheskali 2016) increases the writer's credibility; any deviation may lead to the conclusion that the writer is not yet fully integrated into the research community. This strong plea to take such "formalities" extremely seriously is based on the experience that readers want to find their expectations met and their work as examiners or reviewers made easy. Unintentionally distracting "formalities" may have annoying consequences for both sides in an academic discourse …

3.3. The importance of concept discussion

The large theoretical background is usually difficult to discuss for MA students – it is usually included with a few key-words or references to generally accepted authorities, e.g. "in Halliday's systemic functional grammar"[2]. The smaller theoretical units like concepts, however, have to be discussed in every scholarly text, where authors at least have to give a working definition of their key concepts. Although young scholars see this step often as a necessary long list of boring quotations, this is already a good opportunity to show their scholarship. The advancement of learning can only be achieved and demonstrated through digesting critically what has been argued by others and using the material for further argumentation or expirical analyses by the writer.

The choice of references and direct and indirect quotations clearly shows the seriousness of the work and the expertise of the writer. Arguably, popular reference works, dictionaries and especially Wikipedia are an acceptable starting point for students' concept discussion, when they are used as stepping stones to the real authorities in the sub-discipline. However, such tertiary literature like encylopedias "should generally not be quoted in academic essays, since it is typically intended for popularisation of scholarly findings" (Siepmann et al. 2011: 41 fn). Similarly, ephemeral internet sources are only rarely the appropriate reference - even if the URL and the date are duly added, which makes checking the credibility of the source easy for the reviewer. In a thesis, students usually have to demonstrate their expertise in a small area. This community integration is more important than the actual results of the research – students are often surprised that a credible, professional presentation of "non-results", like the non-confirmation of a hypothesis or negative answer to a research question, can still earn them an excellent grade.

[2] This is one of the few cases where the reference to standard literature seems unnecessary, since it is so well-known – and the standard theory developed and first published by Halliday in *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985) has been updated by his students, and thus Matthiessen (4th ed. 2014).

3.4. The importance of references

In the literature review, students often see only the quantitative aspects of their references and forget the qualitative side: For the definition of key concepts, the first mention of a term, the semantic development and the current state of the definitions in current handbook articles are crucial. Handbook articles are for this section much more appropriate than (introductory) textbooks, since they are written by the specialist identified by the editors or the publishers as members of the research community. Textbooks, almost like Wikipedia, are more explanatory texts that rarely show the limits of concepts or emphasise the application problems that are most important at the beginning of a research project. Even within different schools, writers may be forced to side with one approach or the other – and a look at the references alone should indicate this.

Although the importance of references is not the same in all sections of an academic text, the proportion should be balanced: concepts and their references focused on in the literature sections should be taken up again in the discussion and conclusion section, so that the academic reader can see the network structure of the thesis, for instance. In the new, more radical, “in” or “out” decision, readers would like to be guided by clear references and not misguided by irrelevant “red herrings”, to use a dangerous culture-specific term.

3.5. The importance of evidence in tables and figures

Many students underestimate the persuasiveness of figures and tables, which often attract the attention of the fast readers (and examiners and referees) and persuade them to continue. The intuitive effect of these visualisations can be greatly enhanced by appropriate presentation choices between tables, which show more details, and figures, which create a more immediate impression, between pie charts, when the total is 100 %, bar charts, when the values are not directly related, and line charts, when we can follow a real development, over time, for instance (Fig. 5 and Fig. 6 below are examples). The appropriate choice of charts signals professional competence. The choice of stereotypical colours seems elementary; when we distinguish, for instance, between English, Scottish and Irish, the choice of red, blue and green, respectively, is evident, anything else can only confuse.

A special type of figure is necessary for project proposals, a time chart, which is important for time planning and (self)management. The most well-known types are probably Gantt charts, for which several software options are offered[3]. The following example could be adapted to most empirical PhD projects.

[3] https://www.ganttproject.biz/download is a simple example.

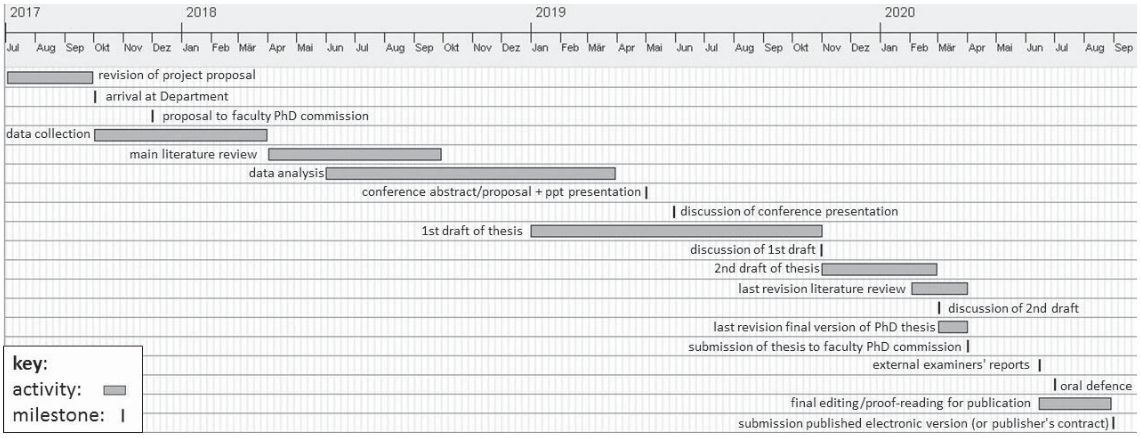


Figure 1: Gantt chart of a PhD proposal

3.6. The importance of exemplification and evidence in examples

The weakest evidence in empirical linguistics and sometimes the only evidence in theoretical linguistics are examples. Whereas in academic texts for beginners, examples serve as illustration to make concepts or language features clear, usually in their prototypical usage. The real art is, of course, examples that show the limits of a classification or argumentation, because in applying concepts in borderline cases real scholarship can be demonstrated. Every concept has its limitations and arguing about non-prototypical cases is not a weakness but a strength – the opportunity to use such cases to show their scholarship should always be taken up by young scholars since it adds greatly to their academic credibility.

4. From usage standards to functional standards

4.1. A new debate of standards in academic writing

4.1.1. *Towards a new definition for non-native academic English*

The discussion of standards of English is almost as old as the discussion about English itself (cf. Hickey 2012). However, the discussion of standards of English has had a unique dimension since Kachru (1982) started the discussion of "New Englishes" and their norm-developing tendencies in the "outer circle" (with English as official language, as in India or Ghana) and since the English as a *lingua franca* movement (Maurenen 2012) added a new dimension (beyond the learner levels) to the old debate of norms for non-native users of English.

Non-native standards of English have the advantage that they can be scrutinised and analysed according to logical and processing usability. When we say that criteria for non-native standards have to be frequency, international usage, functional appropriateness, transparency, acceptability, and processability, all these terms have to be discussed in detail:

Non-native standards have to be frequent means that they should occur in different genres, different disciplines, on educational levels, especially on higher levels and should not be related to individual writers or individual classes if they are taught in particular classes or schools. Non-native standards should be international means that the same usages occur in different countries, for instance in the European Union, in Asia and in different parts of South Africa. When we say non-native standards should be functional, this means that they should be justifiable in logical semantic terms, this means that irregularities may be regularized and sub-rules may be neglected, without undue emphasis on what appears as conventions without function or unnecessary distinctions and sub-rules. This may be seen in the context of the processability hypothesis or theory that states that learners restructure their L2 knowledge systems in an order of which they are capable at their stage of development (Pienemann 1998). Non-native standards should be transparent in the sense that the resulting texts should be intelligible in terms of its sense and pragmatic effect. When we say that non-native standards should be acceptable, this means that there should be no strong negative socio-linguistic connotations so that its users risk to be classified as uneducated, which would go against the academic reputation sought for. When saying that non-native standards should be processable we mean that the forms should go unnoticed, i.e. without intentional cognitive salience according to formal criteria, if it is not, of course, intended as an awareness raising style feature.

In conclusion, we can say that if we combine corpus-, socio- and psycholinguistic methodologies we may be able to find out new standards because of their frequencies in a wide range of styles and academic usages, their acceptability in online questionnaires, their familiarity in eye-tracking experiments with the appropriate user groups.

4.1.2. *Eye-tracking experiments*

Eye-tracking experiments have been used widely in second language acquisition and second language processing research, e.g. Roberts/Siyanova-Chanturia (2013). Of course, such experiments can be disturbed easily, if the conditions or the reader contexts are not ideal. We take for granted the focused and proficient reader and hope that individual problems and distractions are evened out by the different participants. In eye-tracking experiments, we have several measuring points: total fixations, regressions, first fixation duration, and total gaze time (see Figure 2 and 3 below). Since these applications are relatively new, the following examples merely serve to illustrate that a multi-method approach may be fruitful in our discussion of the awareness of non-standard features in academic writing.

Its application to African Englishes has hardly been attempted. The only exception is Van Rooy's (2010) article, where eye-tracking is discussed to distinguish between errors, innovations, and new conventions (as in the example *can be able to*). We conducted only a few experiments with African, European and Chinese English readers and we used modality and (definite) articles as trigger sentences. The following examples show that certain usages of *may* and *would* do not really receive as much attention or even cause confusion as predicted from a Standard English (StE) perspective. These modal verbs have extended their meanings well beyond that in comparable other languages anyway, so that non-native users use the opportunity to go far beyond what is considered normal in traditional native English.

In Figure 2, the modal *may* in the first sentence is usually considered tautological since the hypothetical nature of the statement in the subordinate clause is indicated by *hope* in the main clause already. The *may* in the second example is problematic, since it contradicts the *obvious* in the main clause. However, in both cases, the reader does not stop to gaze at the construction.

In Figure 3, the modal *would* in the first sentence seems to be a polite form of the wish *will* or a short form of *would like to*; the second *would* in the *if*-clause seems to be problematic, since the reader obviously backtracks to look at the unusual (in StE considered tautological) *would* again, even before reading the *would* in the main clause which is considered as a clear signal of the unreal nature of the statement again.

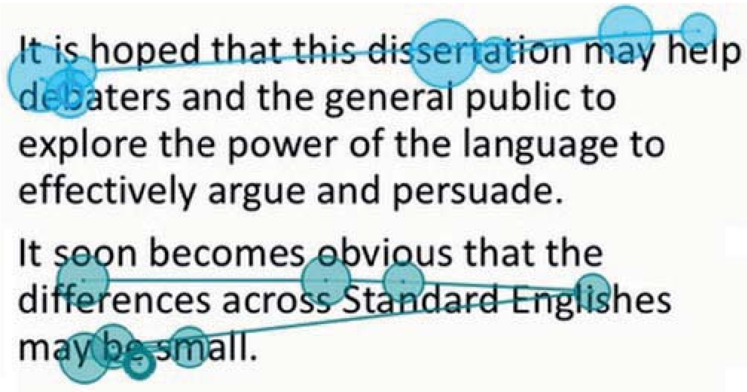


Figure 2: Unusual usage of *may* passes unnoticed in African reading

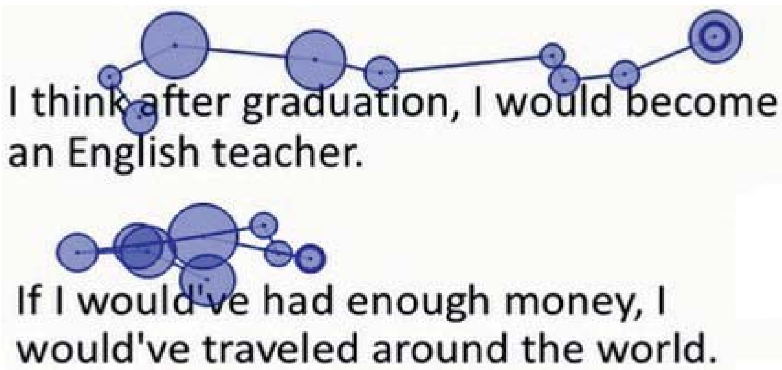


Figure 3: Unusual usage of *would* passes unnoticed in African reading

Since all sentences were actually used in academic writing, they demonstrate that the awareness of these mistakes is low and the users do not feel disturbed by these forms, except if the double signal with *if* introducing the subordinate clause and *would* in the main clause.

4.2. Examples for functional redundancy of British English rules

Most handbooks on academic non-native writing are useful for studying the principles and key concepts, but do not contain too many problematic or even controversial lexical items in their glossaries beyond the technical terms. In the following examples, we have chosen deliberately such cases and propose "neglecting the rules", arguing that the functional necessity of choosing one correct form and deciding against a deviation may not be necessary. However, I also try to indicate where such "generosity" has its functional limits because useful differences, even subtleties, may have such a high functional value in academic discourse that they should be maintained.

Most examples can be classified as problems of "underdifferentiation", which can be found in grammatical and lexical choices, not only in register and stylistic choices (cf. Schmied 1991: 129). If the choice is correlated by the choice of other clause elements (such as conjunctions or prepositions), the functional load is low, the choice is functionally redundant (e.g. *fill in/out/up* and *discuss +/- about* below) – and can thus be accepted as an option, not an error. In some bases, underdifferentiation may make a difference, but the meaning difference may not be important (e.g. *discuss about/on* below). This may even contradict the principle of clarity (cf. 2.3. above), because more explicit usually means clearer to the specialist and, in lexical cases, more concise.

In the following, we discuss examples of what is according to British usage books and even modern grammars an error in different types of categorisations. In our examples, we can see however that all these deviant usages occur in academic writing by German, Chinese and African writers, so they can neither be mother-tongue- nor teaching-induced. This raises the question if such usages simply contradict (often unsystematic) conventions, but could be seen as acceptable (or at least not marked explicitly as incorrect) in academic *lingua franca* English.

4.2.1. *Grammatical underdifferentiation in unambiguous contexts*

Our first example is the rare 100 % rule that demands that after initial *since* as conjunction and *for* as preposition the Present Perfect has to be used to signal that there is no time gap between the time of action and the time of speaking. Since this is a relatively recent rule, it is not considered as strict in American English as in British English. However, many examples make it clear that for most speakers of other languages with a less rigid tense system the distinctions between Past Tense, Present Perfect and Present Tense are not as clear as standard grammar books make us believe. Examples from our three national corpora are numerous, but not easy to find. Example (5) is a little complex with the *before – after* comparison, so that the German MA student was confused and used a simple *is* instead of the correct *has been*. Example (6) illustrates the correct use of the present perfect after *since*, example (7) illustrates the correct use of Past Tense since there is a time gap between 1980 and now:

(5) The idea behind starting in 2002 is to establish a loose relation to the development of postracialism to the time before and since Obama is in office. (MA14Ft_CH)
(6) Since CBI emerged in Canada in the 1960s, many studies have examined the theoretical bases and justifications for the use of CBI. (CMAC)
(7) For several years after this, Conrad was a sea man until 1980 when he went to the Congo. (CAMDIPESII2010FRTAA)

A second grammar rule that seems relatively strict in modern English is the necessity to maintain a "sequence of tenses" in related clauses; usually the matrix clause determines the subordinate clause. This is the case in English clauses subordinated by "epistemic" conjunctions and specially in indirect speech, where the time frame PAST, for instance, has to be carried over from the main clause to all verbs in the subordinated speech, so that any Present Tense including Present Perfect and Future Tense is not appropriate. This "backshifting" from the tenses in the direct speech contradicts the impression of the "natural sequence" (especially when general truths are expressed in the subordinate clause); it is caused by the frame set by the superordinate clause and the writer has to bear that in mind when choosing verb forms in the subordinate clause. Example (8) from the ChemCorpus and (9) from ChAcE are more problematic than example (10), where the clause can be seen as expressing a general, timeless truth. Maybe this argumentation can also be used for example (11):

(8) Among the male participants younger than 35,31% said that they only <u>have</u> basic qualifications, whereas 69% claimed that they have better English skills. (CBA11Ft_DB)
(9) Hence, it is sincerely hoped that this study <u>will</u> attract more attention of others to more and further researches of learning strategies to improve English listening comprehension learning and teaching in the college. (CMAC14LI_8)
(10) Krashen (1982) claimed that learners with high motivation, high self-confidence and a low level of anxiety <u>are</u> better equipped for success in second language acquisition. (CMAC07RE_16)
(11) They believed that the Black man <u>is</u> essentially evil and this <u>makes</u> the society racist. (CAMDIPESII2010FPMA)

A similar case of sequence of tenses is the rule that English *if*-clauses do not contain *would* as the related main clauses do, as in the following cases (12), (13) and (14) by German, Chinese and Cameroonian MA students, respectively:

(12) Thus, to illustrate this with an example, if I <u>would</u> want to become an American, it would not suffice for me to proclaim: "I am American." (MA14Ft_EL)
(13) It was also designed to know if teachers would recommend the teaching of English language through pop music. (CAMDIPESII2010FACNE)
(14) The stress on the second word of the verb is then weakened or lost, especially if it would otherwise be next to the other strong stress. (CMAC11PH_12)

In many languages, there is a parallel between the tense in the conditional clause and the main clause, which is not acceptable in English since it is considered tautological. Similarly, *(just) in case* is followed by a *should* and not a *will/shall* in the hypothetical matrix clause, but this is not always the case in our non-native academic corpora.

A third grammar rule that seems particularly difficult for most learners of English with a non-Germanic background is the fine distinction between specificity and definiteness as a basis for article rules in English. Numerous examples of this, such as (15) and (16), can be found in the ChAcE Corpus, some in the CamCorpus, few in the ChemCorpus:

(15) It was not until __ late 1980s when process-based EFL theories came into being as a result of the universal appealing for regarding second language writing as essentially a cognitive activity (CMAC12WR_13)

(16) However, this model only implies the verbal system and fails to give an account for the significant role of ___ nonverbal system in reading, such as context or mental imagery. (CMAC08RE_22)

These examples are typical cases for the eye-tracking experiments mentioned above. They are puzzling for native speakers in a few cases, but rarely constitute comprehension problems – and all these could be accepted, especially since the Chinese are joined by many Africans and most speakers of Slavonic languages in finding this English article system far too complex.

4.2.2. *Lexical choices in unambiguous context (collocation rules)*

A special feature of the seemingly easy language English is that at advanced levels the idiomatic choices of collocates are very limited, since they were fixed in grammars and usage books often centuries ago, when variability was not tolerated by language specialists. Two types of usage conventions can be distinguished:

a) conventionalised choices

Well-known examples conventionalised choices are British – American differences in preposition choices: Whether you *fill in* or *fill out* or even *fill up a form* is cognitatively slightly different but still similar; maybe *fill up* is more discouraged because it gives the impression of "completeness", which however is also expressed by the synonym *complete a form*. In Standard English dictionaries, however, *fill up* collocates with *tank/car*, *fill out* is marked as American with *forms* and *fill in* is marked as British with *forms*, but not with *hole*, and *fill in (for someone) fill somebody in (on something)* as "to tell somebody about something that has happened" (Oxfordlearnersdictionaries s.v.). In such cases, the choice of related prepositions should not constitute a communication problem and all three variants could be accepted and are indeed used in the same community (17-19).

(17) All the subjects received uniform instructions as to how to <u>fill out</u> the worksheet so as to minimize confusion. (CMAC06PH_22)

(18) The study revealed that boys can be more polite than girls when it comes to euphemistic usage because girls tend to fill up the gap with their mimic and general comportment. (CAMDIPESII2010MAN)

(19) The Authors should equally endeavour to use more meaning-based activities to practice the grammar points treated in the student's book because in real life situations, language is not used to fill in gaps per se, but to convey ideas and to fill in information gaps. (CAMDIPESII2010FECN)

A slightly different case is the much-discussed *discuss about*, which is explicitly marked as wrong in standard dictionaries, but supported by the analogies of *speak/talk about* and it can be found in native usage to introduce not a question but a field like *architecture* or *globalisation*. The analogy here is debate, where *debate about/on* is not an issue. Again, even if this "redundant" usage with *about* is not taught actively, it does not have to be counted as explicitly wrong on account of its transparency and easy processing in cases like (20) and (21).

(20) In the section of revision, students discuss <u>about</u> their first drafts in groups. (CMAC14WR_8
(21) Unlike the conventional plays which discuss <u>about</u> society and its politics Theatre of the Absurd focuses more on the metaphysical aspect of life than the physical. (CAMDIPESII2010MGDT)

A related issue is the distinction between *discussion about* and *discussion on*, where the latter seems to indicate the more scholarly activity, but these conventions indicate a different feature category, where the number of semantic choices is reduced. Although there is a functionally motivated choice here, the genre and situational context make it usually clear: in theses, it should be a serious discussion with *on*, in conversation *about* is more likely.

b) reduction of choices

Another very old usage is *on the other hand* without preceding *on the one hand*, just to express an argumentative contrast, as in (22). In the CMAC, the proportion of *on the one hand* : *on the other hand* is 137 : 430, in the CamMAs 81 : 244. But is this necessary, since English has many other conjuncts that serve the purpose: *alternatively*, *in contrast*, etc.? Here, the specific explicit balanced contrast between *on the one/other hand* and the simple adversatives is lost – unnecessarily?

(22) On the other hand, language is influenced and shaped by culture. (CMAC05CU_28)

Another old example from usage handbooks is the distinction between *because* and *as/since*. Even the corpus-based *Collins COBUILD English Usage* (2013 s.v.) states categorically: "In writing, the reason clause is sometimes put first, and **as** or **since** is used instead of 'because'". All our non-native corpora include dozens of examples (23) that this rule is not known, not taken seriously, or not adhered to by non-native graduates. Of course, the distinction between *since* (+known to reader, as in 24) and *as* (25) is functional and cannot be discarded so easily.

(23) Because even the smallest nations are too vast to allow mutual acquaintance of all members, the community in any nation is an imagined one. (MA11Mt_ES.)
(24) Since language is inextricably tied to culture, language teaching should absolutely include culture teaching. (CMAC05CU_28)
(25) As learners are likely to teach and impress their peers and family members by singing songs, their pride and interest in the language will tend to grow, given that they face limited immediate opportunities to use English. (CAMDIPESII2010FACNE)

Many well-known distinctions have been given up in non-standard British usage, such as *borrow* (dative) vs. *lend* (recipient; passive), *learn* vs. *teach* (active, expert), *bring* (direction of speaker) vs *take* (direction from speaker), etc. In all these cases, the immediate context makes the expression unambiguous: *borrow from* vs. *to*, *learn* +/- *me/him*, *here* vs. *there*. The contrasts are hardly noticed, as in (26):

(26) Italians and other immigrants equally crowded huge steamships that should bring them to the New World. (MG04Ft_SF)

Typical accepted expansions of lexical meanings include *until* (with time due, deadline) instead of *by* (in 27), or the use of the more general *in* instead of *into* (in 28):

(27) As for Elizabeth's falling in love with Darcy, it is something not accomplished until near the end of the book. (CMAC06LIT_31)
(28) I would put it in her hands. (MG08Ft_VL)

The contrast between the determiners *which* and *what* (+limited choice) is rarely found in non-native academic English, although in (29) and (30) the distinction seems logically correct:

(29) Lexicographers are still not sure from which language it originates. (BA13Ft_JZ)
(30) The credibility of an analysis depends on what is intended to be investigated, what language variety will be investigated and what corpus would suit your analysis. (BA16Ft_AK)

Special cultural meanings beyond the expected surface meanings have a few English expressions like *surely*, which does not signal emphasis in agreement (like *definitely*), but rather disagreement or surprise in British contexts. Thus, the two adverbs *surely* and *definitely* may seem tautological in standard English usage (31), whereas (32) is a standard collocation:

(31) Perhaps we can say that comprehensible input is like Chinese medicine, which the [whose] effects may come slowly but surely and definitely. (CMAC09WR_18)
(32) This can come slowly but surely, replacing the classroom teacher as Sadker and Sadker write (1991: 538). (CAMDIPESII2010MOLT)

Good examples can be found in the academic word list (cf. Coxhead 2000[4]). Distinctions that are functionally important and should be maintained are, for instance, *imply* ("he assumes this without actually claiming it; it may be wrong") vs. *infer* ("on the basis of the evidence, I draw this logical conclusion; it cannot be wrong") in argumentative contexts and *comprise* (where all parts are mentioned) vs. *include* (where just a few important parts are mentioned) in statistical descriptions. In the following examples (33) and (34) are problematic and (35) is only correct if these are all the sections.

(33) The above data imply that, although there are minor differences, the two groups are similar in their language backgrounds. (CMAC06SP_14)
(34) In order to teach this novel in a secondary school that is situated out of Banso or that is in Banso, but comprises students from other ethnicities, this approach can be quite useful. (CAMDIPESII2013FELB)
(35) It includes: the background to the study, the statement of the problem, the objectives of the study, significance and scope of the study. (CAMDIPESII2010FACNE)

[4] The approach, originally developed from 28 academic disciplines has been developed further, cf. http://www.uefap.com/vocab/select/awl.htm or http://www.newacademic-wordlist.org/.

5. From comparative studies of features to comparison of text-collections

5.1. Comparing features world-wide

In variationist studies so far, English features world-wide have been collected usually on an individual or purpose-specific basis. This has often lead to long lists of grammar features, which can, of course, be summarized into "tendencies" (Schmied 1991: 64-91, for the whole of Africa), e.g. in verb complementation and idiomatic preposition choice. Rarely has the occurrence of features been weighted according to their "frequency" or "evasiveness" in a national context. The best example of this type is eWAVE, which is not only a standard reference work, but also a convenient electronic database obtainable on-line for all (African) scholars (Kortmann/Luckenheimer eds. 2012). For Cameroon, this expert interview approach has been pursued for Cameroon English as well as for Cameroon Pidgin from a specialist perspective each, but the results (Figure 4) cannot always be confirmed in texts by Cameroonian writers. However, it has to be admitted that features, especially those that are perceived in sociolinguistic terms as negative (like feature 78: double comparatives) only need to occur once or twice to make all listeners or readers aware of the (educational) background of the text producers.

No.	Feature	Value
7	Me instead of I in coordinate subjects	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
8	Myself/meself instead of I in coordinate subjects	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
9	Benefactive "personal dative" construction	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
34	Forms or phrases for the second person plural pronoun other than you	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
38	Specialized plural markers for pronouns	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
39	Plural forms of interrogative pronouns: using additional elements	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
55	Different count/mass noun distinctions resulting in use of plural for StE singular	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
59	Double determiners	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
62	Use of zero article where StE has definite article	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
78	Double comparatives and superlatives	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
84	Comparative marking only with than	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
85	Comparative marking with more…and	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
88	Wider range of uses of progressive be + V-ing than in StE: extension to stative verbs	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
113	Loosening of sequence of tenses rule	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
119	Would for (distant) future in contrast to will (immediate future)	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
122	Epistemic mustn't	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
147	Was for conditional were	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
154	Multiple negation / negative concord	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
159	Never as preverbal past tense negator	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
165	Invariant non-concord tags	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
169	Non-standard system underlying responses to negative yes/no questions	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
208	Deletion of to before infinitives	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
209	Addition of to where StE has bare infinitive	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
221	Other adverbs have the same form as adjectives	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
222	Too; too much; very much 'very' as qualifier	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory
229	No inversion/no auxiliaries in main clause yes/no questions	A - feature is pervasive or obligatory

Figure 4: Features of Cameroon English in eWAVE

Unfortunately, such lists lump together very different types of features: non-standard native-speaker features (like 34: 2nd personal plurals other than *you* or 154: multiple negation), non-native simplification (like 113: loosening of sequence of tense rule or 163: invariant non-concord [question] tags), both can be seen as system problems of English; different conceptualisations of grammatical categories (like 55: count/mass noun distinctions or 62: zero article where StE has definite article). Although all these examples have been listed as “Cameroonian” I am inclined to give them different status and turn a blind eye to simplifications and re-conceptualisations more easily than others, especially when they are not confusing to the reader (cf. 4.1.2 above).

Unfortunately, Cameroon is not available for direct on-line quantitative comparison in the Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbe) (cf. Davis 2004-, Davies/Fuchs 2015, Ochieng/Dheskali 2016). Cameroon was not included here because it is usually considered a francophone country first and not perceived as bilingual, it seems. Although there have been various attempts at compiling different Cameroonian corpora (Nkemleke 2016), they are not (yet) directly compatible to the International Corpus of English (ICE). So maybe a domain-specific subset of English usage is a first step in this comparative direction. This is why in our comparison of academic writing a new specific corpus was created (which can be integrated into a larger Cameroon English corpus later).

5.2. Comparing academic theses world-wide

In one of his latest summaries of “findings and gaps” in academic English, Hyland (2015: 303) identified a need for “studies which focus on NNES [non-native English speaker] students and how their academic writing in English is similar and distinct from NESs”. On this basis, we could compare “covert codification” (Hickey 2012: 20) in an area where open discussion and conscious decision has not taken place, since the practical guidelines for accepting or correcting non-standard features are not very general (cf. section 4.2 above). A systematic attempt at comparing academic writing across nations is only possible when clearly comparable data are available. Based on the codification of the ChemCorpus (below), we have been able to retrieve from two African universities, Stellenbosch and Yaoundé, and from mainland China and Hong Kong. As Table 3 shows, the focus is on MA theses, although extensions have been tried successfully into BA theses in Chemnitz and PhD theses in China. The major drawback of our comparable corpora is that in non-native contexts like Germany, China and Cameroon, the disciplinary spread is restricted, because most other disciplines write their theses in German, Chinese and French, respectively.

	Chem Corpus	**ChAcE Corpus**		**Africa**		**total**
country	Germany	China		South Africa	Cameroon	
		mainland	HK			
university-stratification	Chemnitz	+	+	Stellen-bosch	Yaoundé	
discipline-stratification	- (English)	- (English)	+	+	- (English)	
BA theses	80 + 80					
MA theses	40 + 40	304	100?	150	120	1000
PhD theses		106				
other: term paper	100 + 100	(SYSU 50)				

Table 1: Compatible stratified corpora (2004-2016ff)

The ChemCorpus can be called a monitor or reference corpus, because it is so big that only sections of it can be used for comparative purposes. In previous publications, for instance, Albrecht (2015) compares adverbials in timed and untimed student writing in the ChemCorpus with the comparative native speaker corpora *BAWE* and *MICUSP*, Beyer (2015) compares hedging in the BA and MA theses by the same students included in the ChemCorpus, Küchler (2015) compares the term papers in the ChemCorpus with a compatible corpus of Chinese student writings and Edusei (2015) compares the German BA theses with the Albanian English. In similar ways, research questions can be derived from the setup, either as culture-specific or as first language induced interference phenomena. Many empirical comparisons are possible using the 129 linguistic features investigated by Biber (2006: 15-18) empirically (based on a relatively small corpus of 2.7 million words from four US universities in spoken and written registers).

5.3. The ChemCorpus as a model

As a base model for these comparisons, the ChemCorpus has been developed (cf. details in Schmied 2015). Its main advantage for comparison is the different degrees (traditional Magister, BA/MA and PhD); unfortunately, different text-types have to be neglected in this comparison, because the global trend is towards more uniform requirements.

The word figures for the genres and number of texts given in Table 2 are just rough estimates to make the corpus coherent and logical in proportion. The average is also variable, although the requirements are standardizing and the figures given are standard in many parts of the world, but the actual original texts submitted (and also stored in their original form) have more words, since in the corpus-processing stage the number of words is reduced. This is necessary to prepare the input suitable for analysis using the standard tools (like *AntConc* in the following examples). Thus bibliographies/reference lists, appendices and even figures and tables in the text are taken out to ensure that only words in context were really included in the quantitative analyses. The figures can, of course, be adapted to local departmental standards, but all this has to be documented in the corpus manual.

genre	specialisation	number of texts	average length	total words
term paper BA	language/linguistics	100	4,200	0.5 Mill.
	culture/literature	100	4,700	0.5 Mill.
project report	(cultural)	120	4,000	0.5 Mill.
BA thesis	language/linguistics	80	12,000	1 Mill.
	culture/literature	80	16,000	1 Mill.
term paper MA	language/linguistics	80	5,700	0.5 Mill.
	culture/literature	80	6,600	0.5 Mill.
MA thesis	language/linguistics	40	25,000	1 Mill.
	culture/literature	40	25,000	1 Mill.
total		720		6.5 Mill.

Table 2: ChemCorpus set-up by genre and specialization

The specific naming of the corpus texts should begin with the logical short file names (cf. the sample sentences above) so that even from a relatively short code we can see all the relevant information, in particular the text type, the educational or professional status of the user, the year of usage, first language and gender, as far as possible.

One big issue that has to be considered when comparing BA and MA texts is that we have to distinguish between countries and universities where English is used as a second language like in some parts of South Africa, where English is used as an international language in English medium universities as is the case in some universities in Turkey, for instance and some universities where English is only used in English-related subjects so that a much more restricted disciplinary spectrum can be included. In both cases, it is not quite clear to what extent the related teaching have an effect on the English used in the thesis. In some cases, the teaching may be through subject specialists who are more familiar with the subject and its specialised vocabulary than with academic writing principles in general. Thus, the distinction between ESP (English for Specific Purposes) and EAP (English for Academic Purposes) has to be discussed again in this context.

Although the subject-specific vocabulary and hardly idiomaticity has to be considered, this is only partly possible in comparative studies like the one proposed here. Details of similar comparisons can be found in Edusei (2015).

5.4. Quantitative comparative case studies: conjuncts

Linking devices have been considered central in text analysis and text production since Halliday & Hasan's seminal book *Cohesion in English* from 1976, and linking devices have been central to all student instruction and a topic in many student writing analyses (cf. Albrecht 2015, Bolten/Nelson/Hung 2002, Wagner 2011). Although linguists do not always agree on the complete list of linking devices, the most central and prototypical indicators are *and* with additive, *then* with sequential, *but* with adversative, *because* with causal function.

Figure 5 shows two types of comparison: on the one hand, a comparison of texts from the International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE) in the Germanic languages Dutch, German and Swedish; on the other hand, two German corpora, the traditional ICLE and the more recent ChemCorpus, which is not only more recent but also includes more argumentative text types. However, the columns at this level show that there are no major differences between link types.

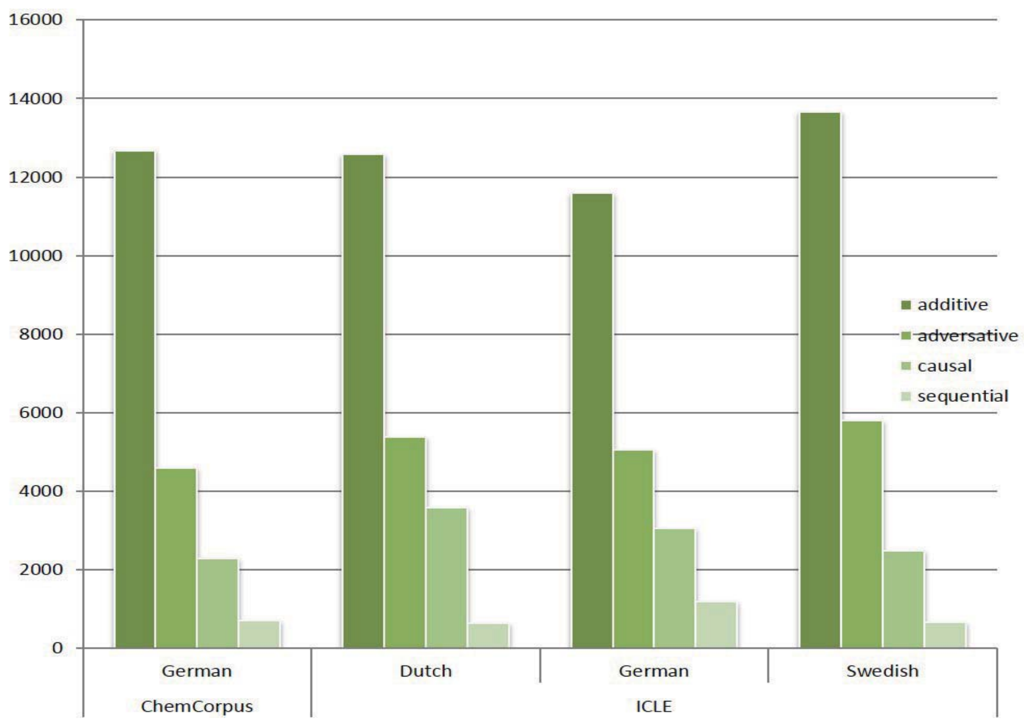


Figure 5: Conjuncts by function in European learner corpora (Albrecht 2015: 76, figure 5)

The comparison individual conjuncts in the BA and MA parts of the ChemCorpus and the CMA corpus has to be normalized (to 1 million words) because the Chinese corpus is much bigger. The individual figures (Figure 6) reveal "national" preferences, such the Chinese *(and) so* vs. the German formal *hence*, the resultative Chinese *as a result* vs. the sequential German *consequently*. Interestingly, *thus* seems to be used excessively more often in German MA theses than in German BA (and Chinese MA) theses.

conjunct	ChAcEMA (total frequency)	ChAcEMA (per 1M)	ChemCorpBA (total frequency)	ChemCorpBA (per 1M)	ChemCorpMA (total frequency)	ChemCorpMA (per 1M)
(and) so	10660	2097	646	897	439	826
accordingly	327	64	43	59	48	90
as a result	708	139	70	97	51	96
consequently	356	70	173	240	111	209
for this reason	75	14	24	33	9	16
hence	700	137	229	318	162	305
in this case	235	46	89	123	69	129
in this respect	47	9	58	80	10	18
in this way	659	129	19	26	19	35
of course	408	80	111	154	65	122
so that	1066	209	86	119	39	73
then	4685	921	282	391	206	388
therefore	4229	832	747	1038	397	747
thus	3268	643	554	770	662	1246
TOTAL	27423	5395	3131	4351	2287	4307

Figure 6: Frequency of resultative/inferential conjuncts in ChAcE-MA vs. BA and MA theses in ChemCorp

The same data can be used for a more sophisticated statistical comparison (Fig. 7). Without going into the details of the statistical tests indicated, the figures show and the boxplots illustrate nicely that in this feature the Chinese MA corpus seems to be more similar to the German BA corpus, whereas the other two are more different from each other. Such calculations, of course, can only be the starting point for more thoughts about possible similarities and differences, which are not always easy to interpret (in particular when the data distribution is not always ideal for such hard tests).

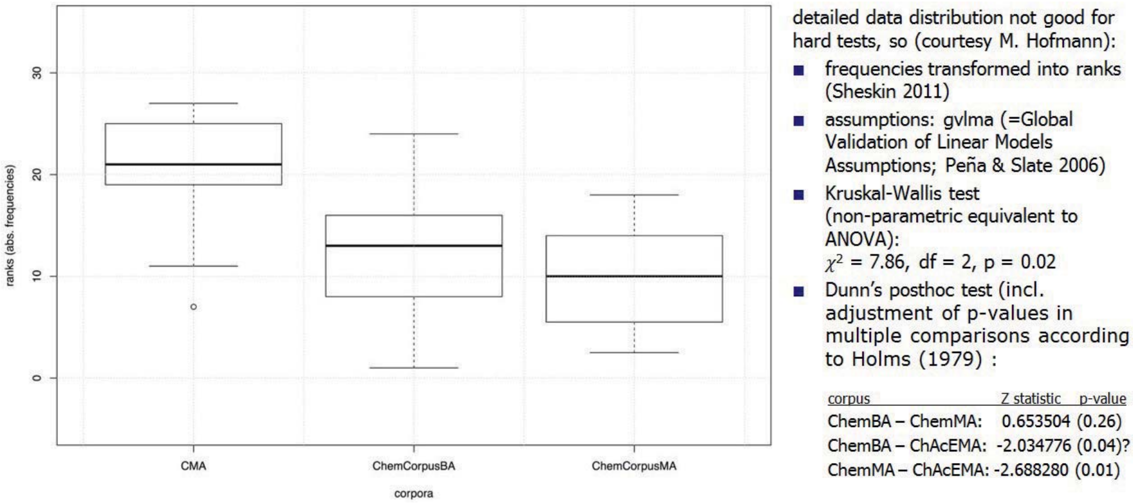


Figure 7: A comparison of conjunct types in German BA and MA theses and Chinese MA theses

6. Conclusion

This contribution has attempted to demonstrate to graduate students (and their teachers) that a few key concepts like metadiscourse (features) and genre (conventions) are enough to make academic writing relatively easily accessible to graduate students. If they follow a practical, research-based and empirical (corpuslinguistic) approach, they can construct their own model collections using the ChemCorpus as a reference corpus that offers a (partial) comparative data-base so that they can find models for their own writing, solutions to formal and concrete queries and their own stance in practical writing challenges.

The examples from our German, Chinese and African corpus analyses illustrate how interactive resources can be used by writers to manage the information flow to persuade their readers to adopt their preferred interpretations. In terms of functional grammar, writers seek to display an interpersonal tenor consistent with the disciplinary identity they wish to project. This can be negotiated with the gate-keepers of international science only to a certain extent (Pérez-Llantada 2012: 151f).

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Analyzing Research Article Introductions in the Humanities Using the CARS Model: How Genre Knowledge Can Enhance Academic Writing Skills of Junior Scientists[1]

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Abstract

Research article introductions are highly structured genres, written to convince an academic audience by arguing for relevance. Successful article introductions often situate the wider context of the topic and cite existing literature in order to 'showcase contribution to such discussion (Swales 1990). To realize these rhetorical functions, the CARS (Create-A-Research-Space) Model proposed by Swales (1990) has widely been used by authors to write introductions, and many researchers have used the model to analyze such texts. However, for most junior scientists who are just beginning their first publications writing an introduction to a research may be challenging. This chapter analyses the structure of 51 research articles introductions published over a period of ten years (2005-2014) in the *Nordic Journal of African Studies* to uncover how (presumably) advanced writers write in this genre, and to ascertain the degree of convergence to and/or divergence from the CARS Model. Findings show that the degree of divergence from CARS is high: up to 45 % of the research introductions analyzed exhibit a wide range of cyclicity where a Move does not follow the next one in a linear order but in a recursive order. It is concluded that the CARS Model remains a dependable format for structuring research introductions and the task of writing such texts requires the ability to integrate a range of skills which may be gained through reading and writing in the discipline.

Keywords: CARS Model, research article introductions, genre knowledge/analysis, academic writing skills, junior scientists

1. Introduction

Writing introductions to research papers is an academic exercise that scholars are frequently engaged in with acuity. For one thing, an introduction to a research article is often crafted in a manner that it attracts an academic audience and argues for relevance (Swales 2004)—a major criterion for publication (Berkenkotter & Huckin 1995). Since research is a cumulative activity, it is self-evident that a successful introduction has to connect to the existing knowledge-pool by situating the wider context of the topic being investigated, and as Swales (1990) states showcase its contribution to such discussion. However, for most junior scientists in ESL contexts drafting an introduction in particular has been shown to be a challenging task (cf. Shaw 1991) just as writing the whole research paper itself

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(e.g. Gupta 1995; Gosden 1996; Flowerdew 1999a, 1999b; Cho 2004; Li 2007; Nkemleke 2010). The CARS (Create-A-Research-Space) Model describes the argument structure commonly found in introductions to research articles, which I believe can provide young scientists with inspiring exemplars. In this chapter, I analyze research paper introductions using the CARS Model, within the framework of genre analysis. I use 51 research paper introductions published online in *NJAS*[2] from 2005-2014, and highlight aspects of similarity to the CARS Model as well as differences. This approach to the subject is rooted in Larse-Freeman & Cameron's (2008:191) view that 'any simplification of genre loses some of its complexity […] and that understanding genre must include understanding their flexibility as well as their stability'. By extension, the chapter discusses the extent to which scientists (young and experienced) often engaged in communication practices that vary than converge with mainstream practice, taking CARS as in-group norm. After this present introduction, section 2 discusses the genre analysis framework and the CARS Model. This is followed by a review of related literature (section 3). Section 4 presents the data and describes the methodology. Section 5 discusses the findings and section 6 examines implications for EAP and academic mentoring of junior scientists within the framework of the African-German Network for Academic Writing Excellence. Section 7 ends with a conclusion and an outlook.

2. Genre analysis, academic writing and the CARS Model

Genre analysis brings together theoretical and methodological developments in the humanities—especially in linguistics and related disciplines—to inform research and practices in academic writing (Swales 1990; Berkenkotter & Huckin 1995). Both genre analysis and academic writing have evolved in response to an expanded higher education system in the last several decades which have seen an increase in international students from diverse language and cultural backgrounds seeking to pursue tertiary education in English (Martin 1993; Hyon 1996; Luke 1996; Johns 1997). In most European and North American universities, the writing that such advanced writers need to produce is often of high stakes implications, and according to Canangaraja & Jerskey (2003:472-3), 'determines whether they will graduate, receive their doctorate, become tenured in their profession, receive funding for further research, or participate in and have an influence upon academic knowledge production'.

Briefly stated, the practice of analyzing texts to understand underlying structures and language choices used to realize them is referred to as genre analysis. Since the 1980s, this practice has had a very positive impact in the university context especially within the ESP (English for Specific Purpose)

[2] *Nordic Journal of African Studies* is a multidisciplinary journal dedicated to publication of research from and on Africa (http://www.njas.helsinki.fi/)

tradition[3]. The genre-based ESP aims to assist students to gain access to the kind of language they need to succeed in their studies in higher education and subsequently to conduct research and write academic papers. Research and teaching practices associated with this approach have focused on explicit analyses of academic genres to uncover typical patterns, and how to teach them. For examples, after a careful analysis of forty-eight articles in the natural and social sciences, Swales (1990, 2004) found out that the typical research article introduction follows three Moves: (a) establishing a territory, (b) establishing a niche, and (c) occupying the niche—Moves which are then broken down into Steps. A Move is understood to be a functional unit within a section of a text which serves the overall communicative purpose of the text (Connor & Mauranen 1999). Steps are embedded in Moves, which are the bigger textual category. They may be characterized by certain linguistic realizations such as the following phrases for claiming centrality: 'over the last several years, there has been renewed interest in …', 'there has been renewed interest in the study of …', 'advances in computer technology in the last decades has …' Although the model is not a universally-accepted prescription for framing research paper introductions (as the review in section 3 indicates), it has often been the case that many submissions fail because of the difficulty by authors to respond to a number of queries often contained in journal's style-guides—queries that relate to many aspects of this model. A case in point is Gosden's (1992) survey of 154 editors' (in Anglophone-centres) assessment of the publishability of L2 manuscripts in which he emphasized among other things that: First, authors lack appreciation of the level of claim that can justifiably be made for their research. Second, they show lack of appreciation of the status of their work in the wider academic community. Finally, they have issues with the organization of the different sections of their paper.

Table 1 presents the CARS Model incorporating the original version (Swales 1990) and the revised version (Swales 2004). As the analyses will show, this combination is necessary to accommodate the nature of the data discussed in this chapter.

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[3] Following the analysis of Johns (2002), three approaches to genre analysis are commonly distinguished: the New Rhetoric School (Devitt 1991; Bazerman 1994; Freedman & Medway 1994), the Sydney School consistent with Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistics (Martin 1992, Christie & Martin 1997) and an ESP approach (Swales 1990a; Bhatia 1993, Johns 2002).

Move 1: *Establishing a territory* (citations required) [4]	
via	
Step 1: claiming centrality and/or Step 2: making topic generalization(s) and/or Step 3: reviewing items of previous research	SITUATION
Move 2: *Establishing a niche* (citations possible)	
via	
Step 1A: counter-claiming or Step 1B: indicating a gap or Step 1C: question-raising or Step 1D: continuing a tradition Step 2: (optional) presenting positive justification	PROBLEM
Move 3: *Occupying the niche* (citations possible)	
via	
Step 1: (obligatory) announcing present research descriptively and/or purposively Step 2:* (optional) presenting research questions or hypothesis Step 3: (optional) definitional clarification Step 4: (optional) summarizing methods Step 5: (PISF)** announcing principal outcomes Step 6: (PISF) stating the value of the present research Step 7: (PISF) outlining the structure of the paper	SOLUTION
***Steps 2-4 according to Swales (2004:232) 'are not only optional but less fixed in their order of occurrence than others' ** PISF: Probable in some fields, but unlikely in others	

Table 1: Structure the research paper introduction (incorporating Swales 1990 & 2004)

A brief explanation of the meaning of the various Moves and Steps is in order here, following Swales (1990).

Move 1: Establishing territory
The author situates the general research field or context, and states why the topic is important in terms of the discipline or worth investigating. This may be done through one of the following Steps (1, 2, and 3).

Step 1: claiming centrality

The writer indicates that the topic is relevant, useful and important and therefore worthy of investigation, since it forms part of a lively, significant or well-established research area.

[4] Swales (2004:230) notes that there is a 'potential cycling, or iteration, of Move 1 and Move 2, especially in longer introductions'

Step 2: making topic generalization
The writer makes statements relating to the current state of knowledge in the field, consensus practice or simply a description of the phenomenon or topic area.

Step 3: reviewing aspects of previous research
The writer projects a shared research context by indicating what has been claimed and/or found out in the area by whom and where. Extensive references may be made here to names of authors.

Move 2: Establishing a niche
Here the author claims a "niche" for his/her research by problematising the issue. This can be done by arguing that previous research is either incomplete or some aspects of it still require further investigation. The niche can be established in one of the following Steps.

Step 1A: counter-claiming
This step may indicate an opposing view point or claim (from Move 1, Step 3 above). It shows how the present research departs from the view(s) expressed in the summary of literature reviewed.

Step1B: indicating a gap (in previous research)
This step typically follows from Move 1, Step 2 (making topic generalization). It may indicate a new way of approaching the problem that previous studies have done.

Step 1C: question-raising (about previous research)
In this section, the writer raises questions on the relevance of previous research

Step 1 D: continuing a tradition
The writer indicates the need for more research, or the need to extend the present research approaches or theories, or even the need to examine further the implication of previous studies.

Step 2: (optional) presenting positive justification
The writer argues for the relevance of the study, simply.

Move 3: Occupying the niche
At this level, the author reveals his/her solution to help fill the gap identified, answer the specific questions raised or continue a research tradition presented in Move 2. The author makes this move in several steps, described below. The first two steps are normally obligatory.

Step 1: announcing present research descriptively and/or purposively
The writer describes the research in the current article.
Step 2: presenting research questions or hypotheses

Here, the research and/or hypothesis are presented, if applicable.

Step 3: definitional clarification
The writer defines key terms and/or states what he/she sees as operational definitions, if applicable.

Step 4: summarizing methods
Here, the writer may make statements on the methods of work.

Step 5: announcing principal outcomes
The writer highlights the main findings of the research.

Step 6: stating the value of the present research
The writer argues for the value of the research.

Step 7: outlining the structure of the paper
The writer indicates the structure of the paper, what the reader should expect.

3. The CARS Model in cross-disciplinary studies

The CARS Model has a strong explanatory power and has been very useful in research article writing instruction and pedagogy. Several authors have used the Model to analyze the structures of research introductions, for example in applied linguistics and literature (Swales 1981, 1990; Swales & Najjar 1987; Samraj 2002, 2008; Neff-Van Artselaer 2011), software engineering (Anthony 1999), cultural studies (Chahal 2014) and conservation biology and wildlife behaviour (Samraj 2005). This is indicative of the usefulness of a model, which appears to respond to the expectations of writing introductions across disciplines and text types. For example, Samraj (2005) found more similarities in terms of function and organization between research article introductions and abstracts in conservation biology than was the case with wild life behavior articles. Further, other studies have indicated that certain additional Steps of the model had been necessary to accommodate data from other disciplines. A case in point is Anthony (1999), who found out that in the introductions of software engineering articles, an additional Step, namely "Evaluation of Research" had to be included in Move 3 to account for the manner in which authors appeal to the audience by positively evaluating the role of theory in their present research. In addition, the same study found that Move 2 Step 1A and Step 1C did not occur in 12 of his research paper introductions database, while Steps 1D and Move 3 Step 1 were used in less than half of the introductions investigated. Still, in terms of extension of the model, Samraj's (2002) study, which compares research article's introductions in conservation biology and wildlife behaviour suggests the need to incorporate two additional steps representing discipline-specific features: Move 2 Step 2: "Presenting Positive Justification" and Move 3 Step 5: "Announcing Principal Outcomes". In a study comparing introductions in linguistics and literature research papers in the

Humanities, Neff-Van Artselaer (2011) found that an additional Step in Move 1 is needed to account for introductions in English literature articles introductions which involve inserting a literary example followed by a discussion of the argument. In addition, the study found out that while introductions in applied linguistics articles commonly realize Move 1 through Step 3 (Reviewing items of Literature), such a strategy was less frequently used in introductions in English literature articles. Perhaps even more interesting in some studies has been the question of cyclicity of Swales Model (e.g. Chahal 2004), where many research introductions display a cyclic structure: an initial Move 1 is followed by Move 2, and then Move 1 again.

These studies show that indeed there are variations in the way argument is structured in different fields (Humanities vs. Sciences), and even within the same field, disciplines may differ in the way such information is positioned (e.g. linguistics vs. literature). While these studies have mostly been based on data collected outside the ESL context, it is important to examine data from within, to determine if any, the extent of such variation and/or adaptation of the CARS Model. In this way, we should be in a position to address research questions such as: (1) Should variations in framing research paper introductions in the *NJAS* be seen as legitimate forms of presenting arguments in context or in the discipline (cf. Maton 2000) or as problems associated with early tertiary writing for scholars in the beginning of career? (2) If variations are possible, what should be the extent of allowable differences? (3) What are the implications for any such differences for junior scientists, whose main goal is to publish papers in a competitive global academic space (Pérez-Llantada 2012)? The subsequent analysis does not pretend to address these questions in any definitive way. However, it offers empirical evidence that presents challenges that need to be overcome by those who intend to pursue successful university career.

4. Data and method

51 research articles analyzed in this study. They were collected from articles published online in the *Nordic Journal of African Studies* from 2005-2014 in the domain of linguistics, African languages, communication and cultural studies etc. (see Appendix 1 for a list of titles). The authors work in 15 different countries in Africa, Europe and North America: Nigeria (9), South Africa (7), Ghana (7), Tanzania (5), Kenya (5), Netherlands (5), Cameroon (3), Botswana (2), USA (2), Togo (1), Ethiopia (1), UK (1), Germany (1) and Finland (1). We can largely assume that these authors are advanced academic writers, who have been or are exposed to the writing conventions of the disciplines. The introduction sections of these articles were manually scanned with a view to determining in Move-structure following Swales (1990). In assessing the degree of acceptability of the manner in which authors structured their introductions, the opinion of some experts in the domain was sought to determine the degree of popularity of the nature of the extension and/or modification of what is largely seen as the commonly accepted CARS format for writing research introductions.

The data retrieval exercise consisted of the following. First, each introduction was manually scanned to determine whether or not the text followed the order of Moves proposed by Swales: (a) establish a territory, (b) create a niche and (c) occupy the niche. The definition of a Move as stated above was found to be useful. In this case, some Moves consisted of only one sentence and some were longer. Second, the rhetorical strategy of Steps was then determined after the Moves had been identified. Here, I relied on the characterization of a Step as a rhetorical strategy or technique employed by the writer to realize the purpose of a Move (Bhatia 1993). While a Move may be realized by one Step or a combination of Steps, Steps do not indicate functions related to the realization of an overall purpose of a genre. They are rather discourse techniques that serve to realize Moves (Yang & Allison 2003; Bhatia 1993). In determining what constituted a Step, it was considered practical to look for the occurrence of certain statements and/or expressions for example such as those for "claiming centrality" (e.g. "the current state of writing Kiswahili essays in some secondary schools in Tanzania leaves a lot to be desired", "recently many studies in African linguistics have focused on …") or those for "counter claiming" (e.g. "however, the available grammatical and lexical information provides the language learner only …", although these previous findings have investigated features of …")5 etc. Within a single Move, some Steps were repeated. In this case, they were all counted. (Note: the insertion of Moves and Steps in textual examples from Section 5.1 onward is done to ease analysis. The text should therefore be read as a continuous flow).

5. Findings

Table 2 presents the results of the Move-sequence structure in the research introductions in the database. Taken the 3-Move linear structure (i.e. the sequence: Move 1→Move 2→Move 3) as the logical steps in the writing of research introductions, our results indicate that only 31 % (i.e. 16/51) of the introductions conform to the CARS Model. This leaves us with up to 69 % (35/51) of the introductions that are either cyclic, semi-linear, or are written in a single Move. Overall, the most diversified pattern is cyclical with up to 9 different sequence-types. Swales (1990) concludes that in longer research introductions, there is a possibility for recycling of Move 1 and Move 2. But as the data reveals, cyclicity appears to be over-generalized in the corpus. Let us examine some of the text examples.

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[5] A longer list of sample phrases used in the different sections of the Swales Model is available in http://butler.cc.tut.fi/~penningt/multimaker/cars.html.

Move sequence	No. of texts	Description of Move
Semi-linear structure (31%)	(16)	
Move 1→Move 3	9	establish territory →occupy niche
Move 1→Move 2	4	establish territory →establish niche
Move 3→Move 2	3	occupy niche→establish niche
Linear structure (29%)	(15)	
Move 1→Move 2→Move 3	16	establish territory →establish niche→occupy niche
Cyclic structure (28%)	(14)	
Move 3→Move 2→ Move 3	4	occupy niche → establish a niche→ occupy niche
Move 1→Move 3→Move 1→Move 3	2	establish territory→ occupy niche → establish territory→ occupy niche
Move 3→Move 1→Move 3	2	occupy niche→ establish territory→ occupy niche
Move 3→Move 1→Move 2	1	occupy niche→ establish territory→ establish niche
Move 1→Move 3→ Move 2	1	establish territory→ occupy niche → establish niche
Move 3→Move 1→Move 2→ Move 3	1	occupy niche→ establish territory→ establish niche→ occupy niche
Move 1→Move 3→Move 2→Move 3	1	establish territory→ occupy niche→ establish niche→ occupy niche
Move 3→Move 1→Move 3→Move 2→Move 3→Move 1	1	occupy niche→ establish territory occupy niche→ establish niche→occupy niche→establish territory
Move1→Move 3→Move 2	1	establish territory→ occupy niche→ occupy territory
Single move structure (12%)	(6)	
Move 3	4	occupy niche
Move 2	2	establish niche

Table 2: Move sequences in research introductions

5.1. Semi-linear structure

I refer to a semi-linear structure as an introduction written in two of the three conventional Moves. The sequence may be chronological as in M1→M2 or not chronological as in M3→M2. (I use this definition to distinguish a cyclic structure where at least one Move is re peated in a chained sequence). The semi-linear structure constitutes the highest number of introductions in the corpus. In text 1, for example, the author moves from the first move of "establishment of territory" directly to "occupation of the niche". The middle move ("establishing a niche") where writers usually establish their own credentials and/or nature of contribution is omitted. Consequently, it becomes difficult to situate the study in the context of others, since no "gap" has been identified, and logically no contribution can be argued for. These types of introductions are the most frequent in this category of structure.

Title of paper: Comparing Hiatus Resolution in Karanga and Nambya: An Optimality Theory Account

[MOVE 1: ESTABLISHING A TERRITORY]
[Step1: claiming centrality]
The study of hiatus resolution has been a subject of considerable theoretical and empirical discussion and it has generally been observed that hiatus is a dispreferred configuration in many languages of the world. There are cross linguistic variations on when and how hiatus is resolved and the most common repair strategies are glide formation, vowel coalescence, secondary articulation, consonant epenthesis and vowel deletion (Myers 1987; Casali 1996; Rosenthall1997; Mtenje 2007; Sibanda 2009).
[MOVE 3: OCCUPY THE NICHE]
[Step 1A: announcing present research purposively]
The goal of this article is to compare three hiatus resolution strategies in two southern Bantu languages, namely Karanga, a dialect of Shona and Nambya.
[Step 4: summarizing method]
The paper describes and provides a formal analysis of glide formation, secondary articulation and elision, examining when and why one hiatus resolution strategy is chosen over the others. Glide formation, secondary articulation and elision operate in the same morphological environment-within nominals.
[Step 3: definitional clarification]
By nominals, we refer to nouns, adjectives, quantitatives and pronominal possessives. Specifically, glide-formation, secondary articulation and elision operate in two contexts: across a class prefix and a nominal stem, and across a noun or adjectival stem and a diminutive suffix […]
Source: *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 20(3): 203–240 (2011)

Text 1: Excerpt of a semi-linear structured introduction (from Move 1→Move 3)

Title of paper: The Structure of the Nyakyusa Noun Phrase

[MOVE 3: OCCUPY THE NICHE]
[Step1: announcing purpose]
The focus of this work is on the linear ordering of constituents (only lexical words) within a noun phrase (NP) in Nyakyusa, a Bantu language coded M31 (Guthrie 1967–71) and spoken in south-west Tanzania and north-west Malawi (Maho & Sands 2002).
[MOVE 2: ESTABLISH A NICHE]
[Step1B: indicating a gap]
It is stated that much of the treatment of the noun and its dependents in Bantu languages focus on the concord system (Nurse & Philippson 2003) and where the analysis of the NP in a Bantu language exists, it is scanty, therefore, rarely have scholars paid attention to the syntax of the noun and its dependents (Rugemalira 2007: 135). This alone calls for the study of the NP in Nyakyusa.
[…]
Source: *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 18(4): 305–331 (2009)

Text 2: Excerpt of a semi-linear structure introduction (from Move 3→Move 2)

Title of paper: Evaluating Language Revitalization in Kenya: The Contradictory Face and Place of The Local Community Factor

[MOVE 1: ESTABLISHING A TERRITORY]
[Step1: topic generalization]
On a global scale, the problem of language death or endangerment is alarming, with the effect that bigger languages continue to expand their territories at the expense of minority languages, some of which do not even have as much as a territory for themselves. With the passing of time, many of such minority languages may not survive the onslaught of dominant others. On the African continent, a survey conducted on language death by Gabriele Sommer in

Brenzinger (1992) as well as Batibo (2005) would so far provide a sufficient compilation of all the endangered languages across the continent

[…]

[MOVE 2: ESTABLISHING A NICHE]
[Step1B: indicating a gap]

As for Africa, reports on language shift and death have been posted, but not clear-cut accounts of language revival projects (see Batibo, 2005). In Kenya for instance, According to Batibo, of the fifty six (56) indigenous languages, about thirteen (13) are highly endangered while a dozen are either extinct or nearly extinct (– although Heine and Möhlig, 1980, report only about 20 languages as spoken in Kenya; Likewise, Brenzinger, Heine and Sommer, 1991, report 8 of these as extinct, while 5 as in a process of extinction). Yet in Kenya as in other African states, indigenous languages suffer the disadvantage of existing alongside either English (a former colonial language) or Kiswahili (a linguae francae) which may be attributed to the difficult choices based on the politics of language policy in a multi-lingual set up. But this co-existence places indigenous Kenyan languages in bad stead within the school system since the language policy phases them out at the end of the third grade.

Source: *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 17(4): 247–268 (2008)

Text 3: Excerpt of a semi-linear structured introduction (from Move 1→Move 2)

5.2. Linear structure

A linear structure is defined here as one that proceeds from Move 1 through Move 2 to Move 3. Two types of linear structures were identified in the database: the simple type and the more complex type. On the one hand, we have the simple structure as exemplified by text 4, which may be seen as an extreme case of brevity in the whole corpus, although only few examples were found. I refer to it as a simple type essentially because it has no citations. Judging by the standards of most journals, this type of introduction is rare.

Title of paper : Code-Switching and Code-Mixing: Style of Language Use in Childhood in Yoruba Speech Community

[MOVE 1: ESTABLISHING A TERRITORY]
[Step 1: topic generalization]

Code-switching and code-mixing are well-known traits in the speech pattern of the average bilingual in any human society the world over.

[**MOVE 2: ESTABLISHING A NICHE]**
[Step 1A- indicating a gap]

The implication of the prevalence of the phenomena in the Ikale speech community for the English language teacher there is what this article sets out to indicate. Nobody seems to have hitherto done this.

[**MOVE 3: OCCUPYING THE NICHE]**
[Step 7-outlining the structure of the paper]

The main body of the paper is divided into four sections. The first contains the definition of concepts. It is in the second that the previous investigations of scholars on code-switching and code-mixing are examined. The entire procedure for the current research constitutes the third section, while the fourth one contains the conclusion in which the afore-mentioned implication is explicitly stated.

Source: *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15(1): 90–99, 2006

Text 4: A simple research introduction with a linear-Move structure (full text)

On the other hand, Text 5 is more complex, and integrates most aspects of Swales' Model, including citations. It is seen that the longer introductions stand the chance of incorporating the essential aspects that a research paper introduction needs in order to sound convincing.

Title of paper: Bazes and Their Shibboleths: Lexical Variation and Sheng Speakers' Identity in Nairobi

[**MOVE 1: ESTABLISHING A TERRITORY]**
[Step 3: reviewing aspects of literature]
The majority of established variationists' work dealing with identity, e.g., (Fischer 1958) study of [ŋ/n] variation in a New England village, and Labov's (1972) famous study of glide centralization in Martha's Vineyard tend to focus on phonological variation. Fisher for instance, showed that the velar [-ŋ] nasal was the preferred variant identified with 'model' boys while the coronal [n] nasal was identified with 'typical' boys. On his part, Labov showed that the respondents who used the raised onsets of [au] and [ai] were island oriented regardless of their other sociolinguistic identities. Vocabulary, on the other hand, has had very little such treatment, and when it has, it is often an insider relying on knowledge of their own speech community. A good example is Smitherman's (1977) study of various aspects of Black Semantics. Smitherman discussed the dual level meaning of English words among African Americans. The word 'bad,' for instance, has a negative meaning in the mainstream when used in an expression such as *I got a bad cold.* When the same word is used in an expression like *he is a bad dude,* it gets a positive meaning because it has now moved to the subcultural encoding of sense in Black semantics, which operates outside the boundaries of the mainstream. Nevertheless, it needs to be pointed out that all African Americans do not speak the same way.
[**MOVE 2: ESTABLISHING A NICHE]**
[Step 1B: indicating a gap]
However, studies in internal variation of non-standard dialects such as African American Vernacular English (AAVE) have not received much attention. A similar scenario also applies to Sheng — an urban code spoken in Kenya. While various works mention identity as one of Sheng's major functions, only Samper's (2002) work specifically focuses on identity. In spite of mentioning its internal variations (p.8), such intricacies were not the object of his study.
[**MOVE 3: OCCUPYING THE NICHE]**
[Step 1: announcing present research descriptively]
The present paper seeks to build on Samper's work by focusing on Sheng's lexical variation in relation to the identity of its speakers. The questions I seek to answer are 1) What is responsible for lexical variation? 2) How do lexical differences manifest themselves in Sheng? and 3) What are the implications of lexical and semantic differences on the identities of different Sheng speakers? My research draws inspiration from cognitive social psychology where identities are conceived as cognitive schemas or internally stored social information and meaning, serving as a framework for interpreting experience (Stryker and Burke 2000). Experience itself is viewed in the context of discursive social practices that are intersubjectively negotiated through language. Through these social negotiations different aspects of Sheng speaker's identities come to the fore.
[**Step 7: outlining structure of the paper**]
This paper is organized as follows: In Section 2, I give a linguistic description of Sheng, which clarifies what should be regarded as Sheng in the rest of the paper. Section 3 lays the groundwork by discussing the relationship between language and identity within the background of different social realities that Sheng speakers confront, and the lexicalization processes responsible for lexical variation. In section 4, I discuss the methods used in data collection. I also present the results and discuss the implications of these data with respect to the identity of Sheng speakers. Section 5 talks about conscious linguistic practices, while Section 6 concludes this paper.
Source: *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15(4): 443–472 (2006)

Text 5: A complex research introduction with linear-Move structure (full text)

5.3. Cyclic structure

Twenty-eight per cent of the texts examined exhibit a cyclic structure whereby an initial Move *x* (not necessarily beginning from the conventional first Move, 1) is followed by another Move *y*, and then comes back to *x* etc. I will illustrate this with two texts. The first one, Text 6 represents a somewhat extreme case of cyclicity. The author moves from Move 3 to 1 and back to 3, a reverse pyramid as it were. The text moves from the bottom requirement of the Model and is recursive in many ways: the intent of the paper appears to be stated in more than one place just as statements relating to aspects of method.

Title of paper: Definiteness in Argobba NPs

[Move 3: OCCUPYING THE NICHE]
[Step 1: announcing present research descriptively and/or purposively]
This paper aims at describing and analyzing definiteness in Argobba.
[**Step 4: Summarizing methods]**
The analysis is framed in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG).
[**Step 1: announcing present research descriptively and/or purposively (cycling)**]
The paper limits itself to the morphosyntactic analysis of definite NPs. Their pragmatic or semantic property is not the area under discussion. Argobba is one of the seriously endangered languages in Ethiopia.
[**Step 4: Summarizing methods (cycling/extension/description)]**
The data for this study are from Shonke and Telha where there are fluent Argobba speakers. In some works, Bender (1976), Bender and Hailu (1978), Zelealem (1994), Leslau (1997), Argobba is considered a dialect of Amharic. The data collected from Shonke and Telha prove that Argobba and Amharic are not dialects rather independent sister languages (Wetter 2006, Getahun 2009).
[**Move 1: ESTABLISHING A TERRITORY]**
[Step 3: reviewing aspects of previous research]
Some scholars in their surveys and case studies on endangered languages and language death in Africa refer to Argobba with different levels of endangerment. Batibo (2005: 147), for instance, identifies it as extinct or nearly extinct language together with other Ethiopian languages like, Ge’ez and Gafat among others.
[**Move 2: ESTABLISHING A NICHE]**
[Step1B: indicating a gap]
The language situation in Shonke and Telha however does not substantiate this proposition. It rather asserts that Argobba is an endangered language.
[**Move 3:OCCUPYING THE NICHE]**
[Step 7: Outlining the structure of the paper]
The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 addresses different definite article suffixes for different nominal categories. Section 3 gives formal analysis and finally section 4 sums up the discussion.
Source: *Nordic Journal of African Studies 23(4): 201–218 (2014)*

Text 6: Research article introduction with a cyclic structure

Many texts of cyclic structure in the database illustrate this type of backward and forward movement in which the authors would sometimes state their purposes before they make generalizations and/or even review aspects of previous literature. Text 7 (though the lone example in the corpus) is yet another example to illustrate cyclicity. The text moves from the bottom requirement of the Model and is recursive in many ways: the intent of the paper appears to be stated in more than one place just as statements relating to aspects of method.

Title of paper: Definiteness in Argobba NPs

[**Move 3: OCCUPYING THE NICHE]**
[Step 1: announcing present research descriptively and/or purposively]
This paper aims at describing and analyzing definiteness in Argobba.
[**Step 4: Summarizing methods]**
The analysis is framed in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG).
[**Step 1: announcing present research descriptively and/or purposively (cycling)**]
The paper limits itself to the morphosyntactic analysis of definite NPs. Their pragmatic or semantic property is not the area under discussion. Argobba is one of the seriously endangered languages in Ethiopia.
[**Step 4: Summarizing methods (cycling/extension/description)]**
The data for this study are from Shonke and Telha where there are fluent Argobba speakers. In some works, Bender (1976), Bender and Hailu (1978), Zelealem (1994), Leslau (1997), Argobba is considered a dialect of Amharic. The data collected from Shonke and Telha prove that Argobba and Amharic are not dialects rather independent sister languages (Wetter 2006, Getahun 2009).
[**Move 1: ESTABLISHING A TERRITORY]**
[Step 3: reviewing aspects of previous research]
Some scholars in their surveys and case studies on endangered languages and language death in Africa refer to Argobba with different levels of endangerment. Batibo (2005: 147), for instance, identifies it as extinct or nearly extinct language together with other Ethiopian languages like, Ge'ez and Gafat among others.
[**Move 2: ESTABLISHING A NICHE]**
[Step1B: indicating a gap]
The language situation in Shonke and Telha however does not substantiate this proposition. It rather asserts that Argobba is an endangered language.
[**Move 3: OCCUPYING THE NICHE]**
[Step 7: Outlining the structure of the paper]
The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 addresses different definite article suffixes for different nominal categories. Section 3 gives formal analysis and finally section 4 sums up the discussion.
Source: *Nordic Journal of African Studies 23(4): 201–218 (2014)*

Text 7: Research article introduction with a cyclic structure

5.4. Single move structure

There are up to six single move introductions in the data. As the case of text 8 below illustrates, the author begins the introduction by stating the objective of the paper (occupying the niche). What follows are statements on methods, and immediately after that another statement of objective (repeated). In a sense, the statement: *these language varieties are poorly described, as are many of Tanzania's languages* [my emphasis] sounds like an indication of a gap. However, it is hard to make such an interpretation for the simple reason that the whole introduction itself has no Move 1: establishment of territory. Indication of a gap usually signals a transition from Move 1. Furthermore, the example shows repetition of Steps within Moves. Statements of objectives and those of methods can be seen in more than one place. This tendency for repetition occurs in more than 40 per cent of the Introductions in the corpus.

Title of paper: Grammatical and Lexical Comparison of the Greater Ruvu Bantu Languages

[**Move 3: OCCUPYING THE NICHE**]
[**Step 1: announcing present research descriptively**]
This article discusses lexical and grammatical comparison and subgrouping in a set of closely related Bantu language varieties in the Morogoro region, Tanzania.
[**Step 4: summarizing methods**]
The comparison is based on 27 morphophonological and morphosyntactic parameters, a lexicon of 500 items and the speakers' selfassessment of linguistic similarity. The language varieties in the region include Kagulu [G12], Zigua [G31], Kwere [G32], Zalamo [G33], Nguu [G34], Luguru [G35], Kami [G36] and Kutu [G37]3. <u>These language varieties are poorly described, as are many of Tanzania's languages (Maho and Sands 2003).</u> The present study makes use of a set of parameters to investigate the structural relationships between the Greater Ruvu Bantu language varieties (cf. Marten et al. 2007). In order to determine the relationships and boundaries between the varieties, grammatical phenomena constitute a valuable complement to counting the number of identical words or cognates.
[**Step 1 (repeated): announcing present research descriptively**]
Consequently, the focus of this comparison is on grammatical (i.e. structural) features such as morphophonological processes, noun class marking, negation and verbal morphology (tense, aspect and mood markers).
[**Step 4 (repeated): summarizing methods**]
We have used automated cognate judgment methods (to be described in the following) as well as manual cognate judgments based on older sources (Nurse and Philippson 1975 and 1980, Gonzales 2002) in order to compare lexical data. Finally, we have added speaker attitudes (i.e. self-assessment) in an attempt to map whether the languages that are perceived by speakers as being linguistically similar really are closely related. All language data stem from the first author's field work in the area (unless otherwise stated).
Source*: Nordic Journal of African Studies* 22(3): 129–157 (2013)

Text 8: A single Move text structure

6. Discussion

Our results indicate a mixed perspective on the way academic introductions are written, at least for the *Nordic Journal of African Studies*. Four categories of research article introductions structures have been identified, and only 29 per cent of them conform to the Model proposed by Swales (1990)—Create-A-Research-Space, in a linear order. Within this range, we still come across cases like text 4 (Section 5.2), where no citations are available to project a shared academic context of the issue being discusses. This particular case of "extreme" brevity is similar to other cases of "extremeness" that appears to run across most of the data examined. For example, texts 6 and 7 of Section 5.3 may be seen as instances of non-logic in information packaging. In summary, the data presented in section 5 is idiosyncratic in nature, and illustrates what happens when conventional ways of text organization in academic writing is overlooked. Academic genres are highly structured. They are frames for making meaning. In Bazerman's (1997: 19) characterization, 'genres are frames for social action, environments for learning, locations within which meaning is constructed. [The frames] shape the thoughts we form'. CARS is a widely acknowledged example of framing research paper introductions. While it is not the goal of this chapter to make any value judgment on the data analyzed (since they are published papers), it is important to observe that although the quality of a research paper often depends on the target journal (Segalla 2008), academic writing is generally highly signaled, besides originality, precision and argumentative strength signposted (Murray 2005). For junior scientists who aim at quality publications, knowledge of how academic papers are structured and written is required because even publications in peer-reviewed journals are often subject to evaluation, for example, during internal university promotions, grant applications and other forms of individual accreditation in higher education (cf. Canangaraja & Jerskey 2003). Patterns and formulas characterize academic writing and this has been the subject of most ESP-EAP literature (cf. McNenny & Fitzgerald 2001).

One of the handicaps that junior scientists face in ESL contexts (esp. Cameroon that I am familiar with) is the limited availability of journals in their area of discipline, where they can read about how research papers are structured and written. Although open-access journals today provide a rich repository of research articles in the disciplines, many junior scientists are still to develop the habit of reading them. Yet genre-based studies indicate that the development of a research career begins when one starts reading about what is written in the discipline, understanding current debates and issues in order to learn how to make a contribution. This reading-writing relationship is at the core of genre-based pedagogy—the belief that ways of writing are community resources for creating social relationships which writers may acquire through reading previous texts. The reading-writing relationship is summed up in the following observation by (Hyland 2004:9): 'good writers are aware that what a reader finds in a text is always influenced by what he or she has found in previous texts and what writers want to say is necessarily affected by what readers expect them to say'. Genre knowledge in the context of academic writing encompasses a wide range of knowledge-types (cf. Bruce 2013), namely (i) knowledge of the wider academic world and the specific discipline within which the text is being created, (ii) knowledge of community recognized functions and patterns of organization of whole texts; and (iii) knowledge of linguistics and stylistic features—all of which the junior scientists need to understand. This kind of specialized and/or technical knowledge is what a 'disciplinary culture' (Hyland 2000) imparts on the aspiring writer. I will describe each of the points in turn.

6.1. The wider academic context/content knowledge in linguistics

Perhaps a realistic starting point for any junior scientist who is contemplating a research career would be to look at critical journals in the discipline. One way to do this is to go to the homepages of each of these journals to read about the scope of research they publish and skim through previous issues. Some major periodicals in linguistics include *World Englishes* and *English-World-Wide*. Open Access

Journal Search Engines (OAJSE) may also be used to locate journals, access previous publications, acquaint oneself with the scope and diversity of content knowledge etc. Junior scientists may also access BALEAP which provides links to EAP journals, online learning resources and useful organizations. Some of these include:

- *Journal of Academic Language and Learning* (JALL)—an electronic scholarly journal devoted to the interests of professionals who provide academic language and learning development to students and staff in tertiary education settings.
- *Journal of Academic Writing*—an international, peer-reviewed journal that focuses on the teaching, tutoring, researching, administration and development of academic writing in higher education in Europe.
- *Academic English Online*—a website of interactive learning objects, designed to assist students in higher education with their skills in academic writing. The materials cover a wide range of skills, including writing, reading, listening and speaking.
- *Using EAP*—a guide for students in higher education, which provides comprehensive advice, materials and exercises on the four skills.
- *European Association for the Teaching of Academic Writing* (ETAW)—a scholarly forum which seeks to bring together those involved or interested in the teaching, tutoring, research, administration and development of academic writing in higher education in Europe.

6.2. Community recognized functions in academic writing

Some of the most important rhetorical functions in academic writing are modality, and hedging. These concepts are briefly explained as follow:

Modality: In a broader sense modality is the speakers'/writers' view of the potential or illocutionary force involved in what is written or said. Earlier on Lyons (1977) had referred to modality as 'having to do with possibility or probability, necessity or contingency, rather than merely with truth or falsity'. In other words, modality is essentially involved in the expression of tentativeness and degrees of likelihood that a proposition is "true" or "false". These are rhetorical options/functions in academic discourse, where statements are rarely made without subjective assessment of the truth of their propositions. Note, however, that modal notions are not limited to the class of modal verbs, but are pervasive in the meaning of a wide range of expressions in English including the grammatical category of tense and the lexical semantics of particular word groups such as adverbials. There are two central notions in modal logic: 'possibility' and 'necessity', and a distinction between two kinds of 'possibility' and 'necessity' known as 'epistemic' and 'root' runs thus: epistemic modality imputes a state of belief to the speaker/writer regarding the truth of some proposition x, in such a way that a statement of epistemic 'necessity', for example, takes the form: 'circumstances constrain the speaker to believe that "x"….' In the case of root modality, x refers not to a proposition, but to a phenomenon (an event, state, or set of events), the occurrence of which is influenced by some other phenomena. Epistemic modals (*may*, *might*, *could*, *would*) are the most frequent words used to hedge claims.

Hedging: H*edging* refers to the logical properties of words and phrases (e.g. *rather*, *sort of*) in their ability to make things vague or uncertain. In this sense, hedging should be seen as an aspect of epistemic modality. Therefore, many English words that express modal functions can be interpreted as hedging. First and foremost, why do we hedge our text? An often quoted reason to justify the prevalence of hedging in academic language is Albert Einstein's declaration that perception only gives information of the external world indirectly, and that we can only grasp the latter by speculative means. Translated into language use, this means that it is important for scientific claims be stated with caution, precisely because any interpretation of a given data may only offer a perspective of the whole. Faced with the possibility that we may not always be aware of the other facet of things, or may not have explored our subject matter in depth, one presenting our claims for them to be accepted is to do so tentatively. Hedging may be expressed by (1) epistemic adverbs (*certainly*, *probably*, *possibly*, *apparently*, *in most cases*, *typically*; (2) epistemic adjectives (*certain*, *sure*, *likely*, *probable*, *obvious*, *evident*, *clear*); (3) epistemic judgement verbs (*speculate*, *propose*, *suggest*, *think*, *indicate*), (4) epistemic evidential verbs (*tend*, *appear*, *seem*) and (5) epistemic nouns (*probability*, *possibility*, *assumption*) and approximators (*about*, *some*).

6.3. Linguistics and stylistic features

As mentioned above, genres (seen as frames) do not only shape the thoughts we form, they also 'shape the communication by which we interact' (Bazerman 1997). Following this observation by Bazerman, Swales (2004:61) states that 'the frame is [only] a starting place, an initial orientation', presumably one that has to be completed with effective rhetorical action. In other words, taking CARS as a frame for writing introductions to research articles, the effective academic writer has to fill in the slots corresponding to the Moves and Steps described in CARS, appropriately. In addition, success in writing the research paper is very much dependent on a concise writing style—i.e., an ability to write coherent sentences, logical arguments, proper use of punctuation etc. These aspects may be subsumed under what is commonly referred to as "academic style" (see some Handbook listing in Appendix 2).

7. Conclusion and outlook

This chapter has highlighted the variation in the writing of research introductions in the NJAS. Taking the CARS Model as a widely-acceptable format for wording such texts, results suggest that up to 45 % of the 51 research introductions analyzed exhibit a wide ranging cyclicity, where a Move does not follow the next one in a linear order (e.g. Move 1→Move 2→Move 3), but in a recursive order (e.g. Move 1→Move 3→Move 1→Move or Move 3→Move 1→Move 2→Move 3), and often repeatedly so. Research introductions that followed the logical linear order constitute just 18 % (9/51) of the whole corpus. At the other extreme are research introductions with a single Move structure. They are up to 12 % (5/51) of the total. Overall, there is therefore a measure of flexibility that characterizes the writing of research introductions in the NJAS. But how can we explain such flexibility? Dudley-Evans (1994:219-220) has stated that 'in the EAP tradition genres emphasize established but not necessarily codified conventions and embrace "style of presentation", "the order of presentation of that content", and "all the myriad rhetorical factors that affect the plausibility for the readers of the argument presented'. Following this observation, Bhatia (2004:23) maintained that although genres are highly structured and conventionalized constructs, expert members of the community often exploit generic resources to express private intentions. Theoretically, therefore, any instance of variation in writing in a published journal could be interpreted as "legitimate". However, the question of who makes the rules and who is qualified to break them persists, and it is beyond the scope of this chapter. Nevertheless, it suffices to say that the quality of a research article is largely determined by the quality of the target journal, which is also dependent on the quality of the peer-review process. Obviously, quality papers are those that approximate mainstream ways of knowledge presentation in the genres, and it is observed that CARS is dependable in the case of research paper introductions. For junior scientists who are planning to publish their research results, they have to understand that the complex task of writing academic articles requires the ability to integrate a range of skills which may be acquired through reading and writing in the discipline. These skills include searching for and organizing knowledge: to link ideas, to structure a text, and to demonstrate awareness of the knowledge types that are needed to write a research introduction.

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Appendix 1: Titles of articles whose introductions have been used for the study

1.	Problems of Citation Forms in Dictionaries of Bantu Languages-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 14(3): 255–273 (2005)*
2.	Discovering Usage Patterns for the Swahili amba- Relative Forms cl. 16, 17, 18: Using Corpus Data to Support Autonomous Learning of Kiswahili by Italian Speakers-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 14(3): 274–317 (2005)*
3.	Problems of Lexical Decomposition: The Case of Yoruba Complex Verbs-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 14(3): 318–333 (2005)*
4.	On Lexicalization in Sheng-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 14(3): 334–355 (2005)*
5.	Problems of Writing in Kiswahili: A Case Study of Kigurunyembe and Morogoro Secondary Schools in Tanzania-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 14(1): 15–25 (2005)*
6.	*Must* and S*hould* in Cameroon English-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 14(1): 43–67 (2005)*
7.	A Comparison of Approaches to Word Class Tagging: Disjunctively vs. Conjunctively Written Bantu Languages-*Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15(4): 428–442 (2006)
8.	Bazes and Their Shibboleths: Lexical Variation and Sheng Speakers' Identity in Nairobi-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 15(4): 443–472 (2006)*
9.	Discourse Tact In Doctor-Patient Interactions In English: An Analysis of Diagnosis in Medical Communication in Nigeria-*Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15(4): 499–519 (2006)
10.	Backchannel Communication in Ola Rotimi's Our Husband Has Gone Mad Again-*Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15(4): 520–535 (2006)

11.	Politeness Strategies in Colloquial Cameroon English: Focus on Three Pragmatic Particles: *na, ya* and *eihn-Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15(4): 536–544 (2006)
12.	Cohesion in ESL Classroom Written Texts-*Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15(3): 314–331 (2006)
13.	The Sociolinguistic of Akan Personal Names- *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15(2): 206–235 (2006)
14.	Code-Switching and Code-Mixing: Style of Language Use in Childhood in Yoruba Speech Community- *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15(1): 90–99 (2006)
15.	Lexical Errors in the English of Technical College Students in Osun State of Nigeria-*Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15(1): 71–89 (2006)
16.	Nativization of Dissertation Acknowledgements and Private Letters in Cameroon-*Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15(2): 166–184 (2006)
17.	Lumela/Lumela: A Socio-Pragmatic Analysis of Sesotho Greetings-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 16(1): 1–17 (2007)*
18.	Tenor in Electronic Media Christian Discourse in South Western Nigeria-*Nordic Journal of African Studies* 16(1): 75–89 (2007)
19.	Towards Machine-Readable Lexicons for South African Bantu languages-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 16(2): 131–145 (2007)*
20.	Relevance and Linguistic Markers: Implications for Translating from English into a Gur Language-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 17(4): 228–246 (2008)*
21.	Evaluating Language Revitalization in Kenya:The Contradictory Face and Place of The Local Community Factor-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 17(4): 247–268 (2008)*
22.	Social and Educational Impact of Language Assessment in Nigeria-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 17(3): 198–210 (2008)*
23.	Experimental Bootstrapping of Morphological Analysers for Nguni Languages-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 17(2): 66–88 (2008)*
24.	Bilingual Education: Meeting the Challenges of Diversity in Botswana-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 17(1): 20–33 (2008)*
25.	The Structure of the Nyakyusa Noun Phrase-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 18(4): 305–331 (2009)*
26.	Onomastics and Indirect Communication Among The Kabre of Northern Togo-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 18(3): 215–234 (2009)*
27.	The Passive and Stative Constructions in Ndebele1: A Comparative Analysis-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 18(2): 154–174 (2009)*
28.	Explicatures in Conversational Discourse in Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus-Nordic Journal of African Studies 18(2): 138–153 (2009)*
29.	Bilingualism Gridlocked at the University of Kwazulu-Natal-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 18(1): 22–72 (2009)*
30.	Implementation of Bilingual Education in Tanzania: The Realities in the Schools-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 19(4): 227–249 (2010)*
31.	Signaling Politeness, Power and Solidarity through Terms of Address in Dagbanli-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 19(4): 274–292 (2010)*
32.	Linguistic Choices in Postcolonial Multilingual Cameroon-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 19(3): 149–164 (2010)*
33.	Accounting for the Three Readings of the Causative Morpheme in Kĩĩtharaka-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 19(3): 181–200 (2010)*
34.	The Sociolinguistics of Thanking in Akan-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 19(2): 77–97 (2010)*
35.	Meru Dialects: The Linguistic Evidence-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 20(4): 300–327 (2011)*
36.	On the Basic Focus Marker, and the Basic Focus Sentence, in Akan (Twi)- *Nordic Journal of African Studies 20(3): 241–262 (2011)*

37.	Comparing Hiatus Resolution in Karanga and Nambya: An Optimality Theory Account-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 20(3): 203–240 (2011)*
38.	Expressing Future Time Reference in Kambaata-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 20(2): 132–149 (2011)*
39.	Towards a Part-of-Speech Ontology:Encoding Morphemic Units of Two South African Bantu Languages-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 21(3): 118–140 (2012)*
40.	Exploring Expressions of Focus in Ewe-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 21(3): 141–163 (2012)*
41.	Pharyngealization and the Vowel System of Tasawaq (Northern Songhay)- *Nordic Journal of African Studies 21(1): 21–33 (2012)*
42.	Some Notes on the Development of Awjila Berber Vowels-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 22(4): 236–255 (2013)*
43.	Ikoma Verbal Tone-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 22(4): 274–321 (2013*
44.	Grammatical and Lexical Comparison of the Greater Ruvu Bantu Languages-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 22(3): 129–157 (2013)*
45.	An Acoustic Analysis of Siwu Vowels-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 22(3): 177–195 (2013)*
46.	The Form and Function of English Loanwords in Akan-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 23(4): 219–240 (2014)*
47.	Definiteness in Argobba NPs-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 23(4): 201–218 (2014)*
48.	The Use of the Ventive Marker dd in Figuig Berber Narratives-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 23(4): 241–291 (2014)*
49.	Hybridized Lexical Innovations in Ghanaian English-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 23(3): 180–200 (2014)*
50.	Information Packaging – Focus Marking and Focus Constructions in Leteh (Larteh)-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 23(3): 162–179 (2014)*
51.	Indigenous African Languages as Agents of Change in the Transformation of Higher Education Institutions in South Africa: Unisa-*Nordic Journal of African Studies 23(1): 31–56 (2014)*

Appendix 2: Some handbooks listing of elements of academic style

▪ use words that are less intense and emotional (e.g. instead of ‘terrible’, ‘useless’, ‘bad’, write ‘problematic’, ‘inadequate’, ‘poor’)
▪ use simple words such as ‘begin’ rather than ‘commence’
▪ use evaluation adjectives (e.g.’ interesting’, ‘appropriate’, ‘useful’)
▪ use epistemic adjectives (e.g. ‘clear’, ‘evident’, ‘certain’, ‘likely’, ‘obvious’
▪ use epistemic judgement verbs (e.g. ‘suggest’, ‘think’, ‘indicate’)
▪ use stance adverbs (e.g. ‘generally’, ‘actually’, ‘probably’, ‘perhaps’, ‘possibly’
▪ use epistemic evidential verbs (e.g. ‘show’, ‘seem’, ‘tend’)
▪ use hedging to minimize the thread of face (e.g. instead of ‘my research confirms the hypothesis that..., write ‘my research suggests that...’)
▪ use tentative modals (e.g. ‘would’, ‘should’, ‘might,’ ‘could’) to report finding that are provisional
▪ use epistemic adverbials to comment on the content of the proposition expressed (e.g. to express doubt and certainty about propositions, use ‘certainly’, ‘probably’, ‘perhaps’, ‘maybe’ etc.; to comment on the status of propositions as real-life facts, use ‘in fact’, ‘really’, ‘actually’ etc.; to evaluate the source of information, use ‘evidently’, ‘apparently’ etc.; to mark limitation of propositions, use ‘mainly’, ‘in most cases’, ‘typically’ etc.; and to indicate the perspective or terms of reference from which the proposition is true, use ‘in my view’, ‘in my opinion’ etc.)
▪ use adjectival expressions of modality (e.g. ‘sure’, ‘possible’, ‘probable’, ‘apparent’, ‘obvious’, ‘evident’, ‘clear’, ‘likely’ etc.) to indicate various degrees of certitude of propositions
▪ use modal lexical expressions (e.g. ‘hope’, ‘believe’, ‘think’, ‘seem’, ‘appear’, ‘feel’, ‘suppose’ etc.) to indicate the writer’s belief and/or assumption that a certain state of affairs is true, likely or false
▪ use conjunctives (‘however’, ‘yet’, ‘then’, ‘thus”, ‘consequently’, ‘although’, ‘therefore’, ‘in addition’, ‘on the other hand’, ‘first’, ‘second’,) that signal to readers a shift in topic or emphasis, and ensure good connection between sentences
▪ incorporate charts, graphs, diagrams, illustrations, etc. In your text where relevant
▪ use sub-headings, but do not exaggerate. Generally, three level is good (2.2.1), but beyond that it is preferable to italicize further headings
▪ use citations skilfully to contextualize information and issues and alternate between integral and non-integral citation

Simple Tools on the Internet for English Non-Native Academic Writers

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Abstract

In this chapter, the importance of the World Wide Web as a resource for learners of English as a second language is discussed. Non-native academic writers who use English as a medium of their academic writings face more challenges than their native counterparts. These are not only related to their language proficiency, but also insufficient training in academic writing and in using internet tools as independent academic researchers. Therefore, this chapter aims at raising awareness of various resources that students and researchers from non-native learning cultures, especially from African universities, can employ in order to improve their writing skills. Several resources such as corpora, dictionaries and forums as well as different tools such as idiomaticity tools, source documentation software, corpus tools and style format tools are introduced, explained and discussed.

Keywords: second language acquisition, non-native writers, internet as a resource, online tools, corpus tools, source documentation software, style format tools

1. Introduction

In recent years, it has become not only more common but also crucial for students to make use of web-based technologies to check and improve their academic writings. Whereas making use of the internet as a source of helpful tools in the field of academic writing is already irreplaceable in Europe, research in Africa is still very restricted in this regard. Students from African countries have not had the luxury of being introduced to different websites, tools and other resources on the web that are available for both native and non-native speakers of English to improve and modify their writing style. However, “writing is fundamental to modern societies and of overarching significance in all our lives: central to our personal experiences, life chances and social identities” (Hyland, 2010: 191). Therefore, this chapter is designed to help non-native speakers of English (in Africa) to improve their academic writings with the help of simple tools available on the internet by introducing and explaining some of them in more detail.

In academia, researchers often face the challenge of finding the appropriate writing style, the right wording that sounds as natural as possible and useful technologies to analyze language according to these ideals. While these seem to be mainly issues of non-native speakers of English, it has to be born in mind that also native speakers are not automatically experts in the English grammar and academic writing. Academic writing has to be learned. Native speakers may also lack proficiency in the English language that is needed in academic writing. They merely have the advantage of having the feeling of sounding natural, but that is of course related to their experience in that variety. However, this chapter only focuses on students who are learning English as a second language (ESL) and use it as a non-native language in their writing.

The problems of non-native speakers often stem from the differences in norms between these preferred by native speakers of English and their own mother tongue and the transfer of generated ideas in their mother tongues to the target language and the application of structures of the mother tongue to a foreign language (Cadman 1997:. 3; Kenworthy 2004: 1; Ibanez and Schroeder 2010: 2). In addition, their knowledge of the English vocabulary is restricted due to the unnaturalness of the second language acquisition process and the influence of their mother tongue. What is more, ESL students tend to use only a finite variability of expressions and normally lack sensitivity to vocabularies of the target language. Importantly, they are poor estimators of the degree of formality of expressions in the target language, the degree of intensity of vocabularies and the degree of offensiveness of certain expressions. Other challenges, not restricted to second language writers alone, are the challenge of determining the correct spellings of English expressions and the one of knowing correct formats and structures of various text types and genres such as resumé/CV, abstract, concept note, memorandum of understanding, thesis, research proposal, and even Power Point presentation and so forth.

Therefore, it is important to explore the target language, in our case English, and all its features, structures and grammatical rules and the professional context of scientific texts, both in class (guided by the teacher) and outside of class (self-guided learning). The genre-based ESP (English for specific purposes) aims to assist students to gain access to the kind of language they need to succeed in their studies in higher education and subsequently to conduct research and write academic papers. Several online tools and pages can help to develop an idea of what is required in academic writing, what is common and uncommon in English, what is different in e.g. British and American English and what can be done to produce an accepted and competitive academic text. Some institutions may do little beyond the requirements in class to encourage and provide their students with useful online resources that help to enhance their linguistic skills. While an academic writing class is commonly offered at European universities, African universities usually lack good and sufficient training in academic writing, especially in thesis writing. That is why this chapter mainly aims at raising awareness of various resources that students and researchers from other learning cultures can employ.

2. Resources and Reference Tools

2.1. Corpus Exploitation

“Corpus Linguistics is the study of language data on a large scale- the computer-aided analysis of very extensive collections of transcribed utterances or written texts.” (McEnery, Hardie 2011: i) Making use of corpus linguistics to analyze patterns, demographic changes in and similarities as well as differences between two or more languages, represents an essential method in the field of linguistics. Corpus linguistics allows qualitative and quantitative analysis of speech and texts of all types. Many students make use of these bodies of texts to analyze characteristics of and change in language.

2.1.1. *Mega Corpora as Reference Corpora*

Mark Davies, Professor of Linguistics at Brigham Young University (BYU), created several corpora which are probably among the most widely-used ones that are currently available online. Next to finding out about features of native languages in written and spoken texts, frequencies of words, collocates and phrases can be searched, language change and variation (e.g. historical, in dialects and different genres) can be analyzed and insights into different cultures and countries can be gained. Among other things, results can be used to develop authentic language teaching resources and materials. (cf. http://corpus.byu.edu/overview.asp) This website allows (registered) users to download and explore the corpora, which can also be used as (standard) reference corpora by researchers looking for a bench mark for their own more specific corpora.

English	# words	language/dialect	time period	compare
NOW Corpus NEW	2.8 billion+	20 countries / Web	2010-yesterday	
Global Web-Based English (GloWbE)	1.9 billion	20 countries / Web	2012-13	
Wikipedia Corpus	1.9 billion	English	-2014	Info
Hansard Corpus (British Parliament)	1.6 billion	British	1803-2005	Info
Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)	520 million	American	1990-2015	* * * * *
Corpus of Historical American English (COHA)	400 million	American	1810-2009	* *
TIME Magazine Corpus	100 million	American	1923-2006	
Corpus of American Soap Operas	100 million	American	2001-2012	*
British National Corpus (BYU-BNC)*	100 million	British	1980s-1993	* *
Strathy Corpus (Canada)	50 million	Canadian	1970s-2000s	
CORE Corpus NEW	50 million	Web registers	-2014	
Other languages				
Corpus del Español (see also...)	100 million	Spanish	1200s-1900s	*
Corpus do Português (see also...)	45 million	Portuguese	1300s-1900s	
N-grams				
Google Books: American English	155 billion	American	1500s-2000s	*
Google Books: British English	34 billion	British	1500s-2000s	
Google Books: One Million Books	89 billion	Am/Br	1500s-2000s	
Google Books: Spanish	45 billion	Spanish	1500s-2000s	

Table 1: List of all BYU-corpora (Source: www.corpus.byu.edu, last accessed on 07/24/2016)

Table 1 shows all corpora that are available on the BYU website. Three of the most famous ones that will be shortly introduced are the NOW corpus, GloWbe and COCA. The NOW ("News on the Web") corpus consists of web-based newspapers from 20 different countries ranging from 2010 until now and about three billion words. The special feature of this corpus is that it grows every single night. Automated scripts add around four million words, which are about 130 million words per month, every day. Hence, a search on the NOW corpus does not only give you data from the past (like the BNC compiled 25 years ago), but most current usage. Through a quick keyword in context search, you can see what is happing with the language right now and also compare it to the last few years. The search on "crisis in Europe" on July 24, 2016, for example, shows an extremely higher number of hits in 2011 (4.58 per one million) and 2015 (4.92 per one million) compared to 2010 (0.85 per one million) and 2014 (0.55 per one million). This demonstrates that a crisis in Europe in these years was discussed in these online texts and even that the crisis in 2011 was related to "finances" and the crises in 2015 was related to "refugees". For, this corpus allows users to find key phrases, collocates, the most recent tokens and receive a chart of their findings according to the various years and genres.

COCA (Corpus of Contemporary American English) contains around 520 million words. This corpus of American English is among the only large corpora that allow an analysis of ongoing changes in English and is freely available. The texts range from 1995 until 2015. What is remarkable is that the corpus is well balanced, meaning it is equally divided among popular magazines, spoken texts, newspapers, fiction, and academic texts. This corpus allows, like the others, a comparison between genres and time periods. Among other things, the corpus has the option to search for synonyms of e.g. *strong* used in popular magazines but not in journals through the 60,000 entry thesaurus. The option of creating your own customized word list, helps to search for the exact same words again in a later query.

The Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbe) counts 1.9 billion words from web pages in 20 different English-speaking countries. Next to being very large, this corpus can be used for carrying out searches to compare English dialects and varieties and to show the frequency of words, grammatical constructions and phrases in these 20 different countries. We can either conduct a search online or download full-text data. Through the total number of words, differences between English dialects can be analyzed in a way that is not possible with other corpora. Concerning special vocabulary, the corpus shows high frequencies of e.g. *bikkies* in Australian English, *trousers* and *rained off* in British English, *hand phone* and *lah!* in Malaysian English and *be elder to* and *keep in view* in South Asian English. Additionally to merely look for the frequency of a particular word in all 20 countries, GloWbe also enables us to list all words that only occur in a given country. Furthermore, you can run specific searches, e.g. on all words with the suffix *–ism* in Australia or any other country out of the 20. Another advantage of a corpus of this size is the comparison or analysis of idioms. As idioms are sensitive to size, small corpora might not show any token while GloWbe contains several tokens of an idiom. It can also be researched what prepositions are used with a given adjective in different countries in order to spot the non-standard versions (e.g. in India, *integrated* is followed by *in* and *to*, instead of *into*). Most interesting is probably the comparison of collocates across countries. With this, it can be analyzed what has been said about certain concepts like *feminism* and *belief* in various countries in order to draw conclusions about the different cultures.

2.1.2. *Corpus Compilation Tools*

Even though there are many corpora available online for free, it is becoming more and more popular among students nowadays to create their own corpus. What seems to be a big challenge at first, is not too difficult after all. In order to e.g. explore differences between cultures, changes over time or various expressions in certain dialects, already a fairly small sample can show distinct findings. There are several factors that have to be considered when collecting data (spoken and written texts) to build a corpus.

According to McEnery and Wilson (2001: 29), four criteria have to be taken account of before compiling or analyzing a corpus. In order to allow a representative analysis and ensure results that can be generalized, a corpus has to firstly consist of a wide range of different texts from various genres and a variety of text types, meaning it has to be balanced. This also requires "that no utterances should be left out only because they are too rare, as Chomsky criticized. A corpus should be a good representation of both common and uncommon utterances" (Küchler 2012: 14). Secondly, the texts have to be comparatively long and the size of the corpus has to be considered. There are finite corpora as well as corpora that are constantly changing and growing in size whereby the latter ones are not as rigorous as the former ones. Thirdly, so as to guarantee a fast analysis, a corpus has to be machine-readable. And fourthly, a corpus has to be widely available and "constitute a standard reference." (ibid.: 32)

It is furthermore important to document all the information about the single texts well, e.g. in form of a matrix. A corpus of academic texts, for instance, should include different variables like the file name, the discipline, the text type, the title of the work, the year of publication and the number of words as well as information about the author such as the gender, the mother tongue, the level, the home university and major. This is necessary to conduct a representative comparative study and to obtain good statistics. Every good corpus comes with a clear manual that describes and explains everything you should know about the corpus and the handling of the data.

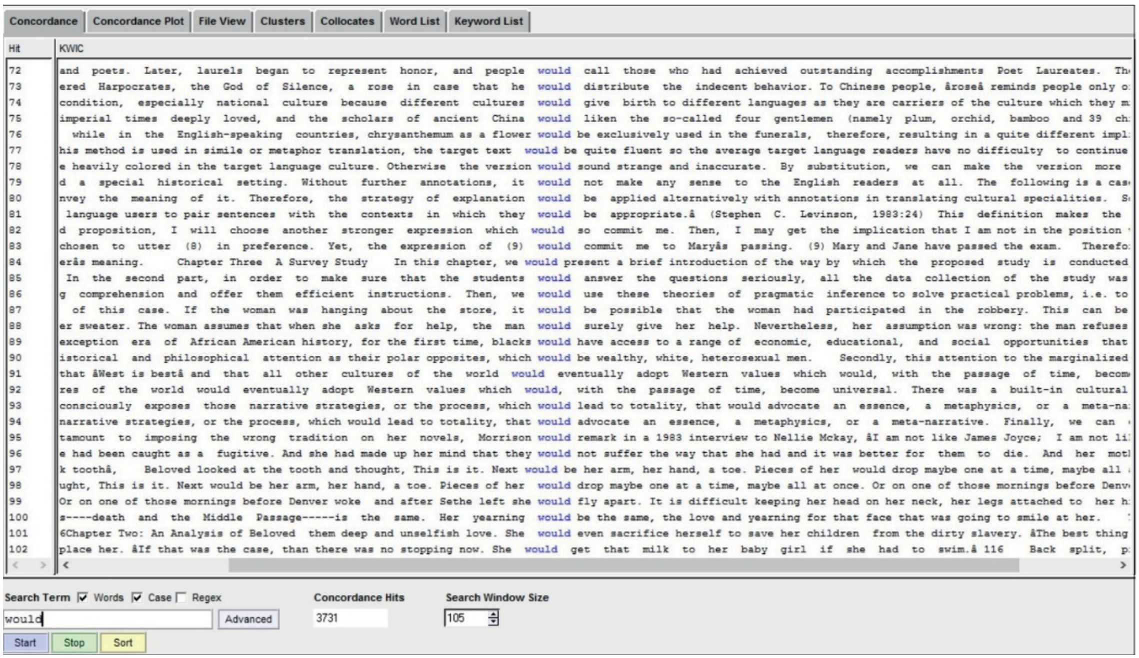
In order to gain representative results, all texts should be cleaned so that only the main body, meaning the original words of the author remain in the end. During this data cleaning process, the table of content, all information about the author and the text, acknowledgements, long quotes, tables and figures as well as the list of references and the appendix should be deleted. Finally, special computer programs such as AntConc or WordSmith, which will be introduced in the next sub-section, are used to analyze a corpus.

2.1.3. *Corpus Analysis Tools*

AntConc and WordSmith are concordance programs that are used in corpus linguistics to analyze texts. They allow us to compare texts, features of a language or group of speakers, frequently reoccurring phrases in a corpus that are not directly noticeable while reading several texts and patterns of grammatical use, to name but a few. AntConc, a free toolkit developed by Laurence Anthony, "offers different tools like a file view tool, concordance (plot) tool, a word list tool, key word list tool as well as collocates and clusters tool." (Küchler 2012: 14f.) WordSmith, which can be used in 80 different languages but has to be purchased, is similar in nature as it has the following options: *Concord*, *KeyWord* and *WordList*.

Both programs allow you to process a great amount of data within a short period of time. After loading the data into the program, you can directly search for particular terms and phrases and observe them in context in order to analyze and compare them, both quantitatively and qualitatively. With *Concord*, all instances of one word or phrase are listed and create concordances. The total number of hits and previews of the passages are directly given. To list all the words that are included in the corpus, including the respective number of hits, the *WordList* is used. If the search is not specified, the words are listed in an alphabetical order. You can also directly search for specific words and see their rank. Researchers use *KeyWord* to find salient phrases or words in the corpus. These words either occur very frequently or rarely, which makes them statistically significant compared to a standard reference corpus. In order to conduct a qualitative analysis, all instances have to be checked, ranked and analyzed manually.

Picture 1 shows a keyword in context (KWIC) search on AntConc in the Chinese Master (Theses) Corpus (CMAC) that has been collected and compiled by three doctoral students of the Chemnitz University of Technology (see Schmied 2016, this volume). Within seconds, the concordance program indicates how many times the selected keyword, in this case *would*, occurs in the entered text files. There are several options to modify and specify the search. To now analyze the usage of *would*, all sentences have to be checked and categorized separately.



Picture 1: Instances of *would* in the CMAC

An example of a new corpus management and analysis platform for annotated corpora is Corpuscle. This web-based system is being developed at the University of Bergen, Norway. It “hosts several types of corpus collections: Open-access corpora, restricted-access corpora and CLARINO corpora (a collection of language corpora that are part of the Norwegian CLARINO infrastructure)” (http://clarino.uib.no/korpuskel/page, last accessed on 09/06/2016). As Corpuscle supports user annotations, multimedia and annotated texts, it is used in various research projects. In order to work with most of the corpora of CorpusCle, you have to register first. This can happen either through your university login or through asking for a CLARIN Website UserID which you have to verify with your academic Email address. Corpora, which are hosted in Corpuscle, are for example:

- **NNC**: Norwegian newspaper corpus
- **ICAME**: The *International Computer Archive of Modern and Medieval English*
- **NTAP**: The *Networks of Texts and People* blog corpus
- **Talebanken**: A Norwegian corpus with transcribed and annotated dialect recordings
- **ASK**: An annotated corpus of second language learners’ texts

(Source: http://clarino.uib.no/korpuskel/corpus-list, last accessed on 09/06/2016)

The size of the corpora ranges from 160.000 tokens (Menota- Medieval Nordic Text Archive), to 30 million tokens (The corpus “Proceedings of Norwegian parliamentary debates”) to 1.5 billion tokens (NNC-The Norwegian Newspaper Corpus). All corpora can be checked on the website mentioned above under ‘Corpus List’. For each corpus, the size as well as the language, the date of publication and a short description are given.

To start a query, choose one corpus from the list by clicking on its name. If you have problems in accessing one of the corpora, contact the owner or one of the responsible persons and ask for access and further instructions. If you have been successful, you can now start exploring the corpora. To draw the correct conclusion on representativeness and generalisability of the corpus data, you check the metadata and attributes section, where all necessary information is listed. To execute a query, click on 'Query'. For beginners, it is advisable to use the basic search option where you can simply search for words. The query language might be too difficult or too complex at first. However, if you are intending to use CorpusCle extensively, you should read the 'Query Language' chapter. "Among other things, you can search for corpus positions whose attributes match a given regular expression, you can search for sequences of tokens, and you can include conditions on structural positions in your queries. Here are a few queries that exemplify the use of the query language:

- "book" : matches all occurrences of "book" in a corpus
- [morph="NN"] : matches all Nouns in the Brown corpus
- "I" "am": matches occurrences of "I am" in a corpus. Keep in mind that each word occupies a single position; therefore, "I" and "am" have to be separate in the query; the query "I am" would not match.
- [lemma="go.*"] matches all positions where the lemma form matches the regular expression "go.*", that is, starts with "go"."

(Source: http://clarino.uib.no/korpuskel/page, last accessed on 09/06/2016)

All of these variants can be used with *Concordance*, *Word List*, *Collocations* and *Distribution*. It is furthermore possible to see the distribution and to download the results for further analyses and processing. Corpuscle can be summarized as an efficient advanced system that offers corpora in different languages, of different sizes, of specific and general fields, and that allows registered users to conduct basic and advanced searches on various expressions. (cf. Meurer 2012, Andersen 2013)

2.2. Web as Corpus

The World Wide Web is among the great tools that second language writers can benefit from. Besides all the useful tools mentioned in this chapter, this enormous database can also widely inform writers about expressions, structures and patterns in English. If you do not have quick access to a corpus or merely want to check a words usage briefly or occasionally, a quick search on one of the standard search engines online is totally sufficient. You can think of the web as a giant corpus that is much larger than any existing corpus, but, of course, not a corpus in terms of representativeness. Therefore, it is important to keep some things in mind when running a search on the web.

A writer may also run a specialized search on Google to determine whether the expression is common in a domain they intend to use it in. Is it a usual phrase in religion, or rather in the academic domain? Regarding this challenge, a writer can restrict his or her search of the expression even further, namely to a specific field of the web. This can be achieved by typing the target expression in inverted commas, followed by a specific domain. For instance, if you want to find out more about the expression “friendly environment” in the academic domain in the United Kingdom, you can type it in inverted comma in Google, followed by “dot academic dot uk”, so *“friendly environment”.ac.uk.* (If you click on search in this format, the Google search engine will only return occurrences of the expression in academic texts from academic institutions in the United Kingdom.) If this search returns many hits, a second language writer should deem the expression common core among academic users in the United Kingdom and may thus equally use it. Nonetheless, if a search retrieves no hits or only a few hits, the writer should consider the expression rare among these scholars and may thus abandon it or use it with caution. The same format of such can be replicated for different countries such as *“friendly environment” under ac.us*.

Looking for a very common phrase like *write about* would give you millions of hits and does not take you very far. However, if you are looking for an uncommon term, a rarely used expression or an unknown wording, checking on the web can prove to be very useful. Yet, it has to be born in mind that search engines are not designed for corpus linguists or lexicographers. Hence, the output format is usually very unfriendly and unorganized. Compared to other websites, www.google.com has the advantage that it provides users with parts of the context of the website below each result. Apart from that, it might happen that the results are multilingual as well. Even though well over 80% of the web is in English, millions of websites are of other languages. (cf. Rundell 2000) A search for *peste*, for example, shows websites in French, Italian, Spanish and Catalan. The web should not be seen as a representative sample of any language and should not be taken as a reliable source for generalizations about linguistic behavior. Strictly speaking, “it is not a corpus at all according to any of the standard definitions: what it is a huge ragbag of digital text, whose content and balance are largely unknown”. (ibid.) However, the web has the advantage of being large and up-to-date. Even for the rarest words, the web might show many results – and even for non-existent ones, especially in less scholarly texts.

In order to find scholarly literature in an easy way and across various disciplines, Google Scholars is useful as a starting point of a research. What has to be considered is that Google does not rate an article as scholarly or not. Everyone has to evaluate a source on its own. It also includes articles from platforms like academia.edu that is without any quality control. On top of that, Google Scholars cannot be seen as a subject-specific database. To run a more specific search in your discipline, other databases might provide better outputs.

2.3. Dictionaries

2.3.1. *Reference Dictionaries*

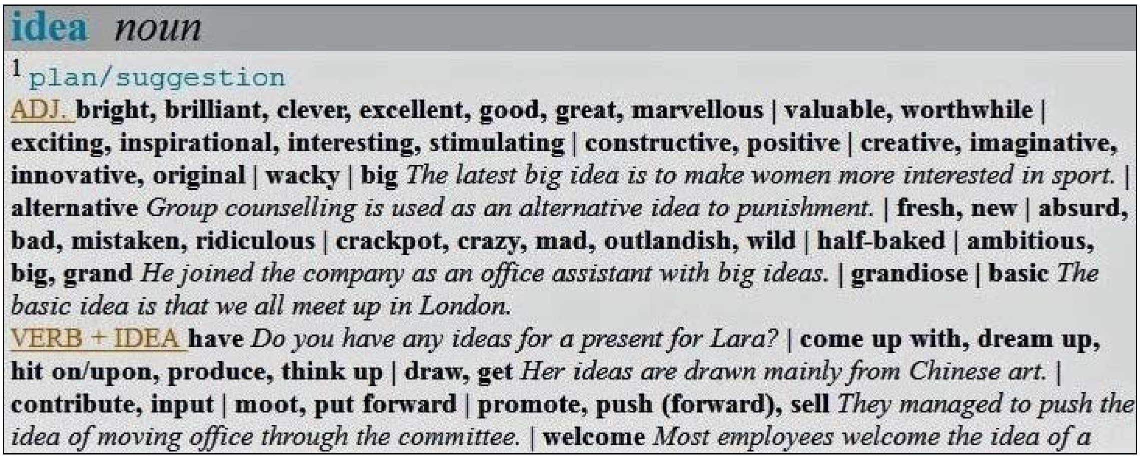
The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) is one of the most favoured reference dictionaries for students of English. This extremely large dictionary was traditionally printed in over 20 volumes, then made available on a CD and today it is up-dated regularly online and made available to scholars through their libraries' subscription. The original name *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* was replaced by the title *The Oxford English Dictionary* in 1933. The big quantities of information are organized in a logical historical structure. All headwords are listed with all their phrasal forms, different senses and subsenses. Meaning of words are shown from the Old and Middle English to the present including historical and linguistic changes. It can be seen as a guide to the history, meaning and pronunciation of words and how they have changed. It contains around 600,000 words. OED Online was launched in 2000 and has been updated every three month since then to provide users with the most updated version.

Generally, every entry contains a sound sample with the pronunciation, the transcription, the definition, synonyms and the keyword in context, meaning a sample sentence. OED Online offers four different search options. *Categories* is used to explore groupings of words, e.g. from a particular origin. In this way, all borrowing from e.g. Germany or all words related to a certain item can be searched. *Timeline* shows all the new entries over a certain period of time. Combined with the categories function, trends over time can be researched. Under *Sources*, the most common sources such as the Bible or The Guardian that are cited under the example sentences are found. Each entry shows examples of the search word in context. A search on the adjective *trilingual*, for example, shows among others example sentences from Encyclopaedia Britannica and The Athenaeum. Lastly, the *Historical Thesaurus* option shows historical synonyms, including the respective years. An OED Online account allows you to manage and save entries and searches. The strength of an online dictionary is its improved features and, of course, its easiness of use. Whereas a user of a traditional dictionary has to turn pages and pages in search for a word, a user of an online dictionary only types the word in a search engine and instantly retrieves the meanings of the word in a matter of seconds. Moreover, many online dictionaries are free and have many useful features as has just been described. Further, there are many specialized dictionaries that give much information on the uses of expressions – such as synonyms and collocation dictionaries. The latter will be explained in the next subsection.

2.3.2. *Collocation Dictionaries*

A relatively new type of dictionary is the collocation dictionary. Entries of word collocations help advanced learners to write and speak effectively and to sound natural in English. An example is the Online Oxford Collocation Dictionary. It shows the most frequently used combinations of words in both American and

British English. By creating a better awareness of collocations and how words go together in English, the student's academic writing is improved, especially their accuracy and naturalness. The dictionary contains 150,000 collocations for about 9,000 headwords. An example for a common word combination is *bright idea* that is found under the search for the noun *idea*. Picture 2 is an extract from this search on the Online Oxford Collocation Dictionary showing the adjectives and verbs that naturally occur together with the keyword *idea*.



idea *noun*

1 plan/suggestion

ADJ. **bright, brilliant, clever, excellent, good, great, marvellous | valuable, worthwhile | exciting, inspirational, interesting, stimulating | constructive, positive | creative, imaginative, innovative, original | wacky | big** *The latest big idea is to make women more interested in sport.* | **alternative** *Group counselling is used as an alternative idea to punishment.* | **fresh, new | absurd, bad, mistaken, ridiculous | crackpot, crazy, mad, outlandish, wild | half-baked | ambitious, big, grand** *He joined the company as an office assistant with big ideas.* | **grandiose | basic** *The basic idea is that we all meet up in London.*

VERB + IDEA **have** *Do you have any ideas for a present for Lara?* | **come up with, dream up, hit on/upon, produce, think up | draw, get** *Her ideas are drawn mainly from Chinese art.* | **contribute, input | moot, put forward | promote, push (forward), sell** *They managed to push the idea of moving office through the committee.* | **welcome** *Most employees welcome the idea of a*

Picture 2: An extract of the search on *idea* in the *Online Oxford Collocation Dictionary* (Source: http://oxforddictionary.so8848.com/search?word=idea, last accessed on 08/10/2016)

Picture 2 shows the first collocations with the noun *idea* that the collocations dictionary gives. Next to two main definitions, various combinations and possible collocates are listed. Combinations such as *verb+idea* and *idea+verb* and phrases show results like *welcome an idea*, *an idea emerged* and *be open to ideas*. The dictionary further shows adjectives, adverbs and prepositions that are commonly used in combination with each headword. It is based on the 100 million word British National Corpus. The information on context, grammar and register is very helpful for learners. Writers can thus adopt or adapt these expressions and in so doing make their writing sound more professional and natural. Concisely, online dictionaries are quite useful to second language writers in expressing their ideas more clearly and appropriately by looking up new words, synonyms and the appropriateness of a keyword use in a concerned textual environment.

2.4. Usage Discussions

One popular form to discuss challenges and questions ESL students might come across are online forums, also called message boards or discussion groups. They allow users to interact with each other, to read and respond to posts and to exchange ideas, tips and share experiences they have had with various topics. All posts are accessible for everyone. These computer aided usage discussions help students to improve their communication and writing skills. In language forums, mainly grammatical and linguistic challenges and questions are posted, but also teaching materials are exchanged and useful links shared. Examples of online language forums are Word Reference, A Language Learner's Forum and the Grammatist Forum and Website, to name but a few. A query posted in these forums usually retrieves a number of good responses, some even from experts of English or from native speakers of English. When coming across a question, it could firstly be searched on a search engine like Google to see whether it has been discussed before. In case the search for e.g. Google does not return any prior discussion in a forum, the question can be posted in one of the language forums in order to elicit other users' opinions.

> Hi, there
>
> I am confused about the usage of should and would. I found thess two sentences in a dictionary. Why is the first one with "would" and the second one with "should"?
>
> "It's sickening that someone would profit from
> her misfortune"
> "It's odd that she should think I would want to see her again"
>
> Thank you a lot
>
> Gabriel Malheiros, Aug 4, 2016

Picture 3: A question posted on Word Reference (Source: forum.wordreference.com/threads/should-would.3212494/, last accessed on 08/02/2016)

Picture 3 shows an example of a question that was posted on Word Reference. This post opened a long discussion on the different usages of these two modal verbs. Over the course of the discussion, sample sentences were discussed and analyzed, more general questions were raised and answered and one user suggested to go through all the usages listed under the dictionary entry of *should* and *would*. In the end, the thread was closed with the statement "The original question that is the topic of this thread has been answered."

Students can benefit a lot from these flexible self-regulated discussions. Users have time to reflect and rethink and to research and consider their answers before replying. (O'Neill et al. 2006) Another "value of using the web […] is that web pages may contain hyperlinks to other parts of the web, thus enabling access to a vast amount of web based information" (McKimm, Jollie, & Cantillon, 2003). However, a point worth noting is that most of the discussions in these forums are users' opinions. In this respect, second language writers who intend to use them should evaluate each item of information and think critically before adopting or adapting them. This supplement of a face-to-face discussion should only be used to broaden writers' perspectives and horizons on a language problem at hand, instead of being considered as the authority on the matter in question.

3. Writing Tools

3.1. Idiomaticity Tools

Idiomatic lexicogrammatical patterns can vary widely across languages and language varieties. Especially for learners of a second language, it is difficult to acquire this conventionalized language (idioms, prefabricated patterns, formulas etc.) fully. (cf. Saville-Troike 2012) There are several dictionaries, websites like Phrases in English (PIE), corpora and software that can support learners in developing their language skills in regard to multiword and lexicogrammatical patterns. In the following, one tool, namely StringNet, will be introduced in more detail.

StringNet is one example of an idiomaticity tool that helps ESL students to increase and improve their idiomatic use of English by providing them with a base consisting of multiword expressions. It retrieves expressions in their actual contexts from the British National Corpus (BNC). In total, StringNet is based on two billion hybrid n-grams, sequences of grams which show specific word forms, lexemes and parts of speech (POS), also including specific POSs such as [V-ing]. (http://nav4.stringnet.org/about.php, last accessed on 09/04/2016) To run a search on StringNet, there are two options. Firstly, finding patterns and secondly, finding collocations. After entering a word into the query box, you are provided with a list of patterns in which the word is conventionally used. If you conduct a multiword query, you get patterns in which the words usually co-occur.

An example is the word 'take'. A query yields for example 'take place [prep]', 'take part in', 'take into account the [adj] [noun]' and 'take advantage of'. Every result listed is accompanied by various different links and information - this is what gives StringNet its name: a net of information. Taking '[vb mod] take part in' as another example, the first link 'Frequency' shows all instances of this exact phrase in the BNC with the respective totals. The second link is called 'Parent' and shows examples that are one level higher in a hierarchical ontology than the one selected. In this case, one result is '[vb mod] take [noun] in'. When clicking on 'Frequency' again, we get examples like 'must take part in' and 'should take place in'. The third link called 'Child' shows all hits that are one level lower. In our example, the list is limited to six hits including modal verbs, for example 'can take part in' and 'will take part in'. The last two links either broaden or shorten the search. A longer version could be '[noun] [vb mod] take part in'. In this way, many usages of the phrase 'take part in' can be explored. The list is sorted by frequency, which gives the learner an idea of how common a particular phrase is. The specific search for collocations shows words from all word classes, if wished, that co-occur with the search term and their frequencies as well as all exemplary sentences for each collocation of the keyword in the BNC. For both searches, you have several search options to modify your search. StringNet enlightens second language writers on how to use certain patterns and collocations practically. It also helps them, for example, to determine whether the object of a certain predicate needs a complement or not and which prepositions follow certain verbs.

3.2. Source Documentation Tools

While doing research, we consult many articles, books and journals, some of which contain good quotes or helpful sections. After having read many chapters of different books, it is usually very hard to remember which book contains a particular section. Therefore, it is crucial to document sources well. This can be done with the help of source documentation software. The main use of them is to help researchers manage their sources by creating lists of references and bibliographies and saving quotes. In this way, we do not waste time writing elements of sources one by one and avoid mistakes. Citavi, Endnote, Mendeley, Zotero, ReferenceManager, ProCite, BibTex and Perrla are such software. In this section, Citavi will be explained in more detail.

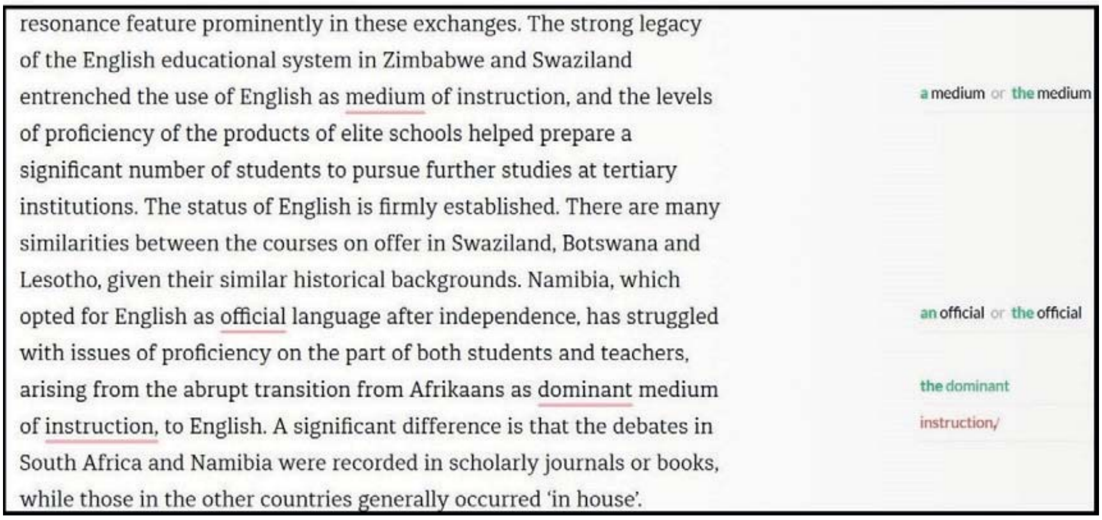
Citavi is a Swiss program developed for Microsoft Windows. The free version of Citvati is limited to 100 sources per project. Several projects at the same time are possible. The core usages include reference management, task planning and knowledge organization. This means, the program allows you to save sources, quotes and comments, tasks and places. Additional features are in-text-citations to which a description can be added, the managing of ideas and the search for more books and papers. The program offers specified searches on various databases and catalogues from within the program. The import from other source documentation software is also possible. With only some clicks, ISBNs on web pages and web pages itself can be imported in Citavi. Furthermore, the content of web pages can be saved as a PDF file. If the PDF document has DOI (Digital Object Identifier), a quote and bibliographical information can automatically be added to Citavi.

Basically, the idea is to collect quotes, books, summaries etc. with Citavi and then build an academic paper around them. With the help of this program, you can manage all your sources, ideas and books and keep track of what you have done. What is more is that a complete outline of a paper can be developed. While Citavi is centered around the management of knowledge and helping researchers from the beginning until the end of a paper, other programs like Mendely are more focussed on the social aspect, namely by showing who else has read this article and by recommending other articles on this basis. Eventually, a complete list of all references can be easily inserted from Citavi into your final work in the format you desire (refer to section 4.2. for more information on MLA and APA style).

4. Checking Tools

4.1. Spelling and Grammar Checking Tools

Spelling and grammar checkers are great software tools for both second language writers and native speakers of English. This software pinpoint what might be a lexical, grammatical and punctuation mistake in a text and even sometimes suggests appropriate vocabularies, the correct grammar or punctuation. Most word applications like Microsoft Word, Ubuntu or Linux have inbuilt spelling and grammar checkers that English writers should apply to reduce errors and mistakes in their productions. Other free online spelling and grammar checkers that writers can further apply are Grammarly, Grammar Check and Spell Check Plus. The one that will be briefly introduced is Grammarly. Below is a window of Grammarly showing parts of an abstract that has been checked on this platform.



Picture 4: Results of a text checked on Grammarly (Source: www.grammarly.com, last accessed on 07/26/2016)

As can be seen in picture 4, Grammarly does not only point out errors by underlining them, but also lists possible corrections. In the case of a missing articles, for example, both a definite and indefinite article are suggested. Different colors indicate different types of errors such as a punctuation error or grammatical ones. This advanced spelling checker works on the basis of more than 250 grammar rules and is able to show the existence of plagiarism in an authors' document. This topic will be addressed under 4.2. Next to detecting misspelled words etc., Grammarly also identifies words that are correctly spelled but used incorrectly. Extensions of the program also check your words and sentences while you type online.

Even though these checking tools are of great help to non-native writers, they cannot be seen as editing tools. All writers must keenly consider each correction suggestion made by these spelling and grammar checkers because their competence is not yet up to the level of the native speakers or a human brain. For example, they sometimes single out correct forms of expressions as mistakes or only list eight out of ten errors. Nonetheless, in most cases, these checking tools are very beneficial for language learners who already have a basic knowledge of the English grammar.

4.2. Style Tools and guidelines

Modern text processing programs like Microsoft Word include automatic spelling and grammar checking functions by default. There is no need to run a separate check with Word as it automatically checks your document and underlines all errors. Hereby, the different errors are indicated by either a red, green or blue wavy line. Anything with a red line is a spelling error or unknown to Word. The blue line indicates the misuse of a word. This means, a word is spelled correctly, but does not seem to fit in the sentence, it is used incorrectly. An example therefor is the common mistake of *too* instead of *to* or *I no* instead of *I know*. In the case of *Deer Mr. Smith*, *deer* would be underlined even though it is spelled correctly. To correct these errors, you simply right-click on the word and select the correct version from the suggested words that will appear. Note the difference between British and American English here.

When it comes to style, the green lines are of importance. They indicate that there is a grammatical error and that the sentence should be revised. While spelling is mostly straightforward, correct grammar needs some judgement. It is possible that you are right and Word is wrong. In this case, you can just ignore the green lines. Note that Word sees also headings which do not include a verb as wrong and often also suggests a wrong correction. In some cases, the sentence is too complex and merely in need of a comma or semicolon.

In order to show credibility and academic knowledge, certain guidelines regarding formatting have to be followed. This section concentrates on the two standard styles described in most handbooks, MLA and APA style. They apply to most of the papers you will have to submit during your career. However, in some cases either your professor or the publisher might ask you to follow different guidelines. Hence, make sure which exact set of rules you need to follow before you submit your thesis or paper. Using a reader- or community-specific format in your paper does not only help your readers to follow your ideas and arguments easier and more efficiently, but it also shows that you understand and are able to apply the costumes of an academic community. The format and information about a source that is needed depends on the source medium, e.g. book, journal, website or DVD. In the following, only the formats used for citing a book are given. All the other information regarding the two styles can be found online or in a respective handbook (see references and useful links).

APA, which stands for American Psychological Association, is mostly used in the fields of psychology, business, linguistics, education, social sciences and engineering. (cf. Beins 2012) It is used for scientific papers and theses to organize its content and the respective sections, all citations, footnotes and the reference page. In general, APA guidelines recommend to divide your paper into four main sections, namely the title page, abstract, main body and references whereby the main body includes introduction, method, results and discussion. (cf. ibid.: 4) “For quotations, always cite the authors (or authors’) name, the year of publication, and the pages on which the quotation appeared” (ibid.: 128) directly after the quotation in the text in parentheses, for example (Schneider 2000: 8). Books with one author have to be listed in the list of references as follows:

> Last Name, Initial(s) of First Name. (Year of Publication). *Title of book*. Publisher City, State: Publisher.

If you are only referring to someone else's work, but not directly quoting him or her, merely the author's (or authors') name and the year of publication have to be provided. Yet, a complete source has to appear at the end of the paper as well. Furthermore, APA suggests to use 12 point and Times New Roman as font type.

MLA, which stands for Modern Language Association, is also used in the humanities and liberal arts. (cf. MLA 2016) This format also uses the so-called parenthetical citation. This means that all the necessary information about the book and author are giving in parentheses after every quote or paraphrase. Good examples of how to cite works of others in MLA style are given in chapter 6 of the *MLA Handbook*. Here is how books with one author are cited:

> Last Name, First Name. *Title of Book*. Publisher, Year of Publication.

While the APA style is called the author-year-style, MLA is known as the author-page-style. The page number from where the quotation or paraphrase is taken, must always appear in the text in parentheses. The name of the author may also appear earlier in the sentence. For example:

> Schneider states that "China belongs to the Expanding Circle" (240).

Whereas MLA does not ask for a title page or abstract compared to the APA style, it also recommends to use 12 point and Times New Roman. Be sure to consult the *MLA Handbook* (8th edition) for more details if you are asked to use this style. By using a proper formatting style, you protect yourself from the accusation of plagiarism (see 4.3.).

Another way to improve your academic writings is checking the Academic Word List (AWL), which was developed by Averil Coxhead at the School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies at the Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand (see also Coxhead 2000). "The list contains 570 word families which were selected according to principles" (http://www.victoria.ac.nz/lals/resources/aca-demicwordlist/information, last accessed on 08/25/2016) and about 3000 words. The AWL was originally developed for teachers and students who work and study at a University. It includes words that appear very frequently in English academic texts. Therefore, academic course notes, textbooks, journals, workbooks and lab manuals were analyzed (ibid.). Not only words from the subject of Law and Sciences were selected, but also from Arts, including sociology, psychology, etc., and Commerce, including marketing, management, economics, etc. Hence, students from various fields of study can make use of the AWL. Anyone who wishes to study English or in an English-speaking university should know the general academic vocabulary. This also increases your own understanding of academic texts. Words that occur in the 2000 most frequent words in English were not included as these are assumed to be general knowledge. The AWL contains words such as *acquire*, *contradict* and *paradigm*. For each word, other words in the same family and a definition by the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary are provided.

There is furthermore the possibility to check your own text. Longman and Oxford, for example, offer such a text or vocabulary check. The picture below shows how many words from the AWL have been used in parts of my last paragraph.

Hence students from various fields of study can make use of the AWL Anyone who wishes to study English or in an English-speaking university should know the general academic vocabulary This also increase your own understanding of academic texts Words that occur in the 2000 most frequent words in English were not included as these are assumed to be general knowledge The AWL contains words such as acquire contradict and paradigm For each word other words in the same family and a definition by the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary are provided

Words checked = [90]

Words in Academic Word List = [11%]

Picture 5: Results from The Oxford Text Checker for words from the AWL (Source: http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/oxford_3000_profiler; last accessed on 08/24/2016)

Picture 5 shows that only 11% of the selected 90 words from the passage above are part of the AWL. All underlined words are considered to be academic. Even though all punctuation characters have been removed, this tool is very helpful for students. You merely enter and submit your text and get the result within seconds. If the percentage is very low, you should consider putting in some of the words from the AWL to improve the style of your text.

4.3. Plagiarism

In research, coming up with your own ideas is as crucial as referring back to other research that has already been done in the same field, because "every academic text offers a balance between its author's own argument and references to texts written by other authors" (Siepmann et al. 2011: 35). Here, clearly stating what your own idea is and what derives from another source, can be challenging. Another factor is that "the apparent anonymity of the net may encourage students who are short of inspiration to simply cut and paste text from a webpage into their ter pape" (ibid.: 33). This dishonest practice, known as plagiarism, is a serious delict. According to the Merriam Webster Online Dictionary (MWOD), plagiarism is "the act of using another person's words or ideas without giving credit to that person" (MWOD, s.v. plagiarism) and to plagiarize means "to use the words or ideas of another person as if they were your own words or ideas" (MWOD, s.v. to plagiarize). This fraud involves stealing and lying and is a serious offense, as Siepmann et al. (2011: 462) state. All expressions and ideas that are recorded in some way, e.g. in a book or as a computer file, are protected by the copyright law. To be more precise, the following actions are considered as plagiarism:

- turning in someone else's work as your own
- copying words or ideas from someone else without giving credit
- failing to put a quotation in quotation marks
- giving incorrect information about the source of a quotation
- changing words but copying the sentence structure of a source without giving credit
- copying so many words or ideas from a source that it makes up the majority of your work, whether you give credit or not

(Source: http://www.plagiarism.org/plagiarism-101/what-is-plagiarism, last accessed on 08/23/2016)

Plagiarism can be avoided by citing all sources that have been used while keeping in mind that quotations "should always remain subservient to the argument" (Siepmann et al. 2011: 35) of your own text. It is not unprofessional to acknowledge that other material has been consulted and used. You make reference to other works, for example, to provide persuasive evidence for your point, to clarify your method, to show difficulties in this field or draw attention to interesting exceptions in trends or to show your disagreement with other authors. (ibid.) By using certain expressions to introduce and integrate a quotation into your sentence, you show the reader how you stand to it. These expressions, including hedges and boosters, are, for example, *agree, report, point out, acknowledge* or *claim, suggest, state, believe* and *argue*.

The previous section 4.2. talked about how to cite properly. Another way to prevent plagiarism when writing a paper and not disturb the fluency of the text by using too many quotes (ibid.) is to paraphrase. Carefully restate in your own words what someone else has already said. However, simply changing a few words of the original passage is not legitimate. Both the sentence structure and the words have to be changed while the content stays the same. Note that such a restatement also requires a source as the idea is still from someone else. It is a common misconception of students that they should hide the fact that they have used other sources by paraphrasing them. They think that they and their work would be marked down if they are too dependent on other sources and do not clearly show the strength of their own argument. (ibid.) However, showing that others support your ideas is an advantage and raises the quality of the paper. In this way, your own ideas seem more valid and stronger. Consulting and citing books, handbooks etc. shows that you as the author have done good research on the topic as well. More information on how to paraphrase effectively can be found on the Purdue Online Writing Lab website (see link below), for instance.

5. Summary

Various websites, resources such as corpora, dictionaries and forums as well as different tools such as idiomaticity tools, source documentation software, corpus tools and style format tools have been introduced in this section. Above all, the main aim was to make the students aware of the richness and range of the World Wide Web regarding ways to improve their academic writings outside their own university. As these web-based technologies are still rather unknown and uncommon in Africa, this section addressed mainly African learners of English. Both the teacher's teaching and the student's learning can be enhanced through these tools if they are used appropriately. The use of modern technologies that are now available online might encourage a more independent learning among students. Therefore, they should be made familiar with the whole spectrum of them.

Every learner of a second language comes across challenges and makes mistakes and errors in his or her writings. All the more important is it to know where to get help and find answers. The above mentioned tools do not only help learners to correct their errors, but to improve their academic writings by e.g. analyzing features of a language, using academic expressions and finding relevant sources. Furthermore, advantages and disadvantages of the tools and online forums have been explored in order to guide the students as effectively as possible. These resources are a good way for students to develop a certain autonomy in their learning process. Gaining more knowledge and better skills in this way helps students to produce writings of higher quality that are internationally competitive.

The two standard formats were furthermore introduced. By using either the APA or MLA format, readers are guided more efficiently and the application of university costumes is shown. Instead of distracting the readers by uncommon formats, they can focus on the main ideas and arguments of the text. This also helps to establish credibility. Some of the tools that have been introduced require a certain preknowledge, e.g. in corpus linguistics, and some have to be used with caution. In some cases, it is up to the student to evaluate the source and information, e.g. found in forums or in Google Scholars. To summarize, there are many helpful and valuable tools available for learners of a second language. Not all of them can be introduced in class. Therefore, students should make an effort and use all the opportunities to improve their skills and writings also outside of class.

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Useful Links:

General Websites:
Download Citavi: http://www.citavi.de/en/download.html
Download AntConc: http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software.html
StringNet: www.stringnet.org
Phrases in English: http://phrasesinenglish.org/simplesearch.html
Plagiarism: http://www.plagiarism.org/plagiarism-101/what-is-plagiarism/
Purdue Online Writing Lab: https://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/619/1/
Academic Word List: http://www.uefap.com/vocab/select/awl.htm

Online Corpora
BYU Corpora: http://corpus.byu.edu/
BNC (British National Corpus): http://sara.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/lookup.html
Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English, http://www.hti.umich.edu/m/micase/
Corpuscle: http://clarino.uib.no/korpuskel

Forums:
WordReference Forums: http://forum.wordreference.com/
A Language Learner's Forum: http://forum.language-learners.org/
Grammatist Forum: http://grammarist.com

Spell Checkers:
Grammarly: https://www.grammarly.com/
Grammar Check: http://www.grammarcheck.net/
Spell Check Plus: http://spellcheckplus.com/
The Oxford Text Checker:
http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/oxford_3000_profiler

Exploring Gender Differences in the Use of Hedges and Boosters among Advanced ESL Learners in Cameroon

Samuel Atechi (University of Yaoundé I)

Abstract

This sociopragmatic investigation looks at gender differences in the use of hedges and boosters among postgraduate ESL Learners in Cameroon. The objective of the study is twofold. First, to determine whether there are any gender-preferential uses of hedges and boosters among advanced ESL learners from the University of Yaounde I as well as their types and frequencies. Second, to determine which hedges or boosters occur more frequently in students' written texts. The study was corpus-based and was made up of 20 DIPES II students' dissertations. The analysis of the collected data which was facilitated by the use of the Antconc software focused primarily on two types of hedges, namely: epistemic lexical and modal verbs (*seem*, *appear*, *assume*, *may*, and *could*) and epistemic adverbs (*possibly*, *perhaps*, and *seemingly*). With regards to boosters, focus was on expressions like *in fact*, *certainly*, and *it is clear that*. Interestingly, the findings reveal that advanced ESL learners in Yaoundé use more hedges than boosters, and that female students are more likely to use hedges and less likely to use boosters than their male counterparts.

Keywords: Gender preferences, hedges, boosters, Advanced ESL Learners in Cameroon

1. Introduction

The belief that language differs from one speech community to the next cannot be over emphasized. This is basically because every speech community has linguistic and cultural codes that define its use of language. The linguistic culture of language use has, over the years, and across the continent, preoccupied sociolinguists (Labov 1966, Hyland 1998, Schmied 2008, Ngefac 2008, Atechi 2010) in various ways. One of the sensitive areas that has taken the central stage of academic research, in recent time, is language and gender. As far as this domain of academic research is concerned, there is a general consensus, among scholars, that men and women differ in their use of language (Lakoff: 1973). Considering this state of affair, they have been consistent efforts, by different scholars around the world, to identify gender-preferential linguistic variables, their patterns of use, frequency, and appropriateness. Hedging and boosters are two important aspects where women and men are said to differ in their uses.

2. Background information on edges and boosters

Hedges and boosters are key features of academic writing, especially in the domain of English for Academic Purposes (EAP). They function more or less as regulators of claims and pointers of writers' degree of commitments to propositions.

Hedges mitigate propositions to mark uncertainty, with the intention of either expressing politeness and saving face or simply reducing facts to opinions for purposes of acceptability. Hyland (1995:33) maintains that "it is the expression of tentativeness and possibility in language use". This means that it often subjects the veracity of claims to "subjective assessment." This is further supported by Schmied (2008) who, besides the general views, ascribes two characteristics to this term; first, the use of words that express writer's tentativeness towards a particular claim in which the proposition is transformed into an opinion rather than a fact; and secondly, the use of words that increase the politeness and the social acceptability of claims to avoid conflicts between the writer and the reader. Historically, the term was first introduced in the literature by Lakoff (1972) to refer to words that make meaning fuzzy or fuzzier. Over the years, it has grown to be an almost unavoidable technique in academic writing and often judged as a mark of academic competence. Hyland (1998:2) maintains that this type of discourse–hedging–constitutes a socially constructed "rhetorical artifact". Writers often use this technique in negotiating ideas and persuading their readers, yet giving them the chance to judge the claims for themselves.

Unlike hedging, booster is at the other end of the continuum—the writer's use of words or phrases to show his/her conviction to a particular proposition. Hyland (ibid) observes that boosters, such as *clearly, obviously,* and *of course,* enable writers to express conviction and assert to their claims with confidence. Consequently, boosters are devices, often, used to fortify the writer's commitment to a particular proposition.

Generally, hedges and boosters are key techniques in academic writing. Borrowing from Hyland (ibid), they are effective strategies for "increasing or reducing the force of statement". The implication here is that, as a result of these techniques, writers can write without any fear of criticism from their fellow scholars (Schmied: 2008). In fact, these techniques, besides others, account for competency in academic writing. An understanding of gender-preferential uses of hedges and boosters, within the context of academic writing in Cameroon, is a necessary contribution to existing literature on academic writing in this part of the world.

3. Literature review

Gender preferences in the use of hedging and boosters have received considerable attention around the world, although much concern has been with spoken discourse (Schmied 2008). Jespersen (1928:246) is of the opinion that men have larger vocabulary and are often renovators of language, while women are restricted, and they habitually refine and veil their expressions. This view is in line with Tannen (1990) observation that women better understand a language of connection and intimacy, while men understand a language of status and independence. These findings are equally true of the sociolinguistic realities in India, where women are expected to speak differently, while making use of specific expressions, as opposed to men who have the green light to create language to the best of their abilities (Holms 1993). While Lakoff (1995) shares the opinion that women have restricted vocabulary, considering that they are more likely to use indirect language—tag questions, empty adjectives, and intensifiers than men. She argues that the reason is basically because women, from time immemorial, were expected to sound inferior to men. This suggests an existing linguistic bias on gender prescription or expectations in language use. Even though women are restricted in their use of language, Tannen (1994) argues that restricted language use does not necessarily denote inferiority, but quite often, it suggests some maturity in understanding and respecting the perspectives of others. There is no doubt that the identification of such features, in the domain of academic writing, is a necessary prerequisite in understanding the linguistic attitude of users of English in Cameroon.

Though they have been elaborate efforts to describe the distinction of male and female speakers' use of language in different parts of the world (Fishman 1978, Lakoff 1973, Swallowe 2003, Schmied 2011), gender-based studies in Cameroon are relatively scarce. Apart from a few works that have considered gender as one of the sociolinguistic variables (Simo Bobda 2001, Ngefac 2008, and Anchimbe 2006), this domain continuously begs for conscious attention, especially in the domain of corpus linguistics.

Studies on hedging and boosters are equally in small quantity. The first ever study of hedging in Cameroon English was in 2011, when Nkemleke studied the frequency, types and use of hedges in students' essays, conference abstracts, and students' end-of-course dissertations. His findings revealed the extensive use of epistemic verbs, epistemic adjectives and epistemic adverbs (Nkemleke 2011:21) in the above text types. Boosters, unlike hedges, are yet to enjoy such foundational debut. This explains why this present contribution attempts to describe gender-preferential uses of hedges and boosters in the written performance of advanced ESL writers in the Higher Teacher Training College (ENS) Yaoundé, and also to identify which of the features, considered—hedge or booster—occur more often in written output of these students.

4. Methodology

The corpus, which was used for this study, consisted of DIPES II Dissertations, written by postgraduate students of ENS Yaoundé. DIPES II is a postgraduate teacher diploma which has been considered to have the status of a Master's Degree (Nkemleke 2011). For the purposes of clarity, 20 Dissertations were considered—10 written by male students and 10 by female students. The dissertations were between 70 and 90 pages. Generally, the entire corpus consisted of 333,373 words—164,865 words for male and 168,508 words for female. However, only the abstract, the general introduction, methodology, analysis, and general conclusion were considered for the analysis. The choice of such components of the dissertations could be justified by the fact that students' voices are often predominant in these sections of the dissertations. It is also worth indicating that only dissertations that were written in the domain of language and/or linguistics were considered because the methodology that guides language research evidently differs from that which guides academic writing in the domain of Literature at ENS. The analysis of data was facilitated by the use of the 2014 version of Antconc 3.4.4w. The focus was primarily on two types of hedges, namely: epistemic lexical and modal verbs and epistemic adverbs. We considered the following epistemic lexical and modal verbs: *seem*, *appear*, *assume*, *may*, and *could*. The following epistemic adverbs were considered: *possibly, perhaps*, and *seemingly*. As far as boosters were concerned, the following expressions were considered: *in fact, certainly*, and *it is clear that.*

The focus of this study was to identify and present the frequency of gender-preferential uses of specific hedges and boosters and to show which categories (hedges or boosters) occur more frequently in the written output of advanced ESL learners at ENS Yaoundé. To achieve this purpose, we used Antconc, a freeware, multi-platform, multi-purpose corpus analysis toolkit, to identify the frequency and contextual uses of predetermined hedges and boosters. After the identification, we then adopted the percentage-count procedure; that is, we got the frequency of a variable (V) from the division of the number of occurrences (O) per the total number of scores (T) and the quotient was multiplied by one hundred.

5. Findings

5.1. Gender-preferential uses of Hedges

We first considered epistemic verbs and modal verbs in the dissertations of both male and female students and the results obtained can be seen on the following distribution table.

Epistemic and Modal Verbs	Male	Female	Total
seem	15 (4.96%)	27 (7.36%)	42
appear	14 (4.64%)	22 (5.99%)	36
assume	4 (1.33)	6 (1.64%)	10
may (modal)	125 (41.39%)	147 (40.06%)	272
could (modal)	144 (47.68%)	165 (44.95%)	309
Total	302 (100%)	367 (100%)	669

Table 1: Frequency of Gender-Preferential Use of Epistemic and Modal Verbs

From the above results, it appears that postgraduate ESL students in ENS Yaoundé make more use of epistemic modal verbs than lexical verbs. In terms of gender-sensitivity, we observed that more epistemic verbs and modal verbs were recorded in dissertations written by female students. Table 2 below gives statistical information on the use of epistemic adverbs.

Epistemic Adverbs	Male	Female	Total
possibly	4 (30.76%)	4 (28.57%)	8
perhaps	6 (42.86%)	6 (42.86%)	12
seemingly	3 (23.09%)	4 (28.57%)	7
	13 (100%)	14 (100%)	27

Table 2: Frequency of Gender-Preferential Use of Epistemic Adverbs

Table 2 above shows that advanced ESL learners in ENS use more epistemic verbs than epistemic adverbs. In fact, only three epistemic adverbs occurred 27 times in all the 20 dissertations that make up the corpus of this research work. This could mean that either the students are not versed with the use of epistemic adverbs in academic discourses or they are simply unaware of them. Generally, it was necessary to obtain the frequency of hedges in all 20 dissertations in order to draw a line between the use of hedges and boosters. The following table presents a detailed picture of the overall frequency of hedges in the dissertations considered.

Hedges	Frequency	Percentage %
seem	27	7.10
appear	22	5.78
assume	6	1.57
may (modal)	147	38.68
could (modal)	165	43.42
possibly	4	1.05
perhaps	6	1.57
seemingly	3	0.78
Total	380	100
Mean Value	47.5	12.5

Table 3: Frequencies of Hedges used by Advanced ESL Learners

5.2. Gender preferential uses of boosters

With reference to boosters, we considered the following expressions: *in fact*, *certainly*, and *it is clear that,* which have been identified in previous studies as perfect examples of boosters (Hyland 1998, Schmied 2008). The results can be seen on the following table.

5.3. Boosters and hedges in the written productions of advanced ESL learners

In terms of the occurrences of hedges and boosters, there was a difference in the use of hedges and boosters by postgraduate ESL students. The following chart summarizes the findings.

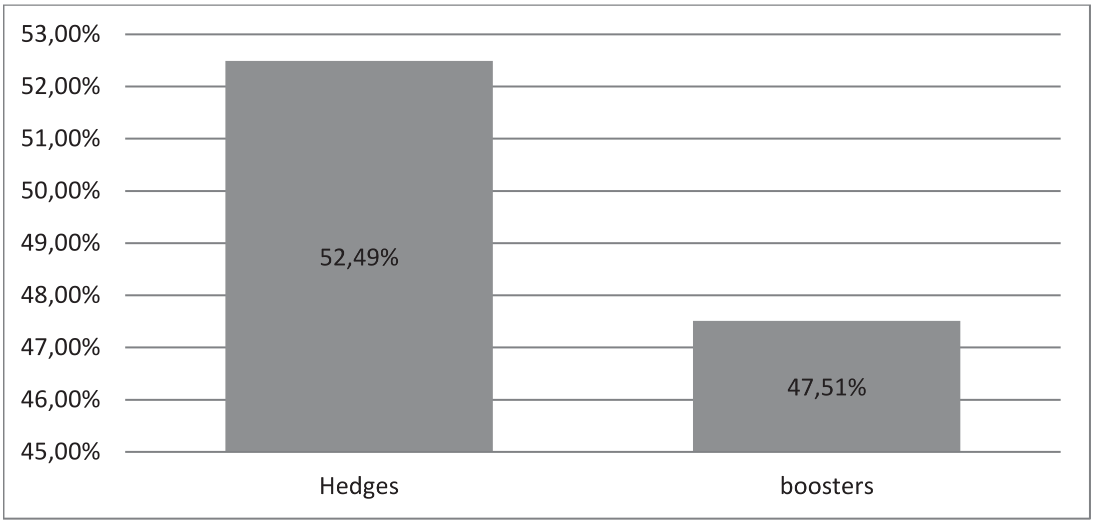

Figure 1: Variation in the use of Hedges and Boosters in the written productions of Advanced ESL Learners in HTTC, Yaounde

In general, our findings revealed that hedges are more frequent in the written productions of advanced ESL students than boosters. Perhaps, the reason is because the students often want to sound polite, in order to attract less criticism from their examiners. They would want to be more prudent given that their professional careers as teachers of English Language and Literature in English in different secondary schools around the country, depends heavily on their academic performances in school.

6. Conclusion

In summary, this study has revealed a number of issues connected to students' writing. Primarily, it has shown that advanced female ESL students in ENS Yaoundé are more likely to use hedges and less likely to use boosters than their male counterparts. The study equally suggests that hedges occur more in the written output of these students than boosters. Considering the importance of academic discourses within the scholarly community of the university, there is the dire need for more conscious effort in the improvement of ESL students' academic writing skills in terms of the awareness and purpose of these features of academic writing.

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Accomplishing Scientific Writing: The Case of the Long Essay in English Language Studies at the University of Buea

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Abstract

The inherent complexities in mastering writing skills among English Second Language Learners (ESLL) and the growing demand for good writing motivated us to device ways and means of establishing competence in scientific writing among undergraduates. Though writing is taught formally in the classroom, students do not seem to put the rules in practice during real- life writing. It is therefore the aim of this study to examine the trouble spots in the end-of-course /long essays written by undergraduate students of the University of Buea. The results suggest that a majority of final year undergraduates face difficulties in writing such as: lack of mastery of salient aspects of research methodology and knowledge of what constitutes a research study. In this way, they are not equipped to accomplish scientific writing. The study thus uses the pitfalls to make scientific writing easy.

Keywords: long essay, academic writing, L2 learners of English, University of Buea

1. Introduction

Writing is a multidimensional skill that has been taught/ learned extensively from different perspectives connected to different aspects of life. The development of writing skills in English Second Language (ESL) Learners (henceforth (ESLL) is characterized by complexity. Writing is very important because there is no better mode of disseminating research findings other than through writing that follows conventions of scientific reporting in the discipline referred to as academic writing (Gross & Harmon, 1999). Thus, one has to write in such a way that he or she gets power over words and readers, writing clearly and correctly, writing what is "true" and real or interesting, or writing persuasively or making some kind of contact with one's readers so that they actually make meaning of what he wants to convey. It is for this reason that Gross & Harmon assert that "scientific writing is about persuading readers of the importance and trustworthiness of new knowledge claims." These authors state that though scientific writing originates as far back as the 17th Century, it continues to be an effective mode for communicating knowledge through scientific inquiry. Although they maintain that there is not only one way, but there are nevertheless common core conventions that cut across disciplines. Otherwise, it implies that anyone can write their own way (Gross & Harmon, (1999), Harwood & Hadley, (2004), Hyland (2004), (Elbow, 1981: 9). Talking about the structure of a scientific paper/writing, Gross and Harmon (1999: 13) summarize that: "It opens with a title and abstract intended to minimize the time and effort needed to uncover the article's gist [...] followed by an introduction placing the reader in the scientific context in which the authors are working. Next […] the main body: a section on methods and materials that outlines the methods and materials used to acquire new facts, a results section that displays the facts so generated. And the intellectual context of their acquisition, and a discussion section that offers an explanation for the new facts. A conclusion section reiterates the central facts and explanations and perhaps also addresses future work confirm or extend the original investigation".

These authors however caution that the foregone prescriptions are not watertight; there could be variations depending on the author. The important thing is that there must be evidence of power in the act of scientific writing (Elbow 1981; Harwood & Hadley 2004; Schilling 2015). They add that in order to exhibit power, one has to have control over the self and the writing process, which means that one has to be conscious of the subject matter in question, being in charge and having control such that there is no point of getting stuck and wanting. That kind of power enhances the achievement of the entire writing process especially if written in a style that conforms to norms of expository prose characterized by an impersonal style aiming at relating the reader directly to issues of the laboratory and/or real world, and not drawing attention to the world of the text or the writer. It has been observed that though introduced as early as Primary School, the act of writing in general, and scientific writing in particular, has always been an uphill task, regardless of the level. University students in general and those of Buea in particular, are expected to exhibit writing skills that conform to standards of accomplishing scientific writing. Nevertheless, even at that level students are observed to be wanting as they are seen to approach the writing task with fear and lack of confidence. Indeed, substantial evidence from the literature demonstrates that they are yet to be thoroughly skilled in the act of accomplishing scientific writing.

It is indeed difficult for any beginner to effectively grasp the act of academic writing, not the least, newcomers such as undergraduate students from varied cultural backgrounds. Owing to the importance attached to writing, there have been attempts at dealing with the problem of writing which has caused it to evolve. According to Mahon (2015), "writing has evolved into a well-established inter disciplinary scholarly field with distinct areas of interest and methods of inquiry". Despite such an evolution of writing, and the concern for making learners proficient, the skill is still approached with a lot of apprehension and lack of confidence. Some authors have tried to help younger writers in the domain of the completed dissertation or project. Hall (2013) illustrates in a systematic way, not only how to approach the writing of a dissertation or project, but also what constitutes a finished research work. The difference between Hall's work and the present one is that the latter is based on empirical research that emanates from the works of the researcher's students where a catalogue of draw backs are singled out aimed at devising a way of redressing their writing problems. Lack of confidence and fear in the writing ability of learners has been identified as the key reason for students involving in outright copying of other people's work.

2. The long essay at the University of Buea

It is usually the case that students at the University of Buea take university wide courses, such as Use of English (ENG101 and 102), courses in writing (ENG 227) and Research Methods (ENG 380), aimed at preparing them for future writing tasks so as to help avoid pitfalls that apparently characterize their writings. Yet, during supervision of their LEs at the final year, it is observed that the students show evidence of ignorance not only in writing skills, but also research methodology and what actually constitutes a research study. Supervisors of LEs, theses and dissertations at the Faculty of Arts in particular, and UB in general decry the fact that learners do not take time into consideration as they practice procrastination and outright copying, acts which result in disequilibrium between what is taught in the classroom and what is done out of it. The experience at the University of Buea, as a supervisor of Long Essay (students' projects) since 2010, is that students go against intellectual property right and copy slavishly. That notwithstanding, their write-ups are observed to be flawed with a number of writing aspects that prove their difficulties in transferring their thoughts and research findings down on paper. Consequently, it has been a difficult task for supervisors or directors of theses, dissertations or LEs to balance what is taught in various academic disciplines with practical directives at the scientific writing stage. However, supervisors have not relented efforts in helping students better understand how academic writing is situated within the process of knowledge creation. One of the greatest problems observed to be faced by students is how to use citations to do two things: showing a relationship between a source text within the present work, and distinguishing the writer's claim from the work on course. It is therefore common to hear complaints like: "Madam, I do not know how to start writing", "I do not know what to do", etc. The accomplishment of the LE entails three broad components: the preliminary writing stage, the content of the research, and mechanics (writing skills). The preliminary stage of scientific writing serves as an important connection between writing and formulating a thesis which stands the advantage of helping the writer to narrow down the topic and carve out the scope for the topic. The preliminary stage enables the writer to determine what to be documented from what sources apart from the writer's beliefs and opinions. At that stage the style remains impersonal such that the reader is related directly to issues of the real world and not the author or the text itself. In that way, the writer stands the chance of fine-tuning or changing the topic to make it manageable early enough. Indeed, the preliminary stage is the most crucial because the thesis or hypothesis is formulated there.

The difficulties exhibited by students in the writing endeavour thus prompted Rose (1989) to describe the ESLL as "an outsider to the academic community". Padilla (1990) takes time to give a systematic approach in teaching how to write research projects; getting a topic, getting started after having chosen a topic, gathering information, taking notes, summarizing, paraphrasing and quoting, documenting sources, reviewing literature and proof reading the draft. Padilla notes like many other studies that a completed study should have at least five chapters (Introduction (1), Review of Related Literature (2), Methodology (3), Results and Discussion (4), Summary, Conclusion, Recommendations and Suggestions for further studies(5) with the longest being chapters two and three. In addition, there should be a section for References/Bibliography, and another for Appendix. He takes time to explain what each chapter or section comprises.

The present study shares Bloch's opinion; it hinges on the classroom approach examining the preliminary writing component that takes into consideration rules of attaining good writing like the thesis statement, development options that make for a thorough sentence-to-sentence, paragraph –to-paragraph and chapter to –chapter link. It also takes inspiration from Lorenz (1989, 1999), Hyland (1994), Hyland & Milton (1997), who conclude that second language writing endeavours are stylistically more verbose and reveal less control of cautious language. However, the present study is unique in that it touches on three components of writing that adequately enable the learners to accomplish scientific writing (Preliminary stage, writing skills and the body of the research). This study therefore aims at investigating the difficulties faced by final year undergraduates at the University of Buea, in conceiving and accomplishing a research project or writing essays. The specific objectives of the chapter are; first, to develop writing skills on conceiving a research problem and completing research in the humanities and language studies. Secondly, it aims at examining difficulties experienced by Level 400 students at the University of Buea, in the course of writing their projects, commonly referred to as “Long Essays”, so as to propose some practical measures of surmounting such hurdles. In that way, the chapter would have contributed to advancing knowledge necessary for accomplishing scientific writing.

3. Previous studies

Scholars like Swales, (1990); Hyland (2000) & Tardy (2009), in talking about genre in L2 Writing, focus on the importance of the use of texts, to incorporate the norms specific texts in particular disciplines to achieve “inter-textuality” which is indispensible in attaining writing skills.There have been a few studies investigating students' attitudes toward plagiarism (Bloch 2012, Bennett 2005, Hayes & Introna 2005). Bennet (2005) found out that the fear of failure, more than the desire to succeed, caused students in the United Kingdom to plagiarize. Bloch (2001) carried out a qualitative study on the attitude of 237 ‘fresh men’ undergraduate and graduate students on plagiarism and intellectual property in the writing act, where he adopted a survey to investigate students' attitude toward both acts. Bloch was interested in identifying high and low areas of agreement “among and between the student” and their instructors so as to see how to address the problem of plagiarism in the classroom. Bloch found out that students often receive vague and contradictory instruction as concerns plagiarism wherein it was not clear as to what constitutes plagiarism; the question was if it is copying huge junks or a few sentences. Introna et al (2003) revealed that copying a few sentences constituted plagiarism. What we underscore is that lack of mastery of writing skills leads to outright copying. It is for this reason that Lea and Street (2006) advocate the "academic illiteracies" system which according to them, requires of teachers to engage learners "to become participants to the practices and texts which they encounter" (Bloch, 2012: 113). Bloch (2012) believes that "students need to understand the rules […] connect the rules to the norms and values of academic writing". Such an approach entails the teacher taking some of the burden, for making sure that there is equilibrium in grasping the act of writing so that every student has the ability of working out the complexity of the problem. Such equilibrium requires both an understanding of the concept of research and an increase in the level of writing skills so that the student can satisfy the goals of accomplishing scientific writing. In order to get into the root of problems faced by learners, Martinez and Schmitt (2012) undertook a comparison of native and learner academic writing, focusing on structural and functional aspects. They found out that the use of lexical bundles in native and non-native writings is surprisingly similar. However, non-native essays contain many more Verb Phrase (VP)-based bundles and discourse organizers than native expert writing does, indicative of immaturity in writing. Native professional writers show proof of a wider range of Noun Phrase (NP)-based bundles and referential markers. Little wonder therefore, Bloch (2012: 111) observes that the classroom is often one of the first places where learners encounter the rules of writing, as he illustrates with Abasi & Graves (2008), citing a professor as follows: "You know, one of the things we are trying to train you to do is research, and an essential part of that …is having at least a good sense of what is happening out there. What are people saying? What are the arguments? What are the theoretical foundations? What are the concepts? What are tangible issues and…and sort of conveying to the reader of the paper, just as with the journal article, that you have surveyed the domain in sufficient detail in terms of publishing to make this paper publishable."(111)

The background to this study is my five years of experience in supervising Long Essays in the Department of English at University of Buea where it was noticed that undergraduate final years did not only exhibit lack of mastery in writing skills, but also in research methods which caused them to resort to outright copying (plagiarism). The paper thus intended to see the pitfalls in starting and finishing up the Long Essays.

4. Theoretical framework

The study is guided by two theories: The Cognitive Theory (Lev Vygotsky 1980) and the Linguistic Composition Theory (Linda Flower and John Hayes, 1981). The former is characterized by giving insight into the writing process through the writer's thought processes. Its multifaceted and interconnected nature makes it relevant to this study. A significant contribution is that it gives instructors of writing a clue as to how writing is conceived and finished, it sees the art of writing not only as a product, but also part of an inner speech and that formal writing grows naturally from the inner self and further helps us to first of all listen to the internal dialogue of our minds in order to gain our full potentials of our writing abilities.

Other studies have made use of Vygotsky's theory to show that writing is a product of a creative, dynamic learning process that is bound to develop out of the writer's mind, to a limitless proportion with time (Moffet 1981; Elbow, 1981; John-Steiner, 1985). These advocates add their ideas to Vygotsky's as they further illustrate that writing in general, and academic / scientific writing in particular, is characterized by a complex methodology of instruction that hinges on language development. Thus, the present study relates to Vygotsky's theory that sees writing as concepts of "inner speech, verbal social contact and dynamic aspects of learning" that has limitless opportunities. As Vygotsky notes that learners write substantial discourse; "fuller narratives, more detailed descriptions and clearer exposition when they are given the opportunity to talk over their ideas before they begin to write" (1980: 2). The Linguistic Composition Theory (Linda Flower and John Hayes, 1981) focuses on the importance of Grammar in writing (Composition). Flower and Hayes developed the Cognitive theory of composition which is based on giving impetus into the writing process, but with emphasis on pedagogical concepts that examine "deficiencies, trends and insights" related to Linguistics, such as the phrase, clause, sentence and paragraph – level composition, which has as aim, providing teachers insights on how learners produce writing. Both theories are centrally related to balanced writing ability, which is indispensable in accomplishing scientific writing.

5. Methodology

5.1. Research design

The study adopts a Critical Incidence Research Design which seeks to identify, in a given context, critical factors like errors, inadequate practices and characterize them. This design is common in professional environments to minimize operational errors and improve reflective practices (Nana, 2012). The research approach combined both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods and analyses. The qualitative approach consisted of identifying problems faced by students and this was done essentially through researchers' observation as the students' write-ups were perused during a period of five years. In order to understand students' perspectives, their experience in research, and the difficulties they faced, the informants were subjected to questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions. The quantitative aspect intended at weighting factors related to Long Essay writing in order to quickly perceive in a ranking order the most critical indicators.

5.2. Participants

Data consist of 50 final- year undergraduates in the Department of English, Faculty of Arts at the University of Buea, enrolled in the 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015 academic years (the researcher's supervisees from 2010-2015), 36 girls and 14 boys, aged between 19 and 23. These have all taken courses in Use of

English (ENG 101 & 102), Advanced Writing (ENG 227) and Research Methodology (ENG 380), courses that imbue in them skills needed to successfully go through the scientific writing task. All were Second Language (L2) learners of English, and all had previously done writing as part of their curriculum from Primary to Secondary School, with a pass in Ordinary Level English, were closely followed up by the researcher from the start of their writing projects (Long Essays) to finish. Additionally, information about their writing skills was got from their write-ups, interviews, questionnaire, and focus-group discussions. Their bio-data were collected from a background questionnaire. The research area is the University of Buea where the researcher is a near-native speaker of English; trained in English Language teaching and Applied Linguistic research with 20 years of English Language teaching both at secondary and university levels.

5.3. Procedure

Through natural observation, whereby recordings were done in categorical form (numerical scale), data from the write-ups from students' Long Essay were gathered through the years. The researcher took down notes of each Long Essay read during supervision, focusing on the pitfalls in both writing skills and the body of the research. Thereafter, the observations were marched against a scale with inscriptions headed: 'adequate', and 'inadequate', and conclusions were drawn from them. There were scales that rated various aspects of the phenomena of writing. The write-ups consist of 50 copies of Long Essays supervised from 2010 - 2015.

5.4. Data analysis

Characterization of students' problems in writing Long Essays used a Content Analysis Approach whereby the researcher had a list of standard indicators of essay writing, and related students' performance after reading the works and interacting with the students to each of the indicators. The researcher for instance could classify a student under 'devoting time', 'getting a topic' etc. Therefore, indicating that the student does not devote sufficient time to his work or does not know how to get a topic for research. As for students' perception of hindering factors to Long Essay Writing, Thematic Analysis Approach was used whereby their viewpoints were grouped under umbrella terms or key words with the support of Atlas Ti 5.2 (Atlas Ti GMBH, 2006). Given the nominal nature of the sample, simple counting technique was used to organize results in statistical tables and Chi-Square Test of Independence or Equality of Proportion was used to determine significant levels of association or difference/independence with the support of Epi Info 6.04d (CDC, 2001). Data were summarized in statistical tables, charts and code-grounding-quotation tables.

6. Findings

Indicators	Inadequate				Total		Adequate				Total	
	Male		Female				Male		Female			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Getting a topic	4	28.6	9	25	13	26	10	71.4	27	75	37	74
Devoting time	6	42.9	25	69.4	31	62	8	57.1	11	30.6	19	38
Mastery of the area of research	12	85.7	32	88.9	44	88	2	14.3	4	11.1	6	12
Information sourcing and referencing	11	78.6	30	83.3	41	82	3	21.4	6	16.7	9	18
Methodology	13	92.9	31	86.1	44	88	1	7.1	4	11.1	5	10
Articulation of thoughts	12	85.7	29	80.6	41	82	2	14.3	7	19.4	9	18
Distinguishing between background and introduction	8	57.1	24	66.7	32	64	6	42.9	12	33.3	18	36
Stating the research problem	12	85.7	24	66.7	36	72	2	14.3	12	33.3	14	28
Definition of terms	12	85.7	26	72.2	38	76	2	14.3	10	27.8	12	24
Reviewing literature	8	57.1	18	50	26	52	6	42.9	18	50	24	48
Analytical & organizational skills	7	50	15	41.7	22	44	7	50	21	58.3	28	56

Table 1: Content Analysis Output Characterizing Critical Indicators of Writing Long Essays

Code and code description	Grounding		Quotation
	n	%	
Difficulty getting a topic; students express their difficulties in getting a topic for their research work	8	15.9	*'I do not know how to get a topic'*
Difficulty in writing the research (building the body of the research)	11	21.5	*'I have a topic, but do not know how to start writing'* *' I do not know how to start writing'* *'I do not know how to write the background'* *I'I do not know the difference between background and introduction'* *'I do not know the difference between background and statement of the problem'*
Difficulty in reviewing related literature	47	94.0	*'I do not understand what is meant by correlation between my work and the works reviewed'* *'I have not seen any thesis on my topic'* *'I do not know how to strike a balance between my own work and those of others'* *' I do not know how to fill the gap'*

Code and code description	Grounding n	Grounding %	Quotation
			'I know how to quote, but do not know why or the purpose of citing some other person's work'
Practice of plagiarism (going against intellectual property)/difficulty in using sources	21	42.0	*'Uplifting and not acknowledging'* *'I find it difficult to put the rev'* *'reviewed information in my own words'*
Proof-reading and revising	29	57.3	*'I do my proof-reading myself'* *'When I have finished my work I find it boring to go over it'* *'I do not go over the work because my computer corrects all my errors'*
Lack of writing skills (difficulties in taking notes, paraphrasing and quoting)	47	94.0	*'I do not know how to paraphrase'* *'I begin a new paragraph when I notice that my paragraph is getting too long'* *'I do not know how to organize the work'* *' I Lack writing skills such as, transition, coherence, order, etc* *'I have Difficulty in understanding and summarizing the source texts used in my writing'*
Lack of statistical ability	30	60.6	*ıot know how to do statistics'* *'I have never learnt statistics'* *'how do I do statistics'* *'who does statistics'*
Difficulty in documenting sources	31	62.2	*I do not know how to do in-text citations* *I do not know the difference between bibliography and references* *I do not know the difference between in-text citations and end-references* *I do not know how to do references*
Difficulty in sourcing information (difficulty in gathering information)	30	60.9	*'I take my definitions of terms from the dictionary'* *''I have not seen any book on my topic'* *'I do not know where to get material'* *'I do not know how to get a book that has material on my topic from the library'* *'I do not know how to get material from the internet'*

Table 2: Thematic Analysis depicting problems faced by students in the course of writing long essays: code-grounding-quotation table

7. Discussion

This study investigated the writing ability of 50 undergraduate Level 400 students in the course of their Long Essays in terms of preliminary writing stage, writing mechanics and content of the research.

7.1. Lack of mastery of writing skills

Results show that 47(94.0%) respondents under the indicators that have to do with lack of writing skills scored the highest. It is also seen from the results that 57.3% of respondents were deficient for another indicator that has to do with writing skills, which is “difficulty in proof-reading and revising”. There is also an indicator that shows respondents’ difficulty in writing the research (65). This makes us to assert; that L2 learners face problems with making use of writing skills, which is in line with Bazerman (2009) Gross & Harmon(1999). Our findings are in consonance with Bloch (2012) who opines that students lack rules of writing and so need to be drilled on such rules which are indispensible in accomplishing academic writing. And such rules are suggested by a number of scholars: Rose (1989), Padilla (1990), & Bell (2010). This study considers this indicator a very serious problem based on the very high response rate of 284 (Table 2). We therefore find relevance of the two theories mentioned earlier in the study: the Cognitive Theory (Vygotsky, 1980) and Linguistic Composition theory (Flower & Hayes (2006).

7.2. Lack of research methodology skills

As it was expected, findings from the study, reveal that the bulk of the problem lies in difficulties faced by students in the mastery of research methodology skills as seen in Table 2. “Difficulty in documenting sources” (188) “lack of statistical ability” (183) and “difficulty in reviewing literature” (284). This is in line with Hall (2010) who asserts that young writers usually face various problems in reviewing literature because they do not demonstrate having conducted thorough search of literature and proof of having done wide reading as stipulated by Paddilla (1990). The informants did not demonstrate having read up-to-date material and when they wrote, they failed to do a summary of what was read thematically, instead, they did an author-by-author presentation. The study in this way shares the views of others like: Gross & Harmon (1999); Kumar (2014) who posit that literature is reviewed under main themes that emerge from the readings of the literature, and further caution that the format of writing hinges on the student’s acquaintance with research methodology and academic style of writing. Kumar (2014), further presents the importance of literature review; acquaints the researcher with the available literature in the area of his/her study, thereby, broadening his knowledge base and providing information on the methods and procedures others used in related studies. Kumar continues that reviewing literature in that way has the advantage of telling what works and what does not. The present study, just like Kumar (2014) , advises L2 learners to start with a very broad perspective of the main subject area before gradually narrowing the focus to the central problem under investigation, making sure that ideas are written under sub and sub-sub titles.

7.3. Lack of knowledge of what constitutes the body of a research study

To examine whether respondents understood what constitutes the body of a research study, respondents were found wanting as illustrated from the code-grounding quotation (Table 2): The indicator, “lack of ability to write the body of the research” has (65) respondents and their various responses gave us the idea that they did not know how to build the research. It is for this reason that we share the opinions of Padilla (1990), Gross & Harmon (1999), Hall (2010) about what constitutes the body of the research. Padilla asserts that it is easy to write once you know what to write about. Especially after having written the thesis statement, you are ready to build the body of the study which according to Padilla (1990) should consist of at least 5 chapters (Introduction, Review of Related Literature, Methodology, Results and Analysis, Summary, Conclusion, Recommendations and Suggestions for Further Studies, as well as References and Appendix). Nevertheless, results show that this ability was quite minimal in the respondents. The present study thus complements Padilla (1990) in that it considers the time factor as part of the preliminary stage of writing. Our findings revealed that students did not take time into consideration, owing to procrastination. Results of the interviews and focus-group discussions revealed that they started doing the research late, and before they knew it, time was against them such that all they were left with was to copy junks of material that most of the time did not have bearing on the body of the research. This is in line with Bloch (2012). Hence, the present work finds similarity with Schilling (2015) who recommends that for writers to come up with a well–organized and developed write-up, they should work out a research itinerary and accord enough time to their writing by making time their friend, starting as early as possible and giving themselves time to start early.

8. Conclusion

This study made an attempt to investigate the act of writing by perusing the Long Essays of undergraduate students of the Department of English at the University of Buea. The aim was to find out how those students approach scientific writing and the trouble spots therein, so as to see how to better their lot. The study led us to adopt a mix-methods research design to enable us test the following hypotheses: undergraduate final years of the Department of English at the University of Buea do not exhibit adequate writing skills in their Long Essays; they lacked research methodology skills, and lacked knowledge of what constitutes a Research study. It was revealed that the results did not differ from earlier studies as a majority of the informants lacked writing skills. Other important revelations were that they did not match what they had learnt in the classroom with practice; did not follow a step-by step method of writing, did not know how to source information etc. our study was seen to be in line with a number of earlier ones like, Hengl & Gould (2002), which recommends that scientific/academic writing must have a specific structure and style known as Introduction, Methods, Results and Discussion

(IMRD). This implies that the informants depart from skillful structuring and phrasing of discoveries and thoughts. Results of this study led us to conclude that respondents did not demonstrate evidence of having insight into the writing process through their thought processes as upheld in the Cognitive Theory of Vygotsky and Piaget (1981). Informants were seen to be in dissonance with the Linguistic Composition Theory as well. A greater majority of informants were lacking in research methodology skills given that they faced difficulties in reviewing literature, documenting sources and doing statistics. The implication is that undergraduates need to be methodic and systematic i.e. following a step-by-step process in order to acquire research methodology skills. The study also revealed that informants did not know what constitutes a research study.

An important implication for the study is that from the pitfalls examined in the write-ups of the informants it is possible to reorient ESLL in their pursuits in conceiving and accomplishing scientific writing. For a future direction, it would be necessary to do a comparative study of ESLL undergraduates' writings across disciplines. The present study aimed at examining how undergraduates of the Department of English at the University of Buea cope with accomplishing scientific writing and highlight the setbacks in accomplishing such writing. Our investigation is congruent with earlier studies that emphasize that ESLL face difficulties in accomplishing scientific writing. Our findings indicate some key terms in understanding ESLL scientific writing endeavours. Thus, revealing the central importance of grasping the writing act and the need to construct experience and classroom practice. In addition, our findings explore the way learners cope with writing so as to understand these for learners' success in education both at the local and global levels. This has implication on mainstream teachers, who can use the findings to enhance their learners' writing abilities.

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Hedging among Advanced L2 Users of nglish: Epistemic Evidential and Judgement Verbs

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Abstract

The present research investigates the use of hedging devices by advanced L2 users of English in Ghana: which hedging devices they use and how frequently. Studies by Hyland (1995) showed that L2 students often transfer hedging strategies from their L1 irrespective of language proficiency level. To contrast hedging differences and determine the level of transfer, two different levels of proficiency (i.e. MA Theses and Academic Journals) will be compared with a native speaker corpus such as the British Academic Written English (BAWE). The study focuses specifically on the use of epistemic evidential and judgment verbs as hedging devices, quantitatively and qualitatively. The results indicate significant differences between the two groups of advanced L2 users of English in Ghana in the use of epistemic evidential and judgement verbs, and similarities between the Ghanaian expert writer corpus as well as the native speaker corpus. Statistical analyses could however not substantiate Hyland's claim.

Key words: Hedging, advanced L2 users of English, epistemic evidential and judgement verbs.

1. Introduction

Research on academic writing over the years has revealed the indispensable nature of hedging as a rhetorical strategy, which enables writers to express incomplete or inconclusive data, to conform to expected style and avoid face threatening behaviour (Banks, 1994a, 1994b, 1998; Markkanen and Schröder, 1997; Hyland, 1995, 1998; Resche, 2000, Nuyts, 2001, Schmied 2011, Nkemleke, 2011; Beyer, 2013). Until recently (2014), there had been no research on hedging in academic writing in Ghana. Musa (2014) studied hedging strategies in English and Chemistry Masters theses at the University of Cape Coast in Ghana. He concluded that English and Chemistry Masters students both employ more lexical means of hedging than strategic means in their theses. This paper seeks to contribute to research on academic writing and the discussion on hedging in Ghanaian English.

The aim of this paper is to investigate the use of epistemic lexical verbs (epistemic evidential and judgement verbs) as hedging devices among advanced L2 users of English in Ghana. Advanced L2 users of English implies post-graduate English users in Ghana, either Masters' level (MA, MPhil, Msc., MBA) and Doctorate level (PhD) graduates. Academic texts from these post-graduates include theses/dissertations, term papers, reports, conference papers and journal articles.

Studies by Hyland (1995) showed that L2 students often transfer hedging strategies from their L1 irrespective of language proficiency level. To validate such

claims in the case of Ghanaian academic writing, two different levels of proficiency will be investigated (i.e. academic writing by writers with only a Masters degree and writers with more than a Masters degree or with one/more publications) and compared with a native speaker corpus. The native speaker reference corpus for this study is taken from the corpus of British Academic Written English (BAWE) whilst the non-native speaker corpora are from the International Corpus of English, Ghana (ICE-Gh) and the self compiled Ghana English Masters Theses Corpus (GhE-MA). The investigations adopt Hyland's (1998) categorization of epistemic lexical verbs (i.e. Evidential or judgement) and attempt to answer the following questions:
RQ1: Which category of epistemic lexical verbs predominate the academic texts of advanced L2 users of English in Ghana in comparison to native speakers of English?
RQ2: Does the proficiency level of advanced L2 users of English in Ghana influence the choice of epistemic lexical verbs as hedges?

2. Motivation and aim

Since Lakoff's (1972) coinage of 'hedges' as 'words whose job it is to make things more or less fuzzy', several other definitions have been proposed over the years. Brown and Levinson (1987), Biber (1988), Crismore and Farnsworth (1990), Collins (1994), Dudley-Evans (1994), Hyland (1994, 1996), Schröder and Zimmer (2007) and several others have all defined hedges/hedging. Hedges or hedging has evolved into an indispensable rhetorical strategy in academic writing. Closely linked with indirectness and politeness theory hedges can be used as face saving devices where writers show reverence to fellow and senior researchers and avoid criticisms against their claims. Hinkel (2002:148) defines hedging as "the use of linguistic devices to decrease the writer's responsibility for the extent of the truth value of propositions/claims to show hesitation or uncertainty, and/or to display politeness and indirectness in order to reduce the imposition on the writer or the reader."

Beyer (2013: 73) suggests a definition that reflects the reasons for hedging reported by Banks (1994a, 1994b, 1998), Hyland (1996) and Hinkel (2002) and Schröder & Zimmer (2007).

Hedges are any linguistic devices that a) express a writer's uncertainty of/tentativeness towards a proposition/claim, in which this proposition/claim is transformed into an opinion rather than a fact, and/or b) increase the politeness and the social acceptability of propositions/claims to avoid conflicts between the writer and the reader.

Beyer seems to imply by 'any linguistic device' that any word or expression can be used as a hedge depending on the context. Clemen (1998), Mauranen (1997), Nikula (1997), Widdowson (1998) and Resche (2000) all resound the importance of studying hedges in their contexts since it is difficult to declare that a term or a phrase is to be considered as a hedge.

Since hedging occurs in both spoken and written texts, hedging in academic writing can be defined as the textual strategy of using linguistic devices to express a lack of complete commitment to the truth of an accompanying proposition, by so doing presenting a proposition or claim as an opinion in an objective manner and distancing oneself from the responsibility of the reliability of the truth of the claim/proposition. Hedging therefore permits academic writers to express their attitude towards their claims while informing and persuading readers to some action or thought without knowingly or unknowingly opening themselves (writers) for criticism and still promote their scholarly claims and credentials (cf. Hyland and Tse, 2004:160). In other words, hedging helps writers to be polite (Brown & Levinson 1987, Myers 1989) and "to show the general academic community that one has the necessary humility in making claims" (Dudley-Evans 1994: 3).

2.1. Categories of hedging

Hyland (1994, 1998) distinguishes two main categories of hedging as lexical and strategic. Lexical means of hedging involve the use of modals, lexical verbs, adverbs, adjectives and nouns whilst strategic means involve the use of personal attribution, attribution to literature, reader engagement structures (e.g. questions, conditionals, reference to testability, admission of lack of knowledge, etc.), impersonal structures referring to model/method/experimental conditions, etc. Based on the collocations of these linguistic devices, a second categorization of hedging can be derived as Simple (1) and Complex (2) hedging. Simple hedging involves the use of just one type of hedge or hedging device such as modal, adjective, lexical verb, adverb, noun, whilst complex hedging involves the use of two or more type of hedge; two or more lexical means or a combination of lexical and strategic means. It is noteworthy that this study focuses on epistemic lexical verbs as hedges and uses examples from the corpus compiled for the analysis (see section 2).

(1) It is *likely* that these teachers will stay and work in the district for a longer period. (ED0332006F) Adjective
(2) This *would seem* to *indicate* that an increase in knowledge and skills leads to tolerance even to compassion and empathy. (ED0322010M) Modal + Evidential verb + Judgement verb

2.2. Epistemic lexical verbs

Epistemic lexical verbs are classified under the lexical hedging strategies and they include verbs that express mitigation and reflect the writer's opinion about the truth of a claim. Like epistemic modality, they reflect the "evaluation of the chances that a certain hypothetical state of affairs under consideration (or some aspect of it) will occur, is occurring or has occurred in a possible world which serves as the universe of interpretation for the evaluation process, and which, in the default case, is the real world (or rather, the evaluator's interpretation of it […])" (Nuyts, 2001: 21) Epistemic lexical verbs are divided into judgement and evidential verbs. According to Palmer (1986), there are four main ways propositions can be expressed as non factual: speculative, deductive, quotative and sensory. In other words claims can be presented as speculations, deductions/calculations, hearsay or information based on the evidence of the senses. Hyland (1998) distinguishes two major categories of epistemic lexical verbs: Epistemic judgement verbs and Epistemic evidential verbs. Figure 1 shows the categories and sub categories of epistemic lexical verbs used as hedges.

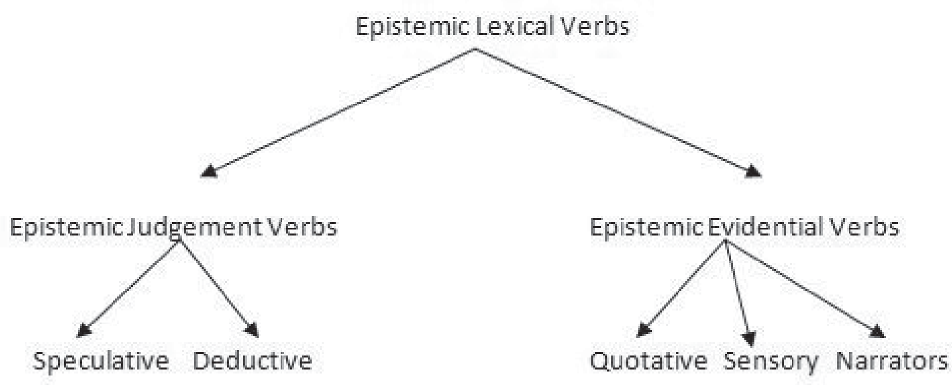

Figure 1: Categories of Epistemic lexical verbs

2.2.1. *Epistemic judgement verbs*

Epistemic judgement verbs reflect the degree of commitment to the truth of a proposition through speculation and deduction. The author makes claims based evaluative judgements either by indicating that there is a conjecture about the truth of a proposition or inferring from theoretical calculations. Hyland (1998) distinguishes two categories of epistemic judgement verbs: speculative verbs and deductive verbs (cf. Figure 1).

2.2.1.1. Speculative verbs

Hyland (1998) describes speculative verbs as those verbs that indicate some conjecture about the truth of a proposition. In other words, '*p* might be true'. These verbs usually comprise performative verbs such as *propose*, *suggest*, *indicate* (3); and verbs which involve unobservable cognitive processes (e.g. *believe*, *suspect*, *speculate*, *predict*) (4). Verbs in this category can be paraphrase as 'I believe that'

(3) These results *suggest* that boys are not always superior in all aspects of mathematics. (ED0042006M)

(4) We *believe* that there are certain spiritual creatures who have never become human beings, therefore they have… (ICE-Gh W2A-002)

Example (3) can be paraphrased as 'I believe that boys are not always superior in all aspects of mathematics'.

2.2.1.2. Deductive verbs

Deductive verbs present judgements that stem from theoretical calculations and/or inferential reasoning. They can be paraphrased as 'I conclude that'. The verbs include *calculate*, *conclude*, *deduce*, *estimate*, *infer* and *imply*.

(5) So we *conclude* that there is an underlying attitude, which mediates between the stimuli (e.g. learning activities in the particular subject, which evoke comment or behaviour) and the response (favourable or unfavourable comments, etc.). (ED0012009M)

(6) One could *infer* therefore that Bradshaw draws attention to the weaknesses of her work in order to highlight its main strengths. (BAWE 3131a)

Furthermore, epistemic judgement verbs may occur in both active and passive (6) forms without any loss to the hedging effect. Hyland (1998: 122) explains that the "use of passives often allows the writer to hedge a responsibility to statements by appearing more objective and distanced". He continues that writers can distance themselves from their claims by suppressing human agency of the accomplishment of certain rhetorical acts. These are often referred to as "abstract rhetors" (7) (8).

(7) To generalize the findings of this research for all teachers countrywide, it is *suggested* that a similar study be conducted in Junior High Schools in the other districts by either the Ghana Education Service or any other interested agencies to enhance quality teaching. (ED0052008M.)

(8) It was generally *assumed* that they would stay at home and look after the children whilst the men/fathers went out to work. (BAWE 3134e)

(9) The results *indicate* that female teachers are interested in sharing their experiences about the 2007 reform with other schools and teachers and to also tap their experiences in order to maximize the benefits of the reform. (ED0092009F)

(10) The finding *suggests* that the amount of time given to social studies could have a negative impact on social studies teaching. (ED0052008M)

In Example (8), the author distances himself from the claim that "female teachers are interested in sharing their experiences…" by implying that anyone could draw the same conclusions from the results.

2.2.2. *Epistemic evidential verbs*

Epistemic evidential verbs refer to "evidentiary justification, either based on reports of others, the evidence of the writer's senses, or the feasibility of matching evidence to goals" (Hyland, 1998:124). The sub-categories include quotative, sensory and narrators. Quotative mainly comprise tentative reporting verbs that mitigate the commitment and assertiveness of the writer. They may specify, acknowledge and take a stance towards previous findings. Most of the verbs in this category are also judgement speculative verbs and can be paraphrased as '*X said that*'.

(11) Ernest (1989) *notes* the following key belief components of the mathematics teachers. (ED0042006M)

(12) Forson (1979) *reported* that Akan-English bilinguals, for instance, used CS pervasively in the 1970s but still maintained f (ICE-Gh W2A-007)

(13) Iphofen and Poland (1998) *believe* that our relationship between ourselves and the environment is mediated by our roles. (BAWE 3130c)

The writer demonstrates his knowledge of existing related texts, acknowledges other writers in the field and enhances his credibility and position in the academic community. Tadros (1985, cited in Nkemleke, 2011: 64) observes that evidentials “advance the writer’s position by demonstrating an awareness of prior research and acknowledging allegiance to the academic community”. Though the list of reporting verbs is inexhaustible, not all of them express tentativeness.
The second category of epistemic evidential verbs, sensory verbs, introduce evidentiary justification based on the writer’s perception or understanding. Verbs in this category reflect the writer’s senses, experiences and/or observations. They can be paraphrased as ‘It seems that’ and include *appear, seem, tend*.

(14) It *appears* from this point that teacher effectiveness is an indispensable factor if successful teaching and learning should go on in the schools. (ED0052008)
(15) Turner's research on a group of Chinese Business Masters students *seem* to confirm the lack of preparedness for British conventions, finding the students resistant to changing their learning strategies, as well as experiencing loneliness and isolation on the course. (BAWE 3118b)

The third category of evidential verbs is referred to as ‘rationalizing narrators’ or Narrators (cf. Figure 1). Hyland (1998: 25) explains that verbs in this category “appear to contrast the goals of the study with the results achieved, thereby foregrounding the purpose of the research and downplaying the extent to which adequate supporting evidence was acquired”

(16) The aim of this qualitative research was to understand human experience and the researchers *attempted* this by interpreting the subject's interpretation of their experience. (BAWE 3120b)
(17) In doing this, I will *attempt* to account for the gap that appears to have opened up between the standard of proficiency that the teaching of English as a subject is purported to achieve and that which the use of English as a medium of communication requires. (ICE-Gh W2A-010)
(18) The studies *sought* to find out among other things how girls view career opportunities in science and engineering, what influence participants‘ parents have on programme and or career decision and the effectiveness of ACTUA‘s all-girls‘ camps in encouraging girls to consider engineering as a career. (ED0012009M)

3. Methodology

3.1. Sample

The corpus for this study was taken from three different sources, thus, comprise three sub-corpora:

- GhE MA corpus: 181,676 total number of words
- ICE-Gh Academic Writing (ICE-Gh AcW HuSS): 53,252 total number of words
- BAWE MA: 97,133 total number of words

The GhE MA corpus comprises 7 full length MA theses written by students in University of Cape Coast, Ghana. All texts in the ICE-Gh AcW HuSS corpus were written by experts who had at least an MA degree in Humanities and Social Sciences. This is just a sample of the academic writing component of the International Corpus of English – Ghana (ICE-Gh). BAWE MA corpus consists of a sample of texts from the discipline Art and Humanities of the British Academic Written English (BAWE) corpus (cf. Wagner, 2011). The corpus had a total size of 332,061 words. The sub-corpora have roughly the same size to avoid biased results.

3.2. **Data analysis**

The texts were analysed electronically with the concordance program Antconc 3.2.4w. The program scanned all the texts according to the chosen epistemic lexical verbs (i.e. Table 1) and excluded occurrences from direct quotations, tables, figures, references and appendices.

Judgement verbs		Evidential verbs	
Category	Item	Category	Item
Speculative	*indicate* *suggest* *propose* *predict* *assume* *speculate* *suspect* *believe* *imply*	Quotative Sensory Narrators	*report* *note* *appear* *seem* *attempt* *seek*
Deductive	*estimate* *calculate*		

Table 1: Most frequent hedging lexical verbs according Hyland (1998: 126)

Though Table 1, presents just one form of the lexical verbs, all syntactic forms of the lexical verbs were separately searched to reveal the grammatical forms (simple present base form, -s form, -ed forms, past forms, present and past participle). For example, for the lexeme, *indicate*, ‘indicate’, ‘indicates’, ‘indicated’ were separately searched. All the occurrences were manually analysed to ascertain the hedging properties and further facilitate sub-categorisation. Occurrences the selected lexical verbs with boosters like *strongly* (15), *clearly* (16), *certainly* (17), were omitted from results.

(19) … I *strongly believe* that science can help me earn a living (ED0012009M.txt)

(20) … the performance in the West African Senior Secondary Certificate Examination (WASSCE) over the years *clearly indicate* that there are serious problems with regard to students’ understanding of economic issues. (ED0032009M.txt)

(21) *Certainly* these three suggestions *indicate* that if the social studies programme is to be well… (ED0052008M.txt)

4. Results

The overall results showed that advanced L2 users of English in Ghana employ epistemic lexical verbs as hedging devices in their academic texts. The total occurrences per 10,000 words are displayed in Table 2. Lexical verbs *propose*, *speculate* and *suspect* did not occur at all in the overall corpus whilst verbs like *predict*, *calculate*, *estimate* and *presume* occurred in only one sub-corpora. As a result of their frequencies, these lexical verbs were excluded from further analysis.

Lexeme	GhE-MA	ICE-Gh AcW HuSS	BAWE MA
indicate	9.74	1.31	1.85
report	4.78	0.93	1.13
believe	2.2	3.56	5.04
suggest	5.11	1.5	4.63
attempt	0.82	0.56	0.3
note	4.56	0.18	2.05
seek	3.19	0.75	0.51
seem	1.87	3.19	5.97
appear	2.47	2.25	2.67
assume	0.93	0.18	1.13
speculate	0	0	0
imply	3.85	0.93	1.33
calculate	0.05	0	0
estimate	0.38	0	0
predict	0	0	0.61
propose	0	0	0
presume	0	0.18	0
suspect	0	0	0
Total	40	15.5	27.2

Table 2: Total occurrences of the selected epistemic lexical verbs

Indicate, *seem*, *believe*, *suggest*, *report*, *note*, *appear*, *imply*, *appear* and *seek* illustrated the most significant differences between the advanced L2 speakers of English in Ghana and native speakers (BAWE MA). As displayed in Figure 1, judgement verb *assume* and evidential verb *attempt* were both less frequently used by both groups of advanced L2 users of English in Ghana and also by the native speakers. *Indicate* was applied more than twice as much by the Ghanaian MA students (GhE-MA) than by the Ghanaian expert writers (ICE-Gh AcW HuSS).

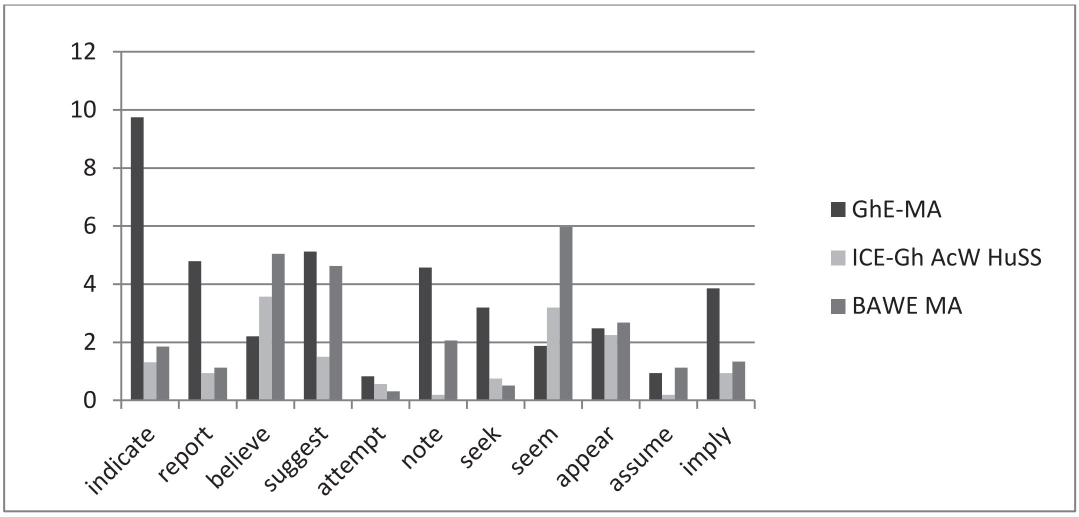

Figure 1: Total occurrences of the most frequent epistemic evidential and judgement verbs per 10,000 words

Table 3 illustrates the absolute frequencies of epistemic judgement verbs (speculative and deductive) and epistemic evidential verbs (quotative, sensory and rationalising narrators) in the GhE-MA sub-corpus. Deductive verbs *calculate* and *estimate* occurred only few times in this sub-corpus and not at all in the other sub-corpora (cf. Table 2).

Judgement verbs			Evidential verbs		
Category	Lexeme	Freq.	Category	Lexeme	Freq.
Speculative	*indicate*	156	Quotative	*report*	87
	suggest	80		*note*	83
	imply	70		*indicate*	21
	believe	33		*suggest*	13
	assume	17		*believe*	7
Deductive	*calculate*	1		*attempt*	4
	estimate	7	Sensory	*appear*	45
				seem	34
			Narrators	*attempt*	11
				seek	57
Total Judgement verbs		364	Total Evidential verbs		362

Table 3: Total occurrences of epistemic judgement and evidential verbs in their sub-categories in GhE-MA corpus

Figure 2 shows the total occurrences of epistemic evidential and judgement and their sub- categories. The results indicate native speakers employ more sensory evidential verbs than advanced L2 users of English in Ghana. MA students use more speculative and quotative verbs than Ghanaian expert writers and native speakers of English.

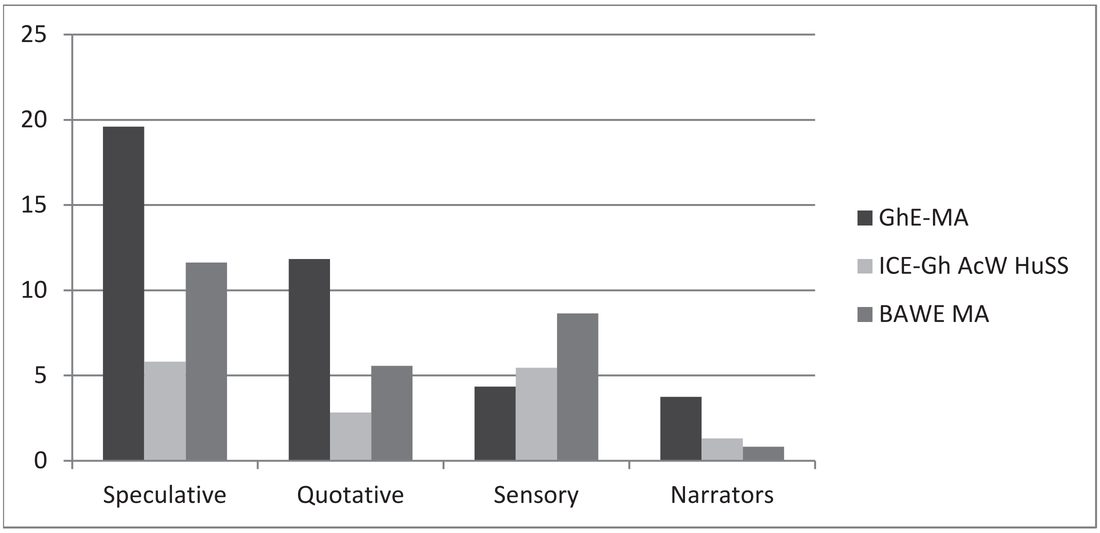

Figure 2: Total occurrences of epistemic lexical verbs showing speculative, quotative, sensory, "rationalising narrators" per 10,000 words

5. Discussion

As the results have shown, advanced L2 users of English in Ghana employ epistemic evidential and judgement verbs differently to hedge their academic texts. Ghanaian MA students seem to prefer epistemic lexical verbs *indicate*, *suggest* and *imply* to present their speculative judgments on their proposition. Ghanaian expert writers (ICE-Gh AcW HuSS corpus) employed *believe*, *seem* and *appear* more often than other epistemic lexical verbs. These expert writers were significantly not very different from the native speakers (BAWE MA) in the overall use of epistemic evidential and judgement verbs. The higher proportion of speculative and quotative verbs in the GhE-MA seems to suggest an overuse. However, this may not necessarily be the case.

It was difficult to determine the epistemicity of the occurrences of polypragmatic verbs like *indicate*, *suggest*, *report*, *note*, etc. The decisions on whether these verbs were hedges or not, were critically reviewed by other colleagues, who were also conversant with hedges in academic writing. The passive use of these cumbersome verbs, however, was easier to determine as hedges in context, since the responsibility for the reported stance is strategically avoided by the omission of the subject or agent of the verb.

The active form of a speculative judgement verb like *believe* was particularly more difficult to deal with. Biber et al. (1999: 365) list "believe" as one of the common mental verbs (among others) frequently used by speakers of English to express their own opinions and those of other people. In this study, all occurrences of *believe* in the active form which could not paraphrased as "I believe" or which were not introducing quotative evidence (cf. example 11) were excluded from the count. The difficulty lay in the ambiguity of whether the verb marks the stance of the writer or that of some third party without direct reference. When the subject of the verb was the first person singular or plural, epistemicity was very easy to determine (see also example 4)

(22) I *believe* that to advocate eclecticism without also promoting the need for regular self-assessment and development is potentially harmful. (BAWE. 3127a)

(23) Furthermore, the girls *believe* that there are few opportunities for them in careers that are mathematics or science based. (ED0012009M)

In example 18, the subject of the epistemic lexical verb is clearly the writer 'I' who gives his opinion on 'advocating eclectism' based on an observable cognitive process; i.e., his belief. However, in example 19, the subject of the verb *believe* is 'the girls' but the whole proposition seems to be reported by the writer. Couldn't this occurrence be considered 'quotative' use of the verb *believe*? Perhaps.

Hyland's claim that quotative evidence utilizes a range of writer-oriented judgement verbs was proved right. In the GhE-MA corpus, about 12% of the occurrences of *indicate*, 14% of suggest and 17.5% of *believe* were used for quotative evidence. In a similar fashion, the native speaker corpus where *believe* (26.5%) and *suggest* (22.2%) were also used to introduce quotative evidence.

Furthermore, certain evidential verbs like *seek*, *attempt* which are classified as 'narrators' were used as reporting verbs, hence, quotative evidential verbs. 26% of all occurrences of *attempt* in the GhE-MA corpus were used for quotative evidence.

(24) Tamir et al (1988) *sought* to clarify their use of the term .interest. as synonymous to attitude. (ED0012009M)

(25) Aiken and Dreger (1961) *attempted* to determine the effects of attitude on performance… (ED0042006M)

Based on the description of quotative evidential verbs, it was assumed that all the occurrences will be in the active form. However, there were several occurrences in the passive form:

(26) From studies reviewed under difficulty of mathematics, *it was noted* that many students view mathematics to be difficult, dull and abstract (Richards, 1984). (ED0042006M)

This sentence could be paraphrased as:
'Richards (1984) *noted* that many students view mathematics to be difficult, dull and abstract.'
Both groups of advanced L2 users of English in Ghana were similar to the native speakers in their use of active forms of the verbs. Table 4 shows that much lower proportions of epistemic lexical verbs occur as passive forms. Nevertheless, there were instances where the active forms of the epistemic verbs were reported as 'abstract rhetors'. About 23.40% of the active forms of the verbs in the GhE-MA Corpus occurred as 'abstract rhetors'. (see example 7 and 8) In the GhE-MA corpus, *indicate*, *imply* and *suggest* were the most frequently employed verbs in the manufacture of 'abstract rhetors'. Almost all the occurrences of *imply* were employed in this fashion.

	GhE-MA	%	ICE-Gh AcW HuSS	%	BAWE L1 English	%
Active	36.93	92.30	13.15	84.34	26.15	95.85
Passive	3.08	7.70	2.44	15.65	1.13	4.14
Overall	40.01	100	15.59	100	27.28	100

Table 4: Distribution of active and passive forms of epistemic lexical verbs in the corpus per 10,000 words

6. Conclusion

Hedging is indeed indispensable during social interactions (Resche, 2000) and even more so in academic discourse. Hedging academic texts is an essential rhetoric strategy for both native and non-native speakers of English as students and as professionals. In the preceding sections, some of the most frequent hedging lexical verbs (cf. Hyland, 1998) have been analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Two different levels of proficiency of advanced L2 English speakers were compared to a native speaker corpus to ascertain the differences or similarities in the use of epistemic lexical verbs as hedges.

The findings reveal significant differences in preference of certain epistemic evidential and judgement verbs among advanced L2 users of English in Ghana. MA students (GhE- MA) used more of certain types of lexical verbs than expert writers to present speculative judgements or evidentiary justification. The findings suggest that MA students are more indirect than the expert writers. Language proficiency level coupled with experience in the academic community seem to affect the use of epistemic evidential and judgement verbs by advanced L2 users of English in Ghana. The Ghanaian expert writers (ICE-Gh AcW HuSS) appeared similar to the native speakers (BAWE MA) in their use of epistemic lexical verbs as hedges. As a result of the similarities, Hyland's claim could not be substantiated in this study. Perhaps, a larger corpus might be more conclusive. Subsequent research may have to include verbs *tend* and *think*, which also occurred with significant frequencies in Nkemleke's (2011) study of hedging in Cameroon English.

The choice of lexical verb seems however strategic and not by chance, as all the writers seem to confer different degrees of certainty on their propositions by employing speculative or deductive judgement verbs; quotative, sensory evidential verbs or rationalising narrators.

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Cohesive Devices in Students' Research Proposals in Cameroon English[1]

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Abstract

This chapter explores the use of cohesive devices, particularly the conjunctive categories, in students' research proposals (RPs) in Cameroon. It is based on the hypothesis that, there are enough conjunctive devices in Cameroonian students' RPs. Halliday and Hasan's (1976) model of the conjunction categories was useful in the analysis of data. An examination of some 100 Cameroonian students' RPs (594,122 words) collected from 2013-2016 reveals the presence of the four conjunctive categories (additive, adversative, causal and temporal) proposed by Halliday and Hasan. However, results show inadequacy in the use of the markers with a general occurrence of 37,570 (6.4%) and 96 diverse words. This outcome rejects the assumption, i.e. there is an insufficiency of the markers in quantity and variety in Cameroonian students' RPs.

Keywords: cohesive devices, conjunctive markers, academic writing, research proposals, additive, adversative, causal relation, temporal markers.

1. Introduction

Cohesive devices also known as linkers (Vogel 2008; Schmied 2015: 20; Toska 2015: 163-175), connectives (Vande Kopple 1985, Williams 1989, Celle & Huart 2007), text connectors (Nkemleke 2011: 56), transition markers (Hyland 2005) or discourse markers (Schiffrin1988, Fraser 1999, Schourup 1999, Blakemore 2002), are one of the most important strategies in text construction as a whole and academic writing in particular. Cohesion is based on the concept of a tie. It signals the relationships between the different sentences and paragraphs in a text (see Halliday & Hasan 1976; Dafoul-Milne 2008; Amiryousefi & Rasekh 2010). According to Halliday and Hasan (1976: 4) cohesion embodies the following idea:

> Relations of meaning that exist within a text, and that define it as a text. Cohesion occurs where the interpretation of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one presupposes the other, in the sense that it cannot be effectively decoded except by recourse to it. When this happens, a relationship of cohesion is set up, and the two elements, the presupposing and the presupposed, are thereby at least potentially integrated into a text.

Cohesion therefore, refers to the organization of sentences and ideas in a text functioning together as a whole. This is achieved by the use of cohesive devices (transitional words and expressions). Cohesion is believed to be vital in organizing discourse and engaging the reader (Halliday & Hasan 1976; Hyland 1999: 5, 2005;

[1] I wish to thank Prof Daniel Nkemleke and Prof Josef Schmied for their insightful suggestions that have helped giving this chapter its present form and quality.

Schmied 2015). It makes it easy for readers to follow the presentation of information in a text, and helps to guide them through our writing. The semantic issue is also dealt with in the literature of cohesion (see Halliday & Hasan 1976, Halliday & Mathiessen 2004). These authors believe that cohesion is a semantic category that can be realized through the lexicogrammatical system. This means appropriate meaning of a text can be gotten through the forms of grammar and vocabulary that are used. This suggests that there are different kinds of cohesive devices (e.g. grammatical and lexical). For convenience, this research will focus on conjunctive relations, specifically additives, adversatives, causal and temporal markers.

2. Motivation and aim

The status of research on cohesive devices in Cameroon was part of my motivation for this study. Within Cameroon, Nkemleke (2005: 25-44) examines expository writing in Cameroon English and concludes that it may be a fertile area of research into aspects of "nativization" of cohesion and rhetorical strategies of English in the "Outer Circle". In a subsequent paper, Nkemleke (2011: 53-75) investigates text connectors among metadiscourse markers in some academic texts in Cameroon. Other scholars in Cameroon (e.g. Niba 2007; Sala & Ubanako 2010: 210-212) have undertaken research only on partial aspects of conjunctive devices. Most of these studies treat conjunctions as a part of speech in grammar, without emphasising the important role they play in transmitting logical ideas in academic writing. This present study extends the discussion of Nkemleke (2011) by investigating the use of some cohesive devices in students' research proposals in Cameroon English, so as to increase awareness of the use of these features in students' academic discourses.

General observation on the use of cohesive markers by Cameroonian students was another motivating factor for this research. From my experience as a lecturer, many students have problems employing appropriate cohesive devices in their texts. This results in academic texts that are not logical and convincing; hence, the students end up having poor marks in writing tasks. This is a course for concern as inappropriate use of cohesive markers can lead not only to incoherent writing, but also failure in examination. However, most students might not have been taught how to use them effectively. Against this background, I deemed it necessary to inquire into how Cameroonian students write Research Proposals (henceforth RPs), i.e. whether or not they can employ cohesive markers and communicate ideas in a reasonable way. The investigation hinges on three main aims: (1) to provide an overall view of the types of conjunctive relations employed by students and the extent to which they use them in the text category under study, (2) to compare the use of the four types of cohesive devices (additives, adversatives, causal and temporal) in students' RPs, and (3) to look at the impact of cohesive devices on students' writing. The research is based on the assumption that there are enough conjunctive devices in Cameroonian students' RPs. In other words, I hypothesize that Cameroonian students pay attention to the use of cohesive devices, especially the conjunction categories, and they employ enough of the markers in their RPs.

3. The conjunction categories

Many categorizations of cohesive devices have been advanced to fit the different semantic functions they play in texts. However, the clue to this study resides in the contribution of Halliday and Hasan (1976) from whom other researchers (Hyland 1999; Burneikkaite 2008; Schmied 2015) have based their analyses. They give a comprehensive classification of the different kinds of cohesive devices. However, for the purpose of this study, I will emphasis on what they propose for the categories of conjunctions (additives, adversatives, causal and temporal markers) that I wish to analyse. Halliday and Hasan (ibid: 226) capture the notion of conjunctive devices when they state that:

> Conjunctive elements are cohesive not in themselves but indirectly, by virtue of their specific meanings; they are not primarily devices for reaching out into the preceding (or following) text, but they express certain meanings which presuppose the presence of other components in the discourse.

The authors accentuate that conjunctive markers specify "the way in which what is to follow is systematically connected to what has gone before" (227). They focus on four categories of conjunction (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 226- 273) which are additive, adversative, causal and temporal.

3.1. Additive

They indicate semantic similarity of the unfolding text and the cohesion is seen in "the comparison of what is being said with what has gone before". Some additive relations that Halliday and Hasan (ibid: 249 - 250) point out are as follows:

- Simple additive relations (external and internal)

Additive: *and, and also*.
Negative: *nor, and … not.*
Alternative: *or, or else.*

- Complex additive relation (internal): emphatic

Additive: *further (more), moreover, additionally*
Alternative: *alternatively*

3.2. Adversative

Adversative relations express what is divergent from expectation. They include (from Halliday & Hasan ibid: 255):

- Adversatives relation 'proper' ('in spite of') (external and internal)

Simple: *yet, though, only*
Emphatic: *however, nevertheless despite this, all the same*

• Contrastive relations (‘as against’) (external)

Simple: *but, and*
Emphatic: *on the other hand, as against that.*

3.3. Causal

They express the idea of cause. They also give some specific relations of reason, result, purpose and condition. They include the following (taken from Halliday and Hasan ibid: 260 - 261):

• Causal relations, general (‘because …, so’) (external and internal)

Simple: *so, thus, hence, therefore*.
Emphatic: *consequently, accordingly, because of this*.

• Causal relations, *specific*

Reason: (mainly external) *for this reason, on account of this*; (internal) e. g. *on this basis*
Result: (external) *as a result* (of this), in consequence (of this); (internal): e.g. *arising out* of this.
Purpose: (mainly external) for this purpose, with this in mind/view; (internal): e.g. *to this end*.
Conditional relations (‘if …, then’) (external and internal)
Simple: *then*
Emphatic: *in that case, that being the case, under the circumstances*.

3.4. Temporal

They express succession in time, and include the following:

• Temporal type

Simple temporal relations (external)
Sequential: *e.g. (and) then, next, afterwards, subsequently*.
Simultaneous: *(just) then, at the same time, simultaneously.*
Complex temporal relations (external)
Immediate: *at once, thereupon, just before*
Interrupted: *soon, presently, later, after, formerly*

A comprehensive list of the types of conjunctive relations can be consulted in the summary table given by Halliday and Hasan (1976: 242-243). This detail classification from Halliday and Hasan (1976: 226-273) is going to help us in our analysis of conjunctive devices in students’ RPs.

4. Data and method

Research proposals (RPs) of Levels Two and Five students of the Department of English of ENS Maroua, and Level Five Anglophone students of the Department of Administrative Techniques of ENSET Douala constitute the primary information in this study. Level Two students were considered suitable in this study since they are taught how to do academic writing. In addition, they are expected to submit term papers for the degree programme in Level Three, which most of them do simultaneously with their Level Three programme in ENS Maroua. Most of the RPs they write in Level Two end up being developed into term papers in Level Three. A total of 100 RP texts were collected over a period of three academic years (2013-2016). The RPs for Level Five students were submitted in view of their DIPES and DIPET II dissertations, while those for Level Two students was a writing task given to them in a course on Academic writing and Research Methodology. Some of the topics for the RPs are: "Neocolonialism and the female quest for power: a study of Tess Onwoume *Tell it to women* and *What mama said*.", "The integration of environmental education in English Language Teaching and Learning: Case study of *Stay Tuned* students' Books Seconde and Terminale" and "Secrecy and self-transformation: postmodern reading of Philip Roth *The human stain* and Sarah Waters *Affinity*". The RPs were up to thirty-seven pages on average (about 6000 words per RP) and had a total of 594.122 words. The RPs provided the researcher with actual and complex patterns of academic texts for analysis of cohesive devices.

The analysis of the data was done in quantitative and qualitative terms. Quantitative analysis was used to determine which cohesive categories are more frequent in the corpus. AntConc 3.2.1w was used to retrieve the cohesive devices from the corpus (see Figure 1 for an example of AntConc output for "and also" in students' RPs. The software was helpful in locating the conjunctive devices in context and the frequency with which they occur in the corpora. This quantitative analysis is followed by a discussion/ explanation of the conjunctive markers that seem to emerge from the data with their impact on students' writing.

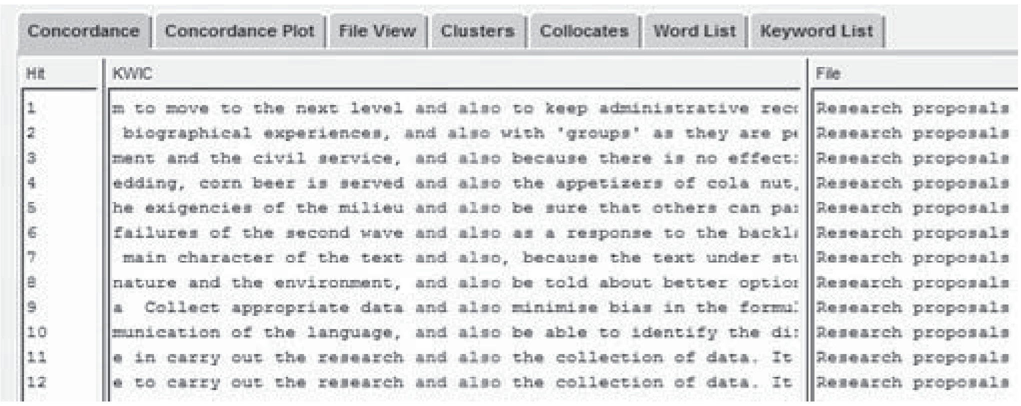

Figure 1: AntConc concordance of *and also* in students' RPs

5. Results

The linkers analysed here are not the full lists of the various categories (additive, adversative, causal, temporal) given by Halliday and Hasan (1976). However, the majority of the conjunctive devices under each category have been taken into consideration. Results for each of the categories are given in a separate table. Table 1 presents additives and their frequency in students' RPs.

Category of Cohesive relation				Frequency
Additive	simple (E/I)	additive	and	19,574
			and also	78
		negative	nor	58
			and … not	72
			not… either	10
			neither	46
		alternative	or	3,440
			or else	08
	complex	additive: emphatic	further(more)	332
			moreover	58
			additionally	10
			besides that	-
			add to this	-
			in addition	114
		alternative	alternatively	-
		apposition (I)	that is	470
			in other words	94
		exemplificatory	for instance	98
			for example	252
			thus	454
		comparative: similar	likewise	22
			similarly	28
			in the same way	12
		comparative: dissimilar	on the other hand	98
			conversely	04
			by contrast	-
			Total for additive:	25,332 (4.3%)

Table 1: Additive markers and their frequency in students' RPs

Table 1 above shows that the additive linkers that were most recurrent in the corpus are *and* (19,574), *or* (3,440) and *that is* (470). The least used include *conversely* (04), *or else* (08) and *additionally* (10). Others such as *besides that*, *add to this* and *by contrast* were completely absent in the data. A total of 25,332 (4.3%) additives were found in the corpus. However, the variety of additives used is 29. This is somehow low compared to the total sum or quantity of this category in the corpus. According to Halliday and Hasan (1976: 249-250), these markers specify resemblance in meaning, and cohesion is achieved by associating "what is being said with what has gone before". Textual examples of additives can be seen in the appendix. The following table presents the adversatives that were found in students' RPs.

Category of Cohesive relation				Frequency
Adversative	adversative proper	simple (E/I)	yet	120
			(even)though	220
			but	1,334
		emphatic	however	446
			nevertheless	32
			despite this	-
		contrastive (E)	but	1.334
			on the other hand	98
		corrective: of meaning	instead	112
			rather	270
			on the contrary	08
		corrective: of wording	at least	42
			rather	270
			I mean	-
		dismissal: closed	in any/either case	06
			anyway	04
		dismissal: open-ended	in any case	04
			anyhow	06
			at any rate	02
			Total for adversative: 4,308 (0.8%)	

Table 2: Adversatives and their frequency in students' RPs

Table 2 indicates a total of 4,308 (0.8%) adversatives that were retrieved from the data, and the diversity of the markers stands at 17. This number is far below that of additives (25,332 (4.3%) sum total and 29 different words). The most preferred adversatives employed by Cameroonian students are *but* (1,334), *however* (446) and *rather* (270). The least engaged are *at any rate* (02), *in any case* (04) and *anyway* (04). The adversatives *I mean* and *despite this* were not found in the corpus. Adversatives convey opposing relations (see Halliday and Hasan 1976 for more). Textual examples of adversatives can be consulted in the appendix. Table 3 shows the causal markers that were retrieved from the data.

Table 3 portrays *for* (2,128), *because* (1,208), *so* (704), *thus* (454) and *therefore* (430) as the most preferred causal markers employed by Cameroonian students. On the other hand, *in that case* (02), *to this end* (02), *in other aspects* (02) and *aside/apart from this* (02) are among the least used. Some other causal relations like *in consequence of this*, *under those circumstances* and *in such an event* were absent in the corpus. The sum total of the causal markers in the data is 6,270 (1.1%) with a diversity of 21 words. This is more than adversatives (4,308 (0.8%) and 17 different words) but lower than additives (25,332 (4.3%) and 29 diverse words). Causal relations express "cause". As stated by Halliday and Hasan (976: 260 - 261), they also give some idea of reason, result, purpose and condition. Table 4 below presents the temporal markers that were establish in the corpus.

Category of Cohesive relation				Frequency
Causal	general	simple (E/I)	so	704
			thus	454
			hence	96
			therefore	430
		emphatic	consequently	42
			accordingly	28
			because of this	14
	specific	reason	for this reason	10
			on account of this	02
			on this basis	-
		result	as a result (of this)	204
			in consequence (of this)	-
			arising out of this	-
		purpose	for this purpose	04
			with this in mind/view	02
			with this intention	-
			to this end	02
	reversed causal	general: simple	because	1,208
			for	2,128
	conditional	simple	then	306
			if	598
		emphatic	in that case	02
			that being the case	-
			under those circumstances	-
			in such an event	-
		generalized	under the circumstances	-
		reversed polarity	otherwise	32
			in other respects	02
			aside/apart from this	02
			Total for causal:	6,270 (1.1%)

Table 3: Causal relations and their frequency in students' RPs

Category of Cohesive relation				Frequency
			(and) then	338
			next	74
		sequential	afterwards	06
			after that	10
	simple (E)		subsequently	14
			(just) then	118
		simultaneous	at the same time	60
			simultaneously	24
			earlier	72
		preceding	before then/that	06
			previously	42
Temporal			at once	02
		immediate	thereupon	-
			on which	42
			just before	06
			soon	32
			presently	10
		interrupted	later	218
			some time	08
	complex (E)		former	58
			next time	-
			on another	-
		repetitive	this time	24
			on this occasion	-
			the last time	02
			next day	06
		specific	five minutes later	-
			five minutes	-
		durative	meanwhile	26
			all this time	-
			finally	78
	conclusive		at last	02
	relations (E)	simple	in the end	04
			eventually	26
			in conclusion	02
			up to now	-
	'here and	past	up to this point	04
	now'		hitherto	10
	relations (I)	present	at this point	16
			here	284
		future	from now on	-
			henceforward	-
			to sum up	02
		culminative	in short	12
	summary		briefly	18
	relations (I)		to resume	-
		resumptive	to get back to the	-
			anyway	04
			Total for temporal:	1,660 (0.3%)

Table 4: Temporal markers and their frequency in students' RPs

Table 4 depicts a total of 1,660 (0.3%) temporal markers with 36 different words. This category of conjunctive devices appear to have the least in terms of quantity, but the most in the diversity of words employed. The most recurrent temporal markers are *(and) then* (338), *here* (284), *later* (218) and *next* (74). *At once* (02), *the last time* (02), *at last* (02) and *in conclusion* (02) are midst the least frequent. Those that were absent from the corpus comprise *next time*, *on another occasion*, *on this occasion*, *five minutes later* and *five minutes earlier*. Temporal relations express progression or sequence in time.

Generally, the tables above (1, 2, 3, 4) reveal that the four main categories of conjunctive relations proposed by Halliday and Hasan (1976: 226-273) (additive, adversative, causal and temporal) were found with varying degrees in the corpus. However, none of the categories was widespread. Data analyses indicate that additive markers dominate the other categories totalling 4.3% as against 1.1% for causal, 0.8% for adversatives and 0.3% for temporal relations. The overall occurrence of cohesive markers in the RPs stands at 37,570 (6.4%) with 96 different words. This implies that they are not extensively used. The RP text type favour the use of the additive linker *and* as it tops the list with a total of 19,574 (3.3%). The cohesive tie *or* is the second scoring 3,440 (0.6%). The causal marker *for* comes third with 2,128 (0.4%), and is followed by the adversative *but* with 1,334 (0.3%). Other researchers (e.g. Schmied 2015: 20) have also noted the use of *and* (additive) and *but* (adversative) among the core linkers in texts. Some cohesive devices such as *alternatively*, *next time* and *to resume* were absent in the data. There was an overlap in the use of certain cohesive markers. For instance, *on the other hand* appears to be an additive (comparative: dissimilar) and an adversative (contrastive). Equally, *but* is used as a simple adversative and a contrastive adversative. This kind of overlap is seen even in the classification given by Halliday and Hasan (1976: 226 - 273).

The cohesive devices that were predominant in each of the categories were as follows:

Additive: *and, or, that is, thus, for example*
Adversative: *but, however, even (though), rather, yet, on the other hand*
Causal: *for, because, so, if, thus, then, therefore, as a result (of this)*
Temporal: (and) *then, later, (just) then, next, earlier*

This shows that Cameroonian students prefer the use of certain cohesive devices over others. This can be accounted for by the topic on which they are writing, their knowledge of the cohesive ties and the meaning they want their readers to derive from the texts (see some textual examples of the cohesive devices in the appendix).

Comparison of cohesive relations in students' RPs

Figure 2 below represents the overall occurrences of each of the categories of conjunctive relations in students' RPs.

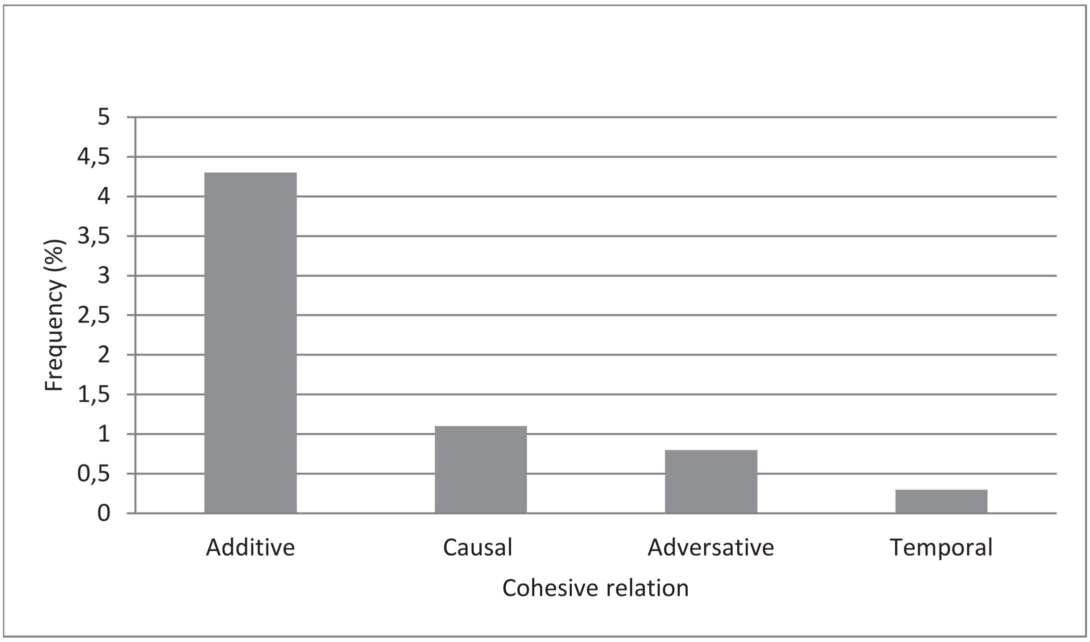

Figure 2: Frequency of cohesive relations in students' RPs

Figure 2 above shows that additives are used more in RPs (4.3%) than the other categories of conjunctive relations. There is rather significant difference in the employment of additives and the other cohesive markers (causal, adversative, temporal) in the corpus. Temporal markers are the least with just 0.3% occurrence. Though temporal markers are considerably not as much as the other conjunctive relations in the data, they registered the use of slightly more diverse cohesive relations (totalling 36) than additives, causal and adversative with 22, 21 and 17 respectively. Thus the temporal category has the highest variety of cohesive devices. Generally, one would have expected additives to record a higher variety of cohesive devices compared to temporal markers because they are more recurrent in the data. These results show a clear difference in the quantity and variety of cohesive markers employed by Cameroonian students. This outcome is similar to that of Biesenbach-Lucas and Weasenforth (1998, 2001); Biesenbach-Lucas, Meloni and Weasenforth (2000); Yongyang (2000) and Berglund (2009) who also found cohesive devices and linking expressions in Computer Mediated Communication (CMC), and concluded that these features provide additional important cues. It appears that when students have to do academic writing, they are careful and include the various techniques and variety of of text production that help in unfolding meaning to the reader.

Furthermore, it can be observed from tables 1, 2, 3 and 4 that a wide range of cohesive devices were present in the RP corpus as a whole. Linkers such as *or else*, *in other words*, *similarly*, *likewise*, *in the same way*, *conversely*, *consequently*, *because of this*, *on the contrary*, *on account of this*, *subsequently*, *simultaneously* and *anyhow* appear in the RPs. This is evident that RPs can be as complex as the other types of academic texts like term papers and MA dissertations (see Schmied 2015: 8 -13 for more on genres in academic writing today). It has been observed (personal experience as a lecturer) that students take a lot of time to plan and produce their RPs, so the texts are longer than some research articles and have diverse cohesive relations (see Nkemleke 2011: 77-102 for more on textual variation in Cameroon English). Textual examples of the different categories of cohesive devices from the data set can be consulted in the appendix.

The impact of cohesive devices on students' writing

The cohesive devices found play the roles emphasized under each category by Halliday and Hasan (1976). They relate discourse segments and express certain meanings, which suggest the existence of other components in the text. Some of the meanings they convey include addition (e.g. *and, and also*); contrast (e. g. *but, on the other hand*); corrective of meaning (e. g. *instead*, *rather*) and sequence (e.g. *next*, *afterwards*). They are believed to be vital in organizing students' writing (see Hyland 2005, Adel 2006: 22-24). They also contribute to text structuring and meaning (Fischer 2006, Schiffrin 2008), cohesion and coherence in writing (Vogel 2008). The use of cohesive devices is an important marking norm to evaluate ESL writing quality. The appropriate employment of cohesive devices therefore, correlates significantly with positive writing quality of students.

Generally, there appears to be an insufficiency in the employment of conjunctive devices in the RPs by Cameroonian students. This shows that the students may not be abreast with the wide-range of conjunctive devices that exist in English and their functions. This results in writing which is not persuasive or impressive, and this has pedagogic implications. Teachers or lecturers should help raise students' awareness to conjunctive or cohesive features by teaching them the various categories and how they can employ them in writing. Granger and Tyson (1996) suggest that students should be taught the semantic, stylistic and syntactic behaviour of individual connectors, using authentic texts. It is only when students master the conjunctive markers then they can be able to use them in all kinds of writings.

6. Conclusion

This study set out to explore cohesive devices, particularly conjunctive markers in students' RPs in Cameroon. It was based on the premise that "there are enough conjunctive devices in Cameroonian students' RPs". The results of the study show that an overall occurrence of conjunctive relations in the data stands at (37,570 (6.4%)) with 96 variety of words. This is evident that general cohesion density was not found in the corpus. In addition, the variety of conjunctive devices employed is inadequate. This, therefore, refutes the hypothesis, i.e. there is a general insufficiency of conjunctive devices in Cameroonian students' RPs.

The findings lead one to observe that RPs can also benefit students in terms of academic writing development (see Hyland 2005, 2009; Adel 2006, Dafoul-Milne 2008; Nkemleke 2011; Gholami, Tajalli & Shokrpour 2014; Schmied 2015 for more on academic discourse). However, pedagogic implications can help solve some of the difficulties students have in incorporating cohesive devices appropriately in their writings so as to achieve logical and persuasive texts. More research on cohesive devices in different text types in Cameroon need to be done so as to continue expanding the horizon of the markers in Cameroon English and academic writing as a whole.

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Appendix: Textual examples of the different categories of cohesive devices

Simple additive

- A close examination at the African continent nowadays with a flash to its colonial past is an irony to confidently declare that the 1960s declaration of independence **and** the cessation of European power gave autonomous control to the African over his being.(RP01, p. 1)

Complex (additive: emphatic)

- I am a part of a group, and I'm expected to remain a part of my group and be defined in keeping with my group. Furthermore, no one outside the group is permitted to participate in the defining process.(RP03, p. 61)

Complex (Comparative: similar)

- Gardner (1985:61), who conducted the first systematic social-psychological studies on language learners' attitudes, highlights the significance of attitudes and motivations a follows… Similarly, Brown (2002: 181) views attitudes as a precondition for motivation…(RP40, p. 773)
- The second member of each pair does not denote an emotional state. Likewise, there is no guarantee of the productivity of a particular suffix, e.g. "hate" yields "hateful" but not "hatesome"……(RP39, p. 766)

Complex (Comparative: dissimilar)

- Gardner insisted that active parents, who consciously encourage their children in learning a second language and monitor the children's progress and

accomplishments, positively influence the children's performance in other learning situations.
- **Conversely**, the power of negative attitudes seems just as influential in determining a learner's success or failure in achieving her language learning goals. (RP40, p. 777)

B) Adversative, Simple
- Mankind find themselves eager to conform, yet always in some doubt as to what exactly it is that they are to conform to… (RP 03, p. 54)

Emphatic
- A victim of rape caught between the ruthless, racist regime of the colonialists and the violent uprisings of guerilla fighters, she sees escape and a new beginning far from her rural home in the city of Harare. However, even worse consequences await her there and in desperation she kills her newborn child and returns to mourn in her home-town. (RP06, p. 120)

Correction: *of meaning*
- This peculiar heterogeneous language situation does not facilitate linguistic communication; on the contrary, it constitutes a major handicap to linguistic communication in view of the absence of a nation-wide lingua franca that serves as a common linguistic idiom…(RP05, p. 88)

C) Causal, General, Simple
- Many African female writers like Nwapa, Emecheta, Dangaremgba, Aidoo, Onwoume among others have written stories seeking to expunge women's marginal positions. Thus their writings are considered as tools used to destroy the ideas that perpetuate subjugation and inequality no matter where they are stemming.(RP01, p. 2)
- Age is also a parameter whereby language varies in the society. Therefore, there is a particular language for the elders, the teen-agers, the clergy, the linguists etc…(RP05, p. 83)

Emphatic
- The approach involves the testing of language in context and is thus concerned primarily with meaning and the total communicative effect of discourse. Consequently, integrative test does not seek to separate language skills into neat divisions in order to improve test reliability. (RP04, p. 43)

Result
- Similarly (1989) says that female writers bring in to focus their femaleness/feminity in their works and in so doing, they highlight and emphasis power differences between men and women. As a result, women scholars and activists have pioneered intellectual revolution built on sexual politics aimed at negotiating the boundaries between gender and feminism in literary criticism and theory. (RP01, p. 1)

Reversed causal
General: simple
- Hence, when teachers realize that learners have to pass through various stages to achieve competence, they would set more realistic goal for particular learning situations.(RP50, p. 831)

Conditional
- Some families ask for money, cars, expensive goods, food stuff. In that case, the girl's assets (education, beauty, family background) are sometimes used to ask for a higher bride price.(RP31, p. 705)

D) Temporal, Simple, Sequential
- She and Chido pull Babamukuru off Nyasha and hold him so he cannot kill her. For a week after that, Babamukuru stays away from the house and Nyasha retreats into herself. (RP06, p. 705)

Simultaneous
- The description of, work on orthography and development of the national languages are important, if these languages can survive in future. In addition, the national languages must simultaneously be given a viable role and a function in society.(RP25, p. 444)

Preceding
- Furthermore, it will be necessary for us to make mention of the reasons for the rise of Naturalism in other to better understand the whole issue about Naturalism. As earlier mentioned, the word does not come from space to existence, something certainly spurred it up.(RP20, p. 322)
- She became one of the first black students to be allowed to enroll in what had previously been a segregated academy.(RP49, p. 808)

Complex
Immediate
- This is the population on which the result of the research was designed, which is the Government Bilingual High School of the Diamare Division (RP47, p. 780)

Interrupted
- Hudson (1996, p. 22) defines a variety of language as 'a set of linguistic items with similar distribution. Later in their research, Hudson and Ferguson agree in defining variety in terms of a specific set of 'linguistic items'…(RP05, p. 109)

Specific
- Winterbottom issues an order for Ezeulu's arrest and sends two policemen to fetch him.
- The next day after consulting with the elders and men of title in Umuaro, Ezeulu decides to set out for Okperi, to find out what Winterbottom wanted. (RP28, p. 594)

Conclusive relations: simple
- In conclusion, the article is of the opinion that madness is an expression of resistance and therefore enabling. (RP24, p. 521)

Summary relations: culminative
- To sum up about the character Beard he comments that Beard is involved in a "number of projects to create a source of power that does not rely on fossil fuels.(RP18, p. 394)
- In short, CPE is no longer perceived exclusively as a lingua franca of the English-speaking population, but a language that has a possible national dimension (RP05, p. 89)

A Corpus-based Study of Tense Uses by Advanced Learners of English in Nigeria

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Abstract

This paper reports on tense uses by university students in Nigeria as preliminary findings from the Corpus of Nigeria and Cameroon English Learner Language (CONACELL). The aim of CONACELL is to build, annotate (for errors) and analyse, in total, approximately 443,000 word corpus of learner language in Nigeria and Cameroon so as to define and describe learning needs in these contexts. This paper examines a sub-sub-section of CONACELL, approximately 50,000 words, which represent the Nigeria university sub-corpus. Its aims are to identify and quantify non-standard vs standard features of tense uses in the language production of university students in Nigeria and to describe the specific tense usage patterns in their writing. To fulfil these objectives, it will answer three questions: 1. What is the frequency of tense errors in the language of the students? 2. With what kind of verbs are these errors made? 3. Do students from different regions have similar frequency of tense errors? Data for the study is 50,427 words of an error-tagged sub-corpus, which represents the language output of 112 university students. The study is based on the theory of contrastive interlanguage. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were applied in the analysis of the data. Pacx and Antconc software were used for frequency and concordance analysis while the Ucrel tagger was used for POS tagging. The results reveal an 11% tense error rate. It reveals a pattern of error involving the base forms of the lexical verb and the lexical BE, and shows regional differences in error rates. The conclusion is that to some extent tense resists pedagogy and remains a learning need for advanced learners of English in Nigeria.

Keywords: learner language, tense system, errors, contrastive interlanguage, English language learning, Nigeria

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1. Introduction

1.1. Corpora in language teaching and learning

Since corpus linguistics entered the field of language investigation more than two decades ago, it has generated substantial research effort. Today, corpus linguistics methods are widely used in the fields of both language teaching and language learning, yet its impact in both areas remains arguable (Dudley-Evans and St John, 1998; Swales 2002). There is, however, no doubt that it has fully established its presence in the academic arena judging by the sheer number of publications that have emanated from its use, especially in the Western countries where it began. The immediate challenge is for corpus linguistics to be exported to other places, like Africa (where it is only timidly being implemented), and for it to justify its use by its results. This latter concern is shared by many, for instance, Römer (2010:18) notes that ELT (English Language Teaching) to date seems to be largely unaffected by the advances of corpus research, and comparatively few teachers and learners know about the availability of useful resources and get their hands on corpus resources or investigation software themselves. The point that the direct application of corpus research is sparse is echoed by many corpus linguists such as Meunier (2002, 2011) and Mukherjee (2004). Corpus linguists will need to justify the resources of time, effort and money they invest in their work and underline the usefulness of their field by ensuring that the outcomes of their research are exported to the classroom: to teachers and to learners. Today, as the literature shows, very many corpus resources exist; some (such as the British National Corpus, the Corpus of American English or the International Corpus of Learner English) are either open-access or readily available, while others (such as the Cambridge Corpus of International English) are not. Apart from corpora databases, a growing number of teachers now use corpora, corpus tools like concordances, and corpus evidence in the language classroom and there are also websites that provide ready-made exercises and the tools for teachers to use to create tasks for their learners, for example the Corpus LAB project by Michael Barlow (https:// www.corpuslab.com) (1996) and Tom Cobb's (1997) Compleat Lexical Tutor website (See http://132.208.224.131/). Yet, the rate and extent of the applications of corpora to language teaching and learning is still less than expected and desired as evidenced by many papers presented at the conference on teaching and language corpora conference (TALC) in Lancaster, in July, 2014. The interest of this paper is the language learner so we turn now to the learner corpora.

1.2. Learner corpora and learners

In tracing the history of computer text corpora, Aston et al. (2004) note that corpora interact with learners in three main ways: learners may be authors of corpora; learners may be beneficiaries of corpora; and learners may be users of corpora. This categorization is illuminating and will be used to organise a review of the literature on learner corpora and language learning in this paper.

In the first type of interaction, learners produce the corpus materials, as in for example the International Corpus of Learner English compiled by Sylvianne Granger (1998) and her team. The purpose of building a learner corpus is often to study features of interlanguage, frequently in comparison with native language, and to analyse learner errors with the aim of identifying learner needs. The second type of study has become very productive in the literature of learner corpora. For instance, Lenko- Szymanska (2004) used a corpus of Polish learners of English (PELCRA) to investigate the misuse of demonstratives as anaphora markers in the writings of university students and concludes that native-like use of demonstratives is unlikely to be acquired implicitly by Polish learners of English. She therefore advocates greater emphasis on this item in the ELT curriculum and materials. In support of a two-way comparison between learner language and target language, Ulrike Gut and Robert Fuchs (2013) undertook a study of the use of progressives by Nigerian learners of English and found both distinct stylistic variations in the use of the progressive aspect in Nigerian English and some systematic differences from their use in British English.

In the second type of interaction, learners benefit from corpora through the interventions of reference book writers or curriculum designers. For example, the Cobuild series of dictionaries and grammar books is based on the Bank of English corpus. This type of study serves a primary pedagogical purpose. A considerable amount of research has been carried out in this area. One example is that conducted by Ute Römer (2004) in which real English (spoken English by students) was compared to ideal English (textbook English) in order to show how analyses based on textbook corpora can give valuable insights to linguists and language practitioners and may help improve teaching materials. She found, in her study of if-clauses for instance, that most textbooks used in German grammar schools present students with non-authentic, invented language and this, she observes, is unlikely to serve the purpose of preparing students for the type they will encounter outside of the school. The study reveals significant differences in the way if-clauses are presented in the textbooks from the way they are used in the spoken part of the BNC. The significance of learner corpora for curriculum design is illustrated by O'Donnell (2008) who reports on the TREALCE project at the University of Madrid, Spain where a corpus of the language output of the students is compiled in order to inform curriculum design. The relevance of these studies is confirmed by the English Profile project at the University of Cambridge. This is a project whose aim is to build a worldwide corpus of learner English and to provide a detailed set of Reference Level Descriptions for English to show what a learner knows at a particular level of English, using the notion of criterial features (Hawkins and Buttery: 2010).

Finally, in the third type of interaction in which learners work with and explore corpora by themselves, there are, too, some studies. A term which is commonly used for this type of interaction between the learner and the corpus is Data Driven Learning (DDL). Pioneering work in DDL is credited to Johns (1986, 1991) of the University of Birmingham, who was influenced by the work of John Sinclair. Römer (2010: 20) aptly describes DDL as that teaching approach which puts the learner at centre stage and makes them a linguistic researcher, an interesting analogy originated by Johns (1991) and also used by Cheng et al. (2003).

It is undeniable, therefore, that corpora have gained substantial ground in linguistic analysis and specifically in that analysis related to language learning and teaching. Most of the studies cited above, however, are based on learners in Europe and in Asia. In the next section, we turn our attention to the situation in Nigeria.

1.3. Corpora and the Nigerian learner of English

At this point, then, it is opportune to ask the question – to what extent have corpora interacted with Nigerian learners of English? The answer is – to a very limited extent; and this is part of the motivation for this study. However, it is important to note that there are many regional varieties of English in Nigeria. This leads to Bamgbose's (1982) question: whose usage is to be used as the model or standard? His answer is that the model should not be that of the purist who sees all usages not in conformity with the British model, as a deviation and a corruption; rather he opts for what he calls the "natural and spontaneous usage of the local educated Nigerian user of English" (1982: 105). Therefore, the model is neither British English (BE) nor any of the regional varieties. Rather, it is the social variety, which according to Banjo's (1996) classification is the variety used by educated Nigerians; varieties II and III, which he judges to be socially acceptable and internationally intelligible. This is in conformity with Odumuh (1987, 1993) who recognises Nigerian English (NE) as a single super ordinate variety of Standard English in Nigeria, what is generally described as an indigenized form of British English.

The corpus linguistics train is yet to call at Nigeria. There are a handful of corpus-related research projects carried out by a few persons e.g. Banjo (1997) on the syntactic features of Nigerian English, Esimaje (2012, 2013) on the lexis of Nigerian sermons and on literary discourse; Gut & Fuchs (2013) on the use of the progressive aspect in Nigerian English; Shuaibu et al (2013) who did a lexical study of the language of newspaper articles in Nigeria, Chiluwa (2011) applying corpus tools to the analysis of Niger-Delta discourse, and Adelakun (2014, MA Diss) who undertook a critical discourse analysis of election news in Nigeria. There are also a very limited number of Nigerian English corpora e.g. the ICE Nig., but corpora of learner English in Nigeria are even rarer. Therefore, the attempt to build and analyse a learner corpus is a pioneering effort which aims to identify usages that deviate from standard Nigerian English (SNE). Although the process of standardizing NE is still ongoing, a lot of studies have been done which reveal those usages that are widely accepted and those that are considered deviant, thereby distinguishing standard NE from the non standard NE (Bamgbose 1971; Akere 1978; Kujore 1985; Awonusi 1990; Banjo 1971; Owolabi 2012. It is on the basis of such agreements that this study assessed learner language in Nigeria. To sum up, Nigeria, like many African countries, has yet to benefit considerably from the advances of corpus linguistics, whether through research, teaching or learning.

2. Research problem and aims

Proficiency in the English language is an index of education, especially in English as a second language (ESL) context like Nigeria. But beyond this function, English is more or less a compulsory language to learn for many countries by virtue of its international status as a globalising language and its national role in places where it is an official language. Being a language of wider communication, intercultural communication, of technology, of education, and of administration in Nigeria, English occupies an important and enviable position among the other 500 languages (Grimmes, 2000) in the country. Due to these roles, the successful teaching and learning of English is the focus of attention of language teachers, linguists and curriculum designers. However, the results of successive national examinations have continued to demonstrate less than ideal achievement in English learning. Many reasons are often advanced for this; there are the factors of teaching: materials, methods, personnel, and there are the factors of learning: environment, motivation, linguistic and cultural backgrounds. All these impact the teaching-learning context. Each of these factors has attracted substantial research effort while some have been tackled in tandem. What is lacking is the availability of large-scale databases to identify features of learner English in Nigeria. Nigeria is not unique in this respect, however. The research reported in this paper is part of a larger study that is building and investigating a corpus of learner language in both Nigeria (an Anglophone country) and Cameroon (an Anglophone/ Francophone country.) It is this methodological innovation that distinguishes this work from most studies in the literature of L2 acquisition in Nigeria. This major research project has three main aims.

The first aim is to identify morpho-syntactic features of learner language in Nigeria and Cameroon. This is in order to objectively determine those features that characterize learner language, features that show what learners know at particular levels of learning, features that show what learners do not know, and features that show steps in the acquisition process. The second aim is to determine what learning needs are peculiar to each context. This will lead to a systematic definition of needs which will be useful to teachers, curriculum planners as well as textbook writers. To achieve these aims presupposes the use of learner corpora. As no learner corpus has been compiled and published in either Nigeria or Cameroon, the third aim of this study is to build and fully annotate a cross-sectional learner corpus of the language productions of intermediate and advanced learners of English. Although this is a secondary objective, in sequence it occupies a primary position as the first two objectives cannot be fulfilled without it. Next, therefore, we describe the building of the learner corpus called CONACELL – Corpus of Nigeria and Cameroon English Learner Language.

3. CONACELL: compilation and design

CONACELL is a three-year research project (2013-2016) which is funded by VolkswagenStiftung. The aim is to build, annotate (for errors) and analyse, in total, approximately 443,000 word corpus of learner language in Nigeria and Cameroon so as to define and describe learning needs in these contexts. The Nigeria sub corpus comprises 285,456 words and represents approx. 61% of the entire corpus while the Cameroon sub corpus comprises 157,497 words and represents approx. 39 % of the entire corpus. The first stage in its compilation entailed collection of language productions of intermediate and advanced learners of English in both countries. ‘Intermediate learners’ refers to final year students at the secondary level of education aged 16-17 while ‘advanced learners’ are university students in their semi-final and final years of study aged 18-28. The data elicited from these learners were in form of essays, letters and examinations. In some cases, the students were requested to produce essays on given topics in controlled environments while in other cases texts were taken from the students' most recent written examinations. All the data were collected in their original form – hand written. The decision to collect written rather than oral data was informed by the interest of the research in writing because it is a problematic area for ESL learners. To date, the collection of the 442,939 word data has been completed and the data processed. To ensure representativeness, the study population was divided along geopolitical zones and approximately the same amount of data collected from each of them. The study population comprises 998 students; 383 university learners (235 from Nigeria and 148 from Cameroon) who produced texts amounting to 224, 927 words (153,629 from Nigerian students and 71302 word data from Cameroonian students); and 515 secondary students (428 Nigerian students and 187 students from Cameroon) who produced texts amounting to 218, 012 words (131,827 from Nigeria and 86195 from Cameroon), thus bringing the total size of the data to 442,939 word tokens.

In setting up the corpus, the handwritten data were first transcribed and then proofread several times to remove mistypes. Then, the raw data in pdf format were uploaded into Pacx software (an XML platform for corpus building and annotation) (Voormann & Gut 2008) which automatically created templates for the transcribed data files. The corpus was set up in such a way that the original handwritten data (raw data) and the transcribed version can be called up side by side to enable their alignment and data verification. Subsequently, the data were annotated for errors using an annotation schema in which the annotator identifies the word that is to be annotated and selects a tag from a predefined list. The software creates an automatic summary page in HTML format, showing all the data currently contained in the corpus together with the metadata, links to the raw data, the transcription in plain text and the transcription in XML, and displays the total number of words of each file and the corpus as a whole. Further, Paxc enables automatic analyses and exporting of data and search results. The data has undergone annotation for morphological and syntactic features such as pluralisation, article use, tense, aspect, agreement, and modality. To date, all the 442, 939 words data has been fully error annotated. Four annotators worked on the corpus; two postdoctoral fellows in linguistics and two post graduate students of English. While two persons did the main annotation, the other two verified them to ensure correctness and to enhance reliability. Where annotators were uncertain, one of the researchers who is an expert speaker of Standard Nigerian English had the final decision.

4. Preliminary report: tense uses by university students in Nigeria

For this paper, only a portion of the part of the corpus consisting of texts produced by Nigerian university students was used. Though Nigerian English differs from British English, the tense systems are the same. This poses a problem for learners with little exposure to English because the tense system of English is different from the tense system of the indigenous languages of the learners. Therefore, tense usage tends to be problematic to Nigerian learners of English (Alo & Mesthrie 2008, Eyisi 2010). Yet, an in depth study on tense is rare. In this study, both quantitative and qualitative methods were used to examine tense uses by 112 final year university students to determine whether or not tense remains a learning need for university students in Nigeria. The sub-corpus consists of 112 texts and 50, 427 tokens.

This paper has two main aims: to identify non-standard vs standard features of tense uses in the language production of Nigerian university students and to describe the specific tense uses / patterns in their writing. To fulfil these objectives, it will answer the following research questions:

1. What is the relative frequency of tense errors in the language of Nigerian University students?
2. What are the most frequent types of tense errors made by university students in Nigeria?
3. Do students from different geographical regions in Nigeria have similar frequency and types of tense errors?

5. Method: data analysis

The study adapted the 3A model of data analysis (Wallis 2007, 2014) in which the sub-data extracted from the earlier described corpus were first annotated and then analysed. The dual processes are further explained below.

5.1. Annotation

In annotating verb phrases, the focus was on all instances of incorrect tense, aspect and modality. Once identified, the software enables the labelling and correction, and frequency count, thus providing the first step in analysis. A single tag ‘tense’ was used to capture all instances of these errors (i.e. present and past, modals and aspect). In this analysis, however, our interest is only in present and past tense uses, so all instances of modals and aspect were distinguished and excluded from the data. In order to enable identification of particular verb-tense categories, a POS tagging of the data was done using the UCREL tagger (CLAWS). This made further subdivision of tense tags possible. Hence, tags such as VBB for base forms of “BE”, VBD for past forms of “BE”, VBZ for –s of “BE”, VDB for base forms of “DO”, VDD for past forms of “DO”, VDZ for –s forms of “DO”, VHB for base forms of “HAVE”, VHD for past forms of “HAVE”, VHZ for –s forms of “HAVE”, VVB for base forms of lexical verb, VVD for past forms of lexical verb, VVZ for –s forms of lexical verb were used to identify specific tense uses. To illustrate what was found, Table 1 below shows some tense errors in bold.

s/n	Examples of wrong tense marking
1	She quickly alert all her class members.
2	I was shocked and confused because I know that a student was in the hostel.
3	A teacher become furious and started shouting at me.
4	The matron asked if I know him.
5	I was the envy of all my friends because they all **want** to have what I had at the time.
6	We were also asked the reason we **are** not with our invitation card.
7	He no longer calls me as frequent as he **use** to.
8	My uncle was a great man and my family look up to him.
9	He was later **transfer** to a specialist hospital in Kaduna.
10	He came, knocked, entered, pushed and **snatch** the soul of Mallam Ismaila
11	Father called me back and ask me not to go to school.
12	So at the end, I wake up and asked him why he was calling my name.
13	I enjoyed it but at last regret it.
14	I was afraid because I am alone, on that day nobody is with me.
15.	My friends all left me and run away

Table 1: Examples of tense errors targeted for annotation

5.2. Analysis

In analysing the corpus, searches were done in Pacx to identify instances of wrong tense uses, their frequency and patterns. The identified usages were then further examined in a wider context using corpus tools such as a concordancer by applying the keyword in context (kwic) method. This was done by exporting the results from Pacx to Antconc (Voorman and Gut 2008; Anthony 2014). Subsequently, the data was subjected to a part of speech tagging (POS) using the University of Lancaster (UCRELCLAWS) tagger to determine the overall frequency of the verb tenses. This enabled calculation of both the standard tense uses and the non-standard uses thus allowing the establishment of difference as well as the determination of the extent of the difference. Since tense is a property of the verb phrase rather than verb form, these were distinguished to ensure the validity of the results. Therefore, whereas a count of verb forms (all instances of verb occurrence) found in the university corpus is 7076, the number of verb phrases was found to be 5605. This was estimated by manual checks of the computer results, discounting of double counts returned by the computer and removal of 2nd and 3rd verb forms in complex verbs.

6. Results

The results of the analysis of the university sub-corpus are presented in Tables 2-6. Table 2 gives a concise view of the results. In Table 3, the proportions of types of tense errors are shown. Table 4 presents a specific category of tense error found to be most problematic and shows its sub categories and their error frequencies. The information in this Table, which is the basis of the analysis that follows, is further shown graphically in Fig. 1. In Tables 5 and 6, variations in tense errors across geographical zones are shown.

s/n	Variables	University sub corpus
1	Total verb forms in sub corpus	7076
2	Total verb phrases in sub corpus	5605
3	Total number of tense errors	614
4	% of tense errors	10.95% ~ 11%

Table 2: Summary of results

Tense form/Target form	Total
Present for past	594
Past for present	20
Total errors	614

Table 3: Description of tense usage in corpus: Error types

Table 3 shows the proportion of errors of each type: present (or unmarked form) for past and past for present. Out of the 614 tense errors, the vast majority, 594**,** comprised use of the present (or unmarked) use where the past tense is required. Therefore, only this case is investigated further. The next investigation involved identifying which kind of verb (BE, DO, HAVE or another ('lexical') verb) exhibited the greatest proportion of errors. The result is shown in table 4.

s/n	Verb type	Verb Category		Total error frequency
1	*BE*	VBB, VBD, VBZ	(base, past,-s forms)	145
2	*DO*	VDB, VDD, VDZ	(base, past,-s forms)	23
3	*HAVE*	VHB, VHD, VHZ	(base, past,-s forms)	29
4	LEXICAL VERB	VVB, VVD, VVZ	(base, past,-s forms)	397
	Total			594

Table 4: Distribution of present for past tense errors according to types and frequency

Table 4 shows that lexical verbs are, unsurprisingly, more frequent than the 'closed-class' verbs: BE, DO and HAVE. It is perhaps more surprising that the proportion of error is by no means evenly distributed. Lexical verbs have the highest proportion of errors. Learners seem to have least difficulty with the verb DO, then with HAVE and BE, and most difficulty with the tense of the lexical verbs. In fact, well over one third of all verb phrases where the tense is carried by a lexical verb show present (or unmarked form) being used for past.

The next stage of the research involved identifying the texts in the corpus written in the five regions of Nigeria: North Central, North West, South East, South South and South West. The aim was to see whether errors were evenly distributed between the regions or whether there was evidence of a differential in attainment of the ‘past’ marker. Table 5 shows the number of errors in the texts from each region.

	NC	NW	SE	SS	SW	Total
Verb phrase with error: Present for past	111	262	64	51	106	594
% verb phrases with error	18.68	44.10	10.77	8.58	17.84	100%

Table 5: Frequency of tense errors across geographical regions

As can be seen from table 5, the proportion of errors varies considerably according to region. Texts from the SE and SS regions have a low proportion of errors while those in the other regions have a higher proportion, with texts in the NW region having the highest proportion.

We then repeated the calculation of verb types with errors, with the texts divided according to region. The results are shown in table 6.

Tense Form: Present tense	Target Form: Past tense				
Region	Single lexical verbs	VP with Has, have	VP with BE: is, am, are	VP with Do, does	Total Freq.
North Central	73	7	26	5	111
North West	182	7	64	9	262
South East	36	4	21	3	64
South South	40	3	7	1	51
South West	66	8	27	5	106
Total no.of errors	397	29	145	23	594
% error per verb type	38%	16%	28%	18%	100%

Table 6: Distribution of verb types with tense errors according to regions

The results in Table 6 suggest that there is little variation between the regions in terms of the type of verb likely to be in error. In all regions, lexical verbs seem to present the greatest difficulty and HAVE and DO present the least. This information is summarised in figure 1.

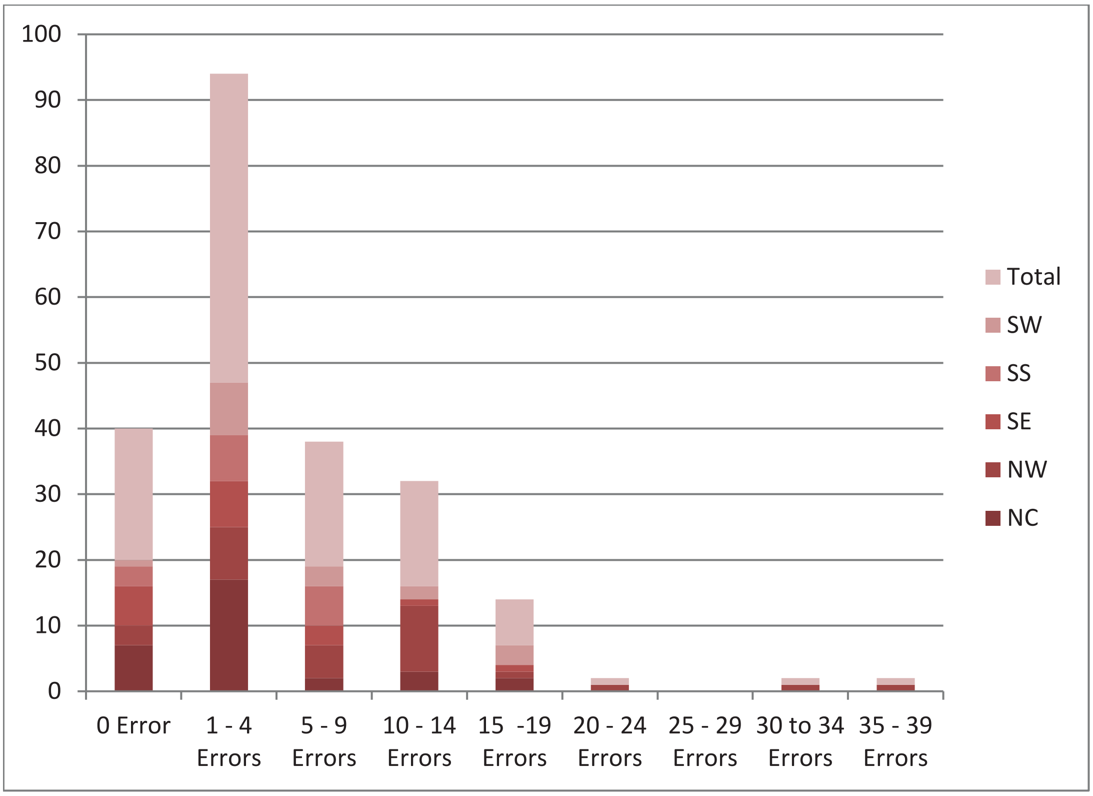

Figure 1: Distribution of errors across corpora and according to learners region

6.1. Discussion of results

As Table 2 shows, there are a total of 5605 verb phrases in the sub-corpus. Out of this number, the analysis revealed a total of 621 tense errors which represents about 11% of the total verb phrases. However, Table 3 reveals that the tense forms do not pose equal difficulty to the students because out of the 621 errors found, 594 are of a particular kind; use of the present or unmarked form where the past tense is required. Further, as table 4 shows, the proportion of errors is different depending on the type of verb carrying the tense. Lexical verbs (i.e. excluding BE, HAVE and DO) which carry tense are the most likely to be in error. On closer examination, it was shown that the frequency of errors also varied along regional lines. For instance, texts from the North West (NW) showed most errors in tense marking especially in the two categories of lexical verbs and lexical BE. Texts from other regions; North Central (NC) and South West (SW) had the next highest frequency of error and texts from South East (SE) and South South (SS) showed the least. To verify the significance of these figures, the Chi-square test was used to test the relationship between tense error and region. The results are presented below.

Based on the data in Table 6, and using a 5x4 contingency table, we formulated the following hypotheses;

Ho: Geographical region has no significant influence on tense error
Hi: Geographical region has significant influence on tense error

These hypotheses were tested at these levels: $\alpha = 0.05$ and 0.01 significance.

Using the Chi-Square formula: $X_{cal}^2 = \sum \frac{(f_o - f_e)^2}{f_e}$

Chi-Square was calculated at $X_{cal}^2 = 16.4209$
Chi-Square was tabulated at $X_{Tab}^2(0.05) = 5.226$ and $X_{Tab}^2(0.01) = 3.571$
Thus $X_{cal}^2 > X_{Tab}^2(0.05) > X_{Tab}^2(0.01)$

6.2. Statistical inference

Since $X_{cal}^2$is less than $X_{Tab}^2$for both levels of significance, we say that the null hypothesis is to be rejected. The inference is that tense error is not independent of learners' geographical region. The implication of this result is that tense error and geographical region are correlated.

7. Conclusion

The study has revealed that the greatest problem in tense pedagogy for Nigerian university learners of English is past tense marking and the most problematic forms are shown to be the base form of the lexical verb and the BE forms. It also shows that tense marking is influenced by the learners' geographical region. Although not explicitly researched, factors that may have influenced the learners' ability to master the tense system of English in the regions, amongst others, may be the average level exposure to the English language or the quality of input/instruction. It is recommended for further studies that the influence of these factors to be measured. It should not be forgotten that almost 90% of the verb phrases in the corpus did not show this kind of error. However, even an 11% error rate is likely to be cause for comment, and the rate is substantially higher in some regions of Nigeria. To some extent, then, tense remains a learning need for university students in Nigeria despite 16 years of English medium education. This study has implications for language teaching and curriculum development.

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The Phonology of Ln Englishes: Specific and Common Routes, and Convergence with Innovations in L1 English with Focus on Cameroon English

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Abstract

It is a common phenomenon in linguistics that the most visible characteristic of Ln English speakers is their transfer of elements from their earlier acquired or learnt languages as they negotiate their way to L1 English. Given the diversity of the linguistic substrata upon which Ln Englishes are superimposed, it is but understandable that speakers of such Englishes should have their group (regional, national, sub-national, and so on) specificities with regard to the use of the familiar material to attain the target. This study probes into the guesses, strategies and speculations that English learners use to achieve what they consider acceptable pronunciation.

Key words: Ln Englishes (Cameroon/West Africa), transfer, simplification, strategies, pronunciation, target English (L1) norms

1. Definition and introduction

"n" in "Ln Englishes" refers to the chronological position of English in the language repertoire of a multilingual user of English. This study probes into the guesses, strategies and speculations that English learners use to achieve what they consider to be the acceptable pronunciation. There are some specificities from one Ln to another, but the routes taken are basically the same. L1 Englishes are used as reference – and not necessarily as the target – and for comparative purposes while non-L1 Englishes are the focus of the work. Most illustrations for non-L1 Englishes are taken from the literature on West African Englishes and specifically from Cameroon.

2. Specificities

It is no news in linguistics that the most visible characteristic of Ln English speakers is their transfer of elements from their earlier acquired or learnt languages as they negotiate their way to L1 English. The cases of transfer are classically subdivided into positive and negative ones. Given the diversity of the linguistic substrata upon which Ln Englishes are superimposed, it is but understandable that speakers of such Englishes should have their group (regional, national, sub-national, and so on) specificities with regard to the use of the familiar material to attain the target.

In a multilingual English-using setting, a number of factors determine the interfering language and the amount of interference which affects English. Thus, the largest amount of interference in the fast institutionalizing and standardizing

English of francophone Cameroonians is from French, which has taken over the functions of the base language among these speakers (Chumbow 1984) and is a mate language to English (Simo Bobda and Fasse 2005). The most salient examples of such interference include:

- Nasal vowels: [sɛ̃tɛ̃s], [kɔ̃stɑ̃t], [ĩdiket] [kɔ̃tə] (*sentence*, *constant*, *indicate*, *counter*);
- Occurrence of uvular "r": *imp*[R]*ess*, *t*[R]*y* [R]*iver*; (*impress*, *try*, *river*);
- h-deletion: '*abit*, '*ungry*, '*ost* (*habit*, *hungry*, *host*);
- hypercorrect h-insertion: [h]*as soon* [h]*as*;
- replacement of /dʒ/ by /ʒ/: [ʒ]*eorge*, [ʒ]*ohn* (George, John);

For more illustrations see Kouega (2008), Khan (2012), Safotso (2015)
The interference factors combine with many others to account for many distinctive features even at the regional and national levels, as illustrated by the TRAP, STRUT and NURSE vowels which split into /ɛ, a/, /a, ɔ, aʊ /, and /a, ɔ, ɛ/, respectively, at various levels across Africa. Beyond sound substitution, a major domain in which Ln English learners display their specificity *qua* autonomy is the application of phonological rules. This autonomy is illustrated by the fact that some clearly established rules in L1 Englishes do not apply in some Ln Englishes while others apply partially, differently and yet other rules emerge *sui generis*.

2.1. Some differences in rule application

Some rules exist but apply differently in CamE. Following are some illustrations:

2.1.1. *Yod deletion*

$$\text{RP: /j/} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{/ Ø} \qquad \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{palatal} \\ \text{Cl} \\ \text{r} \end{matrix} \right\}$$

Examples: *Jew*, *chew*, *clue*, *glue*, *rumour*, *ruminant*

$$\text{CamE: /j/} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{/ Ø – u} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{v} \\ \text{l} \end{matrix} \right\}$$

Examples: *annual*, *continuous*, *population*, *ambulance* [anual, kɔntinuɔs, pɔpuleʃɔn, ambulans]

2.1.2. *G-Deletion*

$$\text{RP: g} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Ø / ŋ} \quad \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{\#\#} \\ \text{\#} \end{matrix} \right\}$$

Examples: *song*, *sing*, *singer*, *hanger*

CamE: g → Ø / ŋ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \#\# \\ \#C \end{array} \right\}$

Examples: *long*, *sing*, *sings*, *banged* [ləŋ, siŋ, siŋs, baŋt]

2.1.3. *Ks-voicing*

RP: ks → [gz] / stressed vowel

Examples: *exam*, *executive*, *exonerate* [CamE: ɛgzam, ɛgzekjutɪv, egzəneret]

CamE: ks → [gz] / V

Some well-known rules, however, do not, or hardly apply in CamE.

2.1.4. *Vowel Reduction: Trisyllabic Laxing*

vowel → lax / - [CVCV(C)#] derivative

Examples: *sincerity*, *insanity*, *supremacy* [siŋsiɛriti, iseniti, suprimesi]

Some CamE rules do not apply in BrE.

2.1.5. *Final Devoicing*

[-son] → [-voice] / - [-son] ##

Examples: *big*, *card*, *George*, *robbed*, *judged* [bik, kat, dʒɔʃ, rɔpt, dʒɔʃt]

2.1.6. *i-Stress*

i → [+stressed] / ##] prefix

Examples: *seˈmivowel*, *deˈmigod*, *milˈliliter*, *heˈlicopter*

The autonomy of CamE phonology is shown by the inordinate alternation between /s/ and /z/ in word-medial position, between penultimate and antepenultimate syllable stressing in *–ic(s)* words, and by the Trilateral Process.

Word	*BrE*	*CamE*
Opposite	s/z	s
crimson, flimsy, whimsy	z	s
hesitate, positive, visitor, acquisition, composition, physical, visible, position	z	s

reside, resident, residence, residue, resort, resounding, bosom, president, Joseph	z	s
basic, mason, basin, nuisance, compulsory, rehearsal, consume, consumer	s	z
assume, consumption, December, conserve, conservative, conservation, nursery	s	z

Table 1: /s/ and /z/ in word-medial position

Word	*BrE*	*CamE*
exotic, chaotic, magnetic	penultimate	penultimate
catholic, arithmetic	antepenultimate	antepenultimate
Arabic, rhetoric	antepenultimate	penultimate
apostolic, scientific	penultimate	antepenultimate
economics, phonetics	penultimate	antepenultimate

Table 2: Penultimate and antepenultimate syllable stressing in –ic(s) words

The Trilateral Process (TLP) chart

TLP 1:

$$\begin{tikzcd} \text{RP} & \text{CamE} & \\ A \arrow[r, "\text{Restructuring of UR}"'] \arrow[d, "\text{Derivation by rules of RP phonology}"'] & B \arrow[d, "\text{Derivation by rules of CamE phonology}"] & \text{Underlying Representation} \\ A' & B' & \text{Surface Representation} \end{tikzcd}$$

(A'B' = surface to surface change)

The example patterns, drawn on Simo Bobda and Chumbow (1999), include the following.

TLP 2:

$$\begin{tikzcd} \varepsilon \arrow[r] \arrow[d] & \varepsilon \arrow[d] \\ ə & \varepsilon \end{tikzcd}$$

Read: RP /ɛ/ is used unchanged as CamE UR. But while RP /ɛ/ weakens to [ə], its CamE counterpart does not undergo Vowel Reduction (VR) and surfaces as [ɛ].

Sample derivation of example word *increment*:

(27)	Input	*increm*[ɛ]*nt*	→	*increm*[ɛ]*nt* (RP and CamE *increm*[ɛ]*ntal*)
	VR	*increm*[ə]*nt*		________
	Output	*increm*[ə]*nt*		*increm*[ɛ]*nt*

Other examples:

(28)	*president*	[prɛzɪdənt]	[presidɛnt]
(29)	*frequent* (Adj.)	[frikwənt]	[frikwɛnt]

TLP 3:

$$\begin{tikzcd} \text{ɛ} \arrow[r] \arrow[d] & \text{ɛ} \arrow[d] \\ \text{ɪ / ə} & \text{ɛ} \end{tikzcd}$$

Sample derivation of example word *tempest*:

(30)	Input	*temp*[ɛ]*st*	→	*temp*[ɛ]*st* (RP and CamE temp[ɛ]stuous)
	VR	*temp*[ɪ/ə]*st*		________
	Output	*temp*[ɪ/ə]*st*		*temp*[ɛ]*st*

Other examples:

(31)	*prophet*	[profɪt, -ət]	[prɔfɛt]
(32)	*interest*	[ɪntrɪst, -əst]	[intrɛs(t)]

TLP 4:

$$\begin{tikzcd} \text{ɛ} \arrow[r] \arrow[dd] & \text{ɛ} \arrow[d] \\ & \text{e} \arrow[d] \\ \text{ɪ} & \text{e} \end{tikzcd}$$

Read: /ɛ/ is used unchanged as CamE UR and while /ɛ/ weakens to [ɪ] in RP, CamE /ɛ/ changes to [e] (by ɛ-Tensing) and surfaces as [e]

Sample derivation of example word *poetry*:

(33)	Input	*po*[ɛ]*try*	→	*po*[ɛ]*try* (RP *po*[ɛ]*tic*, CamE *po*[ɛ]*t*)
	VR	*po*[ɪ]*try*		________
	E-Tensing	________		*po*[e]*try*
	Output	*po*[ɪ]*try*		*po*[e]*try*

Other examples:

(34)	*tragedy*	[trædʒɪdɪ]	[tradʒedi]
(35)	*molecule*	[mɒlɪkjuːl]	[mɔlekul]

TLP 5:

$$\begin{tikzcd} \text{æ} \arrow[r] \arrow[d] & \text{a} \arrow[d] \\ \text{ə} & \text{a} \end{tikzcd}$$

Sample derivation of example word *African*:

(36)	Input	*Afric*[æ]*n*	→	*Afric*[a]*n* (RP *Afric*[æ]*nity*, CamE -[a]*nity*)
	VR	*Afric*[ə]*n*		________
	Output	*Afric*[ə]*n*		*Afric*[a]*n*

Other examples:

(37)	*scholar*	[skɒlə]	[skɔla]
(38)	*pathetic*	[pəθɛtɪk]	[patetik]

3. Common routes

The phonologies of Ln Englishes also display many common routes, generally a common response to the very nature of English phonology. English pronunciation is known to be notoriously complex and consequently not at all "learner-friendly", one would say. Following are some opinions on English word stress, which also reflect segmental phonology

- Like its segmental pronunciation, the word stress of English is "simple enough in theory" when seen through the phonological rules generating it, but is "highly complex in practice" (Roach 2000: 102).
- Strang (1970: 55) believes that the distribution of stress in English is "chaotic".
- To capture the complex nature of English stress, Crystal (1984: 84) humorously entitles one chapter of his book "Why is life so stressful?"
- To Dickerson (1978:131), a hasty look at English phonology (including word stress) is that "We cannot help".
- "For each new word, learn its vowels, its consonants, and its stress pattern." Dickerson here rejoins the view of O'Connor (1980: 115) whose advice is that:
  "There is no simple way of knowing which syllable or syllables in an English word must be stressed, but every time you learn another word you must be sure to learn how it is stressed."
- "If in doubt about the stress pattern look it up in a good dictionary" (after Gordon 1974: 329).
- "Make a statistically informed guess" (after Bens 1972: 329 and others)
- "Practice the stress patterns until you have the feel of them" (after Trager and Henderson 1956, the English Language Series 1967, Bowen 1956)

In English, pronunciation trouble begins with the sound system itself. Think of the "th" sounds and its various realizations around the world /f, v/, /s, z/, /t, d/ and so on. This is what Walker (2010: 29) says:

> Although they are strongly identified with the pronunciation of English in the minds of ELT practitioners like ourselves, /θ/ and /ð/ are notably absent from many languages in the world, including some native-speaker varieties of English, such as Irish, Jamaican, or New York. This absence suggests a certain inherent difficulty in their pronunciation, a difficulty that is confirmed by the fact that they are often the last consonant sounds of English that native-speaker children learn to pronounce correctly. Some children, in fact, never learn to pronounce them; they substitute /θ/ with /f/, to produce 'fink' instead of 'think', and replace /ð/ with a 'd'-like sound that makes 'then' sound like 'den'. Travelling through London one day, I overheard a young girl playing with the words 'that thing', which she variously pronounced 'that thing', 'dat thing' and 'datfing' at one point in her game she asked her younger brother what she did, listened to his reply, and then declared 'I can say "that thing", but 'datfing' is easier.

The pronunciation of sounds combined into words is a further challenge. Learners the world over learn with dismay, disbelief and frustration that the words below do not have the pronunciation that they expect, but something totally and un-understandably different.

One solution to this kind of complexity is the learners' dependence on spelling, unreliable though it may be. Most speakers of Ln Englishes are thus likely to say *de*[b]*t, parl*[i]*ament, doct*[ɔ]*r.* Another strategy is known variously as *simplification, overgeneralization, non-application of rules* as seen above, *ignorance of rule restrictions/exceptions, incomplete knowledge of rules, dependence on analogy,* and so on. Learners of Ln Englishes all over the world are thus likely to say *z*[i]*lous*, *equa*[ʃ]*on*,*s*[ei]*s* (says), stress RP ˈ*spiritual* as *spi*ˈ*ritual,* and *Tanza*ˈ*nia* as *Tan*ˈ*zania.*

Word	*Expected pronunciation*	*BrE pronunciation*
bury	bʌri, bjʊrɪ	bɛrɪ
choir	tʃɔɪə	kwaɪə
colonel	kɔlənəl	kɜnl
equation	ɪkweɪʃən	ɪkweɪʒən
hiccough	hɪkɒf	hɪkʌp
houses	haʊsis	haʊzɪs
infinite	ɪnfaɪnaɪt	ɪnfɪnət
machete	mætʃɛt	məʃɛtɪ
McLeod	məklɪəd	məklaʊd
Plymouth, Portsmouth	plaɪmaʊθ, pɔːtsmaʊθ	plɪməθ, pɔtsməθ
Says	seɪz	sɛz
Saudi Arabia	sɔdɪ (ɘreɪbɪə)	saʊdɪəreɪbɪə
Sean	sɪən	ʃɔn
spiritual	spiˈritual	ˈspiritual
Thames	θeɪmz	tɛmz
Timbre	tɪmbə	tæmbə

Table 3: Some learner-unfriendly pronunciations

In fact, to borrow expressions from the literature, speakers of Ln Englishes seem to appreciate the "madness" of English, which they try to "tame" (Simo Bobda 2001). The base of the analogy (cf. Table 4) is often a grapheme to which the general reading rule is assigned (e.g. *count, sound, round, counter* → *country* [kauntri]), a part of an existing word (e.g. *declare* → *declaration* [diklɛreʃɔn]) or a loose resemblance with an existing word (e.g. *future* → *feature* [futʃə], *tyre* → *matyr* [mataja]).

Word	*BrE*	*CamE*	*Base of analogy*
ascertain	ascer'tain	as'certain	'certain
bigamy	b[ɪ]gamy	b[ai]gamy	*bi*-words (bilingual)
country	c[ʌ]ntry	c[au]ntry	count, pound, sound
cowardice	kaʊədɪs	Kawadais	dice
create	krɪ'eɪt	Kret	great
deprivation	depr[ɪ]vation	depr[ai]vation	deprive
engine, entrance	[ɛ]ngine, [ɛ]ntrance	[i]ngine, [i]ntrance	*in*-words
feature	fiːtʃə	fjutʃə	future
Greenwich	grɛnɪtʃ	grinwitʃ	green
idiosyncrasy	[ɪ]diosyncrasy	[ai]diosyncrasy	idea
Incur	ɪnkɜː	inkjɔ	cure
Janet	dʒænɪt	dʒɛnɛt	Jane
senate	sɛnɪt	Sinet	scene, seen
southern	sʌðən	saudən	south
Trio	triəʊ	Trajo	*tri*-words
vineyard	vɪnjəd	vainjɒd	vine
wilderness	wɪldənɪs	waildanɛs	wild

Table 4: Some examples of analogy-based pronunciations in CamE

Speakers of Ln Englishes in many instances re-make the English language. The re-made forms, in many cases, interestingly match the innovations emerging in English. Table 5 shows, out of a multitude, a few examples of this match, involving segments and word stress.

Segments

Process	*Example feature*	*Old BrE form*	*Innovation in BrE*	*CamE form*
Monophthongisation of diphthongs	cure	[kjʊə]	[kjɔː]	[kjɔ]
	sure	[ʃʊə]	[ʃɔː]	[ʃɔ]
	tour	[tʊə]	[tɔː]	[tɔ]
Spelling pronunciations	economic	[iː]conomic	[ɛ]conomic	[e]conomic
	forehead	[fɒrɪd]	[fɒːhɛd]	[fɔhɛd]
	plenary	pl[iː]nary	pl[ɛ]nary	pl[ɛ]nary
	nephew	ne[v]ew	ne[f]ew	ne[f]ew
	via	[vaɪə]	[viːə]	[via]
	vice versa	[vaɪsɪ] versa	[vaɪs] versa	[vais] versa
Word stress				
Generalization of affix stress property	impious	ˈimpious	imˈpious	imˈpious
	jubilee	ˈjubilee	jubiˈlee	jubiˈlee
	(cp employˈee)			
Analogy with another affix stress property	Caribbean (cp words in *-ian*)	Caribˈbean	Caˈribbean	Caˈribbean
Generalization of antepenultimate stressing	abdomen	abˈdomen	ˈabdomen	ˈabdomen
	acumen	aˈcumen	ˈacumen	ˈacumen
	cigarette	cigaˈrette	ˈcigarette	ˈcigarette
Influence of base stress	comparable (cp *compare*)	ˈcomparable	comˈpare	comˈparable
	preferable	ˈpreferable	preˈfer	preˈferable
	reparable	ˈreparable	reˈpair	reˈparable
Generalization of backward nominal stress	idea	iˈdea	ˈidea	ˈidea
	research	reˈsearch	ˈresearch	ˈresearch
	resource	reˈsource	ˈresource	ˈresource

Table 5: Some examples of correspondence between Cameroon English forms and innovations in British English

It is not surprising that the non-L1 forms also match the features of American English. American English pronunciation is known to be closer to the reading rules of English and to generally level up irregularities and exceptions. Table 6 shows some examples of this phenomenon.

Word	*BrE*	*AmE*	*CamE*	*Nature of analogy*
leisure	lɛʒə	liːʒə	lɛʒɔ/liʒɔ	one of the usual pronunciations of
mayor	mɛə	meɪər	mejɔ	/eɪ/ the usual pronunciation of *ay*
premature	prɛmətʃʊə	primətʃʊ(ə)	primatʃɔ	*pre-* words, *present*
shone	ʃɒn	ʃoʊn	ʃon	oCe pronounced as GOAT
vitamin	vɪtəmɪn	vaɪtəmɪn	vitamin/	*vital*

Table 6: Some cases of convergence between CamE and AmE

4. Towards the pronunciation of EIL/ELF

From another perspective, these outputs of the "engineering" match what is commonly known in the recent literature as the pronunciation of English as an international language or as a lingua franca (Jenkins 2000, Walker 2010). The features include unreduced vowels as in *pil<u>o</u>t*, *statem<u>e</u>nt*, *Afric<u>a</u>*, and most function words (e.g. *from, that, then, for, at*), features which are the hallmarks of BrE and yet are so infrequent outside the Inner Circle and are very often a hindrance to intelligibility.

4.1. Prospects: End of some "native English" features in sight?

On the one hand, non-L1 users of English increasingly outnumber L1 users (about 2 billion users with some degree of proficiency against 400 million L1 users). On the other, the global perspective is fast removing the stigma hitherto attached to non-native accents which are now being tolerated. It follows that majority usages like unreduced vowels may soon become dominant global features and pose a serious threat to equivalent L1 features and which might face disappearance in the long run.

4.2. Concluding comments

Apart from a few differences linked to the linguistic substratum, Ln learners of English worldwide follow similar routes in their attempt to reach the English pronunciation, which they consider acceptable. The language that results from their learning strategies is always simpler than the orthodox and conservative prescriptions. Simplicity is viewed here both in formal and intuitive terms (see 2.1.3).
In some revolutionary cases, rules spring up *sui generis* to straighten up major irregularities in the language. The Final Obstruent Verbal Stress (FOVS) rule is an example:
RP: No rule
CamE: vowel → +stressed / [-son] #] verb

Vowels are stressed before a final obstruent.

Examples: *embarˈrass*, *kidˈnap*, *boyˈcott*, *eliˈcit*, *soliˈcit*, *comˈment*, *comˈbat*

This may be a matter of etymology of a word in question or the result of lexical frequency. But whatever the case, it is an easy guess that the English of tomorrow will be more tolerant of violations of phonological alternations and more favorable to simpler of fewer rules.

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Ellipsis in Cameroon Spoken English

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Abstract

Despite efforts to provide unified accounts of ellipsis and anaphors in syntax, evidence from the literature in British English (BrE) and other languages still shows some cross-linguistic variations of the phenomenon, at least in their outward manifestation. Very little, however, is known about how ellipsis operates in a New English like Cameroon English (CamE). A consideration of CamE ellipsis shows some variations at the level of taxonomy, recoverability, licensing, genre of use and function. This chapter considers seven forms of ellipsis, namely: verb complement ellipsis, Equi-NP object ellipsis, VP-ellipsis, subject/verb ellipsis, answer ellipsis, Not-stripping and cooperative ellipsis. Some marked distinctive properties of CamE ellipsis have been highlighted, including the possibility of inherent ellipsis with exophoric recovery from a wider context, the discoursal and syntactic functions they play and the difference in genre of use.

Keywords: inherent ellipsis, Cameroon English, cooperative ellipsis, discoursal function, exophoric recovery

1. Introduction

Sentences are often defined as “complete thought,” so that what has not been said should naturally not be understood. However, economy, simplification and least effort are typical traits that have been listed for natural languages, and have even been highlighted as one major marker of the trajectory of linguistic change. These traits are the more evident in spoken language, where the immediate or situational context often warrants that ideas be left unexpressed. In discussing the Cooperative Principle and Conversational Implicative, Grice (1989: 26ff) acknowledges the possibility of some kinds of meanings being left unexpressed in language use. This means that while sentences must be complete, it is also communicative competence, and at times linguistic competence, to systematically leave out information and still make sense. This practice, which often yields grammatically defective forms, falls under the syntactic process of ellipsis. The tendency often is to leave out redundant material, which is **already** too obvious, typically by being mentioned in the text or by being sufficiently clear from the context**.** This has to be done in such a way as to avoid loss of meaning, through what has been called verbatim recoverability (Quirk et al, 1994). Leaving linguistic material that is understood covert has a bearing on the relation between form and meaning in syntax.

Recent works on ellipsis have moved away from taxonomic concerns (see Ross, 1967; Jackendoff, 1971 and Hankamer and Sag, 1976), to issues of identity, recoverability, constraints and licensing (see Lobeck, 1995; Mechant, 2001; Aelbrecht, 2010; Craenenbroeck, 2010; Thoms, 2011; etc.) These studies analyse ellipsis and integrate the debate in generative syntax topics such as the government and binding of empty categories and anaphora in general. The purpose of this effort has been to provide a unified account of ellipsis in all languages. There has also been a move in the literature to relate ellipsis to pronouns and pro-forms, explaining that they result from the same process (see Hardt, 1993 and Baltin, 2012). However, the discoursal and syntactic uses of ellipsis have not been a major concern in the literature, maybe because ellipsis in English is just one economic strategy to spare the listener of redundant information. In this paper, I argue that ellipsis in CamE could play other syntactic functions apart from just word economy.

However far unified accounts may lead us, ellipsis varies cross-linguistically. The goal of unified accounts has been to reduce some types of ellipsis in English and in other languages under the general processes of anaphora binding and the empty category principle. However, while this is obvious within the current trends in minimalism in syntax, it is also important to note that one tendency of overgeneralization in theorizing is always to leave out some basic details that could also be important for particular languages. For example, if I am asked to say what is common to all students in my Syntax class, I may say amongst other things that “they wear clothes and have blood flowing in their veins”. But immediately I start looking at the kind of clothes or the kind of blood, and perhaps at their uses, and cultural and/or genetic origins, I am looking at differences and not commonalities. The hard fact therefore remains that ellipsis varies from language to language (see Wei, 2010; Nezam, 2012; Lee, 2012 (for English and Korean); Grebenyova, 2009 (for Sluicing in Russian and Polish)) and therefore has a cultural dimension, with a bearing on conventions of language use in any speech community. Busquet (2005) discusses the impossibility of a romance language like Catalan licensing VP-ellipsis and shows how constraints on ellipsis in that language vary from those in English. Languages, therefore, do not neatly resemble each other in their external conception and application of ellipsis. Arguably, this could also be part of the syntactic and discoursal variation from one New English to the other. Therefore, we need to understand the way ellipsis operates in CamE to fully grasp its form and character.

This study places ellipsis within the context of New Englishes, and by an indirect effect, within the context of cross-linguistic variation. It therefore investigates the differences that may exist between CamE and BrE ellipsis especially when we consider their licensing (i.e., the kind of constituents elided in the process), modes of recoverability and uses. Ellipsis is very productive and characteristic of BrE. Yet, in a New English context like Cameroon, we need to ask ourselves the following questions: Does ellipsis in CamE respect the cannons analysed for BrE or are there any localized norms that could be imputed to it? What role does ellipsis play in CamE?

Syntactic studies in CamE, as well as in other New Englishes, have the mission to describe and account for, among other things, word order innovations in English in its new habitats. Kortmann (2010: 418), in charting the path of New Englishes syntactic studies notes that “what […] we need in the study of morpho-syntactic variation in Englishes is the following: More detailed descriptions of the grammars of individual varieties, not just of the forms and structures available, but also of their uses". However, most studies on CamE syntax have either focused on innovative insertions, deletions, distortions or on the varying uses of English words (at times lexical, but mostly functional, see Sala, 2014). Again, written English research has been the focus of syntactic descriptions, as if to say English in the New Nations is only written. Spoken English dynamics have been largely neglected (see Crystal, 2003: 148ff for such a critique). As a result, little attention has been paid to when, how and why information is left out and to how it is recovered, especially in speech.

2. Some major concerns in ellipsis research

First and foremost, it is important to clarify what counts as ellipsis. Craenenbroeck (2015: 1) lists four issues that should be considered when discussing ellipsis namely "the presence or absence of an unpronounced syntactic structure inside the ellipsis site, the size of the ellipsis site, the recoverability requirement on the ellipsis process, and the licensing environments". Halliday and Hassan (1976: 143) define an elliptical item as one which "leaves specific structural slots to be filled from elsewhere". Aelbretch (2010: 1) defines ellipsis as "[…] the omission of elements that are inferable from the context" and notes that ellipsis "constitutes a mismatch between sound and meaning." She goes further to state that "when one utters an elliptical sentence, its interpretation is richer than what is actually pronounced". Vujevic (2014: 414) states that "[...] as a general principle of ellipsis, we can say that ellipsis occurs when something of a structural importance is left out, and when there is a sense of incompleteness associated with that omitted item". This means that an elliptic form must be grammatically defective.

Lobeck (1995: 20ff) goes further to distinguish ellipsis from gapping and concludes that "it is possible to claim that VP-Ellipsis, ellipsis in NP, and Sluicing form a natural class of phenomena distinct from Gapping" (ibid: 24). She adopts Jackendoff's (1971) restrictions on ellipsis, which state that

a. An ellipsis can be phrase-final.
b. An ellipsis can occur in a coordinate or a subordinate clause separate from that containing its antecedent.
c. An ellipsis can precede its antecedent under certain conditions.
d. An ellipsis must be a phrase.

The restriction on (d) above leaves the impression that, for something to qualify as ellipsis, it must be structured by being a phrase. However, Hardt (1993), in arguing that VP-ellipsis is a pro-form, demonstrates that ellipsis sites lack syntactic structure. Weir (2016: 3) in discussing his left-edge ellipsis in spoken English concludes that the elided material and the remnant are "not sensitive to syntactic constituency". This, he argues, are conditioned by the Strong Start Constraint, in which speakers avoid beginning a sentence with weak syllables. The constraint states that "An intonational phrase should not have at its left edge an immediate sub-constituent which is prosodically dependent on (smaller than) a prosodic word".

It is therefore clear from the foregone discussion that there is lack of consensus as to what really counts as ellipsis. While Lobeck (1995:24f) adopts Jackendoff's (1971) distinction between ellipsis and gapping, Halliday and Hassan (1976:143), in discussing ellipsis, cite as their first example what others have called gapping (cf. *Joan bought some carnations, and Catherine some sweet peas*). The structural dependence of ellipsis is a point of disagreement here. Mechant (2001) discusses cases of mismatch in the relationship between ellipsis sites and their antecedents, with the possibility of a sloppy (ambiguous) reading occurring. As mentioned above, Hardt (1993) and Weir (2014) and (2016) do not also support the fact that ellipsis must be structured. In this work, however, I will take sides with those who support a weaker version, that is, those who consider ellipsis as any comprehensible gap within a sentence. I will also focus on the possible uses of such gaps.

Ellipses leave behind other words referred to as remnants. The taxonomy of ellipsis has been based on the quantity of material elided and the kind of remnant left on the site of ellipsis. Remnants play a vital role in their structural recoverability. If only the verb is elided leaving subject and object, it is called Gapping as in *He will clean the room, and Mary [E] the kitchen*. If the verb and object is deleted leaving the subject, we call it Stripping as in *He will clean the room, and Mary [E] too* (see Ross, 1967; and Hankamer and Sag, 1976). If the verb is deleted leaving behind the auxiliary, we call it Verb Phrase Ellipsis as in *John is working in the garden this morning and Mary is [E]too*. If the whole clause is deleted leaving behind only a wh-word, we call it Sluicing as in *John invited some guests, but I don't know whom [E]* (see Merchant, 2001). The taxonomy of ellipsis does not apply neatly across languages. For example, while VP-ellipsis has animated English debates on the topic (see Lobeck, 1995 and Merchant, 2001), the debate in Dutch has centred on Null Complement Anaphora (NCA) as in *I asked Dany to make me a mojito, but he refused [e]* and Modal Complement Ellipsis (MCE). Lee (2012) remarks that Korean has VP anaphora where English has VP-Ellipsis. Aelbrecht (2008:4f) points out that VP-Ellipsis is broader in English than in Dutch, where only infinitival complements of deontic modal verbs can be deleted. One area of ellipsis that Weir (2014, 2016) discusses is left-edge ellipsis and fragment answers in spoken BrE.

Recoverability is another key issue in ellipsis investigations. Quirk et al (1994) discuss verbatim recoverability as a condition on ellipsis in BrE. Here, elliptical material needs to be recovered precisely from the text or from the grammatical context. Generally, the recovery of elided material can be textual if it is based on the neighbouring text and structural if it is based on knowledge of grammatical structure. Thoms (2011) even notes that "an ellipsis site is recoverable if it has identity with a salient antecedent," so that "most of the work on recoverability has been concerned with clarifying the identity relation that holds between the deleted and antecedent constituents". For recoverability to work, therefore, it needs a remnant, which gives the listener a clue as to what the empty space represents. The auxiliary, for example, is a well-known and discussed remnant in VP-ellipsis in English. The situational context is, however, equally important in recoverability, especially in conversations, where there is a bigger likelihood of unstated and yet understood material. By situational context is meant extra-linguistic information such as deixis, the immediate context, gestures, and such paralinguistic issues that often characterise spoken language. Moreover, little has been said in the literature about exophoric recovery, which is based on some wider context. Exophoric recovery is related to Halliday and Hassan's (1976: 33f) discussion of exophoric reference.

The licensing of ellipsis seems to be one area where the phenomenon varies most cross-linguistically. Ellipsis licensing probes the kind of constituents that are subject to ellipsis and assesses the effects of their deletion on syntactic operations and processes. Aelbrecht (2010: 10) notes that

> The two main conditions that have to be fulfilled in an elliptical sentence are recoverability and licensing. Recoverability on the one hand, means that the missing material has to be recoverable semantically from the context. The licensing condition on the other hand, requires ellipsis to only occur in the right syntactic environment, since not all syntactic configurations allow ellipsis.

VP-ellipsis, which is by far the most widely studied area of ellipsis in English, especially in generative grammar, is licensed by the auxiliary or INFL according to Lobeck (1995: 141-163) or by infinitival *to* according to Aelbrecht and Haegeman (2009: 1). The NP can also be elided when it is object as in *I found Peter's book, but I didn't see John's* [E]. It can also be elided as subject in what Weir (2016) has called "left-edge dislocation". There is also the case of comparative deletion, which has been analysed as obligatory ellipsis (*Peter is stronger that John [E]*). However, Busquets (2005) notes that romance languages do not license VP-ellipsis because such an ellipsis is not licensed by INFL as it is the case in English. Aelbrecht (2008) states his objectives as follows: "In this paper I argue that Dutch MCE [Modal Complement Ellipsis] involves deletion of a fully specified structure, just like English. The contrast between the languages is derived from the difference in licensing head and ellipsis site". It is therefore clear that licensing of ellipsis has cross-linguistic peculiarities.

Another heated debate in the area of ellipsis is the issue of ellipsis identity. The question has been whether the empty elliptical position necessarily needs to be identical with the antecedent. Craenenbroeck (2015) observes that "the identity relation between an elided VP and its antecedent can be defined over their syntax, semantics, morphology, information structure, discourse structure or a combination of two of these." Some researchers, however, have argued against the syntactic identity hypothesis, so that VP-ellipsis antecedents can be something else and not necessarily a similar VP element in a preceding clause (see Hardt, 1999). Hardt (1999: 185) uses evidence from split antecedents and sloppy readings to argue against the identity condition on ellipsis. Issues of mismatches with antecedents, e.g. voice mismatch (Merchant, 2013) and verbal morphology mismatches (*John sang well last week and we hope Mary* ***will*** *[E] today*) have also been raised to counteract the identity hypothesis.

It can be seen from the above discussion that works on ellipsis have focused so far on typology, constraints, identity, recoverability and licensing. A lot of effort has been made to provide unified analyses of the different types of ellipsis in their linguistic and cross-linguistics variations. The purpose of this paper is to present the CamE data and to argue that CamE also has its own peculiarities about when information can be left unexpressed and yet be understood. It is also to show that, from a functional perspective, CamE has its own uses of ellipsis, which go beyond just sentence economy. Because of their syntactic perspective, works on ellipsis have focused on endophoric ellipsis, where implicit information is recovered from the text or structure. Very little has been said about exophoric ellipsis, where information is recovered from some wider context, which is more remote than the context of situation.

3. Data analyses

The data for this study comes from recordings of naturally occurring conversations in Cameroon, including other pre-published material such as Sala (2010, 2012, 2014) and Mbangwana and Sala (2009). In the analyses, I pay attention to three things, namely the kind of constituent that is elided, the method of recovery of the deleted constituent and the discoursal function, if any, that the elided material plays in CamE. Here, I use what could be called verified introspection, where we get five other Anglophone Cameroonians to confirm our analyses. Elided material is indicated by either a [~~strikethrough~~] or [E]. The procedure is simple. First, I consider the probability of each feature occurring in BrE before turning to the CamE peculiarity. This is meant to help the reader to better grasp the way the phenomenon in CamE contrasts with that in BrE.

3.1. Verb complement ellipsis

Verb Complement Ellipsis is ellipsis of just the object of the verb. The closest instance where objects are elided in BrE is in the case of variable behaviour verbs, exemplified below with *read, eat* and *teach*.

(1) He is reading [~~a book~~].
(2) He is eating [~~some food~~].
(3) He is teaching [~~the students~~].

The verbs ‘read,’ ‘eat’ and ‘teach’ are classified as variable behaviour verbs (VBE) because they allow their complements unexpressed, as they can be understood from the context. The complements of VBEs are so obvious that it becomes redundant to state them in some direct contexts. Nykiel (2004: 186) refers to VBEs as verbs of variable transitivity and argues that they are rarely considered as cases of ellipsis. This means that, because the deleted material cannot be recoverable from the text, it is not ellipsis, which only exemplifies the exclusion of exophoric reference from studies in ellipsis.

However, Verb Complement Ellipsis occurs in CamE in several other contexts, i.e., in contexts where the verb complement is elided not because the verb is a VBE. Consider the following cases:

(4) I say [E] eh (booh)!
(5) A: This government is really corrupt.
B: I am telling you [E].
(6) A. This child is very wicked.
B: You are saying it without knowing [E].

The sentence in 4) is used as an attention-getter in a conversation. It is a common way to start a conversation, sounding more or less like the BrE "There is something you need to know" or "May I tell you something". The sentences in 5) and 6) are ways of agreeing or consenting in conversations as seen from the exchanges. They mean something like "What you have said is not well stressed. There is more to that than you think you have said". It is used as a cooperative phrase to foreground additional information in a conversation. This information may be stated immediately afterwards. It may also be left unstated, and in this case, it is a method of consenting. The mode of recoverability here is structural because the listener makes up the deleted verb complements of the verbs *say, tell* and *know*, even though they do not depend on any antecedence-ship. Their pragmatic uses depend on the wider context, as they are negotiated in the Cameroonian community. The three cases above show that ellipsis of the verb complement has also taken upon other functions apart from just avoiding redundancy.

3.2. Verb complements in second coordinate verb

There is yet another very commonly heard and read instance of Verb Complement Ellipsis in CamE, in which the complement in a second coordinate verb is deleted. In BrE, ellipsis of the verb complement of the second verb is only attested in instructional literature like in the examples below:

(7) Put water in a saucepan, add potatoes and boil [~~potatoes~~] for 10 minutes.
(8) ? Put water in a saucepan, then add and boil potatoes for 10 minutes.
(9) Wash and core six cooking apples. Put them into a fireproof dish. (Halliday and Hassan 1976:2)

Sentence 7) and 9) are common in instructional literature. There, the second object, which is identical to the first, is normally deleted. Sentence 8) is the closest version of 7) that would be used in other contexts in BrE. In 9), the two verbs in the coordinate structure are linked by 'and' and then share a common object, 'apples'. Consider the following CamE sentences:

(10) In fact, there was no light so the members had asked their progenitors to fetch wood in the afternoon and bring [**~~wood~~**] so that it could be lighted. (BrE:… fetch in wood so that …)
(11) Take this meat and give [**~~the meat~~**] to your mother. (BrE: Take this meat to your mother)
(12) You have taken my daughter and destroyed [**~~my daughter~~**] and now you are bringing her back to me? (BrE: You have wasted/desecrated my daughter …)

(13) Since she had never eaten this type of animal before, she abandoned it in the farm, [~~saying~~] that it should carry its ill luck and go away with [**~~its ill luck~~**]. (… it should carry away its ill luck)

(14) Go and look for a dictionary in daddy's study and bring [**~~the dictionary~~**]. (Fetch/Go get me a dictionary from daddy's study).

Halliday and Hassan's (1976:2) sentence in 9) above would be rendered in CamE as (15) below:

(15) Wash six cooking apples and core [E]. Put them into a fireproof dish.

It is first of all necessary to consider the verb valence differences between CamE and BrE as illustrated in (10) to (14) above.

Variation in verb valence in BrE and CamE

BrE	CamE
Fetch in something	Fetch something and bring [E]
Take something to somebody	Take something and give [E] to somebody
Desecrate somebody	Take somebody and destroy [E]
Carry away something	Carry something and go way with [E]
Go get something	Go and look for something and bring [E]

It is verifiable from the table above that CamE coordinate verbs are in some contexts a simplification of some complex verbs in BrE (including BrE catenatives like in *go get*). Such simplification leads to ellipsis with transitive verbs, where the second Equi-objective NP is deleted. The reason is simply the avoidance of redundancy. The mode of recoverability in this case is typically textual or verbatim. This can be linked to stripping or bare argument ellipsis in BrE as seen in *John can drive a truck, and Mary [~~can drive a truck~~]too* because of the following reasons:

- It occurs only in coordinate structures.
- The redundant material in the immediately preceding clause can be gapped without lexical remnants on both sides of the gap.

However, stripping in BrE has not been reported so far for verb complements. On the contrary, in the literature, simple verbs have not been analysed to license ellipsis (see Lobeck 1995).

3.3. Verb Phrase Ellipsis

As already shown, VP-ellipsis in BrE involves eliding the verb and its complement and leaving the auxiliary as remnant. This remnant is often very important in its licensing and recovery. Hence, where there is no auxiliary as in the case of simple verbs, do-support is used as it is the case in English questions and negation. There is a kind of VP-ellipsis in CamE that may not target the whole predicate as shown below:

(16) Give this to your mother, [~~**and tell her**~~] that she should keep it very well.
(17) She abandoned the idea and pleaded with her to take care of the kids and [~~**said**~~**]** that whenever they need something, she should be contacted for help.
(18) When Jesus resurrected, people were [~~**saying something**~~**]** like Hey! This is a strong man.

In (16) and (18), the verb and indirect object are deleted. In (17), only the verb is deleted. What is important is that the remnants in (16) and (17) are that-complement clauses. This means that the listener has the responsibility of recovering the head of the VP, that is, the kind of verb that has been left out. In this case, the verbs are "say" and "tell". I will refer to them hence as 'verbs of saying'. I propose that CamE tends to delete verbs of saying, may be because they are so obvious and thought to be redundant. The elided verbs are not recovered from any structural head, but rather, it is the *that*-complement that signals structurally that the empty place is to be filled by a verb of saying, one that can take such a clause as complement. As to recovering the specific kind of verb, only the wider context works here. It therefore means that it is a convention in CamE that verbs of saying can be deleted in superordinate clauses. This is important because, in the literature on VP-ellipsis in BrE, the relation between the remnant and the elided VP has been defined as that of head-complement, so that the remnant comes first. But in the CamE examples above, the remnant is not a head. It is rather a complement and comes after the deleted matter. The only elliptic operation in BrE that deletes the verb and allows their complements is Gapping as in the following example:

(19) Joan bought some carnations, and Catherine some [E] sweet peas. (Halliday and Hassan 1976:143)

Although, Halliday and Hassan (1976) do not differentiate an ellipsis from gapping as other authors (see Jakendoff (1971) and Lobeck 1995) do, the only relation between the CamE sentences above and gapping is that both appear after the coordinating conjunction, 'and'. But gapping always has two remnants: one to the right (the subject) and another to the left (the object). Note that, when the verb and complement are deleted so that only the subject is the remnant, the operation is referred to as Stripping. It just suffices to note here that the structure in 16) and 17) above are unique to CamE.

3.4. Subject /verb ellipsis

One category of ellipsis that has been least discussed is ellipsis of the subject and verb. This is due in part because of the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) in English, which states that all subject positions must be overtly filled. However, Weir (2014) and (2016) in his discussion of sentence fragments and sub-sententials in spoken English argues that they are to be considered as ellipsis. He refers to the ellipsis of subject and auxiliary as left-edge ellipsis. He discusses two phenomena that account for such deletions: Question under Discussion (QUD)-GIVENness and STRONGSTART constraint. The QUD-GIVENness supposes that ellipsis may occur when material is present in the syntax but is not spoken. For example, *What did John eat? ~~He ate~~ chips*. Weir (2014: 3) argues that "this relation […] allows for the generation of fragments without a linguistic antecedent, as the QUD is a semantic/pragmatic object, rather than a purely linguistic/syntactic one". Weir (2016:4) defines STRONGSTART constraint as requiring that "Prosodic constituents above the level of the word should not have at their left edge an immediate sub-constituent which is prosodically dependent (smaller than a prosodic word)". This means that, in a conversation, people often delete unstressed material in an intonational phrase. He cites the case of *[~~It's a~~] Nice weather today*.

Other instances of subject/auxiliary deletion are also attested in some restricted contexts in BrE. There is first the imperative transformation, which derives *[E] be calm* from *You should be calm.* This is an obligatory deletion because it is a syntactic transformation. Subject/auxiliary deletion is also found in telegram-styled writings such as diary entries (For example, *[~~I~~] Left the party before time*). It is also found in short SMS messages (*[~~I am~~] already in class*) and also when we answer the door ([~~I am~~] *Coming*).

Cases of left-edge ellipsis are also attested in CamE. Consider the sentences below:

(20) You are beating that child up that [**~~he has done~~**] what?
(21) [**~~Mother says~~**] That you should come immediately.
(22) They mobilised themselves and refused to contribute even a franc [**~~the reason being~~**] that bygones were bygones.

In (20) and (22), the subjects and verbs of the subordinate clause are deleted, stranding the objects, 'what' and the subject complement, *that bygones* were *bygones*. In 21), the subject and a verb of saying are elided. This is the reporting transformation in CamE. While in BrE, reporting involves the insertion of a saying verb (cf. *Mother says that you should come immediately*), in CamE the verb of saying could be deleted. This is similar to what obtains in (16), (17) and (18) above. This re-verifies the tendency in CamE to elide verbs of saying. Mode of recoverability in this case is the wider context. There is, however, a temptation to consider the sentence in (20) as an example of sluicing. Sluicing is a kind of ellipsis that deletes everything in a subordinate clause, leaving only a wh-word as in (23).

(23) John invited some guests, but I don't know whom$_i$ [~~John invited t_i~~].

The similarity between (20) and (23) is that their deletion sites are in subordinate clauses. Both sentences also delete the subject and the verb and have as remnant a wh-word: 'what' in (20) and 'whom' in (23). Again, in (23), the remnant wh-word, 'whom,' is the object of the deleted clause, and in (20) the remnant 'what' is also the object of the deleted clause. But a further consideration shows that the subordinate clauses are not similar in function. While in (23) the elided matter must be in a nominal clause, that in (20) is in a that-adverbial clause. That-adverbial clauses are adverbial clauses of reason introduced by 'that' (see Sala, 2010). This is why 'what' comes after 'that'. If we consider the elided matter in (20) as sluicing, we must conceive of it as sluicing in an adverbial clause, which gives it its CamE peculiarity.

3.5. Answer ellipsis

Answer ellipsis in BrE targets the focused and extracted information. For example, *Who did this? John [~~did it~~]*. In CamE, it targets the main clause.

(24) A: Come and a drink, please.
B: [**~~How can I come and drink~~**]When I have not eaten? (CamE)
(25) I'm afraid I can't drink because I have not eaten. You know that one should not drink on an empty stomach. (BrE)

In (24), the main clause is left out and only the adverbial clause introduced by 'when' is used. This has a contrastive modal effect. In BrE, B's response in (24) would mean something like (25). In Mbangwana and Sala (2009:135f), we call the kind of question in (24) a reprobative question and the kind of contrast relation expressed therein as "non-reason". The mode of recoverability there is textual.

3.6. Not-Stripping

(26) A: Is john really going to marry Mary?
B: I hope [~~he is~~] not [~~going to marry Mary~~]. (BrE)
(27) I came to visit you and you were not [~~present/there~~]. (CamE)

In (26), not-stripping in BrE is closely linked to answer ellipsis, as it is recoverable from the question. It is a complicated kind of ellipsis because we have deleted matter before and after 'not' as seen in (26). In the CamE sentence in (27), the elided material after 'not' is attested in a statement, so that it is not recoverable structurally, but from some wider context. The interlocutor uses a wider context to come up with ".... present". The important thing is that "present" is not recoverable from structural facts, but from some general understanding of the conversational context.

3.7. Cooperative ellipsis

Cooperative ellipsis is a conversational strategy in CamE where a speaker deliberately leaves out material so that his listener can complete it to show his/her attentiveness and sympathy. Very often in BrE conversations, incomplete conversations have been attributed to interruption, a sudden necessity to change the topic of conversation and distraction. Incomplete conversations could also simply be stylistic or instigated by shyness (e.g., a boy tells his girlfriend "I need to... you know!" and the girl friend says "Not today"). This means that incomplete conversations could be understood (as in the last case) or not understood in BrE. They hardly require the interlocutor completing chunks of information, that is, they are non-cooperative. Consider the following CamE conversations:

(28) A: I told him that I came to collect my mo…
B: … ney
A: And advised him not to be wic…
B: … ked

A: As you know, experience is the best … [E]
B: … teacher.
A: And we should not spare the rod and spoil the … [E]
B: … child.

(29) Priest: If you are what you are, it is thanks to … [E]
Audience: … God.
Priest: Christ summarised the Ten Commandments into love of God and love of … [E]
Audience: … neighbour
Priest: And if you love your neigh … [E]
Audience: … bour
Priest: you should not … [E]
Audience: … kill.
Priest: If a cap fits, you should … [E] (repeated 3 times)
Audience: … wear it.
Priest: Christ said, "If you want to be saved, you should pick your cross and … [E]
Audience: … follow me".
Priest: Why should I crawl when I can walk; why should I walk when I can run; and why should I run when I can … [E]
Audience: … fly.

With cooperative ellipsis, the information left out (usually syllables and at times full words and phrases) is recoverable using the structural context. It is cooperative because the speaker gets his listener to complete the sentences he (the speaker) is constructing. Here, the speaker leaves out material deliberately, so that his listener can complete it to show his attentiveness, understanding and sympathy with the situation or the subject under discussion. However, this would make a serious study within the framework of conversational analyses. It only suffices to state here that someone makes a statement and deliberately leaves out chunks of it (syllables and at times full words and phrases), so that his interlocutor can complete them using his/her interpretation of the structural context and the subject under discussion. This establishes cooperation during the conversation. It also assures the speaker of the listener's attention and establishes intimacy.

Recoverability in Cooperative Ellipsis is mostly textual and structural. It is also seriously related to the QUD-GIVENness discussed in Weir (2014). The question one should ask is how likely it is for a listener to appropriately complete this kind of ellipsis. For Cooperative Ellipsis to be successfully recoverable, the speaker and the listener must share some information that they are exchanging during conversation. This common knowledge could be structural or gleaned from the text, but is mostly cultural. The information to be recovered could be a syllable that is needed to complete a word as in *wic* - *ked* and *neigh* - *bour* in (28) and (32). It could also be the complement of a verb as in *spoil* - *the child* in (30). It could also be the noun head of a Noun phrase as in (*best – teacher*) in (29). Generally, when the deleted item is part of some commonly known proverb or saying, the likelihood that it would be recovered is higher. At times, a conversation may fail if the listener is not readily conversant with what is needed to complete the conversation. This is the case of sentence (33), where the Priest repeats his elliptical sentence three times before the audience can figure out an appropriate completion. The discoursal function it plays is strictly a cultural issue, as it is a Cameroonian way of negotiating cooperation during a conversation.

Cooperative ellipsis has a few characteristics just got from observing the phenomenon for some time now. First, it cannot be used in a quarrel. This means that it is a friendly and intimate move in conversation. Second, it is also a serious storytelling technique. Public speakers and politicians in Cameroon are increasingly resorting to it to successfully transmit their message. Third, it cannot be used with words or syllables that are beyond the interlocutor's discernment. This means that the speaker has the duty to ensure that his interlocutor can use the immediate structural context to guess appropriately the right syllables and words to use in completing his elliptic material. Finally, from a prosodic perspective, the speaker drags (drawls) a syllable or a word as a signal that he wants his interlocutor to complete the sentence.

4. Conclusion

Works on ellipses in BrE have focused on their taxonomy, which has been based on how they can be classified depending on the type of constituents elided and the mode of their recovery. Focus has also been on the cohesive relation between the elided material and their recovery, with attempts to provide unified accounts for ellipses, anaphors and even traces. In this paper, I have established that some CamE ellipses differ from BrE ellipses in such aspects as kind of constituent deleted, mode of recoverability, function of ellipsis and genre of use.

First, the kind of constituent elided varies between BrE and CamE. We have discussed seven types of ellipsis. In the case of verb complement ellipsis, the object of the verb is elided. CamE coordinate verbs also tend to elide the second Equi-NP object. VP ellipsis in CamE could also target only the verb and indirect object, stranding its *that*-complement. This only involves what we have called 'verbs of saying'. Subject/verb ellipsis also targets verbs of saying and also leaves *that*-complements as remnants. Closely related to this is answer ellipsis, in which an adverbial *when*-clause is heard and the dependent clause is completely deleted. CamE not-stripping elides the subject complement, 'present'. Finally, with cooperative ellipsis the speaker deletes syllables, words or phrases so that the listener can complete them structural and cultural knowledge so as to affirm his attention. It is therefore clear that what has been described here as ellipsis does not fit the licensing conditions in BrE-ellipses, especially in its strong version. Deleted material in most cases is not structured and therefore does not respect the structure dependence condition on transformations.

Second, the recoverability of elided material is also an area of differentiation, especially with cases of inherent ellipsis. This is ellipsis where the structure is grammatically defective, but is not sanctioned by verbatim recovery. Inherent ellipsis is sanctioned by the fact that, in CamE, 'verbs of saying' are considered redundant in conversation and in some syntactic processes like reporting. The recovery is bound by some wider context where such verbs and *post-not* subject complements are elided. This has been seen in sentences such as *[E]that you should come* and *I came to visit you and you were not [E]*. The remnants of VP-ellipsis and that of subject/verb ellipsis are subordinate that-clauses. The mode of recoverability of inherent ellipsis is exophoric. This goes against theories that have defined the relation between an antecedent and ellipsis as that of head and complement (See Lobeck, 1995).

Third, the same kind of ellipsis may be attested in both BrE and in CamE, but the genre of use may be different. While BrE deletes the second Equi-objective noun only in instructional literature, CamE uses it in everyday requests. While Weirs (2014) left-edge ellipsis is governed by the StrongStart constraint, which simply leaves out unstressed material at the beginning of an intonational sentence, CamE uses left-edge ellipsis for reporting and for echo-questions (see Sala 2014).

Furthermore, apart from the imperative transformation, ellipsis may not have another function in BrE than sparing the speaker some energy repeating old/obvious information and avoiding monotony. It therefore largely becomes an issue of style and economy. However, some forms of ellipsis in CamE have specific functions to play in discourse. VP-ellipsis, which is by far the most-investigated type of ellipsis in BrE, only functions as a way of avoiding redundancy, so that ellipsis has not been analysed to play a bigger syntactic function apart from that of sentence economy. In BrE, the subject pronoun is elided to form commands and the imperative mood as in *[~~You should~~]Come here*, but this has not been given due consideration in the literature. Apart from this, very little is known about the communicative functions and "syntactic" uses of ellipsis in BrE, even with the comparative deletion (as in *My car is bigger than John's ~~car~~*), which is another obligatory ellipsis. In CamE, ellipsis could serve the purpose of reporting as in *[E] that you should come*, and even modality (as in *[E] That you will not come?* and in *[E] When I am not hungry?* Ellipsis also plays a pragmatic function in conversation as in foregrounding information and also in consenting. Some CamE exclamations or conversational gap-fillers have ellipsis in such conversational gap-fillers as *I say-eh, You are saying it without knowing, I am telling you,* etc. The notion of cooperative ellipsis helps Cameroonians in their negotiation of cooperation during a conversation. It is clear that ellipsis in CamE could be an equivalent of some BrE transformation, or a manner of realising some syntactic process.

It is also very clear from my analyses that elliptic material must not necessarily be structured as phrases. We add to Hardt's (1993, 1999) and Mechant's (2001, 2013, 2014) conclusion that ellipsis in its weak version may not be governed by structure dependence. The general idea is that ellipsis is an individual language issue from the point of view of taxonomy and function. It is also contextual, emanating from the way people in a speech community have decided to keep information overt or covert. Finally, the CamE data show that there is need in the literature to start situating the ellipsis phenomenon within the New Englishes syntactic debate.

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The Syntax of Non-Focalized Wh-Question in Cameroon Spoken English

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Abstract

The variety of English spoken in Cameroon exhibits a substantial amount of linguistic and structural variation as a result of the complex multilingual and multicultural nature of the Cameroon linguistic ecology. This chapter sets out to show that non-focalized wh-questions are formed in Cameroon English by using wh-in-situ phrases. It equally depicts that the Cameroon English non-focalized wh-questions usually take a sentence final *naah*. Besides, the wh-phrase occurs as the direct object of the verb in mono-clausal non-focalized wh-questions, and in the right periphery, in the object complement position, in complex wh-questions. The changes inscribed in the way non-focalized wh-questions are constructed in Cameroon English corroborate the issue of indigenization as a functional and prevailing pattern to combat cultural imperialism and preserve the Cameroon linguistic ecology whereby L2 learners of English have wh-in-situ L1 background. This thinking is grounded on the belief that Cameroonian learners of the English language are likely to pursue communication and integration fi rst with the Cameroonian folk before any other group of people. Inspired by the Principles and Parameters paradigm, the chapter argues that varieties of English spoken across the globe have a common set of principles and any differences that exist among these varieties of English are attributable to the differences in the parameter settings chosen from a finite and fixed set of parameters found within the linguistic ecology.

Keywords: Cameroon English, wh-phrase, wh-question, wh-movement, wh-in-situ, syntax

1. Introduction

In discussing the syntax of human languages, Van Valin (2004: 1) makes the following relevant observations:

> each language has a stock of meaning-bearing elements and different ways of combining them to express different meanings, and these ways of combining them are themselves meaningful. These different combinations fall into the realm of syntax.

As an addendum to this, the two English non-focalized wh-word questions *Where are you?* (BrE) and *You are Where?* (CamE) contain exactly the same meaning-bearing elements; that is, words, but the words are combined differently in them. Consequently, the two sentences differ not in terms of the words in them but rather in terms of their syntax. The term “syntax” deals with how sentences are constructed. Consequently, Matthews (1982: 1) opines that “syntax is the branch of grammar which deals with the ways in which words, with or without appropriate inflections, are arranged to show connections of meaning within the sentence”. Besides, syntactic knowledge is a “matter of knowing what elements exist in a language and how they may be legitimately combined (Bell, 1991: 207). One type of syntactic structure is the interrogative. Interrogatives are of two types: closed and opened. The closed interrogatives show subject-auxiliary inversion (e.g., Does Mary speak German?) and the opened interrogatives show fronting of the non-subject interrogative phrase (i.e., the wh-phrase). The latter triggers subject-auxiliary inversion and the occurrence of wh-movement (e.g., What are you eating?). This reveals that an important syntactic point within an English wh-question is the movement operation.

In generative grammar, the term "movement" is a syntactic operation whereby constituents move and leave behind silent trace copies "*t*" (e.g., Who_i are_j you t_j looking for t_i here?). With regard to the "principle of economy", the movement operations "move as few constituents as possible the shortest distance possible" (Radford et al 2009: 301). These movements are of two types: A-movements and A-bar movements. According to Radford (2004), A-movement occurs in cases whereby an expression, such as an NP, is moved to a position which can only be occupied by argument expressions (e.g., in passivization such as "Coffee is grown in Cameroon"). A-bar movement occurs in cases whereby an expression, such as a wh-phrase, is moved to a position which can be occupied by both arguments and adjuncts (e.g., What did Paul kill in this room?). Hence, linguists have made a broad distinction in the way wh-questions are formed in human languages. They stipulate that wh-questions are formed in human languages either through the movement of the wh-word from the D-structure, where it is generated, to the S-structure (wh-movement) or by allowing the wh-word to remain in the D-structure, where it is generated (wh-in-situ). Thus, in a wh-question, the root clause C carries the question force, and this C is allied with the wh-phrase to form an information question. This is realized by moving the wh-phrase into the specifier of complementizer phrase (CP) headed by the "question" C. Contrary to this, the wh-phrase in wh-in-situ language moves at LF, hence the movement is not phonologically detected.

Though English is a wh-movement language, there are two types of wh-questions in the *alien* language: focalized and non-focalized. A focalized wh-question is used to question a piece of previously heard information, when the listener did not hear it clearly or understand it (e.g., Paul has seen who?) and to express surprise or disbelief (e.g., She is coming when?) with a proper intonation. Consequently, Ambar (2000) and Ambar and Veloso (2001) hold that focalized wh-questions are considered to have the following properties: (i) are non-interrogative, and (ii) have a wh-phrase that receives rising intonation and focal stress. This is exemplified in the conversational excerpt between A and B below. B's utterance is an incredulous response to A who says "*Mary ate kaatikaati*".

A: Mary ate *kaatikaati*.
B: Mary ate WHAT ↑?

Non-focalized wh-questions, on the other hand, are questions which begin with a wh-word; wherein, the wh-word is in the specifier position within a complement phrase. That is, it is in the position of a complementizer phrase specifier (Spec) (e.g., What has Mary eaten?).

In view of the foregoing stipulations, the aim of this chapter is to explore the syntactic structure of the non-focalized wh-questions in the spoken English of the L2 learners/speakers of English in Cameroon, to show how they indigenize and domesticate these wh-questions. Two research questions underlie this investigation: (i) how are non-focalized wh-questions formed in Cameroon spoken English? and (ii) what are the distinctive forms of non-focalized wh-questions in Cameroon spoken English? The study is divided into four main parts. The first part surveys the Principles and Parameters paradigm, shedding light on deep structure (D-structure), surface structure (S-structure), Phonetic Form (PF), and Logical Form (LF) as well as the movement approach. The second part centres on non-focalized wh-question formation in English. The third part presents the methodology and corpus used for the work, and the fourth part presents and discusses the findings of non-focalized wh-questions in Cameroon English.

2. Theoretical paradigm

The Principles and Parameters Theory (Chomsky, 1981; 1991; 1995), which was developed to adequately describe and efficiently explain the languages of the world, stipulates that human language is governed by a set of highly abstract principles which provide parameters that are given particular settings in different languages. The principles are universal and cut across languages; whereas, parameters are constraints on the form that grammar can take in various languages. For instance, if we focus on word order, we will observe clear differences between languages such as English and Japanese. While components such as subjects, verbs and objects are present in these languages (principles available in all human languages), their ordering in the sentence varies from one language to the next. So, while English is considered an SVO (subject-verb-object) language (e.g. John hit Mary), Japanese is an SOV (subject-object-verb) language (e.g. John ga Mary o buta-ta (Fuertes 2001: 18)) .The English example shows that the object follows the verb; while, the Japanese example shows that the object precedes the verb.

In addition, the Principles and Parameters paradigm holds that grammar consists of a lexicon, Deep-structure (D-structure), Surface-structure (S-structure), and two interpretative components: Phonetic Form (PF) and Logical Form (LF) as shown in figure 1 below.

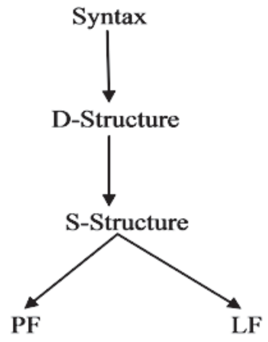

Figure 1: Syntactic Representation of a Lexicon (Chomsky, 1981: 17)

D-structure**{** XE "D-structure" **}** is the level at which individual lexical items are combined and semantically relevant thematic relations**{** XE "thematic relations" **}** and grammatical functions are directly represented. This entails that theta position must be filled by the lexical material and the verb must be associated with the correct number of arguments. For instance, the verb *give* assigns three theta roles: AGENT, PATIENT and GOAL as illustrated below.

Yvonne gave the book back to Mabel.
AGENT THEME GOAL

In addition, the verb *embrace* calls for two arguments: External & Internal as exemplified below.

John and Paul embraced each other,
Ext. ARGUMENT Int. ARGUMENT

Each argument of the verb receives one and only one theta role, and each theta role is assigned to one and only one argument as the tree diagram below illustrates.

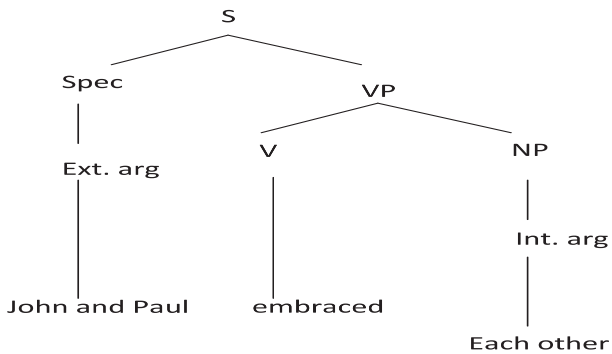

Figure 2: External and internal arguments of the verb “embrace”

Though the notion of D-structure is explicitly presented above, it will be reasonably to illustrate this notion with regard to wh-question. This is amply captured in example (1) below.

(1) a. What did Paul kill in this room?
b. DS: [Q [Paul killed what in this room?]]

In this example, (1b) is the D-Structure wherein the argument NP *Paul* in the subject position, is the entity that is the AGENT of the activity of *killing.* That is, the entity that performs the action of *killing.* Furthermore, the NP *Paul*, c-commanded by the verb *killed*, is the highest syntactic position within the verb phrase (VP).

S-structure**{** XE "S-structure" **}** is derived from D-structure**{** XE "D-structure" **}** by movement**{** XE "movement" **}** of syntactic categories. It is the level whereby various modules are said to apply such as the Binding Theory, Case Theory**{** XE "Case theory" **}**, the PRO Module, as exemplified below.

(2) a. John asked Paul to lock the door.
b. SS: John asked $Paul_i$ [PRO_i to lock the door].

As can be seen above, (2a) has the S-structure representation shown in (2b) which includes *Paul* co-indexed with the null subject *PRO* of the root clause. This is because PRO, in the lower clause, is controlled from outside the lower clause by Paul. As addendum to (2), in the sentence "Paul coerced Mary [PRO to talk about *herself*]", the antecedent of the anaphor *herself* in the lower clause is PRO. Since PRO is controlled from outside the lower clause by *Mary*, the anaphor *herself* is bound by *Mary*, the object of the sentence.

Phonetic Form denotes the properties that ensure well-formedness as far as sound is concerned and accounts for speech perception and pronunciation. It is the level at which phonological structures are directly expressed. With regard to the Logical Form, it**{** XE "Logical Form" **}** denotes semantic properties that ensure meaning as well as a set of concepts which are interpreted and conveyed. It is the level where the semantic properties of the syntactic structure are represented (Chomsky, 1980).

In addition to the above-stated, Chomsky (1981) introduces the notion of movement**{** XE "movement" **}** or transformations in the acquisition of the interface between language form and meaning. He stipulates that a D-structure**{** XE "D-structure" **}** could be manipulated to an apparent S-structure through movement of certain elements of the sentence in certain positions. This expression of key structural relationships between the elements of the sentence and their ability to move from certain positions to others include the idea of traces. When an element moves from its original position in the D-structure to a new position in the S-structure**{** XE "S-structure" **}**, a trace *t* remains behind to illustrate where the element had been in the original D-structure sentence as seen in (3).

(3) a. $What_i$ did_j Mary t_j say t_i ? (S-structure)
b. Mary did_j say $what_i$? (D-structure)

The wh-question word moves from its underlying abstract position in the D-structure (3b) and gives rise to the S-structure (3a). The position to which the wh-word moves, generally termed "landing position", is presumed to be the position of the complimentizer phrase specifier which is a non-argument position. In the surface structure, the wh-word has moved to the complementizer phrase specifier from the position of noun phrase in the deep structure. In the “landing” position, the complimentizer phrase (CP) specifier matches with the head of the complimentizer phrase (C) through having [+wh] interrogative feature (Cook and Newson 1997). Besides the movement of wh-word to the complimentizer phrase specifier position, there is also the movement of the auxiliary verb to the head of complement (T → C movement). Hence, it is healthy to point out here that two movements are observed in the formation of non-focalized wh-questions: wh-word movement and auxiliary verb movement as the diagram below explicitly illustrates.

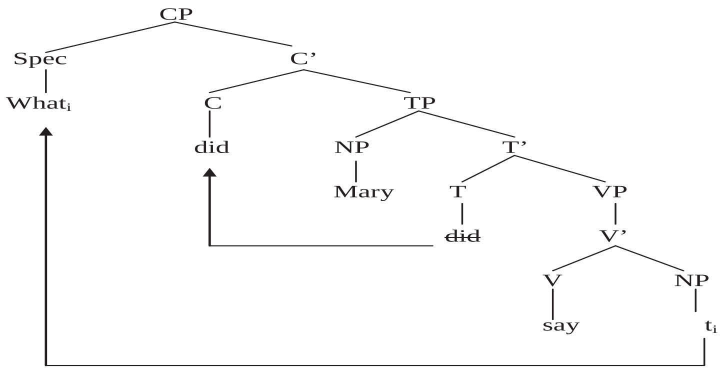

Figure 3: S-structure of the sentence “Mary did say what?”

In the above tree diagram, the wh-question word moves to the complimentizer phrase specifier which is a non-argument position. Hence, it has moved from the position of noun phrase (t_i) to the position of complimentizer phrase specifier (Spec.). In this regard, it can be deduced that wh-movement denotes "movement of question component or interrogative phrase from an argument position towards the closest non-argument position which indicates complimentizer phrase" (Cook & Newson, 1977: 206). The grammatical structures produced by *move* operation contain phonetic, grammatical and semantic features. The derivation will have to converge both at LF and PF in order to be acceptable.

It is worthy of note that the wh-word movement are of two types: wh-word movement without distance and wh-word movement with distance. The wh-word movement in sentences which consist of only one clause are known as wh-word movement without a distance (e.g. Where$_i$ does Deborah live t_i?) and the wh-word movement in compound sentences with embedded clauses are known as wh-movement with distance (e.g. [CP why$_i$ do [TP you think [CP that [TP you will win t_i]]]]?. In a sentence such as the latter, the wh-word movement is from the argument position of the embedded clause to the complementizer phrase specifier position of the main clause.

In view of the above-stated, it can be deduced that the word-order in non-focalized wh-questions in English is “verb subject” (VS), a species of Subject-

Auxiliary inversion as a non-subject wh-pronoun is fronted. It can be argued that the VS order in non-focalized wh-questions is the outcome of the fronting of a non-subject wh-pronoun. As addendum to this, Chomsky (1995:199 cited by Rahman 2009:190) posits that wh-movement is generated by a strong operator feature of the functional C-head. For an appropriate C, the operator raises for feature checking to the checking domain of C [Spec, CP] in order to satisfy their scope properties. It is evidently clear that no movement is involved in this feature checking. The checking is done by means of AGREE configuration. In this sense, the question morpheme Q, is realized on a wh-phrase (Chomsky, 2000), and it determines the semantics of the sentence as well as that of the wh-element by marking it as interrogative. Consequently, in Chomsky's (2000) scheme, Q is considered as a 'free-rider' which lands on an appropriate operator position, [Spec, CP] not for its own need, but due to some properties of the C-head that need to be satisfied (Zavitnevich-Beaulac, 2002).

3. Non-focalized wh-question formation in English

Non-focalized wh-questions are questions which begin with a wh-word (Radford, 1981). In the course of formation of these questions, the wh-operator (X) in the wh-question, created in the D-structure, undergoes a movement to the left periphery in order to be fronted to a position Y as seen in the tree diagram below.

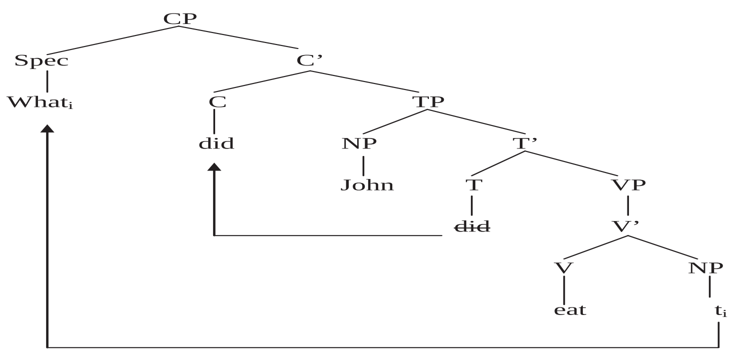

Figure 4: The S-structure of the D-structure sentence "John did eat what?"

In this tree diagram, the wh-word "what" has moved from the lower noun phrase (NP) position t_i to the position of complementiser phrase specifier (Spec). Hence, the CP comprises a head C constituent which can be filled by a complementiser or a preposed auxiliary and a tense phrase (TP) complement (Radford, 2009). This is explicitly illustrated in (4) below.

(4) What languages *can* Lionel speak?

This sentence contains an inverted auxiliary which occupies the head C position of the CP, preceded by an interrogative wh-expression. That is, an expression containing an interrogative word beginning with wh-word. A diligent examination of the wh-expression in (4) reveals that it functions as the complement of the verb at the end of the sentence. This is explicitly illustrated by the paraphrase in (5). In the paraphrase sentence in (5), the wh-expression occupies complement position after the lexical verb.

(5) Lionel can s*peak* what languages?

In this sentence, the grammatical function of the wh-expression "what languages" is the direct object complement of the verb "speak". Thus, since complements are normally positioned after their verbs, the wh-expression "what languages" is positioned after the verb "speak". It is healthy to point out here that structures such as the one in (5) are termed wh-in-situ questions (Radford, 2009). This is because the wh-expression after the lexical verb does not get preposed, but rather remains *in situ* (i.e. stay where it is generated in the deep structure).

In English, wh-in-situ questions are used primarily as echo questions (i.e. to echo and question something previously said by someone else). Hence, it is generally acclaimed that an echo question such as the one in (5) suggests that the wh-expression in (4) originates as a complement of the relevant verb, and subsequently get moved to the front of the overall clause. Moreover, in the non-echoic wh-question such as the one in (4), movement of wh-expression has also taken place. It has been moved into some position preceding the inverted auxiliary. Since inverted auxiliary occupies the head C position of CP, it is presupposed that preposed wh-expression is moved into a position preceding the head C of CP. Given that specifiers are positioned before heads, a plausible suggestion to make is that a preposed wh-expression moves to become the specifier of C (i.e. move into spec-C). Consequently, a sentence such as 'Who was Deborah dating?" will involve the arrowed movement operations shown in (6) below whereby "who" has been assigned to the category NP.

(6)

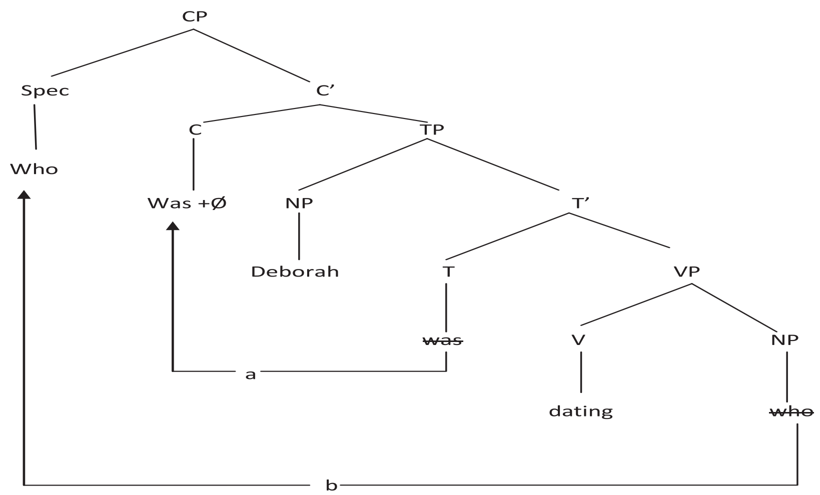

Figure 5: Movement of auxiliary to head C position of CP and preposed wh-expression to Spec-C)

This tree diagram feasibly shows two different kinds of movement operation. The movement arrowed in (a) involves the familiar operation of head movement by which the auxiliary verb "was" moves from the head T position of TP to the head C position of CP. That is, adjoining to a null affixal interrogative complementiser ø. Contrary, (b) involves movement of a wh-expression from a position below C. In other words, from the complement position within VP into the specifier position in CP. The later operation is known as wh-movement. It is equally worthy of note here that, unlike head movement, which moves only heads, wh-movement moves maximal projections (Cheung, 1992; Radford, 2009; Gao, 2009). For instance, in (4) "What languages can Lionel speak?" the wh-movement moves the quantifier phrase "what languages" which is the maximal projection of the interrogative quantifier "what?" by virtue of being the largest expression headed by the word "what"; and in (6) "Who was Deborah dating?" moves the interrogative Q-pronoun *who*. This is because the latter is a maximal projection by virtue of being the largest expression headed by the word "who". Similarly, if we suppose that every CP must be identified as declarative, interrogative, or exclamative in syntax, and that a clause is identified as interrogative if it contains an interrogative head or specifier, then the movement of the interrogative pronoun "who" to spec-C serves to identify the CP in (6) as interrogative.

Furthermore, it is equally healthy to point out here that in a wh-question, the root clause (C) carries the question force. Consequently, C or the relevant feature on C is associated with the wh-phrase to form an information question. This "association" is accomplished by moving the wh-phrase into the specifier of CP headed by the "question" C as the tree diagram below illustrates.

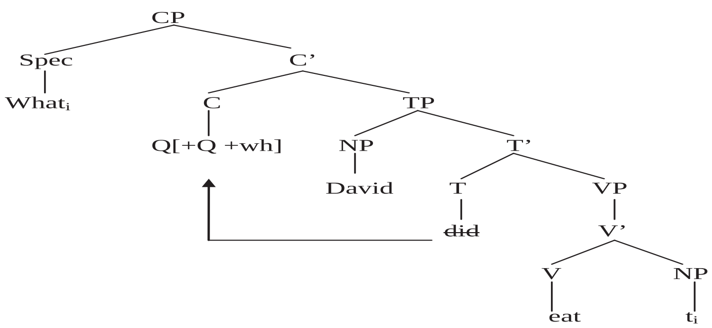

Figure 6: Movement of the wh-phrase into the specifier of CP headed by the "question" C

This tree diagram illustrates that the wh-word "what", which is in the position of complementiser phrase specifier, has constituent command over its effect which is in the lower noun phrase position. This relationship is demonstrated in the S-structure of the sentence (i.e. What did David eat?).

The afore-mentioned expatiation reveals that wh-question formation in English entails a movement of wh-word from its underlying abstract position, in the D-structure of the sentence, to a new clause-initial position in the S-structure. Consequently, the wh-movement of wh-word is a movement of maximal projection to Spec of CP. In view of the fact that, in simple wh-questions, the interrogative wh-words are in an initial position and the auxiliary verbs must precede the subjects, which are believed to occupy a Spec, IP position, interrogative wh-words and auxiliary verbs must land in a position further up to IP. Therefore, Gao (2009) holds that Spec, CP is claimed as the landing position of wh-words, and C is believed to be where the auxiliary verb moves to. For example, in a sentence such as "[$_{CP}$ Who is [$_{IP}$ t [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ going to prepare rice] in the morning]]]?", the wh-word which functions as the subject is known as a maximal projection by virtue of being the largest expression headed by a wh-word; hence, is moved to the Spec of CP as illustrated below.

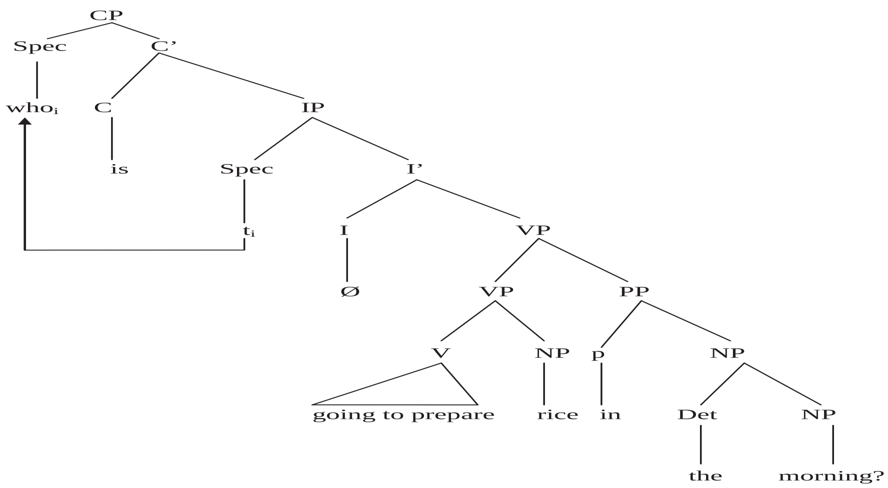

Figure 7: Movement of wh-word from Spec-IP position to Spec-CP

In addition, it is acclaimed that there are at least two reasons that motivate the wh-movement. One of the reasons is to check the features of C, more specifically, the Q feature of C (Chomsky, 1993, 1995). Thus, in the feature checking theory, functional projections (IP or CP) have abstract features. For these features to be interpretable, according to Full Interpretation hypothesis, they have to be checked by the checkers (i.e. person, number and tense). These checkers are believed to be generated within the verb phrases (VP). The Q feature of C is one of these abstract features, and it has to be checked by a wh-word which has the Q feature of C (Chomsky, 1995). Similarly, Radford (1997) holds that an interrogative C has strong [+Q] and [+wh] features in English. The strong feature in C, which must be eliminated before LF, triggers overt movement and attracts a wh-phrase to check off [+wh]. With regard to this, Full Interpretation is a principle that requires that every element of PF and LF must receive an appropriate interpretation, that is, must be licensed in the relevant sense (Chomsky, 1986). The other reason which motivates wh-movement is semantics. It is believed that the movement of a wh-word to sentence-initial position, or quantifier raising, renders the interrogative scope to the whole sentence. Consequently, Cheung (1992) proposes that every clause must be typed as either declarative or interrogative, and that a clause is typed as interrogative if it contains an interrogative head or specifier. Hence, the movement of wh-word to Spec of CP in English then serves to type the sentence as interrogative.

4. Methodology and Corpus

The corpus that constitutes the data for this study is based on my observations through recordings and field investigations over the past six years. The data were obtained through a dictaphone and a tape-recorder. In order to collect quantitative and qualitative data that would enable me to analyse the syntax of non-focalized wh-questions in Cameroon spoken English, the recordings involved mainly the formal and informal conversations of university students, as well as educated speakers of Cameroon English, at different social events, conferences, seminars, and workshops.

The informal recordings reflect different settings, sexes, ages, and ethnic and educational backgrounds. It is healthy to point out here that some of the data found in this study were also drawn from the discussions carried out during some radio and television programmes. With the assistance of some English language experts and fifteen postgraduate students, a total of 553 instances of non-focalized *in situ* wh-questions were identified in the extemporaneous speech of the subjects. After this phase, the syntax of these questions was examined, analysed and an extended discussion was provided to illustrate how they have been contextualized in the Cameroonian context. The analysis was based on the theoretical paradigm pertaining to non-focalized wh-questions in English.

5. Analysis and discussion of findings

Analysis of the data provided reveals that, in Cameroon English, non-focalized wh-questions are formed by leaving the wh-phrase *in situ*. In this context, there is no movement or transformation in the interface between language form and meaning. Consequently, D-structure**{** XE "D-structure" **}** is not manipulated to an apparent surface structure through movement of the wh-phrase to the operator position. This is amply illustrated in the example below.

(7) You are$_j$ looking for who$_i$ in this compound?

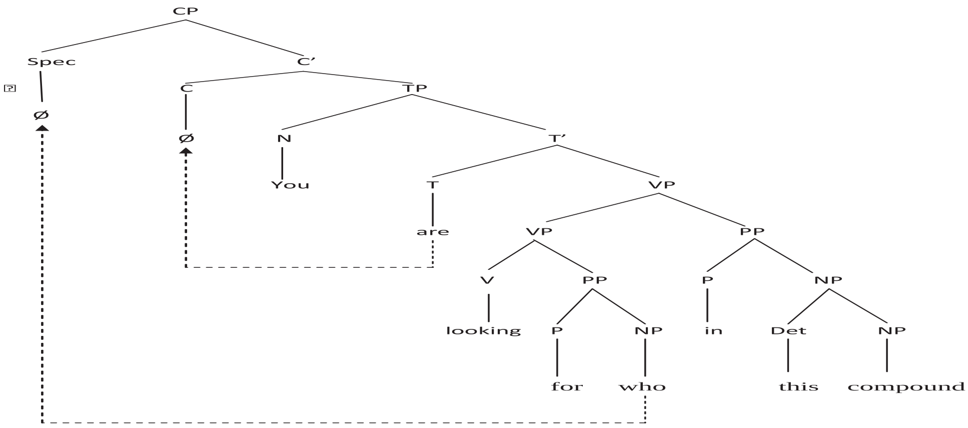

Figure 8: Non-movement of Wh-phrase in Cameroon English non-focalised wh-question

As can be seen in the tree diagram above, there isn't any movement operation involved. The expected movement of the wh-word from the complement position within VP, into the specifier position in CP has not taken place. In the same vein, even the head movement by which the auxiliary verb "are" was expected to move from the head T position of TP to the head C position of CP has not taken place. This is a characteristic feature of non-focalized wh-questions in mainstream Cameroon English. As addendum to this, the conversational excerpt in (8), between an Errand Boy and a Service Head, in one of our ministries, corroborates and beefs up the non-focalized wh-question syntactic phenomenon in Cameroon English.

(8) Errand Boy: Good Morning Madam.
Lady: Good Morning.
Errand Boy: Here is a file for you, Madam.
Lady: The file is from who?
Errand Boy: From the Sub-Director.
(The lady realizing that the treatment of the file is not within her competence, she asked)
Lady: This man sends this type of file to me to do what?

In the above conversational excerpt, the italicized sentences are wh-questions having the wh-word in-situ. The wh-questions identified in the excerpt are prototypes of the mainstream Cameroon English. A further perusal and analysis of the data provided other examples to substantiate wh-in-situ non-focalized wh-questions in Cameroon English. These questions come up in situations whereby the addressor is trying to find out:

(9) the person to whom something is given (e.g., Catherine, you gave the school fee receipt to who?);
(10) a place someone is going (e.g, You are going to where?);
(11) an item on the menu (e.g., We will have what for lunch today?);
(12) the whereabouts of someone (e.g. You are where?); and
(13) a reason for doing something (e.g., You are beating that woman that she has done what?).

A diligent examination of these tokens and many more reveal some characteristic features peculiar to non-focalized wh-questions in Cameroon spoken English. Some of these features include:

(14) absence of a subject, and wh-word and verb inversion (e.g., Is who my dear?);
(15) insertion of a noun phrase as an introducer and non-movement of wh-word to the left periphery (e.g., The man standing next to you is who to you?);
(16) tagging the wh-question introduced by a coordinating conjunction "that" to a main clause (e.g., You are saying that what Prof.?);
(17) having a wh-question as a subordinate clause to the main clause (e.g., You are going to report me to the Dean of Studies that I have done what? He thinks that he is who in this country?);
(18) having a wh-word as an object of a preposition (e.g., You are asking for me for what? You bought this shirt from where? She is calling from where?);
(19) movement of wh-word to the right periphery (e.g., You submitted your dissertation when? It is who?, You have put my phone where? My dictionary is where?);
(20) using a phrase that begins with "that" preceding a wh-word as wh-question (e.g., That what Prof.?).

In some of these interrogative sentences, it can be argued that the wh-phrase moves at LF; but the movement is not phonologically detected. The difference in movement between wh-in-situ phrase and wh-movement phrase arises from whether one pronounces the head of the chain (overt movement) or the tail of the chain (wh-in-situ) (Radford, 2009). In the Cameroon English examples presented above, the pronunciation is done at the tail of the chain. Consequently, following Huang's (1982) movement model, we could say that while wh-words are attracted to Spec CP in English before the spell-out, wh-words are attracted to Spec CP in Cameroon English only after the spell-out as seen in (21).

(21) [$_{CP}$ We are [$_{IP}$ t [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ going to have what] for lunch]]]

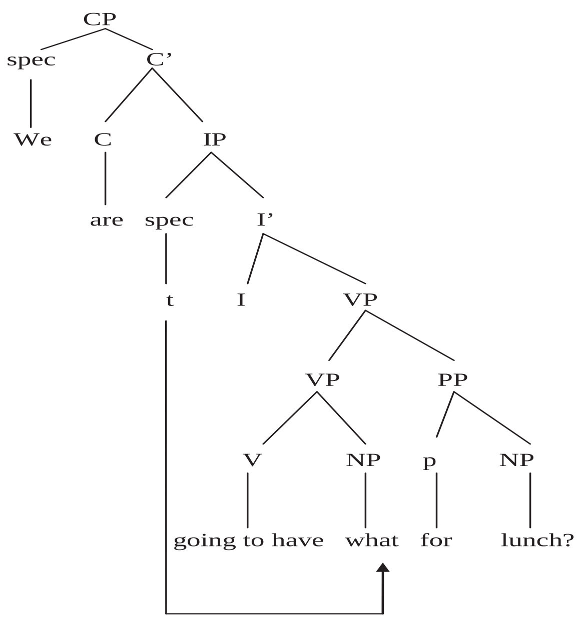

Figure 9: Attraction of wh-word to Spec CP in Cameroon English after the spell-out.

In addition, it is worthy of note that wh-in-situ phrases in Cameroon English are tangled in both focalized wh-questions (echo-questions) and non-focalized wh-questions. Hence, it will not be erroneous if one identifies Cameroon English as a wh-in-situ language with regard to wh-questions. This is evidenced by the fact that, in the syntactic perspective, the position of wh-words in non-focalized wh-questions makes a language to be categorized as wh-in-situ language or wh-movement language. A wh-in-situ language refers to the language in which wh-words stay where they are generated in the deep structure. This is the case of the variety of English spoken in Cameroon. Cameroon English non-focalized wh-questions remain in-situ. Consequently, the Cameroon variety of English can be generally construed as wh-in-situ English language.

(22) He has gunned down that woman that she has done what, *naah*?
(23) This document is from where, *naah*?
(24) These children are going to eat what, *naah*?
(25) People are embezzling billions CFA francs to do what, *naah*?
(26) Cameroon and Brazil are going to play football when, *naah*?

In addition, the wh-phrases, in indirect questions and in object complement, occur at the sentence absolute final position as illustrated by (27) and (28) respectively.

(27) He thinks we are doing what?
(28) The police are harassing innocent citizens that they have done what?

Also, in mono-clausal wh-questions, Cameroon English exhibits another important characteristic in that the wh-phrase occurs as:

(29) a direct object of the verb (e.g., We are eating what today?);
(30) an indirect object of the verb (e.g., The Prime Minister gave the flag to who?); and
(31) an adjunct (e.g., You are going to Where?)

Besides, in complex wh-questions, the wh-phrase is in the right periphery in the object complement position as seen in (32) and (33)

(32) He thinks that we are where?
(33) People are embezzling Billions of CFA francs to do what?

The foregoing discussion reveals that the property of antecedent government is not a condition for the acceptability of the wh-question in Cameroon English. This is because the issue of θ-government and antecedent government, which means that the trace that is left by wh-phrase movement is θ-marked (i.e. it is assigned a θ role and is M-commanded), is not a parameter setting in Cameroon English.

6. Conclusion

This study has provided insights with regard to issues such as grammatical complexity and processing. It reveals that syntactic trigger of wh-movement in English non-focalized wh-questions is not a condition in the formation of wh-questions in Cameroon English. This explicitly shows that the interface between PF and LF in non-focalized wh-questions in Cameroon English is constrained by the pragmatic trigger. Furthermore, though wh-questions in Cameroon English look like echo-questions, note has to be taken that they lack focal stress and they are partially different in terms of intonation and discourse-pragmatic conditions. Consequently, the syntax of non-focalized wh-question in Cameroon English displays a specific kind of [+Wh, +Q] complementizer that does not trigger wh-movement.

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Time and Punctuality: Cameroonian and American Cultural Scripts Study

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Abstract

In cross-cultural pragmatics, the theory of Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) and the theory of Cultural Script appear to be an appropriate tool in explicating and understanding cultural key words and constructs of different cultures. To disclose the underlying cultural premises of time and punctuality from an American and Cameroonian insider's perspective respectively using the semantic primes of the NSM model, 65 Cameroonians and 10 American Peace Corps Volunteers serving in Cameroon were interviewed. The data source also included Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*. The results show that Cameroonians and Americans have differing conceptions of time and punctuality, and these conceptual differences were formulated using the technique of Cultural Scripts. While the Americans appear to have a very strong attachment to various time-measuring devices, Cameroonians seem to rely on natural elements and events to check time. Our contention is that the traditional Africans' reliance on natural elements and events for time-checking could justify the concept of "African time" and "African punctuality" we frequently hear today. Through this study the cultural misunderstandings between Westerners and Africans on the issue of time and punctuality could be reduced.

Keywords: Time, Punctuality, Natural Semantic Metalanguage, Cultural Scripts, Promise

1. Introduction

Today's fast-paced twenty-first century world is becoming increasingly dependent on cross-cultural pragmatic studies for intercultural communications and mutual understandings between peoples of different cultures. While various cross-cultural studies have addressed multiple cultural aspects of European and Asian countries (cf. Wierzbicka, 1994; Goddard & Wierzbicka, 1995; Wierzbicka, 2003), there seem to be fewer cross-cultural studies of Western and African speech communities (Ameka, 1987). Furthermore, although previous research has attempted to compare African and Western conceptions of time (cf. Mbiti, 1969; Hamminga, n. d.), to my knowledge none has, however, addressed this issue within the framework of NSM and the theory of cultural scripts. Westerners have for long judged and described African cultures in terms of their own standards. This has triggered miscommunications and misunderstandings, and has frequently caused cross-cultural "accidents" between the two distinct cultures. James Down observes that "one of the greatest stumbling blocks to understanding other peoples within or without a particular culture is the tendency to judge others' behaviour by our own standards"(quoted in Gudykunst & Kim,1984: 84). It is widely shared in the literature that culture-specific phenomena can only be understood and interpreted within specific socio-cultural contexts they are utilized (Gumperz & Hymes 1964),and can then be compared with other peoples' cultural concepts (Wierzbicka 2003). For instance, Inge Egner, a Westerner who spent some years in Ivory Coast

(West Africa), realized that what she considered a promise from her Western perspective is fundamentally different from what Africans took for a speech act of promise in her article entitled “Intercultural aspects of the speech act of promising: Western and African practices” (2006). However, Egner (ibid.) fails to note that the speech act of promise, especially when it comes to attending social functions and appointments, is closely attached to the notion of punctuality and, inevitably, to the concept of time which constitutes culture-specific phenomena whose meanings and interpretations entail multifarious cultural implications both within the Western and African contexts or perspectives.

This chapter therefore sets out to analyse the concepts of time and punctuality from both Cameroonian and American perspectives with their respective “cultural scripts” which stand for each culture’s Metalanguage. Along the line, the speech act of promise will be semantically paraphrased and linked to the concept of punctuality. The aim is to untwist the cultural meanings and values of these concepts and cross-culturally compare them, so as to balance “cultural otherness” and to ameliorate cross-cultural communications between Africans and Westerners.

2. Natural semantic metalanguage

The theoretical framework used in this paper is the NSM and its offshoot the theory of cultural scripts. The NSM theory is an approach propounded by Anna Wierzbicka (see Wierzbicka 1980, 1991, 1992, 1996a, and 1997b.) and her colleagues during the past four decades. The methodology of NSM theory has been developed as a tool for semantic analysis. The semantic primes, also known as the mini-language or the vocabulary of NSM approach, are universal or near-universal culture-free lexical items that are used for semantic analysis and pragmatic description within or across languages. The sixty or so semantic primes with their primitive meanings are obtained through trials and errors of a four-decade empirical investigation undertaken by Wierzbicka and other linguists across a wide range of languages (see Goddard & Wierzbicka (1994). Goddard and Wierzbicka (2007: 3) summarize the universal human concepts or semantic primes in English:

Substantives: *I, YOU, SOMEONE/PERSON, PEOPLE, SOMETHING/THING, BODY*
Relational substantives: *KIND, PART*
Determiners: *THIS, THE SAME, OTHER*
Quantifiers: *ONE, TWO, SOME, ALL, MANY/MUCH*
Evaluators: *GOOD, BAD*
Descriptors: *BIG, SMALL*
Mental/experiential predicates: *THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR*
Speech: *SAY, WORDS, TRUE*
Actions and events: *DO, HAPPEN, MOVE*
Existence and possession: *THERE IS/EXIST, HAVE*
Life and death: *LIVE, DIE*
Time: *WHEN/TIME, NOW, BEFORE, AFTER, A LONG TIME, ASHORTTIME, FOR SOMETIME , MOMENT*
Space: *WHERE/PLACE, HERE, ABOVE, BELOW, FAR, NEAR, SIDE, INSIDE, TOUCH (CONTACT)*
Logical concepts: *NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF*
Intensifier, augmentor: *VERY, MORE*
Similarity: *LIKE/WAY*

Notes:
• exponents of primes can have other polysemic meanings which differ from language to language
• they can have combinatorial variants (allolexes)
• they can have different morphosyntactic properties (including word-class) in different languages,• they have well specified syntactic (combinatorial) properties

Table 1: Table of Semantic Primes – English Exponents (after Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2002)

3. Cultural scripts

Cultural scripts are considered to be the ribs of the NSM theory, that is, they are an engendered theory that originates from the NSM approach. They are seen as "a technique for articulating cultural norms, values, and practices using the NSM Metalanguage of semantic primes as the medium of description" (Goddard & Wierzbicka, 2007: 6).Thus, cultural scripts in any language, if not in all languages, are developed with a restricted number of lexicons, the semantic primes. These cultural scripts explicate cultural key words that are sometimes inexistent in other languages, and endeavour to give an "outsider" a native-like insight and understanding of language-specific or culture-specific concepts. Goddard (2002: 11) observes that "[c]cultural scripts allow us to "unpack" culturally shared understandings of particular "ways with words" from an insider perspective, without recourse to such technical and language-specific labels."In other words, cultural scripts help us avoid anglocentrism or the "terminological ethnocentrism" (Goddard 2002) in our description of cultural key words of a given language. In this paper, the theory of cultural scripts is utilized to explicate the cultural concepts of time and punctuality both from Western and African perspectives.

4. Conclusive remarks

The data sources for this study are diverse. The first part of the data collected is an interview of three different groups of people. The first group is made up of 50 informants living in the urban area of Yaoundé, the capital city of Cameroon. Out of the 50 informants, there were 15 civil servants, 10 private workers, and 25 postgraduate students of University of Yaoundé 1.The interviewees were asked to provide some main personal reasons of their lateness or lack of punctuality. The second is a group of 15 informants made up of shepherds and farmers living in different villages of the Adamawa region of Cameroon. These villagers do hardly rely on modern apparatuses to check time; they were therefore asked to explain how they guesstimate time in their daily life. Ten (10) American Peace Corps Volunteers constitute the last group. These volunteers have worked with villagers in Cameroon for at least two years of service. They were interviewed for their first-hand cross-cultural experiences with the villagers on the issue of punctuality and time.

The second part of the data used in this study with regard to time description includes Chinua Achebe's novel *Things Fall Apart*, an epitome of the pre-colonial African culture and traditions. This novel is used to substantiate how Africans describe time "in their own ways".

5. American vs. Cameroonian conceptions of time

Zafar (n. d.) points out that “if we want to understand another culture, we need to understand that culture's orientation to time.” Thus, time is a universal concept that is parameterized as a language-specific and culture-specific phenomenon whose orientation requires a clear definition in culture-free lexicons for mutual understanding between insiders and outsiders of the culture in question.

5.1. American conception of time

To begin with, let us state the problem using the following excerpt of an interview with an American Peace Corps volunteer who recounts his experience with a villager in Cameroon as follows:

(1) I worked in a village on the outskirts of Beka Hosseire. The person I worked with doesn’t have a cell phone. So, I always have to kind of guess when he is going to be there, and I’ve learned his schedule. Because setting a time with him doesn’t really work. Because he doesn’t have an apparatus to check the time. His day is scheduled how things get done. So, first, he’s got to wake up and eat breakfast, and whatever he does; then, he goes out to the field to work. After he works or whatever, he goes to next thing. But his things don’t have certain specific time set to them. It’s a kind of a sequencing way of timing [his] day. I know approximately what time he’s doing each thing because I have a watch.

In example (1) above, the fact that this villager has no any apparatuses to check time may suggest that he considers time as something he possesses and can use whenever necessary. So, he needn’t pressurize himself as to get things done squarely at specific time throughout the day. Moreover, he can carry out many tasks simultaneously because he thinks that he can do many things at the same time. While his American guest’s plans his day with a time-measuring device, the villager does not have any to do so.

Generally speaking, Western orientation of time seems to be ingrained in their time-keeping habits. For many Americans the movement of time is forward and future-oriented (Jenkins 2009). Time is linear, instable, dynamic, and it runs away from its users. All the 15 Peace Corps Volunteers interviewed agree that time is a property or commodity that needs to be used efficiently. In this connection, for many Americans each task is given a specific time for its fulfilment with almost unvarying regularity and predictability. Furthermore, Zafar (n. d.) points out that in the Western world “time is perceived as rigid, segmented, limited and linear.” This time rigidity and segmentation requires appropriate tools for limitation, preciseness and regularity. For instance, Americans generally use their watches to observe the movement of time, as can be seen in example (1). This allows them to know how they use their time efficiently. Thus, for many Americans the tasks of fulfilment and the movement of time go in parallel, depending on the objectives assigned to each task. The following cultural script is proposed to explicate our Western informants’ perception of time movement:

[A] American cultural script of time
[people think like this:]
when a person has something to do, it is good if this person can think like this:
I know that time is something that moves moment after moment
I will do this thing now
because I want to do other thing after now
and I do it at that time

Let us open this analysis with an example drawn from various excerpts of Achebe's *Things Fall Apart (*1995, emphasis mine):

(2) i. "During the planting season Okonkwo worked daily on his farms **fromcock-crow until** the chickens went to roost .p.9
ii. "Yam, the king of crops, was a very exacting king. **For three or four moons**it demanded hard work and constant attention **from cock-crow till the chickens went back to roost**.p.15
iii. "I shall wait too. It is almost dawn. **The first cock has crowed**.p.41
iv. **"The first cock had not crowed**, and Umuofia was still swallowed up in sleep (…) p. 45
v. "We had meant to set out from home **before cock-crow** (…)"

It can be noticed here that Achebe in his novel uses no figures to indicate time as the Americans do. Because the novel is a repertoire of pre-colonial African traditions, culture, and political set-ups, the novelist uses natural events to demonstrate how many traditional Africans have been describing time in their daily life. In example (2) the bolded expressions are descriptions of time in some traditional African ways. Many of our Cameroonian informants, and possibly many Africans who grew up in the villages, know that "cock-crow" refers to early morning when the light starts to appear, and that chickens go to their roost in the evening when dark is falling in the village. These periods, taken from the traditional African perspective, are viewed as sequential events that occur throughout the day, and the agenda of the day is drafted in conjunction with these events. As a case of illustration, Achebe points out that the yam cultivation "for three or four moons" demanded hard work and constant attention "from cock-crow till the chickens went back to roost." These quoted expressions evidently lack time-clock specificity or preciseness.

While the Americans perceive time as a mobile entity, 40 (80%) out of the 50Cameroonian informants consulted rather view time as something one creates and makes use of whenever the need arises. The Cameroonian conception of time seems to be significantly opposed to the Americans'. Time is seemingly abundant, unlimited and posssessable to many Cameroonians and Africans in general.

Furthermore, the Cameroonians' time-making habit tends to determine the way events are organized throughout the day. Example (2) is just a case in point. Generally, they socialize time in their daily life and subjugate it to their activities. The total of 15 Cameroonian civil servants, 25 postgraduates, and 15 villagers surveyed appear to be masters of their time, and, unlike the Americans, many of them believe that time cannot influence their life; rather, it must follow the rhythm of their social lives and activities. Therefore, numerous tasks can be realized concomitantly with no specific time allotted to any of them. That is why

Cameroonians and ultimately many Africans are said to be "polychromic individuals". Thus, this Cameroonian perception of time can be captured in the following cultural script:

[B] Cameroonian cultural script of time
[people think like this:]
when a person has something to do, it is good if this person can think like this:
I know that time is something that moves towards me
I can have it when I want
If I want to do some things I do them when I want at the same moment

As previously analysed in section 5.1 above, Americans tend to fulfil their daily tasks at specific time. Africans in general on the contrary, seem to be less time conscious, and can achieve various responsibilities with no specific time assigned to any of them. Miahouakana (2012: 42) notes that "in the African culture, time is polychromous; a person can do three or more things within a given period simultaneously. In a typical village, a woman could be at the same time cooking, preparing her cassava, attending to her baby, and would also be prepared to attend to any other duties coming up. Combining several responsibilities is one of the cultural factors stimulated by the communalism life in Africa. Therefore, the time should be controlled by the man [...]." If Africans seem to control time, it therefore may imply that they do not, perhaps, overemphasize preciseness of time related to different activities. Rather, many Cameroonians and Africans highly stress on the completion of their tasks, and do not necessarily consider how much time their fulfilment requires. Time efficiency is not a big concern for most traditional Cameroonians and Africans. After all, as Nkem (1975: 42) puts it, the African proverb says "where the runner reaches, there the walker will reach eventually." If the Americans are 'runners' in terms of time use, Cameroonians are rather the 'walkers' for in the traditional African view, the aim is to complete the task; how much time is spent for its completion is not a big deal. This absence of time specificity among many Cameroonians can be couched in the following cultural script:

[C] The Cameroonian cultural script of time "unspecificity"
[people think like this:]
when a person has something to do, it is good if this person can think like this:
I know that I can have time to do this thingI can do it any timeI want this thing to be done
I say: I will do it any time

Some of the American Peace Corps Volunteers we interviewed during our fieldwork told us that they usually plan their days in terms of various tasks to do at specific time. Upon their first contacts with their Cameroonian rural hosts, they report, they were astounded by the Cameroonians' event-oriented ways of timing their days. They realized that many Cameroonians have a somewhat different way of planning their activities, i.e., their American task-oriented time frequently clashes with the Cameroonian event-oriented plans. Consequently, they came up with a saying that goes like "[i]n Cameroon nothing works, but everything works out." This is to say as one volunteer explains "nothing goes as planned, everything comes out well in the end." Cameroonians seem to pay more attention to the completion of tasks and events, and give low regard to the specific time required for completing them. What is worth noting here is that, many traditional Cameroonians seem to lay no emphasis on preciseness in the various fashions they describe time. This is manifestly true if one looks at how they generally rely on natural elements and events to check time. Despite the fact that technological progress has allowed most Americans and many modern Cameroonians to adopt modern standard time-measuring devices, some of my Cameroonian informants still consult natural elements and events to check time. The latter includes *inter alia* the sunrise, the sunset, the overhead sun, the length of shadows, the chirrups of birds, the first and second cock crows at night, the return from the farm, the calling of prayer (in some Muslim communities). Initially, before contacts were established with the Western colonizers, Cameroonians and Africans in general refer to time solely with these natural elements and events, and some continue to do so until now, especially in rural areas. Consequently, Westerners working today with these Africans find it difficult to adapt to this system of checking time. For instance, many Africans till now use the sun and their shadows to guesstimate time. One villager informant explains how he checks time using the sun in the following example:

(3) At noon your shadow is at your foot .This is noon time. When your shadow shifts a little bit and gets longer, it is zuhra. When asiri sets in, your shadow becomes longer.

As can be noticed, our informant used the Fulfulde terms *"zuhra"* and *"asiri"* in his description. '*zuhra*' refers to the second prayer time (between 1 and 3pm) of the Muslims' five daily prayers while '*asiri*' refers to the third prayer time of the day, roughly between 3 and 5pm. However, many people tend to use these prayer time expressions to plan and arrange social encounters, a phenomenon which is quite alien to many Westerners. Usually, events are planned either "before" or "after" hours of these prayer times. The expressions 'subaha', 'zuhra', 'asiri', 'magariba', and 'ichai'[1] can possibly be found in many African languages whose native speakers are believed to be predominantly Muslims—though non-Muslims who use West-African linguae francae such as Hausa and Fulfulde in their daily activities equally employ these terms. Fulfulde and Hausa speakers use the terms to refer to the hours of the day. The farmers interviewed in the village hardly refer to time as Westerners do with indications like at 1 pm, 6 am…etc. On the contrary, they frequently use expressions like 'subaha', 'zuhra', 'asiri', 'magariba', etc. to indicate hours of the day. Thus, this might suggest that these Cameroonians give little considerations on sharp preciseness of time, a phenomenon inexistent in Western culture. Consequently, it seems reasonable to say that those who consider these natural elements and events to check time or to plan their day have but an imprecise idea of time as how precisely or specifically their things get done throughout the day. Thus, one could argue that this lack of preciseness or specificity in terms of time in traditional African daily life may justify the issue of "African time" that is deep-rooted among many Cameroonians and Africans today. Because Cameroonians are generally relative and flexible toward time, the traditional life that many of them had (and continue to have) in their lives could have probably affected their attitudes toward time, and may constitute the grounds for "African time" we quite often hear today.

6. American and Cameroonian constructs of punctuality

The conceptual differentiation of time by Westerners and Africans appears to manifest evidently in one essential key word: punctuality. Punctuality is not a universally shared concept (Azar, n.d.). In this respect, Americans and Cameroonians perceive punctuality differently. Before pondering over this issue, let us first see how the speech act of promise could pragmatically be linked to punctuality.

6.1. The speech act of promise and semantic explication

The concept of punctuality is somehow interconnected to the speech act of promise. In other words, the act of promising to attend social functions or appointments generally, for example, implies that one is expected to show up punctually to the venue of a forthcoming event. Egner (2006: 445) points out that "for a Westerner, the utterance of a speech act of promise appears to depend on fairly well-defined conditions of use that the speaker will want to see fulfilled before making a promise". These well-defined conditions of use are, Egner (2006:450) underlines, the Searlian felicity conditions for the speech act of promising (seeSearle, 1979) and other "reasonable evidence" that the speaker needs to consider in order to fulfil his/her promise. Wierzbicka (1987: 205, line order added) proposed the following semantic explication of the speech act of promise:

[D] Western cultural script of the speech act of promise

(a) I know that you want me to do A
(b) I know that you think that I may not do it
(c) I want to do it because you want me to do it
(d) I say: I will do it
(e) I want us to think that if I don't do it, people will not believe anything that I say I will do
(f) I say this, in this way, because I want to cause you to be able to think that I have to do it

This explication typically suits the Western conception of the speech of promise in consonance with the contextual socio-pragmatic realities. However, the African speech act of promise would rather have different socio-pragmatic implications. In this respect, unlike the Western speech act of promise, Egner (2006: 462) argues that "the African prototypical promise is made out of politeness, that is, to satisfy social expectations and be cooperative, with no implication or requirement of sincerity, nor commitment nor even intention to carry out the promised act."Based on Egner's observation, we propose the following semantic explication of the African prototypical promise based on the Wierzbicka's (1987) model presented in [D] above:

[E] African cultural script of the speech act of promise

(a) I know that you want me to do A
(b) I know that you think that I may not do it
(c) I want to do it because you want me to do it
(d) I say: I will do it
(e) I say this because I don't want you to feel something bad if I don't do it
(f) I want us to think that people will believe anything that I say I will do

I say this because I want people to feel something good towards me.

Egner (ibid) points out that Africans tend to make promise to maintain the face of the addressee and to be perceived as sociable and cooperative individuals. The point of preserving the addressee's face is captured by the component (e) "I say this because I don't want you to feel something bad if I don't do it" while the speaker's sociability and cooperativeness is rendered by the component (g) "I say this because I want people to feel something good towards me".It is note-worthy to observe that, though the speaker is aware of the fact that they may not live up to their promise, they still want to appear credible and trust-worthy to the society. Hence, the component (f) "I want us to think that people will believe anything that I say I will do". Furthermore, while Westerners consider a promise as an "obligation" whose fulfilment will guarantee one's "personal credibility" in the society (Wierzbicka, 1987: 205), Africans seem to not always consider the fulfilment of a promised act as an obligation and a sign of credibility. Nevertheless, the first four components of the semantic explications of the speech act of promise remain the same both for Westerners and Africans.

Though Egner (2006) has clearly established the differences between the Western and African speech acts of promise and their underlying cultural premises, she made no comments on the conception of punctuality in the two cultures in connection with, for instance, social functions or appointments. The fundamental question is: how punctual are Africans to social events and meetings? More specifically, is Cameroonian punctuality similar to American punctuality?

6.2. Punctuality and cultural scripts

Punctuality is a natural corollary of time. Cameroonian and American punctuality essentially parallel the way each culture usestime. Westerners' time-keeping habit could somehow account for the high considerations they give to punctuality. *The Collins English Dictionary* (complete and unabridged 2012 digital edition) defines a *punctual* person as one "having the characteristic of always keeping to arranged times, as for appointments, meetings, etc.". The American clock-time punctuality is particularly characterized by a somewhat constant regularity and consistency to pre-arranged times for conducting tasks, attending social functions ,meetings, etc. That is, things are planned at regular clock-time intervals in such a way that particular things must squarely happen, have effect or be done at particular time. This American conception of punctuality could be depicted in the following:

[F] American cultural script of punctuality
[people think like this:]
when a person has something to do, it is good if this person can think like this:
I know that time is something that moves moment after moment
If I have something to do, it is good to do it when I say I will do it

In contrast to this American cultural script, Cameroonians have a rather different conception of punctuality. The Cameroonian conception of time goes together with their perception of punctuality. They appear to have a relatively low regard for punctuality. The underlying Cameroonian perception of time—as analysed in section 5.2—is that they are the masters of their time; consequently, they hardly stress punctuality. Their fundamental concern is the completion or realisation of events or activities; punctuality and time expenditure is of minimal preoccupation to them. This Cameroonian perception of punctuality could thus be encapsulated in the following:

[G] Cameroonian cultural script punctuality
[people think like this:]
when a person has something to do, it is good if this person can think like this:
I know that I can have time to do this thing
If I have something to do, it is good I do it when I want

As can be noticed, this cultural script shows that Cameroonians tend to accomplish their tasks freely without any pressure from time. Their main concern is the completion of tasks as illustrated by the expression "[…] it is good I do it when I want." The same applies to attending social functions or meetings where Cameroonians seemingly would make sure that they attend the ceremonies at any time rather than being punctual to them. It is their presence that counts most, as it will preserve the face of their hosts and index the nature or the degree of their sociability and cooperativeness with others. In many Cameroonian ceremonies like marriages, the degree of turnout to one's own marriage depends on one's sociability toward others rather than how punctual the person is. The expression "[…] when I want" makes us believe that too many Cameroonians time is continuous, available and posssessable. Therefore, they can show up to social events they promised to attend when they feel like they have time or when they feel like it is getting late. Nkrumah-Boateng (2002) illustrates this behavioural conception in this example:

(4) You agree with a friend to meet near the Circle overhead at 2pm. You arrive there at 2:45; he arrives at 3:15. No big deal. In African parlance, '2pm' means 'around 2pm', which in turn means 'any time from 2pm,late-ish afternoon… ad infinitum'. It is only a loose guide-a very elastic appointment.

Furthermore, it could also be contented that the traditional Cameroonians' reliance on natural elements and events (sunrise, sunset, overhead sun, length of shadows, the chirrups of birds, the cock crows at night, etc.) to check time could possibly justify the 'African time' among many Cameroonians and Africans today. Because these 'natural time-indicators' lack preciseness and consistency, it goes without saying that this well-grounded reliance on the latter could eventually affect their sense of punctuality. That is, ‘African punctuality’ seems to be characterized by the absence of time preciseness and regularity. Consequently, this traditional ‘African punctuality’ gradually snowballs and becomes an issue with a continental dimension. That is why today even with modern clocks regularly hung around their wrists many Africans seem to be not time-conscious. Again, Nkrumah-Boateng (2002) points out that “African punctuality is an integral part of the continent’s culture, its social fabric and espirit du corps.”

7. Conclusion

In this paper, an attempt has been made to elaborate on the concepts of time and punctuality as culturally distinctive constructs of Cameroonians and Americans. The semantic explications of these concepts are paraphrased and formulated using the universal semantic primes proposed by the founding theorists of the NSM approach. The Metalanguage of each culture is captured though the theory of cultural scripts. By systematically presenting the Cameroonian and American cultural concepts of time and punctuality using the NSM approach, outsiders to respective cultures could easily and intuitively comprehend the meanings of these concepts, and eventually accept the “cultural otherness” of the culture which is not theirs. This proves that the NSM model is an appropriate tool that facilitates intercultural understandings between peoples of different cultures.

Cameroonians and Americans have different conceptions of time and time orientation. These differing conceptions of time and punctuality have been presented and analysed. While in the minds of many Cameroonians time is perceived as an easily posssessable asset, Americans view time as an easily losable valuable that painstakingly requires good management for efficiency and productivity. Being an easily posssessable asset and being checked using natural elements and events by many Cameroonians, the concept of time has today brought about the concept of “African time” or “African punctuality” while the Americans link their conception of “Western punctuality” to their notion of time. Thus, the Cameroonians and the Americans view punctuality differently. This difference should rather bridge mutual understanding between these two peoples than drive them apart. For many Cameroonians and Africans in general, there is an imperative need to be more time-conscious by appropriating the American cultural scripts of time and punctuality so as to enhance not only efficiency and productivity, but also socio-economic, cultural and political obligations cross-culturally.

Notes

1. These words have an Arabic origin and are used in various forms in the Muslim community. In Hausa we have the following as their equivalents assuba or *azuha* the dawn; *azuhur* the time of the call to prayer, between 1 or 3 p.m.; laasar 3 to 5 p.m.; *maguriha* or *magaruh* just before sunset, *lisha* very late in the evening.

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Explicating the Semantics of Metaphors in the Language of Corruption in Cameroon

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Abstract

Since corrupting is an illegal and illegitimate act which is sanctioned in almost all countries (OECD, 2008: 42-48), the people who are involved in corruption transactions look for means in order to hide their message from anybody who is not versed with it. Metaphors are frequently used in the language of corruption in Cameroon for this purpose. This paper therefore sets out to discuss the semantics of these metaphors and account for the factors which could have motivated their choice. The data for the study are drawn from participant observation, interviews, scientific papers, online materials and novels. The paper is discussed from the vantage point of functional grammar (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004; Thompson, 2004) and the conceptual metaphor theory (Lackoff and Johnson, 1980a; Lackoff and Johnson, 1980b). The findings of the study reveal that these language users utilize various types of metaphors in corruption transactions, namely anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, vegetative, abstraction and object metaphors. Besides, it is found that social, traditional and cultural practices in Cameroon can account for the choice of the values used in the metaphors of bribery and corruption in this country. Moreover, the findings show that the metaphors used in the language of corruption in Cameroon delineate the social, economical and political plight of Cameroonians.

Keywords: metaphor, language, corruption, semantics, Cameroon, traditional and cultural practices.

1. Introduction

Metaphor has received considerable attention in the works of linguists who are interested in the field of semantics, especially systemic-functional and cognitive linguists.

In systemic-functional grammar, metaphors are studied under the experiential /ideational metafunction and more precisely under relational processes. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), language consists of three metafunctions, namely the interactional (we use language to interact with people), the textual (we use language to create coherent and cohesive texts) and experiential metafunctions (we use language to convey our experience of the world). The experiential metafunction, which is the metafunction under which metaphors are analyzed, stipulates that language is used “to talk about the world, either the external-things, events, qualities, etc. –or our internal world –thoughts, beliefs, feelings, etc.” (Thompson, 2004: 86). The experiential metafunction upholds that “language reflects our view of the world as consisting of goings-on” (Thompson, 2004: 86) which can be viewed in terms of processes, namely, material, mental, verbal, behavioral, and relational. The relational process will be of use to this work since this process “sets up a relationship between two concepts” (Thompson, 2004: 86) and therefore can be used to analyse metaphors. It should be pointed out that metaphors are a means through which language users express their experience of the world. This experience of the world is expressed through what Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 636-658) refer to as ideational metaphors. For Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 639), “the metaphorical entity can serve as carrier/token in a relational clause and be assigned an attribute/value”. The notions of “carrier and attribute” Vs “token and value” convey relational processes. In the literature of systemic-functional grammar, the relational process can be of two types, namely attributive and identifying. To illustrate the difference between these two types of relational process, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 637), provides the following examples:

(5) […] These firmly entrenched-and vigorously defended –beliefs are false.
(6) […] These firmly entrenched-and vigorously defended –beliefs are false.

In (1) “These firmly entrenched-and vigorously defended–beliefs” has been ascribed the attribute of false. In (2) the “New World” is seen as a container. (2) can therefore be paraphrased as follows: “The New World is a container of hundreds of language families”. So, the “New world is identified in terms of “container of language families”. The “New world is therefore the token and “container of language families” is the value.Drawing on Halliday & Hasan (1976: 48), Fairclough (1989: 128) and Bakhtin (1986: 301), Vassileva (1998) would be among the first to use quantitative data collected from a corpus of articles in five different languages: English, French, German, Russian and Bulgarian to account for the various qualitative characteristics of favouring I or we within a particular context and to emphasize in her study the cultural component for the choices authors make.

It is on the basis of these clues that the process denoted by the verb in (1) is an attributive relational process while in (2), it is an identifying relational process. Therefore, in (1) “these firmly entrenched-and vigorously defended –beliefs” is the carrier and “false” is the attribute” whereas in (2) “The New World” is the token and “container of hundreds of language families” is the value. So, it can be pointed out that “carrier” and “attribute” are somehow equivalent to “token” and “value”.

Let us consider the example provided in (3).

(7) Presidents in many African countries are demi-gods.

In (3) the relationship which links the two entities is an identifying relational process. “Presidents in many African countries” is the token while “demi-gods” is the value. This is due to the fact that “Presidents in many African countries” are identified in terms of “demi-gods”.

In cognitive linguistics, metaphors have also received considerable attention. Cognitive linguists such as Lackoff and Johnson (1980a: 460) uphold that “linguistic expressions are containers for meaning [and that] aspects of the metaphor entails that words and sentences have meanings in themselves independent of any context or speakers”. The aspect of cognitive linguistics which will be useful to this work is the theory of conceptual metaphors as propounded by Lakoff and Johnson (1980a); Lakoff and Johnson (1980b). According to them, “the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing or experience in terms of another" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980a: 455). They go further to indicate that metaphorical concepts "involve understanding less concrete experiences in terms of more concrete and more highly structured experiences" (Lakoff and Johnson (1980a: 486). It is "a transfer (transposition) of a name of an object/phenomenon to another object/phenomenon on the basis of the similarity between them (Shelestiuk 2006: 334). They provide the example of "Theories are buildings". The term "theories" is structured in terms of "building". In other words, "buildings" are used to map the "theories". So, "buildings" belong to the source domain while "theories" fall under the target domain. What determines the choice of the concept of the source domain used to map that of the target domain is the similarity between the two concepts. This point is buttressed by Aristotle (1984: 669) who states that one should see similarities in order to create a good metaphor and defines the metaphor as a transfer of a noun from one object to another (within a category from genus to species, from species to genus, and from species to species, and from one category to another by analogy (Aristotle 1984: 669) as quoted by (Shelestiuk 2006: 334). In the preceding example, the similarities between "theories and buildings" are the following: Like, buildings, theories have foundations; like theories, buildings can be shaky; like theories, buildings have support, like theories, buildings are solid, etc. A metaphor can therefore be viewed as consisting of three major components, namely the primum comparandum, the secundum comparatum and the tertium comparationis (or ground) which are equated to what Richards (1990: 93), a specialist in rhetorics, calls the tenor, the vehicle and the ground.

A scrutiny of the terms used to analyse metaphors in systemic-functional grammar (carrier and attribute; token and value) can be equated respectively to those of target domain and source domain; tenor and vehicle; primum comparandum, secundum comaparatum used in cognitive linguistics and rhetorics.

Shelestiuk (2006: 337-338) has discussed the various approaches of analyzing metaphors. As she points out, metaphors can be classified following structural and semantic criteria. (Shelestiuk 2006: 337). For the purpose of this work it is the semantic classification which will be adopted. Under the semantic classification, metaphors are classified or analyzed based on:

a) The classification by associative link between the vehicle and tenor, forming the ground of similarity: similarity of function (e.g. the hands of a clock), similarity of form (a bottle's neck), similarity of structure and substance (e.g.: a flood of tears), similarity of result (e.g.: he has evaporated).

b) Classification based on the logico-grammatical meaning of the ground in a metaphor, describing the process of nomination in it. In this classification, a substance can be characterized through another substance, a substance can be characterized through an action, a substance can be characterized through a property, an action can be characterized through a substance, an action can be characterized through another action.

c) Classification of metaphors based on the subject of the vehicle. In this classification are identified the following types of metaphors: anthropomorphic metaphors, zoomorphic metaphors, vegetative metaphors, etc. (Shelestiuk 2006: 337-338).

Metaphors will be analysed in this work drawing from the first and third approaches (i.e. the classification by associative link between the vehicle/value and tenor/token, forming the ground of similarity and the classification of metaphors based on the subject of the vehicle).

It is in keeping with this theoretical background the semantics of metaphors in the language of corruption in Cameroon will be discussed.

The language of corruption in Cameroon has drawn the attention of researchers. Safotso (2015) has carried out a study on the metalanguage of corruption in Cameroon, laying emphasis on its register in general administration, transport and education. The data for the study was drawn from informal interviews and questionnaires. The findings of the study reveal that the widespread corruption in Cameroon has led to the development of a rich specialized language to discuss it and that this language varies from one register to another (general administration, transport and education). Besides, this language draws its lexicon from Cameroon English, Cameroon Pidgin English and French.

Drawing data from participant observation, interviews, online sources as well as printed materials, Meutem Kamtchueng (2015) carried out a linguistic study of the language of corruption in multilingual Cameroon. Discussing the work from a structuro-functional perspective, the author found that the language of corruption in Cameroon is essentially metaphoric and euphemistic and is characterized by features such as semantic shifts, borrowing, affixation, idiomatic formation, and stereotyped sentences. Furthermore, the findings of the study show that the lexicon of the language of corruption in Cameroon draws from English, Cameroon Pidgin English, home languages and French, but that French is the language from which the most sizeable proportion of the lexico-semantic constructions originate. This dominance of the French language has been attributed to the fact that the Cameroonian administration system is dominated by the language.

As opposed to the preceding works, this paper is entirely based on metaphors and sets out to explicate the semantics of metaphors in the language of corruption in Cameroon and is based on the following assumptions:

a) Language users in Cameroon who are involved in corruption transactions make use of various types of metaphors drawn their environment in order to reinforce the incomprehensibility of their message from the non-users of the code.

b) Social, traditional and cultural practices in Cameroon can account for the choice of the values used in the metaphors of bribery and corruption in this country.

2. Methodology

The data for the study was collected from participant observation, interviews, scientific papers, novels and online materials.

a) Participant observation

As a worker of the public service in Cameroon, I am used to going to various offices of ministries in order to follow-up the treatment of my official documents as well as those of my family members, friends and colleagues. I always take along a pen and a notebook to jot down the linguistic constructions, which are used in the language of corruption. It was commonplace to hear words and sentences such as gombo, motivation, parle bien (speak/talk well), mon pourcentage/my percentage, etc. I have been hearing these lexes and expressions from 2007 up to the present time. Their use is very recurrent and usually surfaces either in the productions of the workers (of both sex) of the public sector or those who need the services of officials. Some of the lexes and expressions found in this work were heard in the administrative center of Yaounde town, around the Ministry of Finance. This Ministry is the place of convergence of many civil servants since it is there that the majority of the financial documents of these workers are processed and/or treated. Also, these expressions have also been heard at checkpoints in the conversations between drivers (especially those who either have incomplete car's documents or those whose car's document have expired) and policemen/gendarmes and also between some policemen/gendarmes and passengers (who either have expired identification documents or who do not have them at all).

b) Interviews

Also, part of the data was collected via interviews. One hundred informants were interviewed. These informants were civil servants, workers of the private sectors and students of both sex. The questions found in the interview are the following:

1) Are you a Cameroonian?
2) What is your region of origin?
3) What is you occupation?
4) Have you ever heard of corruption?
5) What does that mean?
6) Have you ever practised or been a victim of corruption?
7) In which situation(s)?
8) What are the words or expressions used by the persons who corrupts or who ask for bribe?
9) What do the mean?
10) In which contexts are they used?

c) Witten and online material

The data for the study was also collected from written as well as online materials. From the following written material some of the data was collected: Safotso Tagne (2015), Meutem Kamtchueng (2015) and Mounga (2015). As concerns novels, that of the comeroonian novelist, Ambanasom (1999) entitled Son of the native soil provide some data. Furthermore, the data was also collected from the social media (https://www.facebook.com/radiotiemenisiantou/posts/696678067037234) and the online press ((http://cameroonjournal.com/national-news/conac-wont-name-corrupt-officials-in-anti-corruption-repo).

It should be stated that only metaphoric constructions which were recurrent were finally included in the analysis. This was in order to avoid idiosyncratic constructions.

3. Results and discussions

In this section are classified and discussed the metaphors, which are recurrently used in the language of corruption in Cameroon.

3.1. Anthropomorphic metaphors

Anthropomorphic metaphors have to do with human beings. In other words, the values of anthropomorphic metaphors are related to human creatures in various respects. These metaphors are discussed in this section.

(1) "Fais comme un *bon Camerounais:* do/make like a *good Cameroonian.*
(2) "Parle comme *un grand homme*": speak/talk like *a great man* (Meutem Kamtchueng 2015: 70)

It is important to indicate that the utterances "fais comme un bon Camerounais: do/behave like a good Cameroonian" and "parle comme un grand homme: talk like a great man" are used by people who are involved in corruption to ask for bribes. In order to bring out the metaphorical expressions conveyed (1) and (2) the sentences can be respectively paraphrased as follows: somebody who is involved in corruption is a good Cameroonian", "Somebody who is involved in corruption is a great man". In (1) and (2) "Somebody who is involved in corruption" is the token while "good Cameroonian" and "great man" are the values respectively. The values used in these metaphorical constructions reveal the extent to which the phenomenon of corruption has deteriorated the ethics in the country. Ethical values are upside down. In other words, being corrupt is the rule whereas not being corrupt is an exception. It is the corrupt person who is well regarded by the society since he is attributed the values "good Cameroonian", "great man" whereas the one who is not corrupt is neither a "good Cameroonian" nor a "great man".

(3) "Il n y a rien pour les *pauvres*": There isn't anything for the *poors*
(4) Il ya les *mange mille* en route: there are *1000-eaters* on the road.

The metaphorical meaning conveyed in (3) can be expressed as follows: Cameroonian workers are the poors. "Cameroonian workers" and "the poors" in this metaphorical construction are respectively the token and the value. Like utterances (1) and (2), utterance (3) is also used to ask for bribe. However, as opposed to the values of the metaphors (1) and (2) which have a flattery tone, the one used in (3) "les pauvres: the poors" instead conveys pity while that of (4) "les mange mille: 1000 eaters" is derogatory. As observed in (3), corrupt workers justify their collecting bribes by the fact that they are "the poors". It is very common to hear many corrupt workers, especially those of the public sector in

Cameroon use the utterance “Il ny’a rien pour les pauvres”: “there isn’t anything for the poors” to ask for bribe. The metaphorical construction in (4) can be rephrased as follows: “policemen/gendarmes are 1000-eaters”, “policemen/gendarmes” being the token and “1000 eaters” being the value. The choice of the value “1000 eaters” in the source domain to map the token “policemen/gendarmes” in the target domain is motivated by the fact that many policemen in Cameroon at checkpoints collect CFA 1000 from car drivers as bribe. This amount varies from one check point to another though in the majority of check points, it is CFA 1000. This is buttressed in Titi Nwell (1999: 87) who points out that, “it was established that a clandestine driver gives to the forces of law and order a minimum of CFA 1500 a day as “right of passage” and confirmed when it is said that the gendarmes who erect road check points to demand bribes […] are known as "mange mille" for their appetite for 1,000 CFA (about $2) bills)” (https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08YAOUNDE913_a.html). The values “les pauvres: the poors” and “les mange mille: 1000 eaters” in the source domain used to map the token “Cameroonian workers” and “policemen/gendarmes” respectively in the target domain can be explained by the fact that in Cameroon, workers salaries, especially those of civil servants is very low. For instance, “civil servants’ salaries […] have been reduced by over 50 per cent in the early 1990” (Yamb and Bayemi (2016: 9). Consequently, in order to make ends meet, some unscrupulous ones get involved in corrupt practices. This point concurs Tanzi’s (1998: 16) who, talking about the indirect factors which constitute a fertile grounds for corruption, mentions the level of public sector wages. So, the monthly salaries of these workers is not sufficient to cover their monthly expenses and that is why they consider themselves as “the poors” and consequently, easily get involved in corrupt practices such as the collection of CFA 1000 from car drivers. Some of these workers, therefore become “CFA 1000 eaters”.

3.2. Zoomorphic and vegetative metaphors

As opposed to anthropomorphic metaphors, zoomorphic ones incorporate values, which have to do with fauna whereas vegetative metaphors are the ones whose values are related to flora. The examples discussed in this section are instructive in this respect.

(5) “As-tu attaché *la chèvre* du proviseur**?”**: “Have you tied *the goat* of the principal

(6) J’attends toujours mon *coq* pour ton dossier que j’ai traité: I am still waiting for my *cock* for your file that I treated

The examples in (3) and (6) convey the meaning that is only understood in context and therefore metaphoric. They can be respectively paraphrased as “bribe is goat” and “bribe is cock”; “bribe” being the token whereas “goat” and “cock” are the values. As pointed out above, in order to understand the choice of the values of metaphors used by Cameroonians to refer to bribe, one has to be familiar with the cultural practices performed by these Africans. Many ethnic groups in Cameroon use goats while performing some of their traditional and cultural practices. This is pointed out by the report of the Agromisa Foundation (2005: 24):

> The goats are an important part in this system […] They are used for food, for sacrifices, payment of fines and for the services of traditional healers, and during funerals, weddings, thanksgiving and Christmas. They are the most used species for all kinds of celebrations. Before a married couple can enter into a new house, goats have to be offered to the neighbors. Goats also serve as living bank account; we can sell them when we are in need of cash to buy food, medicines, send children to school and buy soap, clothes and shoes for them so they look nice. This gives us and our children a sense of pride en self-esteem. The goats have become pets for the children. They provide 'happiness' and friendship. Each goat is given a name. (Agromisa Foundation, 24)

Like goats, cocks are also used in some traditional cultural practices of some ethnic groups in Cameroon. It is the case of Bangwa people of West Cameroon who sacrifices cock during marriage rituals (Brain, 1967: 29).

It is important to mention that the offering or sacrificing of goat(s) and cock(s) while performing these traditional and cultural practices aims at making in such a way that the event for which the animals are offered or sacrificed take place without hitch (marriage, for example), or find an everlasting solution (settling of a dispute, for instance); or that the benediction sought be granted to people, etc. These clues can enable us to understand the choice of the values of zoomorphic metaphors "goat", "cock" used by Cameroonians to refer to bribe. Like the goats and cocks which are offered during traditional and cultural practices to seek an everlasting solution to a problem, bribes are given by people so that the various problems they face in the treatment of their files by unscrupulous officials in various offices find a solution; legitimate services be rendered to them; their files be treated diligently, etc.

(7) "[…] They went straight to the DO's compound with their "*kola-nut*" […] Achamba had influenced the DO's decision" (Ambanasom, 1999: 143)
(8) "Donne-moi mon gombo, je te fais réussir": Give me my *gombo*, I make you succeed.

The metaphors found in (8) can be paraphrased respectively as "bribe is kola nut". The value "kola nut" which belong to the source domain of these metaphors is used to represent to the token "bribe", which is the target domain lexis. So, what account for the choice of the value "kola nut" by Cameroonians to represent bribe?
First of all, it is important to know that kola nut is the fruit of the kola nut tree, an indigenous tree which grows in the tropical rainforest of Africa. Cola nuts are classified in the family of Malyvaceae, a sub family of sterculioideae www.freetocharities.org.uk/edgf/11.pdf. This fruit is used for various purposes by Africans in general and by Cameroonians in particular. This fruit has

> proven to be of immense importance to the indigenous populations due to its stimulant supplying properties […] Traditional Africans rely on the natural nuts of the kola tree for stimulant intake, social interactions and divinity practice […]
>
> *[it]* restores vitality and eases hunger pangs. Kola nuts are an important part of the traditional spiritual practice of culture and religion in West Africa […] [it] is used as a religious object and sacred offering during prayers, ancestor veneration, and significant life events, such as naming ceremonies, weddings, and funerals. (1-2)
>
> Source: www.freetocharities.org.uk/edgf/11.pdf

From the above it can be stated that kola nut has many virtues since it is used as a stimulant; it restores vitality, eases hunger pangs, and is used in cultural practices. As stated above, kola nut is a stimulant (i.e. “something which makes or causes something to grow or develop” (Cambridge Advanced learners’ Dictionary, 2005: 1972) (henceforth CALD). Besides, it eases hunger pangs (i.e. sharp feeling of hunger), it “contains two alkaloids which help combat fatigue and suppress hunger” (www.edoworld.net/Kola_Nut_In_Custom.html). Also “kola nut signifies friendship, unity.” (www.edoworld.net/Kola_Nut_In_Custom.html) and is not generally eaten alone. In other words kola nut is generally shared with the people with whom we rare. These clues can enable to understand the common ground which exists between kola nut and bribe. Like kola nut which is used as a stimulant, bribe can also be considered as a stimulant for the corrupt worker who requires it so as to render a service to somebody. In addition to be used as a stimulant, kola nut is used to suppress hunger. As stated in Tanzi’s (1998: 16), one of the indirect factors which constitute a fertile ground for corruption is the low level of public sector wages. So, the official who holds a post in the public sector find its salary very low and consequently find difficulties to make ends meet. As a result, for being unable to satisfy some of his/her basic needs such as feeding (s)he becomes hungry. So, like kola nut which is used to suppress hunger, bribe is used to enable these workers satisfy their needs. For instance, when taxi and bus drivers at road check points give the car’s documents to policemen and gendarmes, it is commonplace to hear these officials asking the following question: “c’est ça que je mange: is that what I eat?; on mange le dossier du véhicule?: do we eat car’s documents?”. These are utterances used to ask for bribe. It can therefore be said that these officials ask for bribe because they want to suppress their hunger and kola nut is said to suppress hunger. So, like bribe, kola nut is used to suppress hunger. Furthermore, kola nut has symbolic values which are those of friendship, solidarity, i.e. familiarity. So, the corrupt worker who ask for kola nut (bribe) before attending to somebody somehow wants the person who needs his/her services to create a familiarity with him/her “giving him/her kola nut” (since kola nut symbolises familiarity) before (s)he can attend to you. This can explain why in many offices, people who are familiar with officials (i.e. who give them kola nut (bribe)) are easily attended to, have their files treated faster than those who are not familiar with the officials (i.e. who do not give kola nut)). Such situations have been observed in the health sector (National Institute of Statistics, 2011 as quoted by Yamb and Bayemi, 2016: 9). Besides, as pointed out above, kola nut is hardly eaten alone. It should be mentioned that the practice of corruption functions as a chain. In other words, the bribe collected by an official is generally shared among them. So, like kola nut which is generally shared with people, bribe is also shared with the people with whom these unscrupulous official works i.e. their colleagues who might either be at the same level of the administrative ladder, below or even at the top.

Like “kola nut”, “gombo” is another vegetative metaphor used for bribe. Literally, “gombo” (*abelmoschus esculentus)*, also “known as lady’s fingers, bamia, bhindi or gumbo, is a green pod vegetable produced by a plant of the tropical and warm climates. The name of the plant gave its name to the fruit. Gombo is believed to possess an abundance of health benefits since it contains many vitamins and help prevent various diseases (http://naturalsociety.com/6-okra-benefits-growing-cooking). This vegetable, of typical African consumption, contains a slimy substance (www.passeportsante.net). This substance of slippery characteristics facilitates the functioning of some body organs. (http://holisticonline.com/Herbal Med/_Herbs/h_okra.htm). However, in the language of corruption in Cameroon, the word "gombo" is used as a metaphor for bribe. Atabong (2013: 8) defines it in the following terms:

> A financial or material gift to a journalist, regarded as an insidious attempt to control people through the manipulation of information. Gombo therefore facilitates a news story to go through, even if it is not news worthy. Gombo could equally be given to a journalist to blackmail an opponent. Gombo is either offered by public relations practitioners and event organisers or solicited by journalists who publicly portent to value fairness, truth, objectivity and balance.

The word "gombo", which was initially used in the domain of media in Cameroon to refer to bribe will gradually be used in other domains of life such as business, administration, finance, etc. The metaphoric construction in (9) can be paraphrased as "bribe is gombo". This construction has "gombo" as the value and "bribe" as the token. What is important to find out here is the common ground which exists between "gombo", the source domain of this metaphoric construction and "bribe", its target domain. As mentioned above, gombo contains a slippery substance, which is proven to do a lot of good to the human body. This clue can be used to account for the choice of the value "gombo" to refer to bribe. Like gombo which facilitates or eases the smooth functioning of some body organs due to its slippery characteristics, bribe facilitates the transaction or the contact between the person who needs the service and the official who offers it. Besides, what is slippery does not stick to something and can therefore be easily slipped into a container. So, like gombo which can easily be slipped into a container, bribe can easily and secretly be slipped into the pocket of the person who takes it for fear of not being noticed. Moreover, like gombo which enrich physiologically the body of the person who consumes it thanks to its nutrients, bribe enriches financially and materially the person who takes it and this can negatively impact the society. This situation is commented in *Cameroon Tribune* (1999: 6) as quoted by Mukum Mbaku and Takougang (2004: 378)

> The lure of gain and illicit enrichment has become the driving force behind the behavior of many of our compatriots who are expert in cheating, fraud and swindling. The situation is unfolding in an alarming manner and we must put an end to it not only because it tarnishes our reputation but also because in the long run, it will threaten the cohesion of our society.

One can therefore say that the choice of the word "gombo" as the value of the metaphor for bribe is motivated by the slippery nature of this vegetable and also by the fact that the vegetable contains a lot of nutrients which are necessary for the human organism.

3.3. Object metaphors

Object metaphors differ significantly from anthropomorphic and zoomorphic ones in the sense that their value does not encompass living creatures. In other world, the value of object metaphors has to do with liveless realities (food stuff, drinks, machines, places, etc.) as exemplified below.

(9) "Il faut *le vin du patron*": There should be the *boss's wine*." (Safotso, 2015: 50)
(10) "Donne moi mon *whisky*, je te fais valider cette matière: Give me a *bottle of whisky* I will make you pass the course.

The utterances in (9) and (10) are also used in order to ask for bribe. The metaphoric construction in (10) and (11) can be paraphrased respectively as "bribe is the boss' wine" and "bribe is whisky". "Boss's wine" and "whisky", respectively in (10) and (11) are the value of the token "bribe". What can therefore be the common ground between the token "bribe" on the one hand and the values "wine" and "whisky" on the other hand? Wine is "an alcoholic drink which is usually made from grapes, but can also be made from other fruits or flowers" (CALD, 2005: 1486) and whisky is "a strong, pale brown alcoholic drink, originally from Scotland and Ireland, made from grain such as barbey, maize or rye" (CALD, 2005: 1478). It is important to mention that wine and whisky, thank to their taste and the ingredients, do not only enrich the body of their consumers but also procure them pleasure; make them feel happy and lively. So, like the wine and whisky which enrich its consumers and procure them pleasure, bribe enriches the corrupt officials and make them feel happy. That is why, once an official has collected bribe from the person who needs a service from him/her, he/she is satisfied and can therefore attend to him/her diligently.

Furthermore, it should be stated that kola nut, like whisky and wine, in the African context are hardly eaten or drunk when one is alone. More often, people open whisky or wine bottles when they are in groups. So, whisky and wine, like kola nut are generally shared with people. So, whisky and wine are generally shared among people and so is bribe. This is generally the case when the colleague of an unscrupulous official is aware of the fact that bribe has been collected.

(11) "Voilà votre *taxi*"*:* "That is your *taxi (fare)*" (Safotso, 2015: 53)
(12) "Find me *an envelope*": "Find *an envelope* for me" (Safotso, 2015: 53)

In (11) and (12), the metaphor for bribe has "taxi" and "envelope" as value respectively. The metaphors in (121) and (12) can be paraphrased respectively as "bribe is taxi" and as "bribe is envelope". What are stressed in the metaphor "taxi" is the taxi fares whereas in the metaphor "envelope" it is its content (which, in this context, is generally money). What could have accounted for the choice of the values "taxi" and "envelope" for the token "bribe"? A taxi is "a car with a driver whom you pay to take you somewhere" (CALD, 2005: 1330) whereas an envelope is "a flat, usually square or rectangular paper container for a letter" (CALD, 2005: 417). Taxi eases or facilitates the movement of people in a city from one place to another on the condition one has taxi fares, while envelope is a paper container which facilitates or helps in the keeping and mailing of letter from one place to another. It can therefore be established that there is a common ground between bribe and taxi on the one hand and bribe and envelope on the other hand. Both taxi (fares) and envelope convey the meaning of something which eases/facilitates an activity, a task, etc. Taxi (fares) eases or facilitates the movement of people from one place to another in a town; envelope helps in keeping and mailing letters. Similarly, bribe eases the transaction between the unscrupulous official and the person who needs his/her services.

(13) (a) "Passe à *la chefferie:* to come to the *traditional palace"* (Meutem Kamtchueng, 2015:70)
(b) "Never visit the *palace* empty handed"

Like the preceding utterances, (13a) and (13b) are used to ask for bribe. The metaphoric construction in both of them have the same value. They can be paraphrased as "(officials') offices are traditional palaces". What could have accounted for the choice of the value "traditional palace" to refer to the token "(officials') offices"? A traditional palace is a large compound where the king lives and works. He attends to his subjects at his pace, receives gifts from them. More often, a subject who visits the chief should take along a gift which can take various forms (wine, whisky, goats, cocks, etc.). Generally, the chief receives from people more than he gives. So, Cameroonian's officials tend to transpose the traditional system of administration to the modern one. That is what might account for the fact that many of them consider, either consciously or unconsciously, their offices as traditional palaces and consequently, (s)he who needs services from these offices should come along with a parcel before being attended to diligently since one "never visits the palace empty handed". So, like one generally goes to the palace with a parcel for the king, one has to go to the official's office with it too, otherwise, one runs the risk of not being attended to. Furthermore, as mentioned before, the king in his traditional palace works at his pace since there is nobody controlling his activities in the palace and is free to attend to the subject he wishes to. These ways of doing has been somehow transposed into many Cameroonian government services. Some officials attend to people who needs their services in a very selective ways (depending either on their acquaintances with you, or on whether or not you have bribed them), they work at their pace and do not care about the weekly, monthly, yearly objectives to be met if at all they have some. This state of affairs lead to inertia and on a long run jeopardizes millennium development goals to be attained by the Country.

(14) "Bring *small thing*, yi name go commot fo list" (Cameroon Pidgin English): "Bring a *little thing* and his/her name will be put on the list (Safotso, 2015: 50)

The metaphoric construction in (14) can be paraphrased as "bribe is a little thing". In this metaphoric constructions the value "little thing" is used to represent bribe which is the token. The common ground between "bribe" and "small thing" is that what is given as bribe, generally in many offices, are objects of small size, but not usually small in terms of value, and they generally take the form of cash. This is because money, in terms of size, is small and can easily be taken and kept as compared to other objects. It is worth mentioning that bribe is something which is secretly given and should not therefore draw people's attention. So, it is preferable that it is something small in size ("a small thing") which can easily be hidden and kept without much effort. It is equally worth stating that what is small in size in not necessary small in value. So, referring to bribe using the value "small thing" is essentially euphemistic. These clues can account for the choice of the value "small thing" by Cameroonians to represent bribe.

(15) Si tu donnes *le carburant* du boss, ton dossier sera vite traité: If you give *the fuel* of the boss, your file will be treated fast.

The metaphoric construction in (15) can be paraphrased as "bribe is fuel", bribe being the token and fuel the value. In other words, the value "fuel" is the word chosen in the source domain in order to map bribe, the target domain lexis. What explanation can be provided to account for the choice of the word "fuel" in the source domain to map bribe? According to the CALD (2005: 513), fuel is "a substance which is used to provide heat or power, usually by being burned". It should be mentioned that it is that power provided by fuel which makes car moves. In other words, without fuel, a car cannot move. Similarly, like fuel makes car move, bribe makes corrupt people act smartly (i.e. treating people's files diligently, provide them necessary information, etc.). It can be said that fuel is to the car what bribe is to corrupt officials.

3.4. Abstraction metaphors

Abstraction metaphors differ significantly from the preceding types of metaphors in the sense that refer to realities which cannot be seen. In other words, their values refer to actions, sensations, feelings, as the instances below illustrate.

(16) [...] to avoid problems: to bribe (http://cameroonjournal.com/national-news/conac-wont-name-corrupt-officials-in-anti-corruption-repo)

The metaphor in (16) can be paraphrased as "bribing is avoiding problem". In this metaphoric construction, "avoiding problems" is the source domain expression (the value) which has been used to refer to bribing, the target domain word (the token). What can therefore be the common ground between bribing and avoiding problems. In many offices of the public service, many officials indulge in illegal activities. There is a general sense that in some public offices certain attitudes prevail. Some officials expect bribe from the person who needs their services before the service is rendered. More often, when the person who needs the services of an unscrupulous official does not give him/her bribe, the probability for that person to face difficulties (problems) is very high. For instance, the treatment of your file can take more time than needed, your file can be misplaced, or simply ignored, you might not get the right information, etc. So, in order to avoid these unfortunate situations, one has to bribe. As a result, bribing is avoiding problems. These clues can account for the choice of the value "avoiding problems" in the source domain to represent the act of bribing in the target domain.

(17) "Faire *un geste:* to make **a** *gesture*" (Meutem Kamtchueng, 2015: 69)

In (17), the metaphoric construction can be paraphrased as "bribing is making a gesture". In this metaphor, a kinesthetic value "to make a gesture" has been chosen in the source domain to represent the token "bribing" in the target domain. It will be interesting to identify the common ground between the act of bribing and that of making a gesture. Given that bribing or corrupting is an illegitimate act which is sanctioned in Cameroon (Cf. Cameroon Penal Code, article 134, 134 b and 312, Tchoupie, 2006: 57-80, Atangana, 2015: 9), this act is done secretly and stealthily so that it goes unnoticed. A gesture is "a movement of the hands, arms, or head, etc. to express an idea or feeling" (CALD, 2005: 531). In the context of corruption, the gesture is made by the hands and done stealthily and secretly so that it can go unnoticed for fear of drawing people's attention. This gesture consists in giving a bribe to someone either so that duly service can be rendered to him/her or to influence a decision, etc. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that the word "gesture" in Standard British English can also refer to a symbolic act i.e. "an action that you take which expresses your feelings or intentions, although it may have little practical effect. Eg: The Government donated £ 5, 00,000 as a gesture of good will" (CALD, 20005: 531). On the basis of the preceding definition, it can be said that in the language of corruption, the word "gesture" in the Cameroonian context has undergone a semantic shift since it no longer refers to this "symbolic act" but instead to the act of bribing or corrupting.

(18) "E don *oil yo mop* (Cameroon Pidgin English)": "he has *oiled his mouth*" (Safotso, 2015: 49)
(19) "Dem go *lock yo mop*": "they will *shut his mouth*" (Safotso, 2015: 49)

Like in the preceding metaphor, the ones in (18) and (19) incorporate a kinesthetic value. (19) can be paraphrased as "bribing is oiling someone's mouth". The value "oiling someone's mouth" in (18) has been chosen in the source domain to represent the token "bribing" in the target domain. What can be the common ground which can be established between "oiling someone's mouth someone's" and bribing?

To oil means "to put oil on something, especially a machine, usually to make it work more easily without sticking" (CALD, 2005: 876). On the one hand, it can therefore be said that by oiling, one eases of facilitates the smooth functioning of a machine. The working conditions of workers in Cameroon, especially those of the public sector are deplorable and their salaries do not enable them make ends meet. As a consequence, many of them are demotivated at their jobsites and therefore do not attend to people diligently. Since people want to be attended to diligently, they resort to giving bribes. So, by bribing one eases or facilitates his/her being attended to by the unscrupulous officials. One can therefore say that like "oiling" eases or facilitates the functioning of a machine, "bribing" eases or facilitates the service needed by a given Cameroonian citizen from an unscrupulous official.

The metaphoric construction in (20) can be paraphrased as “bribing is locking somebody’s mouth”. In this construction, “locking somebody’s mouth” is the vehicle used in the source domain to represent the tenor “bribing”, which is the target domain lexis. What is therefore the common ground which exists between bribing and locking someone’s mouth? “To lock” means “to fasten something with a key or be fastened with a key” (CALD, 2005: 746) and to shut means “(to cause to) close something (CALD, 2005: 1186). In the language of corruption in the Cameroonian context, people do not “lock” or “shut” with keys but instead with bribe. Therefore, “locking/shutting someone’s mouth” means bribing him so that his or her actions or behavior can be in your favor. For instance, a murderer/thief can give a police commissioner CFA 1000, 000 so that this official turns a blind eye on the crime committed. So, like the lock which is used to fasten the door, bribe is used to “lock/shut somebody’s mouth” i.e. making in such a way that somebody (e.g. an official) does not say or reveal the truth about an affair, so that he/she distorts the facts, destroy an incriminating document, behave as if he was not aware of the crime committed, etc.

(20) As-tu déjà donné *la motivation* du patron pour le traitement de ton dossier-là? : Have you already given *the motivation* of the boss for the treatment of your file?

The metaphoric construction in (20) can be paraphrased as “bribe is motivation”. In this construction, it can be observed that the value “motivation” is the source domain word which has been chosen to represent the token “bribe”, which is the target domain lexical item. What could have accounted for the choice of the term “motivation” to represent “bribe”. According to the CALD (2005: 823), motivation is the “enthusiasm for doing something”. As mentioned above, many Cameroonian workers, especially those of the public sector are demotivated due to their deplorable working conditions, low salaries, etc. As a result, the treatment and follow-up of documents in many public sector structures are tedious and take more time that needed. So, in order to have one’s file treated, followed-up, etc., one who needs their services has to make these officials enthusiastic (give them motivation: bribe them) before they render the service one needs from them. It can therefore be said that like motivation creates the “enthusiasm for doing something”, bribe creates in the corrupt official the enthusiasm to attend to people, to treat and follow up their files.

(21) “Gars, si tu ne *parles pas bien*, le proviseur ne t’acceptera pas dans son établissement: Guy, if you do not *speak well*, the principal will not admit you into his school”

The metaphoric construction in (21) can be paraphrased as “bribing is speaking well”. In this example, “speaking well” is the value used in the source domain to represent the token “bribing”, which is the target domain lexis. Very often in Cameroon, when one dialogues with an unscrupulous official, whatever you tell him/her about you raison d’être of coming to his/her office will not be given much importance unless you give him some bribe. In other words, telling the unscrupulous official your raison d’être of coming to his office without giving him some bribe at the end is “talking badly/poorly” but telling him/her your raison d’être of coming to his office and giving him/her bribe at the end is “talking well”. So, bribing is talking well.

4. Conclusion

From the foregoing analysis, it can be said that a number of people in Cameroon make use of various types of metaphors in order to refer to bribe: anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, vegetative and object metaphors. It is also found that the choice of the value of metaphors used in illegal activities, especially those referring to bribe, is generally linked to the natural characteristics of the value of the metaphors (e.g. gombo), the function or use of the values in the daily life (eg. kola nut, taxi (fares), etc.). Moreover, it can be said that many of the values of the metaphors used in the language of corruption in Cameroon are everyday’s realities which people are very familiar with (e.g. kola nut, gombo, whisky, wine, goats, cocks, etc.). Furthermore, one can observe that the metaphors used in the language of corruption may have a negative impact on the ethics in the Cameroonian society. For instance, in order to ask for bribe, these language users utilize utterances such as “fais comme un bon Camerounais/un grand homme: do/behave like a good Cameroonian/a great man”; “parle bien: speak/talk well”. From such constructions, one can understand that a good/model Cameroonian/a great man is the person who corrupts; a person who speaks well is the person who is corrupt or who corrupts. Moreover, some of these metaphoric constructions tend to alter or soil the symbolic values bestowed to some realities used in the social, traditional and cultural practices of Cameroonians and which are very dear to these people (e.g. kola nut, gombo, passer à la chefferie: go to the traditional palace, etc.). Besides, the analysis reveals that the metaphors used in the language of corruption in Cameroon draws from the cultural, social and economical realities of the Cameroonian society and delineate the abject living conditions of Cameroonians. This study intends to contribute in the domain of cultural semantics and as such similar studies should be conducted in various contexts so as to understand how social, cultural and economical factors affect or determine the choice of the values of metaphors used to refer to a societal phenomenon.

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Linguistic Practices of Postgraduate Students at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, Yaoundé

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Abstract

This chapter addresses the primordial issue in training programmes: the quality of the end product. It assesses the linguistic and writing skills of future teachers prior to field experience. Using the case study approach, the study examines the language analysis and writing proficiency of English teacher trainees in the Higher Teacher Training College (ENS). Data was collected from trainees' scripts of language analysis, their writing tasks and classroom assignments alongside questionnaires and focus-group interviews. The analysis offers insights into how the norms of language choice and use are conditioned by previous learning experiences. The study calls on curriculum designers and teacher trainers to ameliorate teacher training through improved curricula and methodology. It also provides valuable information on the nature of bilingual and monolingual linguistic competences of teacher trainees at ENS Yaounde on the one hand, and on the level of preparedness of each group of trainees to deal with language students in the near future on the other hand.

Keywords: language analysis, linguistic practices, writing proficiency, teacher training

1. Introduction

This investigation is situated in the multilingual context of Cameroon and aims to understand the linguistic practices of postgraduate students at the Higher Teacher Training College (HTTC/ENS). The challenges of English language teachers in training are revealed to be closely linked to their former learning experiences and exposure to language and languages in contact. This work developed from the researcher's work experience as a teacher trainer of anglophone and bilingual teachers for at least 14 years. Preparing teachers of ELT entails providing the contents, the methodological as well as the social aspects of pedagogy. The trainees need to become proficient English Language users in order to better perform the pedagogic tasks that await them in their teaching career. Throughout these years, I have often been very interested in the students' language challenges. I have taken keen interest in the inner world of their feelings, often of distress and despair at not being able to meet the expected language production and analyses expected of graduates that they are. There is a need to better understand how these learners and users of a second language participate and negotiate meaning in order to better prepare for the teaching profession. The questions that are addressed include: What linguistic practices are expected and in what contexts are they deemed legitimate? What are the linguistic practices that characterize the English speaking and the bilingual teacher trainee at ENS)? How do identity, previous learning trends and the teacher training programme impact the linguistic patterns of these learners?

These issues are elucidated in this chapter by first providing a summary of the language situation in Cameroon. Secondly, the needs and expectations of language teacher education are explained. Thirdly, the methodology section describes the case study design: the participants, research instruments and data analysis procedure. The analysis and discussion section highlights the domains of the learners' language analyses and language production challenges, while drawing on macro-perspectives to triangulate the various viewpoints. Finally, the paper ends with a brief consideration of the pedagogical implications of the findings.

1.1. Language education in Cameroon

The Cameroon political/historical heritage, which led to the adoption of French and English as official languages, characterize the educational system. (Two educational subsystems: the Francophone subsystem with French as the medium of instruction and the Anglophone subsystem with English as the language of instruction). In secondary education, the two subsystems have virtually remained unchanged. In the Francophone subsystem, English is taught as a foreign language, and remains a compulsory subject while French is the medium of instruction. Likewise, in the Anglo-Saxon subsystem, English is the language of instruction while French is a compulsory subject. The Francophones are taught English through the structural approach; focus is on the structure of the language. The teaching of English to Francophones as a foreign language in Cameroon implies that grammar (morphology and syntax) and vocabulary are the most studied components, followed by reading. The formal properties of language are more often studied out of real life contexts of communication. Students are overtly taught the rules governing the construction of sentences with the aim that learners would master the structure of the language and would produce error free texts. Meanwhile, in the Anglo-Saxon subsystem, English language (until 2012 with the introduction of the Competency-Based Approach CBA), was taught using the Communicative Language Teaching Approach (CLT). The emphasis here is on the study of language as a tool for communication. Language is studied in specific contexts and both ability to communicate and fluency in communication are the primary goals, while accuracy is secondary and is of relevance only in relation to a well-defined context (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). With the CLT, learner errors require a necessary feedback for pedagogic purposes.

English language teachers in Cameroon generally come from the two backgrounds described above. These two backgrounds are different, though the structure of the training that English language teacher trainees receive in ENS is basically the same. However, most State Universities in Cameroon among which is the University of Yaounde I, offer courses to English majors in two departments: English Modern Letters and Bilingual Letters.

1.2. English language teacher training in ENS Yaoundé

Alongside the English Modern Letters (LMA) programme that is offered by at ENS, is the Bilingual Letters (BIL) teacher training programme that also molds English language and literature teachers. A graduate from any of the two departments is supposed to use the English language well; he or she is expected to write different types of texts, have a sound knowledge of the structure of English, make meaning out of texts, and analyze discourse among other things. However, this is not always the case since there are some certified teachers who are reported to make common mistakes frequently in speech and writing or in other structural items. Speech errors do not constitute a problem when they do occur during interlanguage development (Corder, 1976) of ESL/EFL speakers or student teachers, given that even competent language users do make mistakes. But the truth is that such errors cannot be tolerated when they become recurrent. On this issue, Consolo (1996) contends that if a language teacher's speech is frequently marked by errors, this can seriously interfere with the quality of input provided for his or her students. Evidently, this undermines the quality of English language teachers today in Cameroon and raises concerns about the quality of the syllabus at the Teacher Training College. For a learned audience, this question may arise: Who are more prone to make such language errors, bilingual graduates or LMA graduates? Before delving into further explanation, it is worthy to examine what constitutes the training programme offered to both groups of student teachers. The majority of courses taken by LMA students are also taken by Bilingual students as shown on Table 1 below.

The main content courses, Structure of English, Advanced English Speech and Usage, Discourse Analysis and Academic Writing, are included in the programmes of the two groups of trainees in order to reinforce trainees' language productive skills before practice teaching and their subsequent autonomy in the teaching career. Persistent learners' error production in academic writing and their inability to be able to analyze sentences into their constituent structures by the end of the training still constitute a major problem.

2. Theoretical premise

The Linguistic approach to Discourse Analysis, Academic Writing and the Error Analysis framework constitute the tenets on which this work is based.

The structural patterns employed by language users to construct messages, (Longacre 1976. 1996, Brown and Yule 1983), or to give an account of how forms of language are used in communication, are the major concern in this chapter. The linguistic approach to the analysis of discourse is of value in the interpretation of meaning. It portrays how language works and how it improves the understanding of the language structure. It enables educators to find out how good texts work, so that they can focus on teaching students writing and speaking strategies that will in turn enhance their language proficiency.

English Modern Letters (LMA)		Bilingual Letters (BIL)	
Semester 1 (Year 4)		Semester 1 (Year 4)	
Course Code	Course Title	Course Code	Course Title
ENG 411	Structure of English	ENG 411	Structure of English
ENG 413	English Speech and Usage	ENG 413	English Speech and Usage
ENG 415	Research Methodology	ENG 415	Research Methodology
ENG 417	Critical Theory	ENG 419	Major Themes in African Literature
ENG 419	Major Themes in African Literature		
ENG 421	Academic English Proficiency***		
ENG 423	World Master Pieces		
Semester 2 (Year 4)		Semester 2 (Year 4)	
ENG 412	Discourse/Classroom Interaction Analysis	ENG 410	Discourse/Classroom Interact Analysis
ENG 414	Second Language Acquisition	ENG 412	Second Language Acquisition
ENG 416	Language /Literature Teaching	ENG 414	Language /Literature Teaching
ENG 418	Shakespeare	ENG 416	Shakespeare
ENG 420	Literature and Society	ENG 418	World Masterpieces
ENG 422	Modern Trends in Literature		
ENG 424	Varieties of English		
Semester 1 (Year 5)		Semester 1 (Year 5)	
ENG 511	Literature and Philosophy	ENG 513	Victorian Poetry
ENG 513	Major Themes in Post Colonial Lit	ENG515	Discourse/Classroom Interact Analysis
ENG 515	Discourse /Classroom Interaction Analysis	ENG 517	Teaching and Testing Skills
ENG 517	Language /Literature Teaching	ENG 519	Advanced English Speech and Usage
ENG 519	Advance English Speech and Usage	ENG 521	Major Currents in Lit Thoughts
ENG 521	Academic Writing ***	ENG 523	Evaluation of ELT Materials
ENG 525	Error Analysis ***	***	
Semester 2 (Year 5)		Semester 2 (Year 5)	
	Teaching Practice		Teaching Practice

Table 1: Courses of the LMA/BIL letters of ENS Yaounde

The ability to write coherently is not a naturally-acquired skill; it is usually learned or culturally transmitted as a set of practices in schools or in given contexts (Tribble 1997, Myles, 2002). The writing skill is very important in ESL and EFL instruction as it facilitates language learning in many ways. First, writing reinforces the grammatical structures, idioms, and vocabulary that have been taught. Secondly, it enables learners to produce language beyond what was taught. Again, when students write, they necessarily become involved with the new language; the effort to express ideas and the constant use of new ways of expressing their ideas while sharpening their cognitive processes related to writing. It is viewed as a continuum of activities that range from the more mechanical or formal aspects of "writing down" on the one hand, to the more complex act of “composing” on the other hand (Omaggio, 1993). In language acquisition and learning, the act of composing is a daunting task for some students, especially for those writing in a second language (L2) in academic contexts. Bereiter and Scardamalia (1987:v12) for example believe that by putting together concepts and solving problems, the writer engages in “a two-way interaction between continuously developing knowledge and continuously developing text”.

Writing is an objective yardstick to measure linguistic competence (grammar, word choice, spelling, and mechanics), critical thinking skills (logical development) and organizational skills (paragraph structure). Academic writing is “writing done by students and researchers/scholars in an academic environment such as the university” (Nkemleke 2011: 2). Academic writing is a daunting enterprise and this challenge seems more pronounced in ESL contexts (Bickner & Peyasantiwong 1988 and Hinkel 2004). Features that generally lack in academic texts by ESL writers include the use of linguistic and rhetorical resources of formal writing such as complex sentences, passivization and nominalization (Njika 2003, Hinkel 2004, Nkemleke 2011), as well as “less facility of expression and “less rich vocabulary” (Flowerdew 1999).

Error analysis (EA) in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) (Corder 1981, 1967, Ancker 2000, Candling 2001, Olasehinde 2002, Vahdatinejad 2008) tells the teacher the stage of language development the learner happens to be at and what remains for him to learn. Secondly, errors provide the researcher with evidence about how language is learnt or is acquired. Thirdly, errors are indispensible to the learner himself because errors constitute a strategy for testing, practice and correction by adults and teachers (Corder, 1981:11). In his opinion, systematically analyzing language learners’ errors makes it possible to determine areas that need reinforcement in teaching. EA emphasizes “the significance of errors in learners’ interlanguage system” (Selinker 1972, Brown 1994). Ellis (1995) holds that the most significant contribution of EA lays in its success in elevating the status of errors from undesirable forms to that of guide to teaching and designing of course materials. Myles (2002: 9) identifies three sources of errors in texts produced by ESL academics: interference of L1, overgeneralization of target language rule and the lack of familiarity with new rhetorical structures and the organization of ideas. Since proficiency in L2 writing follows academic standards in the native language, it becomes difficult for non-native writers to comply with the various levels of adaptation (style, rhetoric, socio-cultural, political and ethical issues) related to academic writing in a second/foreign language. It is interesting to take note of the recurrence of errors in L2 academic writing. Academic supervisors and juries in public defences are often struck by the recurrence of the same errors in students' dissertations over the years.

Besides comparing trainees' past learning experiences and present performances, this chapter analyses their linguistic productions and reveals the related-language errors in writing as well as in their analyses of the structure of English.

3. Methodology

This chapter revolves around the following research questions: (1) What are the problems faced by language teacher trainees of ENS Yaounde in performing language analyses and writing tasks? (2) What is the role of former learning experiences on metalinguistic awareness and performance of these trainees? (3) How do the ENS programmes of LMA/BIL enhance trainees' language proficiency and their eventual teaching careers?

The informants of this study were drawn from four groups, namely: 125 LMA trainees, 88 BIL trainees, 11 certified practicing High School teachers and 9 language teacher trainers of ENS Yaounde, giving a total of 233 participants.

Data was got from three main sources: a corpus of 213 discourse analysis scripts and 213 essays of 125 LMAs' and 88 BILs' first semester examination (discourse analytical tasks and a composition on the different discourse genres), three sets of questionnaires designed and administered respectively to 91 LMAs and 71 BILs, 11 practicing teachers and 9 teacher trainers and a focus-group interview with trainees.

For the language analysis task, the 213 trainees' texts that were laid on Longacre's discourse frame as well as their 213 essays on the different discourse genres (minimum 600 words) were corrected and the most recurrent errors identified. The mean scores of both tasks were calculated and the correlation between performance in linguistic analysis and language production determined. The three sets of questionnaires and the focus-group interviews were analyzed concurrently and facts presented and discussed.

4. Analyses and discussion of findings

Analyzed data consistently point to the linguistic deficiencies of the English language teachers in training in ENS, Yaounde. The trends in the linguistic proficiencies of BIL and LMA teacher trainees show the BILs as being better than the LMAs in language analysis and the LMAs as being better in writing tasks.

4.1. Linguistic competence of ENS teacher trainees

4.1.1. *Competence in text analyses*

Mean sores for text analysis (Levels 4/5 combined) indicate that the BILs obtained 11.66/20 while the LMAs had 10.20/20. Overall performance of both groups on language analysis and metalinguistic awareness is barely average though the BILs have an edge over the LMAs

Trainees' scripts were further analyzed to identify their areas of difficulty in the process of laying texts on Longacre's discourse frame of analysis. Table 2 below presents the data obtained after the analyses of students' errors in the discourse analysis task.

Student / Error type	BIL (88)/ student per error type	%	LMA (125)/ student per error type	%
Phrase identification	22	25. 00	34	27.20
Clause identification	22	25.00	50	40.00
Pre-clausal elements	05	05.68	24	19.20
Optional sentence elements	25	28.41	39	31.20
Total	74		147	

Table 2: BIL5 and LMA5 error types and frequencies of errors in discourse analysis task

Table 2 above indicates that BIL students produce a total of 74 errors while LMA students had 147 errors. These figures show that LMA students are more pruned to making structure-related language errors. The above table further reveals that most of the errors produced by BIL students (28.41%) came from inadequate handling of optional sentence elements (equivalent to the "after verb " column on Longacre's discourse frame). Meanwhile, the majority of LMA students' errors (40%) result from their inability to identify phrases and clauses. The results obtained indicate that LMA trainees have more problems in language analysis than the BIL students.

4.1.2. *Competence in written production*

The mean scores of LMAs (10.87/20) and BILs (09.79/20), in the written production, point out that the former performed better in the writing task (composition). Below are writing excerpts of both groups of learners.

Writing Excerpt 1 (BIL)
Abortion is the act of causing or putting an end to a pregnancy which has not <u>reach</u> ***(tense error: reached)*** the normal <u>weeks provided to be the week of delivering</u> ***(sentence structure and diction errors; diction: delivery and not delivering)***. Women, <u>especially young girls of nowadays</u> ***(punctuation error: insert comma)*** instead of keeping a pregnancy till they <u>deliver</u> ***(punctuation error: insert comma)*** prefer abortion. <u>This, they do</u> because ***(sentence structure error: the do this/this is done)*** of <u>Many</u> ***(capitalization***

/mechanics error: many) reasons they advance and which we will discuss further. Other women prefer to keep their pregnancy ***(concord error: pregnancies)*** until they deliver. This is a dual situation between two different camp ***(concord error: camps)*** and which we will try to discuss with the help of the different reasons advanced.

Writing Excerpt 2 (LMA)

It is interesting being a pre-service English language teacher trainee. One becomes very eager to be train ***(concord error: trained***) and go to the field. In as much as ***(spelling error: inasmuch as)*** one is eager, there are some challenges that creates ***(concord error: create***) a kind of fear in the students, for example, lack of finance to meet up with the required demands, the work load ***(spelling error: workload***) itself is frightening, there is an impending fear when one thinks about the dissertation and the ***(irrelevant addition of the definite article 'the' to the words dissertation and teaching practice***) teaching practice ***(spelling error: practice***). Thus, this easy ***(spelling error: essay)*** will focus on the difficulties face ***(tense error: faced***) by pre-service English language teacher trainee ***(concord error: trainees***).

The underlined sections in the texts above are errors while the information in brackets provides the error types and suggested corrections. The same approach was used while marking scripts in order to come up with the various error types. Table 3 below provides a summary of BIL and LMA students' error types and frequencies of occurrence in essays.

Level and number of trainees / Error type	Level 4 (104)				Level 5 (109)			
	BIL 4 (41)		LMA 4 (63)		Bil 5 (47)		LMA5(62)	
	Errors	%	Errors	%	Errors	%	Errors	%
Spellings	97	27.32	132	29.86	101	22.44	94	29.37
Concord	40	11.26	28	06.33	40	08.88	21	06.56
Tense	27	07.60	50	11.31	32	07.11	73	22.81
Mechanics/Punctuation	34	09.57	39	08.82	59	13.11	35	10.93
Omission	29	08.16	23	05.20	36	08.00	11	03.43
Irrelevant addition of words	06	01.69	16	03.61	18	04	07	02.18
Diction	65	18.30	90	20.36	100	22.22	50	15.62
Sentence structure	54	15.21	62	14.02	48	10.66	26	08.12
Transfer	03	00.89	02	0.49	16	03.58	03	0.98
Total	355	100	442	100	450	100	320	100
Totals BIL only (805)	*355*				*450*			
Totals LMA only (742)			*442*				*320*	

Table 3: Trainees' written error types and frequencies of occurrence

The above table reveals BIL students as producing more errors on aspects of writing such as concord, mechanics/punctuation, omission and sentence structure. Meanwhile, LMA students produced more spelling and concord errors. It was also noticed that the BILs produced more transfer-related errors, as some words and structures were French interferences on English. Both the BILs and the LMAs also produced structure-related errors influenced by their L1 and Pidgin. Furthermore, it can be observed while BIL4 students produced fewer errors than LMA4, the BIL5 students produced more errors than the LMA5s. However, put together, the BILs produced 805 errors while the LMA5s produced 762 errors. Seen from this perspective, LMA students perform better than BIL students in writing tasks. Table 3 also discloses that spelling is a major source of errors for both Bilingual and LMA students. In fact, out of the 805 errors produced by BILs, 198 (24.59%) were spelling errors. Also, out of the 762 errors produced by the LMAs, 226 (29.85%) were spelling errors. Diction was the second main source of errors. For example, the BILs produced 165(20.49%); errors while the LMAs committed 140(18.49%) errors.

4.2. Respondents' value judgment of previous learning practices / present performance

Feedback from the three sets of questionnaires administered revealed respondents' attitudes towards language analyses and writing skills. The teacher trainees express their behaviour and beliefs about their mastery of language analyses and writing skills. In service teachers affirm their experiences and convictions about the way they handle aspects of the structure of English and writing in class while the teacher trainers give their opinions about the performances of the BILs and the LMAs in language analyses and writing tasks.

4.2.1. *Previous learning experience and current linguistic performance*

The learner's educational background is shown to significantly influence their linguistic output and metalinguistic awareness as indicated by both groups of teacher trainees. LMA trainees have studied English for a longer period than the BILs. In fact, 64% of LMA4 and 75% of LMA5 trainees affirm that they have studied English for at least 16 years. Comparatively, only 29.26% and 26.66%, respectively, of BIL4 and BIL5 trainees attest to having the same learning experience. However, the number of years of exposure alone is not sufficient to account for effective learning in a formal classroom environment; the average number of hours of English language per week equally plays a considerable impact on output. Table 4 below provides more data on the history of informants' English language instruction.

Level and No. of trainee / No. of hours	**LEVEL 4 (104)**				**LEVEL 5 (109)**			
	BIL (41)		**LMA (63)**		**BIL (47)**		**LMA (62)**	
	No. of trainees	**%**	**No. of trainees**	**%**	**No. of trainees**	**%**	**No. of trainees**	**%**
1-3hours	12	29.26	25	**49.01**	06	20	21	**52.50**
4-6 hours	20	**48.78**	20	39	18	**60**	10	25
7-above	08	19.51	02	03.92	04	13.33	04	10
No answer	01	02.53	04	07.74	02	06.66	05	12.50

Table 4: Exposure to English Language instruction per week (secondary school)

Table 4 above shows that the highest scores are obtained within the 4-6 hour bracket, followed by the 1-3 hour bracket. These figures suggest that the majority of informants had 4 to 6 hours of English language lessons per week. Moreover, the above table shows that the BIL had more hours of English language classes than did the LMAs. In fact, while the majority of LMAs had 1 to 3 hours of English language, the majority of BILs had 4 to 6 hours. This difference in the amount of time of exposure to formal language learning could have a serious impact on the final language output.

Still about learners' English language instruction history, informants were asked to describe the way language skills were handled in secondary school. The respondents had to select the option that matched their past English language learning from a Likert scale. Their responses are presented on Table 5 below:

degree of emphasis / **skill and method**		**no emphasis**		**little emphasis**		**average emphasis**		**a lot of emphasis**	
		BIL (88) %	**LMA (125) %**	**BIL (88) %**	**LMA (125) %**	**BIL (88) %**	**LMA (125) %**	**BIL (88) %**	**LMA (125) %**
listening		15.49	5.49	25.31	26.37	29.57	28.57	23.94	**28.57**
speaking		12.67	2.19	32.39	17.59	22.53	31.86	28.16	**37.37**
reading		5.63	2.19	12.67	14.28	32.39	24.17	**42.25**	**50.54**
writing		2.18	6.59	25.31	12.8	30.98	28.57	**41.60**	**53.84**
teaching method	**structural**	str.		str.		str.		str.	
	CLT		CLT		CLT		CLT		CLT
focus on grammar	**deductive**	ded.	ded.	ded.	ded.	ded.	ded.	ded.	ded.
	inductive	ind.		ind.		ind.		ind.	
	contextu-alization		cont.		cont.		cont.		cont.

Table 5: Respondents' value judgment of the teaching of language skills in secondary school

As shown on this table, the LMAs were taught all 4 language skills with more emphasis than did the BILs. Among the language skills, emphasis was more on writing and reading for both LMAs and BILs, whereas speaking and listening received less emphasis. Listening was the least taught of the language skills. Given the fact that the LMAs were taught the four language skills with more emphasis than were the BILs, the former are expected to have outperformed BILs in all aspects of English language production. However, the mean scores obtained from the discourse analysis and writing exercise of the two groups of learners indicates that the BILs are better in language analysis while the LMAs are better in composition. The BILs are certainly better in language analysis because of the approach (es) used to teach grammar in secondary school. Table 5 above provides data to sustain this argument. The deductive approach is affirmed to be the most used approach to grammar teaching to the BILs (47.88%) as compared to the LMAs (42.85%). The same holds true for both groups with the inductive approach: BILs (38.02%) and LMAs (23.07). Teaching language through contextualization was used more in the LMA contexts. The better performance of the BILs can be attributed to emphasis on the structural aspects of grammar in the secondary school. Meanwhile, the LMAs perform better in writing because more emphasis was put on writing tasks in the secondary schools.

4.2.2. *Trainers' judgment of trainees' language proficiencies*

Teacher trainers of the Department of English of ENS Yaounde were also required to provide information about aspects of trainees' language proficiencies with respect to the content, organization, language use and sentence analysis and identification. Their responses are presented in Table 6 below.

Aspects	**Trainers' view about BIL %**	**Trainers' view about LMA %**
Content		
-Relevant ideas ; -Logical development -Synthesis of information; -Critical thinking	33.33	**66.67**
Organization		
-Use of topic sentences -Plan/structure of work in the introduction	44.45	55.55
Language use		
-Grammar (tense, Phrases, sentence formation, phrasal verbs, clauses, ponctuation, capitalisation) - Spelling	55.56	44.44
Sentence analysis and identification	**77.77**	22.23

Table 6: Trainers' judgment of trainees' language proficiencies

From Table 6 above, it is shown that 77.77% of lecturers indicate that BILs have a better background in English as revealed through their sentence analysis and identification while 66.67% of trainers confirmed the relatively better writing skills of the LMAs.

4.3. Certified English language teachers' grammar teaching

Certified English language teachers, former graduates of ENS Yaounde, were asked to identify from a list, the aspects of grammar that they find difficult to handle in the classroom. Table 7 below provides facts about their opinions.

Awareness of structure	**No. of teachers (11)**	**%**
Ability to identify clause	04	36.36
Ability to identify parts of speech	06	54.54
Ability to state the rule governing Yes/No questions	05	45.45
Teaching challenges		
Organization of ideas	04	36.36
Paragraph structure	01	0.96
Diction	04	36.36
Logical development	09	81.81
Using connectors	02	18.18

Table 7: Certified teachers' awareness of the structure of English and teaching challenges

Table 7 above indicates that certified teachers of English are only relatively aware of parts of speech (54.54%) and of the rule for yes/no questions (45.45%). It is evident that they have challenges identifying clauses as only 36.36% affirm they can perform the task comfortably. These statistics are corroborated by the responses on the teaching challenges as 81.81% of respondents find it difficult to handle logical development (cohesion and coherence). The respondents attest that diction and organization of ideas is also difficult to handle with students whose first official language is French because of interference (negative transfer) from French.

In an attempt to authenticate the results obtained from the questionnaires, certified teachers were given a task which consisted in answering two questions. The first was to identify the clauses in the sentence "***Peter is the boy that killed the rat which was found in my kitchen"*** and to categorize the parts of speech in the same sentence. The second task consisted in writing down the rule governing the formation of ***yes/no questions*** in English.

The majority of the 11 certified teachers were unable to identify clauses in the sentence (59%). In like manner, only 45.45% of teachers could state the rule governing yes/no questions while 54.54% could identify the parts of speech. A further analysis of teachers' attempts to answer the two questions reveals the following: some respondents did not provide answers to the two questions at all (18.18%). Some respondents confused parts of speech with either phrases or elements of grammar such as subject, adjuncts, etc. Another respondent confused the rule governing the formation of Yes/No with that of if-clauses.

Such results portray that certified teachers too do not master basic elements of the structure of English.

4.4. Impact of training programmes on trainees' output

Feedback from trainees, teacher trainers and practicing teachers about the quality of the training received at ENS Yaounde vis a vis expected end-of-course competence levels are presented in Table 8 below.

Opinion	Level 4		Level 5		Teacher trainers (9) %	Practicing teachers (11) %
	BIL %	LMA %	BIL %	LMA %		
The training improved knowledge of language structure	70.73	92.15	83.33	100	72.72	67.96
No improvement of language structure	29.26	07.85	16.66	00		
Improvement of writing skills	82.92	98.03	62.	97.68	72.72	67.96
No improvement of writing skills	17.06	01.96	35	02.31		

Table 8: Trainees'/trainers'/practicing teachers' opinions about ENS programmes

As shown in the above table, an overwhelming majority of students believe that the training received at ENS Yaounde has improved their language performance. However, some BIL students do not believe in any amelioration of their structure of English (29.26% and 16.66% respectively of BIL4 and BIL5) and writing skills (17.06% and 35% respectively of BIL4 and lBIL5). The LMAs generally affirm an improvement of their knowledge of language form and function. The teacher trainers and the certified teachers views about the training at ENS affirm improved trainees' knowledge on the structure of English and on written skills (72.72% /67.96%) respectively.

5. Conclusion

The language analysis strengths and writing skills of the English Language teacher trainees of ENS Yaounde generally portray a lacuna in their language proficiencies. These findings are corroborated by feedback from the practicing teachers and from of the teacher trainers. This certainly has significant implications on the practice of English Language Teaching in Cameroon.

Though both groups of trainees generally have language problems, those of the LMAs are more acute. The BILs had more English teaching periods in secondary school and were taught English grammar using essentially deductive and inductive structural approaches which enabled their language analytical skills considerably as compared to the LMAs who studied English through contextual language teaching techniques and communicative language teaching approaches. However, the stronger focus on the teaching of the four language skills to the Anglophone enhances their writing skills and hence gives them an edge over the BILs in writing (essays) tasks.

The difference in previous learning experience is therefore shown to affect learning output. The BILs are better in language analysis and thus better grammar teachers (confirmed by 81.81% of practicing teachers) due to their different learning experiences.

As far as the impact of training programme on trainee's language proficiencies and future teaching is concerned, respondents were of the opinion that the training received by the Yaounde HTTC trainees significantly improved their English language skills and equips them for proper future language teaching. Lecturers however proposed that more emphasis is needed on the structural and functional aspects of the language for the LMAs and on the writing skills of the BILs (inclusion of Academic Writing and Error Analysis on their programme).

The Ministry of Secondary Education, in seeking to improve students' productive capacities in the language, has introduced the Competency Based Approach (CBA. This notwithstanding:

- English language teachers are called upon to go back to the basics and to put more emphasis on the structural component of the language in order to improve students' mastery of English grammar in secondary schools.

- English Language should be a compulsory subject for all Anglophone students at the Government Common Entrance Examination (GCE A Levels).
- ENS training programmes should be revisited and some of the content-based language courses like Structure of English, Academic Writing, Discourse Analysis be made to run from First to Second Cycle for the BILs.
- Emphasis should be put on the writing skill, given that it is the skill which is mostly used to evaluate learning.
- Trainees should be encouraged to do more personal writing and extra reading, especially on structural and functional aspects of language.

The elemental issue in language teacher training, namely the quality of the training, has been shown to be impacted by a variety of variables ranging from previous learning experiences through the content of the training programmes alongside methodological foci and time input.

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Demand and Supply of English in Selected Language Centres in the City of Yaoundé

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Abstract

This paper presents an overview of the market landscape of the English language in selected Language Centres in Cameroon as the language has become an economic commodity with a lot of potentials which have not yet been fully exploited and which could have stood alongside tourism, petroleum and mineral exploitation etc., as one of the country's main exports and source of internal revenue given its geostrategic position in the Central African sub region. This paper identifies the major sources of demand and supply of English, examines the factors that affect the demand and supply of English and later on, presents the market opportunities available to English language providers in the country. Data will be collected through observation, interviews and questionnaires and will be analysed against the backdrop of the descriptive statistical method. The governmentality theory propounded by Foucault (1978) which lays emphasis on the indirect or implicit acts of government which influence individual or collective linguistic behavior shall be used. Among others, this study reveals that there is a wide discrepancy between the demand and supply of English in Cameroon and beyond as demand far exceeds (quality) supply which has significant consequences on the language providers and students.

Keywords: Language Centres, English language, demand and supply.

1. Introduction

A number of studies have been carried out in the domain of language teaching and learning in Cameroon and specifically, in Language Centres. Such studies include Echu (2012), Mounchili (2012), Ngantu (2008), Ngueliako (1990), Tchebetchou (2004), Besingi (2007). The demand and supply of English in Cameroon is better evaluated in the teaching and learning of English in the nursery, primary, university and public and private centres. In both the English and French subsystem of education, the supply and demand of English is ensured through English-medium schools where English is the medium of instruction, French medium schools where although French is the language of instruction, English is taught as a foreign language and through bilingual schools and institutions.

The demand of English around the world is on the increase. According to a study by the International TEFL Academy (2012), some 1.5 billion non-native speakers take some form of English lesson each year, including 300 million in China alone. It further states that approximately 250 000 native speakers work as English teachers in more than 40 000 schools and language institutes and 24 000 native speakers work as English language teachers in South Korea each year. In the situation painted here therefore, it is obvious that demand of English around the world far exceeds the supply of it.

In 'A review of the global market for English language courses published by the British Council (2006: 3) notes that

> The top source countries for the global EL Market are: • from the Asian region – clearly Japan, China and South Korea, with more than 50,000 students from each of those three countries undertaking EL programmes in 2004; • from Europe - Italy, Germany and France, all of which experienced growth from 2000 to 2004; • Brazil - with enrolments in the US, Australia and New Zealand increasing by more than 50% from 2000 to 2004, with Brazilian enrolments in the UK nearly doubling in 2004

The same report classifies the UK as the highest destination of English language training followed by the US, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland and Malta. It adds that (Ibid: 7)

> There is no dispute that the provision of EL has become a valuable constituent of the economy in the leading destinations for this type of study. For instance, it is estimated the economic impact of the EL industry in Australia was as much as AUD $932 million in 2004. Although not as sizeable as the Australian market, the New Zealand EL sector was valued at over NZD $400 million in 2003/4 – a significant contributor to the country's economy although down from the previous year's figure of NZD $544 million. Values of the EL market in other countries are not known but in countries like the UK and US, traditionally industry leaders, one would expect the value to be significantly higher than that estimated for either Australia or New Zealand.

From the statistics above, it is clear that Africa is not considered at all in the global demand and supply of English, let alone Cameroon. I am arguing therefore in this chapter that something significant is happening, even in a small scale, to English in this region which is worth investigating. This especially, can be attributed to the geo strategic position of Cameroon in the Central African sub region. The demand of English in Cameroon over the past two decades has witnessed a near-supersonic flight. This is no doubt, due to the increased status and uses of English in Cameroon and around the globe as the language plays a preponderant role in the creation and exchange of knowledge and commerce on a global scale. This means that any business which involves or centres around English is bound to prosper. Cameroon has a vibrant population of Francophones, children, adults, and businessmen etc. who more than ever before, need English for different purposes.

2. Language centres in Yaounde: an overview

A number of Language Centres are available in Yaounde. In almost every neighbourhood in the city, there is a language centre. Most of them are involved in the training and testing of students for international and national exams like TOEFL, IELTS, GRE, SAT, GMAT etc, preparing students for official exams like the BEPC, Probatoire, BACC and GCE examinations. Business English, individual courses in different domains as desired by the learners is also provided. Generally, Language Centres organize placement tests, normal courses, intensive courses, special courses self and guided study in the laboratory. Talking about linguistic centres in Cameroon, Kouega (2008: 2) observes that "linguistic centres were created to enable citizens to learn English and French, an activity which was originally restricted to the British Council, the American Cultural Center and the French Cultural Centre".

Some other Language Centres are involved in translation, getting admission for students in universities abroad. Apart from having learners in their centres, special classes are organized by language service providers in private homes, offices, business premises and sometimes according to the client's schedule. Statistics from the Ministry of Employment and Vocational Training indicate that there are more than 50 officially recognized Language Centres in the town of Yaoundé alone. This number does not include those that operate clandestinely for fear of paying taxes. Here, a lot of money is involved and owners of such centres make brisk business. Those language Centres which have made a name over the years include the Bilingual Linguistic Programme, the British Teaching Centre, the American Language Centre and the B&K Language Institute. This therefore means that the market is extremely wide. In the town of Yaoundé alone, every neighborhood has a language centre and business thrives especially during holidays. Besingi (2007) indicates that there is an almost steady increase in the number of learners in the Pilot Linguistic Centre (PLC) and the British Council in Yaoundé between 2000 and 2006. In the PLC, enrolment of English learners stood at 4418 (2000), 5502 (2001), 6237 (2002), 6560 (2003), 5077 (2004), 5908 (2005), 6110 (2006). In the British Council, the number of learners stood at 300 (2000), 310 (2001), 350 (2002), 395 (2003), 400 (2004), 410 (2005), 425 (2006).

2.1. The Pilot Linguistic Centre

The PLC programme which was instituted in 1990 following a presidential decree number 90/1196 of 3 august 1990 aims at promoting official bilingualism through the teaching of French to Anglophones and English to francophones. The programme has been implemented in all the ten regions that make up the republic of Cameroon. This programme is peculiar because of the nature and diversity of its learners and to a lesser extent, its teachers. Learners are made up of students, workers and officials of big enterprises, economic operators, civil servants and state agents, candidates for emigration, diplomats and international civil servants, foreign students, public officials, opinion leaders, artists, researchers and jobseekers. Teachers here are first of all bilingual (with a bilingual degree) who have been trained and are civil servants with the Ministry of Secondary Education who have been working for at least five years. They are selected through a competitive exam organized by the linguistic programme. Between 2007 and 2011, there were a total of 40 439 students made up of 2 339 students who studied French and 38 100 students who studied English. Source: Marketing department of the Yaounde Pilot Linguistic Centre. Echu (2012: 203) notes that the Pilot Linguistic Centre had a meager 47 learners when it started in 1986. This shows that the Centre has expanded significantly over the years.

2.2. The British Teaching Centre

The British Teaching Centre (BTC) replaced the defunct Language Centre of the British Council in Yaoundé in 1990. The BTC started its activities in 2010 and was entirely run by Cameroonians. Today, the centre welcomes students from Cameroon and other continents of the world. Sixteen years after it started, despite criticisms from different quarters that since it is entirely run by Cameroonians (non-native speakers) it will fall into oblivion, the BTC has continued to train learners from different backgrounds. It recruits qualified teachers and is among the few centres in the country which can boast to have employed at least one native teacher each year since it started in 2010. It is situated in a very strategic place in the heart of the capital.

3. Methodology

Data for this study has been collected through observation, interviews and questionnaires and analysed against the backdrop of the descriptive statistical method where responses and sets of responses are counted and the percentages worked out and accounted for. A survey was done on ten Language Centres and it was noticed that the proprietors considered the information sought by the researcher as very sensitive since it concerned the business life of their institutions. It was agreed that these centres will be used in the study simply as case studies without naming them. Finally, two Language Centres, one public (The Pilot Linguistic Centre) and the other private (The British Teaching Centre) had no problem giving out information. These have therefore been named in the study. Two other centres which are privately owned have been examined and are simply referred to as case studies one and two. The governmentality theory propounded by Foucault (1978) which lays emphasis on the indirect or implicit acts of government which influence individual or collective linguistic behavior is used in the analysis.

4. Analysis

4.1. Where is the demand for English from?

Pilot Linguistic Centre

Learners of the Pilot Linguistic Centre are students, workers and officials of big enterprises, business men and women, civil servants and state agents, candidates for emigration, diplomats and international civil servants, foreign students, public officials, opinion leaders, artists, researchers and jobseekers and so on. Apart from Cameroonians who constitute the majority, other learners come from different African countries as well as other countries in Europe and Asia. Majority of the learners in the PLC are of francophone background (Mounchili 2012), most of them workers from the public and private sector. Students only constitute 30%.

Tiomajou (1995:74) had earlier noted that "Francophone Cameroonians are highly motivated to learn English and take a lot of personal initiatives to do so". In the PLC, the total number of learners for the year 2016 was approximately 8026 from Cameroon, three from China, two from Equatorial Guinea and one from Senegal.

The majority of learners in the PLC come from Cameroon while others from different countries have been identified. This trend is likely to continue with other countries. Many learners from different African countries like Ghana and Nigeria have come to the Centre although their aim has been to learn French.

British Teaching Centre

The learners at the BTC are mainly made up of pupils and students from the primary, secondary and tertiary levels who constitute the majority of learners in the Centre. Equally, diplomats from different institutions like BEAC and other international organizations like the United Nations, the Red Cross etc., candidates for immigration especially to Canada and other workers from public and private institutions in Cameroon.

Country	Number
Cameroon	100+
Angola	01
Democratic Republic of Congo	01
Equatorial Guinea	5+
Gabon	5+
Chad	03
South Korea	05
Saudi Arabia	03
Brazil	02
France	10+
Chinese	02
Burkina Faso	02
Mali	02
Nigeria	02

Table 1: Number of learners per country

From the table above, one notices that the students come from different countries with the majority from Cameroon. The centre has a good number of students from Gabon and Equatorial Guinea who are registered in the University of Buea but travel all the way to Yaounde to beef up their English at the Centre. They sometimes number up to 10 and come from time to time. As for the case of learners from France, they are mainly made up of diplomats and the Centre has a contract with the French embassy where its staff is trained in the Centre. The number ranges between five and seven. Considering the fact that the Centre is situated directly opposite the Fustel de Coulange College (a French school), many students simply walk to the Centre to learn more English. Other learners come from time to time from Nigeria, China and many other countries. This thus makes it difficult to actually put a finger on the exact number of learners. Today, the Centre has a total of between 150 and 180 students. The director of the Centre noted however that there has been a slight decline from the initial 200 learners, a situation he blamed on financial hardship.

4.2. Where is supply from?

Teachers in government and private institutions who are generally either degree holders or are trained as ESL/EFL teachers and in some cases, university lecturers and PhD holders make up the teaching corps in the centres. Only one case where native speakers actually teach in a centre (BTC) was identified. With the case of the pilot linguistic centre, they are first of all bilingual teachers (with a bilingual degree) who have been trained and are civil servants with the Ministry of Secondary Education who have been working for at least five years. They are selected through a competitive exam organized by the linguistic programme.

One category of teachers who teach in Language Centres are those trained in professional schools to teach both ESL and EFL. They are mostly found in government schools and government run linguistic centres but equally teach in other private Language Centres.

Another category is made up of university lecturers and doctorate students who teach English in the university level. They are sometimes equally recruited to teach in Language Centres.

The last category is made up of few native speakers of English who generally work in private Language Centres (especially the British teaching centre and the American language centre). Table 2 below indicates the status of teachers both in the British Teaching Centre and the Pilot Linguistic Centre.

British Teaching Centre	Number	Pilot Linguistic Centre	Number
ESL/EFL trained	7	Bilingual degree holders/PLEG	21
Graduates with no special training	/	Degree in English Modern Letters/PLEG	1
University lecturers/Ph.D holders	1	Native speakers	/
Native speakers	1	Others	/

Table 2: Status of Teachers

In an exhaustive interview with the director of the BTC, it stands out that almost all of the teachers in the centre are trained EFL/ESL teachers. He argued that since in Cameroon, ESL/EFL teachers are trained to handle large classes, which is not the case at the BTC, the centre trains the teachers through a number of in-sight training programmes so that at the end of it, they will be able to handle small classes with the methodology employed by the centre. A number of university lecturers with terminal degrees have formed part of the teaching corps since it started in 2010. Between 2010 and 2015 the centre has employed at least one native speaker (British) to teach. Considering the fact hiring native speakers to teach in the centre is very costly, it depends almost entirely on Cameroonian trained teachers.

In the past five years, the centre has employed less than ten teachers which means that those who teach there have acquired a lot of experience.

4.3. Discrepancy between demand and supply

It is true that demand of English is high and also that supply is equally high. The main problem that the supply of English in Cameroon is not generally of high quality as the sector has become a free for all sector where one can easily find the good but most importantly the bad and the ugly in matters of English language teaching. There is no doubt that demand will continue to increase as the status and functions of English increase. Through observation, there is a lot whole of other Language Centres which operate in different neighborhoods with teachers who sometimes do not have even a degree. In some of these centres, there are many learners who unfortunately cannot tell the difference. This is a regrettable scenario as opening a language centre sometimes without authorization nor qualified staff has become the order of the day. In a survey carried out on those Language Centres which did not want to be named it was discovered that the demand of English was high but the nature and quality of teachers was nothing to ride home about. In the first case study, there was no trained ESL/EFL teacher or Ph.D holders. Instead, the teaching staff was made up of four graduates with no special training. In the second case study, there was one trained ESL/EFL teacher and three graduates with no special training.

If in the PLC and the BTC, the supply of English is of high quality, it is not the case with the Language Centres identified above. Coupled with the fact that these centres do not always have an authorization to function, many of them rely only on graduates with no special training who are often paid very low hourly rates. Despite this situation, many learners still flood such centres out of ignorance. It is clear that such centres are not in a position to recruit qualified staff and pay them well so that they in turn deliver the goods. In case study one for example, there are a total of four teachers who are simply graduates with no special training. There were no ESL/EFL trained teachers, university lecturers or PhD holders, not to talk of native speakers. In case study two it is an identical situation with only one trained teacher who happens to be the proprietor of the centre. In the two centres above, the students vary between 50 and 80 per year and if one considers what they pay per term, it is evident that their business is thriving.

4.4. Demand and supply of English: counting the cost

The British Council (2006:13-14) points out that “In 2004 the average cost of a month long course in the UK was US$1,578, compared to $1,044 for the same course in the US and $842 in Australia. The cheapest destinations appear to Spain ($656), Italy ($698) and Malta ($703)”. Many individuals and families spend enormous time, energy and money learning English. With proof of proficiency in

English on the rise for admission into foreign universities and access to certain jobs, thousands sit for the TOEFL and IELTS exams in Cameroon and this usually involves a lot of financial sacrifices on the part of the learner, and brisk business on the part of the testing institutions. The Samsung Economic Research Institute points out that Koreans spend a total of 14.3 trillion Won per year on private English tutoring classes and 700 billion Won annually for tests evaluating their English proficiency. In most settings today, English proficiency is an important component for salary increase and promotion. The case of Switzerland is also reported where men who are fluent in English receive 30.7% more in salary and women 21.6 than those who are not.

	Pilot Linguistic Centre	British Teaching Centre	Case Study 1	Case Study 2
Placement Test	500CFAF ($0.86965) for Nationals 1000CFAF($1.73770) for non-nationals	5000CFAF ($8.68852)	3000CFAF-5000CFAF ($5.21311-$8.68852)	5000CFAF ($8.68852)
Course Cost	Ranging from 15 000CFAF to 35000CFAF ($26.0656-$60.8196)	Ranging from 40 000CFAF-100 000F($69.5082-$173.770)	Ranging from 15 000CFAF to 80 000CFAF ($26.0656-$139.016)	Ranging from 30 000CFAF-250 000CFAF ($52.1311-$434.426)

Table 3: Cost of training

As far as the PLC is concerned, there are separate amounts for national s and non-nationals. Nationals pay 20 000CFAF ($34.7859) and 25 000CFAF ($43.4823) respectively depending on the period the class is scheduled while non-nationals pay 25 000CFAF ($43.4823), 30 000CFAF ($52.1311) or 35 000CFAF ($60.8196) depending on the period too. It is important to note here that handicap persons are exempted from paying and that costs for special courses for individuals, groups or enterprises are negotiated with the Centre.

The BTC distinguishes between Primary, secondary and adults. Intensive courses for one month/term for primary school pupils costs 40 000CFAF ($69.5082) while intensive courses for secondary school students stand at 60 000CFAF ($104.262). For adults, it costs 100 000CFAF ($173.770) for the same period. Intensive training for IELTS or TOEFL is also offered at 90 000CFAF ($156.393) per month.

Concerning Case Study 1, the placement test stands at 5 000CFAF ($8.68852) for adults, and 3000CFAF ($5.21311) for children per term. Adults pay 80 000 CFAF ($139.016), secondary school students pay 50 000CFAF ($86.8852), primary school pupils pay 40 000CFAF ($69.5082). Preparatory courses for TOEFL, IELTS and others stand at 60 000CFAF ($104.262) from Monday to Friday for four weeks, and 15 000 CFAF ($26.0656) for a one-day intensive course before the examination.

For Case Study 2, nursery and primary school pupils pay 30 000CFAF ($52.1311), secondary school students pay 60 000CFAF ($104.262) and university students pay 90 000CFAF ($156.393). Adults (Workers, business persons etc) pay 120 000CFAF ($208.524).

An intensive course for four to six weeks is organized at the Centre at 250 000CFAF ($434.426).

4.5. Factors that affect the demand of English

The price learners pay can be determined through an hourly rate, monthly rate or per term. Obviously, the more learners are expected to pay, the fewer they will be in the Language Centres. In a questionnaire we issued to informants, out of 10 parents contacted, 6 (60%) were of the opinion that they will continue to pay for their children to learn English no matter the cost while 3 (30%) stated that if the amount could be brought down, they will cause all their children to take classes in Language Centres. 1 (10%) however, indicated that he does not care about the quality of English saying that English is English.

Thus many learners and their parents will choose particular Language Centres based on comparism of the price in other centres. It was however noticed that those with high incomes tend to send their children to “prestigious” Language Centres no matter the cost while those with low incomes, either did not send their children to Language Centres because they did not have the means or sent them to cheap and often quack Language Centres. Sometimes, they argued that the English they are taught in schools is enough.

The amount of money a language centre puts into advertisement will attract more learners. With the plethora of media, those Language Centres with enough means get there to advertise their centres. However, not all the centres have the means to do so. In the Language Centres under study, all of them indicated that they invest a lot of money in advertisement. This thus contributes partly to the success of their businesses.

The physical presentation of the structures, the environment as well as the nature and quality of equipment will no doubt attract many learners and the demand of the services offered in the centres will increase. Two of the Language Centres under study are very accessible and are situated in the heart of the town. The demand in centres which are situated in neighbourhoods that are not presentable, accessible and well equipped will not receive the kind of attention that those with the good qualities named above have.

Holidays and vacations are periods when students have enough time to do other things including learning languages. During holiday periods, Language Centres make brisk business as the number of learners increase drastically. This is equally the case in the Language Centres under study.

The more qualified teachers a centre has, the more learners will be attracted to such centres. Many informants we talked to confirmed that they got to a particular centre because of the presence of trained teachers, native speakers or the presence of some university lecturers and PhD holders. This therefore means that a language centre which intends to attract more learners should think about increasing the number of qualified teachers.

4.6. Factors that affect the supply of English

The supply of English will mainly centre on the teachers of English who come from different backgrounds. The price of the product, that is, the amount the teachers are paid will determine the kind or quality of supply they will produce. If the teachers are well paid, their output will equally be good. The Language Centres under study pay their teachers hourly rates, and with the case of the PLC, apart from their monthly salaries, teachers have a right to other incentives like extra hours and for those who hold positions of responsibility, there are other fringe benefits. Where teachers are not well paid as is the case with many clandestine Language Centres therefore, the supply of quality English remains a far cry.

An enabling environment will increase the output of the teachers, thus increasing the quality of English they will supply. The availability of adequate didactic materials, teaching aids and well equipped language laboratories will increase the output of the teacher. In the PLC and the BTC, there is the availability of well-equipped laboratories and this has greatly helped in increasing the output of the teachers.

Government policy can determine the quality of supply of English. Considering the fact that the government has made the creation of Language Centres quite easy, this has enabled all kinds of teachers to gain access to the Language Centres. Here, we find the good, the bad and the ugly. The sector seems to be a free for all sector with very little control on the quality of supply. There is the quasi absence of control missions from the Ministry to control the level and quality of teachers, state of infrastructure etc in Language Centres.

Quality teachers will supply quality English. Trained teachers and experienced ones will be an asset to the Language Centres. The Language Centres which are thriving is partly due to the fact that their teachers, who are trained for the most part, are putting in their best. In the many quack Language Centres that abound in the town of Yaounde alone, there is hardly quality supply of English because of the quality of teachers found there in. There, it is garbage in, garbage out. The unemployment situation of the country and the increasing rate of graduates without any job perspective means that there are more teachers than are needed. Sometimes, some Language Centres take advantage of the situation and propose scandalously low salaries to their teachers.

During holiday periods, as the demand for English is high, so is the supply of it. Many teachers and graduates during this time, are on holidays and will most often want to make some extra money. This will mean that supply of teachers during this period is extremely high and this may have an effect on the supply of quality English.

The quality of students matters a lot. Students who have undergone placement test and who are highly motivated will be an asset to teachers and will enable them to put in their all. On the contrary, unmotivated students will render the task of the teacher difficult.

4.7. Market opportunities for English language providers in Yaoundé

The business environment especially as the creation and exploitation of Language Centres is concerned is very friendly. This is a booster as it encourages private initiatives. The market for English language teaching is wide and goes beyond the national frontiers. The creation of English institutions by government and other private individuals will therefore contribute to the economic growth of the country through the creation of employment opportunities and better living conditions. If one were to take the number of people who have gained employment due to the creation of linguistic centres, lay private and denominational schools, it will not be an overstatement to note than English as a subject sells more than any other subject in the school system considering the number of people who learn English.

The use of English gives users the opportunity to have access to many educational, social and cultural opportunities provided both by the English-speaking world. Many people will still like to study in English and American universities, which will mean that they will have to learn more English. Many Cameroonian students who have studied English in the Language Centres have moved to schools in Britain or the USA and have systematically outclassed their mates and very little or no cases of language failure has been registered. This is a booster as many more learners and their parents will find yet another reason to put their hope in the Language Centres. Many others, especially the younger generation will like to identify and interact with the English-speaking world which has an array of social and cultural attractions like the movie, music and sports industries which are second to none. To achieve this, they have to learn more English.

English contributes to economic development of the country through the creation of jobs and employment opportunities. Investments in English bring about benefits to the individual such as higher wages which has as direct impact a rise tax revenue for the state and the society at in general. The Language Centres employ so many people with some having been in such centres for more than 20 years. The centres become their only livelihood and their permanent employments.

5. Conclusion

The national English language landscape in Cameroon is changing fast as demand is on the increase and will continue to do so. The market landscape is thus becoming more challenging as the different actors involved come from different backgrounds and do not always have the same objectives. The growth is expected to continue considering the national and global use of English. Private initiatives are on the increase and the native speaker parameter has almost no place in the current market landscape as more than 99% of the teachers in Cameroon are non-native users of English. Cameroon could indeed become a hub for global business with English in the Central African sub region.

There is the need for specific goal-oriented training with specific expectations from students and their parents. There is the growing demand for shorter and goal-oriented courses. This means that the classical and traditional classroom courses in English language that abound in secondary, high schools and university levels remain general and do not address the specific needs of the students. It is therefore projected that demand for English language training in specific Language Centres will increase.

Cameroon hosts a number of sub regional, regional and international headquarters because of its use of English as one of its official languages. But the number could be increase substantially if the quantity of English in Cameroon could move hand in glove with the quality of the language supplied. Better English would equally mean better job opportunities and career development.

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Contemporary Anglophone Cameroon Cinema in the Mediation of an Anglophone Identity: Language and Mediums

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Abstract

The plethora of themes addressed in Anglophone Cameroon video films are not remotely relevant to the question of the Anglophone identity, a thematic concern which could easily pass for the foundation of Anglophone Cameroon literature. The relatively mediocre quality of this cinema (Nyingchuo, 2014, Ateh, 2009), timid audience reception (Butake, 2015) and the marginalization of the Anglophone (Tcheuyap, 2005), can be cited as reasons for its slow development. This study sets out to analyse the language (image signifiers) of contemporary Anglophone Cameroon cinema, the message, as well as the mediums of dissemination of this cinema, underscoring the correlation between mediums of dissemination and audience response to the video films. Fraught with paradigm shifts vis-à-vis conventional cinematic techniques, the language of the filmmakers communicates a passive depiction of an Anglophone identity through the portrayal of rich cultural content, thus mediating an uncontested Anglophone identity. Furthermore, we interrogate the disconnection between the dissemination of this cinema and the audience response, which is significantly timid.

Keywords: Anglophone Cinema, Anglophone Identity, Mediation, Language, Mediums

1. Background: The state of anglophone Cameroon cinema

The indisputable existence of an Anglophone Cameroon literature today is emblematic of years of struggle by prolific Anglophone authors, who through the power and persistence of their works have successfully asserted the identity of the Anglophone Cameroonian. Like Anglophone cinema, Anglophone Cameroon literature had its humble beginnings. Since the mid-2000s, there has been a conspicuous rise in the production of Anglophone Cameroon video films, an endeavour which is conspicuous in the slow-paced industry. This state of affairs can be traced to the development of cinema in Cameroon as a whole.

In Cameroon after independence, the state "[…] invaded screens under the cover of "news" before, during, and after every screening. Thus, cinema became a field where the state took the role of an exhibitionist who deliberately alienates the people with foreign and propagandist images" (Doho 2005: 22). Nonetheless, Butake (2005) observes that in the late 80s mild efforts were made to promote national culture through the production and screening of local telefilms on national television CRTV. This drawn-out trajectory is discussed by Fofie (2008) when he maintains that Cameroonian cinema is yet to attain the maturity of Cameroonian theatre, although it is rich in genres, themes and mediums of diffusion.

If Cameroon cinema is underdeveloped, Anglophone Cameroon cinema is in an even more precarious state of underdevelopment as observed in Cinema and Social Discourse in Cameroon

> […] all filmmakers considered in this book are from French–speaking Cameroon. Compared to this part of the country, even the literature from English-speaking Cameroon is still relatively young and, I would argue, less "visible" both at home and abroad. The situation is worse with film, in spite of the fact that some of the best cultural programs ever broadcasted on national television were directed by talented "anglophone artists" […] a real "anglophone cinema" is yet to be born. This situation may be partly due to the relative marginalization that this linguistic group has suffered over the years, or to the fact that since the birth and death of the National Film Board, not many citizens from this minority group have been really involved in the politics of cinema (Tcheuyap 2005: 11).

Tcheuyap maintains that the relegation of Anglophones in film politics, as well as the marginalization of this group, are valid reasons for the absence of a "real Anglophone cinema".

However, since the publication of the above-mentioned work in 2005, there has been an upsurge in the production of Anglophone Cameroon movies. A new generation of movie makers operating mainly in Buea and Bamenda of the South and North West regions respectively have embarked on the production of home videos. Some filmmakers produce as many as four movies in a year[1], obviously raising questions on the quality of the video films.

On the quality of the movies, Tafor (2010) observes that this cinema has been left in the hands of mediocre practitioners, where the few products of good quality are seldom consumed in the country, save at film festivals; still, he commends the films for their cultural content. In a similar vein, based on the premise that a lot of Cameroonian filmmakers of today did not undergo formal training and are still grappling with film technique, resulting in aesthetic shortcomings in their movies, Nyingchuo (2014) contends that hastily done productions, as well as the assumption of multiple roles in the production process are some reasons for the poor quality of some of these movies.

Questions pertaining to the "quantity" of Anglophone Cameroon movies have been treated sparingly. In an article titled "The Illegitimate State and Cinematographic Discourse in Cameroon", Doho (2005) contends that between 1960 and 1988 more than two hundred and forty-eight documentaries, propaganda tools were produced in Cameroon, overshadowing a meagre forty-eight feature films produced by independent filmmakers. It is worth noting that this article which was published in 2005 makes no reference to Anglophone films.

Furthermore, in the filmography compiled by Etienne-Marie Lassi (2005) in *Cinema and Social Discourse in Cameroon* out of a total of about one hundred and thirteen productions (films, documentaries, tele-dramas, series) only twenty-eight Anglophone films are cited. Of these twenty-eight, most are Cinema for Development films and tele-dramas with the exception of Ako Abunaw's *Yo Bro*, Victor Viyouh's *Mboutoukou* and Emmanuel Wongibe's *Fringes of Impossibility* and *Waste to Wealth* (both documentaries).

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[1] For instance, in 2012, Lawrence Neba directed four movies, namely *Blood or Wine*, *Jungle of Heirs*, *Pink Poison* and *Troubled Kingdom*, which were all released that same year.

Joseph Bannavti makes allusion to the number of movies produced when he references Joyce Ashuntantang who maintains that as at January 2010, there were over one hundred movies produced in English in Cameroon, though she equally comments on the unavailability of clear legal channels of distribution to facilitate the verification of this figure (2010:92).

Further discussions with active filmmakers and officials of the establishment known as the Cameroon Film Industry revealed that there are no records of the exact number of movies released in the industry, as not all filmmakers adhere to the body, and equally because not all members of the group regularly update information on their production activities. Nonetheless in the course of our doctorate research, we viewed over sixty-two Anglophone Cameroon movies, released between 2004 and 2014.

The three main genres that can be perceived in Anglophone cinema are fiction, the documentary and cinema for development. While the genre of cinema for development[2] depicts the empowerment of rural peoples, documentaries tend to treat issues of socio-cultural concern, while fiction explores a wide spectrum of subject matter, ranging from family conflict, glamour, inheritance, love, deception, marriage, mysticism, social responsibility, succession and tradition to folkloric and comic representations.

2. Deconstructing the anglophone Cameroon identity

There is a constant battle between the writer and his past (Ngugi, 1972), which is animated by the uncertainty of the novelties of the present world – novelties which tend to jeopardize the authenticity of that past. As the artist deals with the evolution of his way of being, at some point in time, he needs to recall, redefine, and reconstruct who he is. Identity refers to that which distinguishes one thing from another. It involves the different aspects, constituents of one thing that make it peculiar and thus distinguishable from the whole.

In line with the social identity theory, the self takes itself as an object, categorizes, classifies and names that self in relation to other social categories or classifications (Stets and Burke, 2000). Thus, the individual identifies the self (itself) as the occupant of a specific role within that category[3] (community, people, race), making them conscious that the fulfilment of that specific role is a contribution to the image of the given category, which subsequently develops into a set of standards that guide the behaviour and become emblematic of the category.

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[2] Cinema for Development emanated from Theatre for Development and employs the same approach. Through workshops facilitated by specialists and organized in usually rural areas, members of the community discuss their difficulties and develop solutions. Subsequently, they build stories based on their experience, which they perform before the camera.

[3] According to the social identity theory, a category or group consists of a set of individuals who hold a common social identification or view themselves as members of the same social category. Through a social comparison process, persons who are similar to the self are categorized with the self and are labelled the in-group: persons who differ from the self are categorized as the out-group (Stets and Burke 2000:225).

The identity of a people is shaped by their existence, nurtured by their experience and evolves with them, thereby becoming an insignia of the totality of their very existence. The Anglophone Cameroonian identity emanates from the experiences of the people, quintessential of what they have in common and asserted by the mediation of that “self”.

2.1. Who is an anglophone Cameroonian?

The expression “Anglophone Cameroon”[4] refers to the people who originate from the North West and South West regions of Cameroon, which constitute the territory that was administered as Southern Cameroons, the United Nations territory under British trusteeship. The expression “Francophone Cameroun” refers to the remaining eight regions of Cameroon, which make up the territory of the former La République du Cameroun, formerly administered under French trusteeship. The reunification of both territories in 1961 led to the creation of a Federal Republic, which, through the astute politicking and manoeuvres of the Ahmadou Ahidjo regime (through a referendum in 1972), transformed into a United Republic and subsequently the Republic of Cameroon under the Paul Biya regime.

The Anglophone identity is conspicuous in intangible and sensory pointers, which are signifiers of the people they represent. Language and colonial heritage are the main elements at play.

2.2. Language

On language, Lull (2000) contends that it cannot be separated from culture: both are intimately connected through meaning, as we learn who we are and who they are, largely through language. The author further contends: “Language is primary among the symbol systems of cultural representation that we encounter through our senses […] Language has boundaries and consistencies in its semantic elements and syntactic relationships; that’s how we recognize and use languages to coordinate social activity […]” (Lull 2000: 139). Herein language is described as the glue that holds cultures together by virtue of the fact that through it, communication is made possible and consciousness is salient, thus providing common fields of meaning among its users.

In the case of the Anglophones in Cameroon, their common use of the English language has been relevant in the definition of their identity. Notwithstanding, the fact that they stem from different ethnic backgrounds with different mother

[4] This definition is obviously geopolitical given the fact that “Anglophone” by dictionary definition refers to persons of English expression. In this context, “Anglophone” transcends the linguistic admixture to signify people belonging to the North West and South West regions, who were “brought up” under British administration and acquiesced certain values and a heritage diametrically opposite to those of the Francophones whose numerical and sociopolitical strength gives them a tremendous adventage.

tongues[5], their identity is predominantly hinged on the fact that they speak English. The common use of English by this group has given rise to a sense of belonging so much so that being Anglophone "[…] denotes a new ethnicity, transcending older ethnic ties" (Wolf 1997: 419).

The Anglophone Cameroonians, as defined by geo-political and historical factors do not have exclusivity of the English language. However, due to their affiliation to Britain as a UN Trust Territory, English naturally became their language of expression (aside from their ethnic languages): contrary to the inhabitants of former French Cameroon who adopted French and whose subsequent cognizance of English can be attributed to learning and/or working interests/requirements.

Hans-Georg Wolf suggests that language loyalty is an important tendency in the formation of identity: he underscores the Anglophones' resort to English as an identification mechanism as opposed to their ethnic mother tongues. He writes:

> For linguistic minorities in multilingual settings, language loyalty can become a 'power base', and 'a deliberately chosen strategy for survival', as Paulston (1994: 22) explains. For the Anglophones, however, stigmatization does not result in the use of their original mother tongue as a strategy for mobilization, but in the use of English as their second language […] The reason for this exceptional sociolinguistic phenomenon lies, I believe, in the particular linguistic situation the Anglophones find themselves in. Anglophones share a common history and inhabit a distinct territory […] (Wolf 1997: 423).

The use of English has ushered in a new ethnicity: transcending their ethnic allegiances towards a common ethnic consciousness: that of being Anglophone.

Pidgin English, a derivative of Standard English is widely spoken by Anglophones: this language furthermore denotes conviviality as it is predominantly spoken in informal settings. Just like in the case of English, Francophone Cameroonians in some parts of the country have equally adopted different forms of Pidgin English in order to facilitate communication with English speakers. The relevance of pidgin as another signifier of the Anglophone Cameroon identity is highlighted by Bole Butake when he maintains:

> *It will not be too radical to declare that although every Anglophone Cameroonian from the North-West or South-West Region belongs to an ethnic group with its own home or local or native language, the one language that cuts across all the one hundred and twenty ethnicities and beyond in the rest of Cameroon and the West African coast, is Pidgin English (Butake: 2013).*

Bole Butake further intimates that Pidgin English has become significant, almost more significant than Standard English in the mediation of the Anglophone identity on account of its longstanding predominance and far-reaching geographical impact (ibid).

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[5] In a seminar presentation, Bole Butake quotes Binam Bikoy who contends that the North-West and South-West Regions, which constitute Anglophone Cameroon, have about one hundred and twenty local languages spoken by about four million people: (Butake: 2013).

Verkijika Fanso also highlights the plurality of languagein the Anglophone identity when he intimates that: “The official language of Anglophone culture was English although the English-based pidgin became the domestic lingua franca, operating side by side with the different mother tongues of the Southern Cameroons” (Fanso 1999: 285).

The foregoing discussion elucidates the assertion that culturally speaking, the Anglophone Cameroonian operates at “three parallel and criss-crossing levels” (Butake: 2013), namely the ethnic/home/local language level, the Pidgin English level and the Standard English level.

2.3. Colonial heritage

Some researchers have arrived at the conclusion that the difference in colonial tutelage can be regarded as the springboard for deep rooted cleavage between the Anglophone and Francophone in Cameroon. Nantang Jua and Piet Konings (2004) state that the partitioning of the

Cameroonian territory into English and French spheres had significant ramifications for future political developments and equally laid the foundation for the construction of the Anglophone and Francophone identities. Similarly, Anye Fru Emmanuel (2008) concludes that the reunification of the two Cameroons brought together peoples whose separate colonial experiences provided clear contrasts in language, law, administration, education and political style.

British colonial rule implanted in Southern Cameroonians, certain values which they acquired and lived by: unfortunately, these values would have little meaning when confronted with opposing practices perpetrated by those formerly under French tutelage. On the question, Verkijika Fanso (1999) contends that Anglophone nationalism was influenced by the language, education, political philosophy, freedom of speech, an unarmed police and other innumerable influences acquired under British trusteeship. Their attachment to the afore-mentioned values would foster feelings of separateness while in coexistence with their Francophone counterparts.

One of the major areas of disparity between both Cameroons is evident in the systems of administration inherited from France and Britain. France adopted the policies of Assimilation and Association, which targeted the grooming of a select few of the natives to a level of cultivation worthy of France: these chosen few were then expected to become the leaders of the territory where they would govern to the satisfaction of the French (Anye, 2008).On the other hand through the policy of Indirect Rule, Britain gave the Southern Cameroons political leaders a certain level of latitude in the governing of the territory, serving only as a guide or facilitator of the process.

Inasmuch as both policies were manifestations of the imperialist ambitions of Britain and France, some authors have blamed the current administrative system of Cameroon on French colonial implantation. These deep rooted values acquired under British tutelage have contributed towards the construction of the Anglophone Cameroon identity.

3. The Language of contemporary anglophone Cameroon cinema

3.1. The aesthetic language

An appraisal of the language of a film or television production consists in analysing the codes, modes and symbols therein. Unlike written and spoken language, film has no codified grammar or an enumerated vocabulary. Nonetheless, it has the same communicative functions as language, and the better one reads an image, the more one understands it (Monaco, 1981). Film syntax must include both development in time and space. Development in time is orchestrated through montage while development is space is achieved through mise en scène.

While montage is the technical process that gives logic to the audio visual representation of the story through the juxtaposition of images, mise en scène encompasses all the elements exploited to bring the story to life, scene by scene. This involves the movement and skill of the actors and the plastics of image: the style of the sets, make up, lighting and the framing of the shot. Through the processes of montage and mise en scène audio visual productions can be read and their connotative and denotative meanings perceived.

The typical Anglophone Cameroon video film exploits montage and mise en scène sparingly, without profoundly delving into the poetic significance of relevant shots and transitions. This approach underscores the paradigm shifts in Anglophone Cameroon filmmaking, where new meanings are derived from camera readings.

For instance, while Nyingcho Tum's *Pension* can be commended for the slow paced drawn out rhythm in accordance with the trend of events that occur within a time span of over three months, as well as the use of flashback to portray the passage of time, fades are used in practically all the scenes in the movie tending to make transitions appear rather monotonous. The use of the dissolve and fade as the staple transitions is however satisfactory given the simple narrative nature of the movie. It should however be noted that the slow rhythm does not in any way suggest boredom, but rather is relevant in depicting the excruciating and time consuming process of getting Charles' pension.

Pension displays an average use of shots, the close up and establishing shot being the most predominantly used, including the high angle, over shoulder and wide shots. The close ups are effective in communicating the strong emotions experienced by the characters, especially in conflict scenes with Charles and Mark and family scenes where frustration and tension are palpable. The over shoulder shot which is custom for confrontational situations is equally exploited in a few scenes. Notwithstanding the limited use of shots, the images are effective in transmitting the subject matter.

In spite of the predominance of conflict therein, Lawrence Neba's *The Great Obligation* sustains a slow rhythm. The drawn out pace is as a result of the introduction of events through the flashback technique. The flashbacks effectively suggest that the cold war between Eyor and the people of his village has lasted thirty-two years. Through flashbacks, the spectators are connected to the past, enabling them to better comprehend the present state of affairs. Fades are the staple transitions in *The Great Obligation*.

As it is the case with the average Anglophone Cameroon movie, the montage tends to be perfunctory, oblivious to the three general approaches of montage namely: accelerated montage[6], montage by attraction[7] and parallel montage[8].

As far as mise en scene is concerned, *The Great Obligation* displays an average of shots, predominantly the close up, establishing shot and wide shot. The limited use of shots results in boring and monotonous images, which could have been avoided through a calculated allocation of a wide variety of shots. Still, the average use of shots remains effective in transmitting the message of the movie, making it palatable to the spectator.

While *The Great Obligation*, (like most Cameroonian movies) sustains a narrative tonality which is usually exploited in straightforward movies with no special effects, *Pension* experiments with exterior and interior dark scenes, all relevant to the period of darkness in the life of the protagonist.

Based on the choice/execution of shots, lighting, editing, as well as the directing, it can be deduced that while the movies are satisfactory in communicating in audio-visual language, they do not explore the plethora of opportunities offered by the cinema: technico-aesthetics are second place, with focus on socio-cultural content.

3.2. The cultural language

The content of contemporary Anglophone Cameroon cinema does not reflect the history and struggle of the Anglophone population: rather the filmmakers apprehend mediation from the perspective of the assertion of an uncontested identity, through the portrayal of realistic and embellished cultural traits in an attempt to valorise the Anglophone in Cameroon. In this regard Lull (2000) questions whether mass media reflects or creates social reality. How faithful are these media (video film) representations to the reality of the Anglophone?

The portrayal of symbolic cultural power is exploited in the mediation of the Anglophone identity. This tendency is evident in the exaggeration of certain elements in the movies in order to embellish certain cultural structures. According to Lull symbolic power can be relevant in articulating cultural situations, where:

> Symbols are given meaning by interpretation, and every interpretation takes place in a cultural context and serves a cultural purpose […] Cultural influence can be exercised when people use symbolic displays – including the systematic ideological and cultural associations, structures of authority, and rules that underlie them […] (Lull 2000: 174).

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[6] Accelerated montage involves creating the illusion of the steadily increasing speed of an object, movement or subject without actually using any images of speed. This is done by multiplying shots of ever decreasing length.

[7] Montage by attraction is obtained by reinforcing the meaning of one image, with another which is not necessarily related to the sequence in question.

[8] Parallel montage entails simultaneously portraying two actions taking place at geographical distance by alternating shots from each. This type of montage conveys a sense of connection between two actions projected concurrently, though taking place at different locations.

The punch line of Anglophone identity mediation through the home video is couched mainly in realistic, embellished and celebrated cultural representations, which are neither monolithic nor stagnant. Sometimes it is celebrated, represented, exaggerated, criticized or idealized.

Contemporary Anglophone Cameroon cinema portrays ethnic and cross-cultural elements and thus serves as a medium for the display of the traditions and practices of ethnic groups of the regions. The celebration of culture is perceived in movies such as Ngwana Eddie Goffi's The *Beads maker* (2013), Lawrence Neba's *Jungle of Heirs* (2012), *The Great Obligation* and *Clash of Inheritance* (2011), and *Royal Destination* (2010), Neg's *The Majority* (2010), Deric Nji's *The Wedding Corpse Smiles* (2010), Zack Orji's *The Blues Kingdom* (2008), Steeve Agbor's *Phoenix Scar* (2008), Derick Nji's *Bih Kaba* (2007), Victor Njiforti's *The Inheritance* (2007), *The Ancestry Price* (2007) and Hilary Nkafu's *Where Tradition Fails* (2004) among others.

The above-mentioned movies and many others of their kind are extremely rich in cultural content. The celebration of culture is evinced in the portrayal of hierarchical traditional institutions, elaborate costumes, pluralistic use of language and the deference for customs. The portrayal of traditional settings with revered rulers at the head (the case of the village of Mfortek in *Clash of Inheritance*, an unnamed village in Mamfe as portrayed in *The Great Obligation*, etc.) authoritative elders who are the custodians of tradition, important customs that must be preserved, a plethora of elaborate costumes which are representative of the ethnicities and of course language (the use of the mother tongue, English and Pidgin English).

Simon Cottle (2000) affirms that the portrayal of popular culture is effective in mediation when he describes popular culture as the terrain through which hegemonic struggles are ideologically conditioned and played out.

A cross section of Anglophone Cameroon movies equally gives insight to the embellishment of elements denotative of culture. This refers to representations that do not depict realistic cultural experiences, but are somewhat exaggerated. In the movies under study, traditional royalty is wilfully fabricated. The villages where action takes place are referred to as kingdoms and the leaders of these "kingdoms" are of course referred to as kings, otherwise "Mfor" the rightful appellation in some instances. In a discussion with Lawrence Neba, filmmaker, he contended that the embellishment of the above mentioned elements is intended to make the movies more relevant to wider audiences through the use of appellations of familiar institutions. It was equally his avowal that the exaggeration of the above mentioned elements was a deliberate and well calculated move, intended to give more glamour to the traditional institutions. He further stated that this creative decision is their imaginative way of valorising the Anglophone traditional institutions and making them more attractive to a wide spectrum of audiences.

The distortion, exaggeration and re-creation of elements in movies concur with Andrew Dudley's theory of representation where movies are considered as versions on the worlds of their creators. This author observes that images in cinema are simply fragments of the worlds of the creators, made real by the authenticity of cinematic representation (Dudley, 1984). In a similar vein, Lull intimates that "[…] reality is framed according to prior media representations and their underlying assumptions and analogs so that mediated imagery becomes the referent with which the “real world” is often compared” (Lull 2000: 28). Thus, in the same way that media rely on the imaginative to capture the public, so too does the public rely on media to provide patterns of living which can add meaning to real experiences.

These filmmakers do not propose a monolithic, one-dimensional perspectives of culture in their representations. An example of this approach is evident in *The Great Obligation* where Eyor’s family suffers after his death due to the fact that he does not contribute or participate in village activities. The movie portrays this custom from two perspectives: it is first of all approached as a good practice, one that promotes development and social responsibility. However, a cloud is thrown over this positivity when the death of Eyor and his wife and daughter, does not elicit any sympathy from the elders. This balanced representation stimulates profound pondering on the part of the spectator in an attempt to come to terms with the negative impact of a positive custom pushed to the extreme, thus reconfirming Ngugi’s (1983) avowal that an artist’s depiction is hardly neutral.

The identity enunciated in the greater part of the cinematic representations of contemporary Anglophone Cameroon filmmakers is hardly an expression of the excavated experience of the people. It is not an attempt to recount the history of the people, neither is it a journey to the past. Gilbert Doho, in an analysis of the Cameroonian film qualifies this language of representation as self-censorship. According to the author, recourse to themes of marriage, bride price and other traditional phenomena is emblematic of “thematic infertility” (Doho 2005: 27).

4. Mediums of diffusion and audience attitudes

The images are clearer, the plots, less disjointed. However, the movies will be better when recurrent sound, image, continuity and inadequate scripting problems are resolved.

On the distribution of the video film, Babson Ajibade (2007), in “From Lagos to Douala: the Video Film and its Spaces of Seeing” states that the popularisation of the video film has propelled the evolution of spaces within which videos are consumed by several categories of audiences.

With focus on the distribution of Nigerian video films, through Lagos to Douala, Ajibade (2007) proceeds to propose four main categories, namely private spaces (homes, offices), dedicated spaces (spaces originally designed for seeing/buying these films, e.g. video parlours, video rentals), tie-in spaces (spaces originally designed for other services, but incorporated video showing for clientele, e.g. hair salons, beer parlours, etc.) and found spaces (free spaces, e.g. entrances of video shops, where passers-by chance-in on video showings).

In the course of our research, we have identified six mediums for the distribution of Anglophone Cameroon movies, namely: the film festival, the film launch, the video rental, the video kiosk, the TV channel and the ambulant distributor.

While film festivals tend to attract actors in the film business, rentals have become rather obsolete and video kiosks promote more of foreign movies. However, film premieres, as well as television channels are considerably exploited towards the dissemination of Anglophone video films. While people purposefully attend film premieres to support their friends/relations who are filmmakers, films watched on television are stumbled upon fortuitously.

Social media has equally been relatively relevant for promotion. Through online search engines, one can have access to a couple of websites that display previews of some Cameroon movies (Mboa movies online, Callywood, Tiptopstars, etc.).

However, the question of dissemination mediums must be analysed pertaining to the attitudes of the Anglophone audience. In the course of our research, we found that out of one hundred and two respondents, fifty-one had watched less than five Anglophone movies. Twenty-eight had watched between five and ten movies, five had watched between twenty and thirty, four had watched between ten and twenty, four had watched over thirty and thirteen had watched none.

It is equally interesting to note that thirty-four respondents think that Anglophone movies are below standards, while thirty-five find the movies educative, ten find them entertaining and thirteen think they are interesting. While nine respondents considered the movies boring, three respondents opined that the movies are entertaining, educative and interesting, while a respondent considered the movies boring, below standards and at the same time entertaining!

These results show that the form and content of the movies are not satisfactory to the audience. It also reveals that even though previous results have shown that most of the respondents have watched less than five Anglophone movies, apparently the few have been enough for them to construct an opinion of this cinema. However, the thrust of our findings underscore the contradictory attitudes of the audience, who would be quick to criticize video films, which they seldom watch. More importantly, these findings show that the audience response to contemporary Anglophone Cameroon cinema is rather timid.

Is this timid response as a result of the quality of the movies, the unwillingness of the audience or the inaccessibility of the mediums of dissemination? According to Marshall McLuhan (1964), the medium is the message, as the medium influences how the message is perceived: thus, the personal and societal consequences of any medium result from the new scale that is introduced into our affairs by any new technology. How relevant are these mediums of dissemination to the existence of the Anglophone audience? Inasmuch as Anglophones seem quick to criticize these movies at first sight, it is our contention that an improvement in quality will result in a concomitant rise in viewership.

5. Conclusion

After analysing the language (image signifiers) of contemporary Anglophone Cameroon cinema, the message (ideological concerns), as well as the mediums of dissemination of this cinema, we posit that notwithstanding the lapses in cinematic techniques, contemporary Anglophone Cameroon cinema projects the exploitation of profound signifiers of symbolic cultural power couched in the narratives of these media (video films) discourses.

In addition to other mediums like the film festival, the film launch, the video rental, the video kiosk, the TV channel and the ambulant distributor, the internet is serving, though not to maximum capacity, as a medium for the exhibition and appreciation of the works of Anglophone filmmakers.

The majority of the movies do not reveal any profound research into the past of Anglophone Cameroonians as a people: neither do they manifest a struggle against oppression, at least, not in an approach similar to that used by Anglophone Cameroon writers. One thing is however clear: in their creations of cinematic representations they construct an Anglophone identity that is no longer animated by struggle, but rather by the essence of simply being, a passive portrayal of their way of life – an uncontested identity.

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Anglophone Cameroon Video Films and Representation

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Abstract

This paper examines the influence of Nollywood on Anglophone video films and the issue of representation therein. Erstwhile absent from the filmmaking scene in Cameroon, Anglophone Cameroonians have embraced video film productions unabashedly. These video films have been under fire for favouring a Nigerian perception over the Cameroonian society and people. Adopting qualitative research methods such as library research, interviews, observation, discussions plus film screenings and analyses, this paper looks at Anglophone Cameroonian video films vis-a-vis the audience, filmmakers guided by the concept of media representation. It advances that despite the need for originality in video films with content grounded in the Cameroonian society, representation is subjective in its production and reception, ultimately.

Keywords: Video films, Anglophone Cameroon, Representation, Nollywood

1. Introduction

On the streets of major cities in Cameroon such as Buea, Limbe, Kumba, Bamenda, Edea, Yaoundé and Douala it is no longer uncommon to find posters of video films plastered to electric poles, walls, billboards, trash cans and in-front of super markets. The video film buzz has bitten deep into the Cameroonian filmmaking scene with Anglophone Cameroonians leading in these productions. Admittedly, reference to Cameroonian film production until recently evoked notable Cameroonian filmmakers such as Jean-Pierre Dikongue Pipa, Daniel Kamwa, Bassek Ba Kobhio, Jean Marie Teno, Jean-Pierre Bekolo and others. These filmmakers created a niche not only for themselves but for Cameroon in general within the African film spheres at national, continental and global levels. This commendable repute for Cameroonian cinema has however been void of input from Anglophone Cameroonians.

The paucity of films by Anglophone Cameroonians in the Cameroon film corpus is an issue which until recently was seldom evoked in Cameroon media spheres. This scarcity cocooned by the achievements of Francophone Cameroonian filmmakers was occasionally alluded to disinterest in filmmaking by Anglophones in Cameroon and the attendant marginalisation the group has felt subjected to as Tcheuyap (2005: 11) observes;

> The new form was based in new conditions of possibility: a newly liberalized media environment and cheap and easily-operated video technology that permitted films to be made on sheer enthusiasm and negligible budgets, grassroots initiatives that met with immediate grassroots success. (71)

Consequently, Africa witnessed a torrential wave of Nigerian video films flooding into Sub Saharan African countries and homes. Distributed in VHS then VCDs/ DVDs for affordable prices, these films captivated, inspired and influenced several other African countries (Onuzulike 2007). Although both Ghana and Nigeria endorsed this new form of film in Africa, the Nigerian video film market expanded faster than the Ghanaians (Haynes 2011). The strong point of the Nigerian video film industry was and still is its local base viewership both within and without Nigeria.

Cameroon does not have the population strength of Nigeria, but the proliferation of Nigerian video films in Cameroon hints on a market potentially exploitable by local productions. However, when Anglophone Cameroonians highly influenced by Nigeria embarked on video film productions, they met with stiff critique from the audience. The complaints ranged from mis-representation of the Cameroonian society, culture and tradition; barren and artistically demeaning performances; as well as embarrassing quality. What seemed to champion the critique however was the heavy-handed influence of Nollywood in Cameroonian video films. Cameroonians barely had positive remarks on video films made in Cameroon and some even preferred to go back and watch Nigerian, Ghanaian, Kenyan, South African, Hollywood or Bollywood films.

Interestingly, these rebuttals have not deterred Anglophone video filmmakers as an estimated minimum of fifteen video films are released per year since late 2000[1]. Questions arising therefore are; who are these video films made for and by whom? What kinds of films? What are the parameters of representation expected by their audience? This served as both the motivation and objective of this paper. For one thing, to boost this budding video film industry in Cameroon, it becomes relevant to identify and understand why the audience has felt misrepresented in video films, in favor of what and why? Employing Steve Baker's (2007) constructionist view within the media representation theory, as well as qualitative research methods such as interviews, group discussions, observation; plus the screening and analyses of Anglophone video films this work examines the issue of representation taking into consideration the audience's perception, the filmmakers' intentions and its implications to a potential film industry.

2. Theoretical consideration

Representation in media is a growing concept that has analysed the mediation issues of minorities, violence and crime, gender, Islam, homosexuality and so on. The power and influence of the media is incontestable, through the media people get to experience events, observe others and learn about a world that extends beyond the spheres of their day-to-day encounters (Nabwire 2014). However, it is essential for one to remember that " Every time we encounter a media text, we are not seeing reality, but someone's version of it" (Baker 2007: 1) Media products are mediated aspects of reality born of subjective or corporate decisions on what is important and noteworthy, be it in the news, magazines, films, TV shows and others.

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[1] Alasambom Nyingchou Secretary General of the Cameroon Film Industry Association 2014

Baker argues further that the result of this process of mediation is that we are given a version of reality which is altered, for those are never the real people that we are seeing but representations of them which have been fashioned for our viewing with intent. Thus his constructionist approach advances that analysing representation comprises what is represented, the intentions of those representing this, the reaction of others to the representation and the context or the dominant ideologies in society at the time. Consequently, representation in media not only means thinking of how a particular person or group of people are being presented to the audience but also the creation process involved as well as the finished products. Figure 1 below illustrates this further;

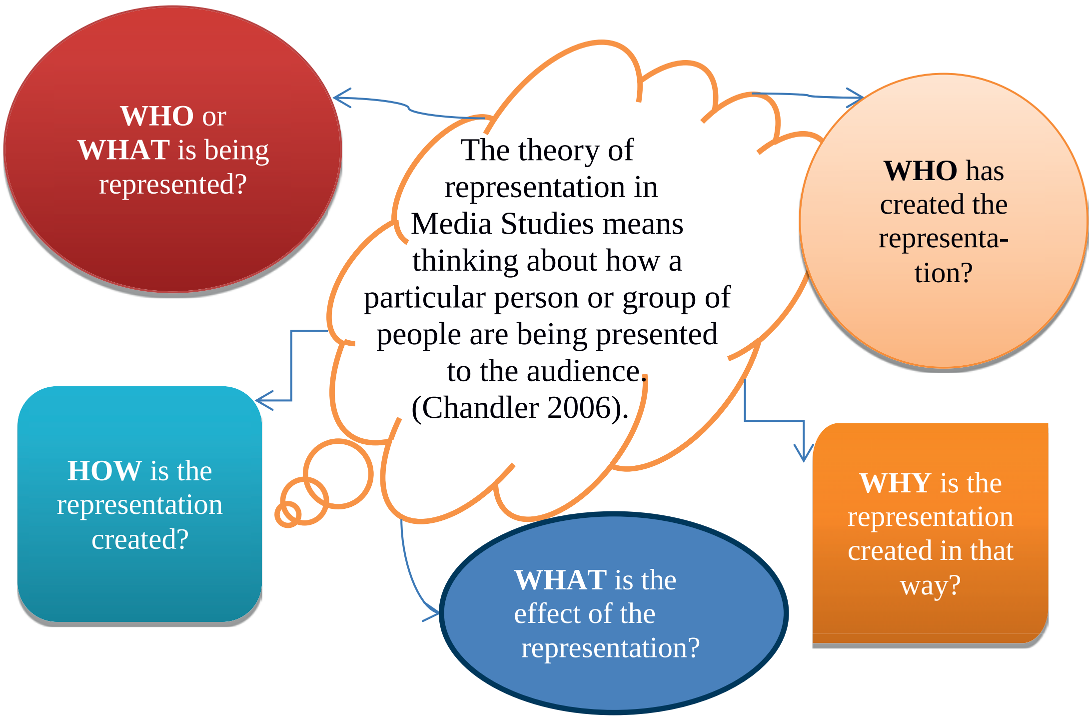


Figure 1: Basic presentation of the theory of Media Representation Key Points by Mr Smith www.slideshare.net

What is being represented queries the 'who' is representing it and to 'whom', 'how' and 'why' this representation hints on the intent of the producers. Concurrently, a person's background affects their perspective and understanding of the media products they consume. In other words who they are, where they are from and the values affirmed by their society predisposes the manner in which they appreciate a media product and the conclusions they make on the people/person/issues represented in the media product. Undoubtedly, most of what Africans know of the west is based primarily on what is mediated and represented in the different media forms they are exposed to on a regular basis. An Africans understanding of what is represented in media from the west is also based on their ideological constructs and perception of the west. On the flip side however, given their colonial history, Africans have felt the representations of Africa in most western media products is prejudiced and a modus for continuous cultural imperialism.

Born of the need to present unbiased images of Africa, African cinema sought to decolonize minds, promote critical reflection on African cultures and traditions then to mobilize, raise consciousness and educate the masses (Doho 2005). The objective was to attempt to restore the way of life and thoughts of the African masses (Shehu 1995), for as Gadjigo (1995) emphasized, the west intentionally constructed an image of Africa which fed and justified their ambitions of political domination and the continuous looting of the African natural and human resources. Bakup-Kanyinda (1995) explained further that the insistence on a theory and structure of African cinema emerged from the need to provoke Africans to reflect on the images of Africa in films made by the west and the implications of these images. Barlet (2000) observed that there was a preponderance by African filmmakers and film critics to revisit the 'unspoilt' pre-colonial past of Africa, with a call for the re-establishment of these cultural values where one's word was sacred and promises were kept in contrast to the post-independent era plagued with lying politicians. Barlet posits further that filmmakers were expected to decolonize the thought by propounding these pre-colonial unadulterated societies; failure to do so by a filmmaker was synonymous to betrayal. The intent here was to reclaim the dispossessed space, recover their cultural identity and introduce a 'truly African' cinematic approach.

This concept of authenticity in African cinema Harrows (2007) on the other hand refuted and called for a new criticism that " rejects the concept of authenticity and underwrites claims of an authentic representation of history, of the culture and people, of the screen image, of the truth, [or] of Africanity." He argues the issue of authenticity in African films by Africans is logically improbable because "to define oneself as authentic one needs to step out of oneself and reflexively look at oneself but who then gives the criteria to the you standing out to judge or analyse?" he insists that "rather than authentic we might evoke domestication, with the notion that every cultural production, every image and idiom is a product of a process that involves the experience of taking what is other and rendering it familiar or same." (2007: xii) While, the paradigm of a 'truly/purely African' cinema birth this wave of reflection, a visible shift occurred with regards to representations in African films.

Whether authentic or not what stands out clear was the need for Africans to do films about themselves. Film in which they felt accurately represented with no external pressure, and this seemed evasive with their reliance on foreign aid for production, distribution of their films (Diawara 1992). The advent of video films therefore ushered in a new phase of African filmmaking. Though highly critiqued for their porous aesthetics and quality, video films have increased film production levels in Africa, giving filmmakers' full reign on their material. More so, it has irrefutably been an impetus in negotiating space for African cultural expression in the global cultural map. Besides the disheartening quality of these video films, the feedback from their African audience has been tremendous. African viewers have found the films well grounded in the African society with relatable themes, entertaining and captivating performances. Proliferated by Ghana and Nigeria, video filmmaking is now a budding field in Africa with African countries aspiring for the success witnessed in Nigeria and by so doing copying mannerisms familiar to Nigerian video films (Onuzulike 2007).

Consequently, there has been an outcry for video films produced on the African continent to propound each countries' society and culture with originality. Salami Carew[2] (2012) advanced;

> There are a lot of similarities in African society and that is why we have been able to enjoy Nollywood films. The topics and issues they handle are relatable, and while I agree that our take may be similar one thing that remains true is given our history and societal realities the understanding of some of these things will differ and should be reflected in our interpretation. The presence of Nigerians featuring in our films has been very helpful, I have shared the screen and been on set in Sierra Leone with some of them. However, I fear as a result we tend to forget that we are not Nigerians and need to stay true to that. Heavily impressed some try to follow their way of performing and production styles to the letter. Our filmmakers are doing their best in this but from time to time it becomes rather difficult to be true to a purely Sierra Leonean content and this is therefore our challenge.
>
> (Text 1: Comment by a actor and performing arts expert in Sierra Leone during an informal discussion with this researcher in 2012 on the growth of the Sierra Leonean film industry)

In Cameroon, this has been the bone of contention since video film productions increased. What is being represented in these films and for what purpose has been a rising issue of debate between the stake holders and film practitioners. The general feeling is that Anglophone Cameroonian video films are lost in the Nigerian video film diatribe and the essence of Cameroonian originality in the products is barely perceivable. The images are alleged to be overly Nigerian to the detriment of the Cameroonian society and culture.

3. Anglophone Cameroon and film

Even though Cameroon underwent German colonial rule, it was the geographical divide of the territory between Britain and France, resulting in differing social, cultural, economic and political concepts which marked it the most (Mbuagbaw *et al.* 1987). This division of the territory not only gave birth to two colonial identities but resulted in the territory's subsequent disproportionate nature. For close to five decades the British half of Cameroon due to its uncommon proportion felt overshadowed firstly under a combined rule with Nigeria under Britain's mandate (Butake and Lyonga 1982), then post reunification with French Cameroon at economic, political and cultural levels (Jua and Konings 2004).

[2] During an International Visitors Leadership Program 2012 schedule on Arts for Social Change exchange discussion amongst grantees in Washington DC

As far as the narrative for film was concerned with regards to the hegemonic British film development enterprise, Okome and Haynes (1995: 42) posit that "...colonial cinema did nothing to nurture a sophisticated film audience in Nigeria. If anything, colonial cinema tried to mystify cinema operations" as the " Newspapers of the early period of film exhibition and other written evidence point to the fact that the kinds of films screened were mostly newsreel and documentaries about British life -politics, culture, education and economies." Anglophone Cameroon then jointly administered with Nigeria was obviously affected by this strategy as well. Meanwhile Francophone Cameroon on the other hand had a slightly different 'upbringing'. The French assimilationist perspective paved a narrow path for training scholarships and sponsorship opportunities though limited in film production even after independence. Diawara (1992: 3-4) puts forward that while the British Colonial Film Unit in charge of film education in British colonies closed its doors prior to the independence of its colonies. France's intent on securing its grip however loose on its ex-colonies caused it to nurture and maintain most of its development activities with its ex-colonies.

Reunified, whatever film training Francophone Cameroonians obtained from the French, it did not rub off on Anglophone Cameroonians. While Francophones tried their hands in films production and developed a repertoire in the African continent, the early impressions of film by Anglophone Cameroonians came with the instatement of Cameroon Television (CTV) then later Cameroon Radio and Television (CRTV). Even then within the national broadcasting channel opportunities for production by Anglophone were limited. (Butake 2005).

3.1. The trouble with anglophone Cameroonian films

A series of interviews with random respondents comprising mostly of youths and young adults who consume video films (Fominyen 2010); classroom discussions with cinema students at the University of Yaoundé 1, screening of Anglophone video films and observing their reception in Buea, Bamenda and Limbe, revealed an audience avid to see their own films but disappointed in what has been produced thus far. The audiences' expectations were high as they hoped Cameroon would also through these films make a statement in global cultural markets. However, the similarities and exactitudes between Anglophone films and Nollywood productions dampened this excitement and filled the audience with censure toward the filmmakers and a discourteous attitude towards to the films.

Observing how the audience reacted to Anglophone Films in a video rental shop in Buea township, there was a mixture of excitement and disdain. When the sales boy proposed the Cameroon movies some clients would ask to see, others will quickly negate and rain disparaging critique on the films. Some would judge only from the poster or small synopsis on the cover that the film would be a replica of a Nigerian film they had watched. Out of those who took a chance and bought, some would come back in a bid to exchange the film for a Nigerian or Ghanaian film as Mbua Felix attests in Text 2 below;

> I don't have many Cameroonian films in my shop not because I don't want to but they can stand here forever because people prefer Nigerian films more. It is bad business but for some of us it is our own way of promoting the industry. The people who come here say the films are boring, not well made and that they are struggling to be like Nigerian films too much. Some have bought it and asked me to refund or exchange the film with another film, especially a Nigerian film.
>
> (Text 2: Comment by a sales person in a video rental shop in Buea, 2013)

After watching him painstakingly promote and sell a few DVDs of an Anglophone video film in an inter-regional transport bus, Godfrey a video film hawker who does his sales in buses and bus agencies in Buea described the task as;

> not easy because people mostly have only negative things to say about the films especially those who have watched one or two. They say we are imitating Nigerian films a lot and the acting is poor. So I have to convince them to give these ones a chance and explain that the industry is still growing.
>
> (Text 3: Comment by a video film hawker in Buea, 2013)

Consistent in this preliminary observations was the ominous influence of Nigerian video films in Anglophone Cameroon video films and this has been the skirmish between filmmakers and their audience besides deplorable technical and artistic qualities of the films. It was only heightened by the similarities in genres and themes espoused by Anglophone Cameroonian filmmakers. Anglophone video films have caressed different genre of films such as romance, comedies, drama thrillers and what they term ' glamour' genre; treating a range of themes from occultism, witchcraft, religion, tradition, love, jealousy, betrayal, murder but unfortunately with similar treatment as pertains in Nigerian video films (NVFs).

3.2. The Nollywood problem

The Nigerian video film industry popularly known as *Nollywood*, is a household name in the African continent as far as entertainment and cultural industries are concerned. Pierre Barrot (2009) sees this video film industry in Nigeria as Africa's revival and possible response to a definition of its cinema; that is, cost effective productions and quick marketing and distribution. After years of sparse film productions due to expansive and unaffordable budget requirements, video films gave a new verve to African film production and the expression of the African culture in a west dominated cultural globalization paradigm. Undoubtedly an movement, video films placed the African continent in a contending position in the global marketing of culture.

The close border-lines (from the North, North west and South West regions) made Cameroon a prime consumer of NVFs which were easily smuggled into the country via the shared borders as Sacke Raymond (2007: 26) asserts " 95% of Nigerian films entered into Cameroon through illicit means, that is to say without passing through customs [...] the Cameroon-Nigeria border is the choicest entry point for Nigerian films into Cameroon." His analyses shows the accessibility, availability and radical marketing of Nigerian films in Cameroon and the effects of these films on the Cameroonian film industry at both positive (technological, socio-economic, cultural) and negative (disinterest in local films, piracy, non-censorship, non-professionalism) side. Statistically with a viewership of 91.2% as per respondents, Sacke concluded Nigerian films had created a niche for themselves in the Cameroonian audience.

The influence of Nigerian films in Cameroon is indisputable as both French and English speaking Cameroonians are now fans of Nigerian films. Though both Francophone and Anglophones now produce video films, it is much more preponderant amongst the Anglophones in Cameroon. However, the audience contend that Anglophone Cameroonian filmmakers lack creativity, evident in the blatant and incessant replication of Nigerian films in their productions as these comments by some third level students from the Performing Arts and Cinematography section of the University of Yaoundé 1 purport;

> Just because Nollywood showed us the way does not mean we have to do it like them. Rather, we should learn from their mistakes. If you see poor lighting in Nigerian films aim to do better in your own instead of copying the same bad techniques. What does that say of you?
>
> (Text 4: Comment by a Male level 3 student of PAC at UNIYAO 1, 2013)
>
> When I watch a film from Nigeria or Ghana I know it's from there, a film from South Africa I know it's from there. Then why is it that when I watch most of our own films I could almost swear its Nigerian? Sometimes I find a struggle between Nigerian, Ghanaian, American and French culture mixed into one in our films. Why bother? Why not just watch a Nigerian or American film?
>
> (Text 5: Comment by a Male level 3 student of PAC at UNIYAO, 2013)

Charlotte Manjong a clothing shop owner in Bamenda in the North West region admits that her clients are mostly inspired by Nollywood films in their choices and being an avid fan of video films herself she observed;

> What these so-called filmmakers are showing us is we have no culture to showcase and now Nigeria is the new America where we have to watch all our kids transform into mini Igbo's and Yoruba's because our own culture has been forsaken and their own is more popular. The cloths I sell I buy from Nigeria and I can tell you based on what the customers are demanding that Nigerian way of life has really taken over us.
>
> (Text 6: Comment by a clothing shop owner in Bamenda, 2013)

Ewusi Molulu a patriarch of Bonalyonga in Buea in the South West region prides himself as a culture and tradition custodian; ever since his retirement attests he watches a lot of video films argued;

> For a people who perpetually suffer oppression this medium would have been a key weapon in their hands to stand and shout but what do we see? They are busy copying Nigeria as if Nigerians are suffering from discrimination like us. Entertain us with things that make sense not perpetual rubbish of girls wearing short dresses, drinking and smoking. Is that the only vice in our nation? They continue to glorify waywardness in the name of critiquing their society. Nigerians can do rubbish now they have done their part in putting Africa out there, but we are following based on what?
>
> (Text 7: Comments by a patriarch of Bonalyonga in Buea post a film screening, 2013)

Though from different perspectives, the issue of representation and the influence of Nollywood stands out as the major critique besides quality in Anglophone video films. The increase in production of Anglophone video films per year indicates promising economic avenues, however, without viable local markets the growth already seems stifled and this is born of the audiences' dissatisfaction.

3.3. Issues of Representation

Picture 1: Still from the movie Peace Offering (2003)

In an informal group discussion amongst some high school students in Bamenda (Fominyen, fc.) the above picture along with some others were shown to the students, asking them to identify the origins of the people in the picture. Ninety-one percent of the students quizzed confidently affirmed the person in the picture was a Nigerian, while the rest comprising those who had seen the film from whence the still was captured, responded Cameroonian. A deficiency in film knowledge pushed many Anglophone Cameroonian producers and directors to heavily rely on their Nigerian film counterparts. Nollywood not only offered its talent (artistic and technical) to these novice filmmakers but some training and financial support as well.

Picture 2: Nollywood actor Nonso Diobi in the movie Peace Offering (2003)

Learning the technique and art of film from Nollywood was not much of the problem; what became glaring was the trading of key cultural social representation elements in favour of Nollywood prone dogmas. In a Nollywood-Cameroon video film collaboration Tafor Ateh as a participant-observer observed;

> Firstly, though this was a Cameroonian film the lead characters were the Nigerian artists and the Cameroonians cast in supporting roles for marketing appeal one could swallow this. But at some point I wondered whether it was the Nigerian actor cast in the lead role who was directing the film or the Cameroonian director hired for the purpose. Both cast and crew including the director, in awe of these Nigerian artists agreed to all their suggestion even when to my dismay it involved a matter of re-presentation. At a certain part of the film the Nigerians disagreed on the presentation and image of the character I was to play and insisted on a form that was typically Nigerian arguing vehemently that it was cross border trait of such characters. To my astonishment the director readily agreed and asked me to suit up as such. Given my grounded knowledge on such characters and their actual presentation here in Cameroon I had to refute this and stand my ground.
>
> (Text 8: Comment by a Cameroon film researcher in Yaoundé, 2009)

There was much to learn from Nigeria, but reports of Nigerians overshadowing Cameroonians in home based productions particularly at the level of artistic content was off-putting. Synonymously, when the Nigerians featured as hired artists in these films, the filmmakers seemed confused on what to do with them or how to direct them, be it in full length roles or cameos. Peter Gwenjang a local video film retailer in a bus park in Bamenda in the North West region argued in an animated discussion on Cameroonian films in his small store;

> I don't mind the presence of Nigerians in our film, if I must be honest that is why I buy those Cameroonian films. I don't believe in Cameroonian actors as yet. However, what I deplore is the underuse and waste of these Nigerian talents they go to crazy lengths to bring. I watched one film and all Jim Iyke did was drive in big cars from one part of Molyko to the other chasing some girl and that was all. I wondered if he were there by error, it was so embarrassing. If his fans all over the world pick this film up because they saw his picture would this be all Cameroon could do with his talent? It is a shame.
>
> (Text 9: Comments by a video film retailer in Bamenda, 2014)

Lecturer at the Performing and Visual Arts section of the University of Bamenda and sub-chief at the Ministry of Culture in Cameroon Keneth Tume (2009) further avers;

> The challenge of bringing these foreign film stars for a Cameroonian director is to get this actor to act like the Cameroonian character in the script and not to allow him understand and represent the character from his background and knowledge. The issue of African similarity is a poor excuse for not succeeding in this. The way a man from Bamenda reacts to something cannot be how a person from Yaoundé or Douala would; because the background and upbringing is different. Can we see this diversity in our films now?
>
> (Text 10: Comments made by a performing arts researcher and lecturer in Yaounde, 2009)

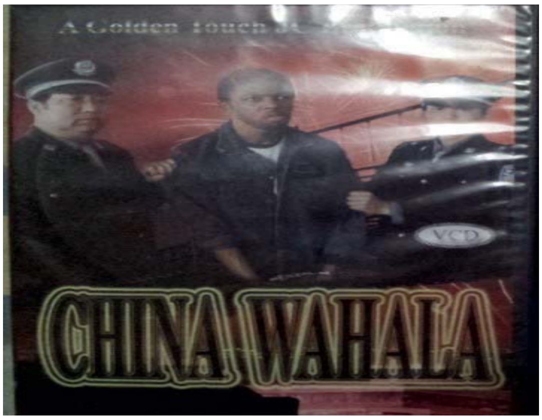
The filmmakers who tried to demarcate themselves from these Nollywood trends attempted a western style of filmmaking with unappealing results. The unrealistic gun-toting scenes in the middle of streets, vampires taking over the city of Bamenda and so on only helped to turn Anglophone video films into a jest.

Picture 3: Captured from the movie Whispers (2014)

Picture 4: Captured from the movie Black Vampire (2008)

Furthermore, the constant use of Nigerian (mostly Igbo and Yoruba) expletives and manners of expressions exasperated the audience even more as Tume purports further;

> We don't have '*Igwe's*' in Cameroon nor do we refer to problems as *'wahala'*. I wonder why in a film set in a purely Cameroonian traditional background, filmmakers would not use the culture the film is set in and represent them. Why do we talk today of Igwe's and *Oba*'s or *Ndiche's*? It is because Nigeria chose to sell its tradition and culture. I have taken part in several productions and I must say here that the level of rooted cultural investment, professionalism and creativity is deplorable. They are going about things in the wrong manner and will lose the little bit of audience they have if they don't become more culturally sensitive.
>
> (Text 11: Additional Comments made by Tume a performing arts researcher and lecturer in Yaoundé, 2009)



Picture 5: Image courtesy of Pani Fominyen

Investing in the sourcing out of cultural, political and economically relatable content for film scripts as well as the acting ability of the actors in Anglophone video films has been critiqued with a strident call for training and research by the viewers as Ewusi Molulu further argued;

> These actors just watch what Nigerians do and bring it back to repeat it in their films. I know there are similarities in African cultures but there must at least be noticeable traits in our way of behaving with over 200 ethnic groups. There is no research in terms of characters and traditions of the people for most of these films. Cameroon is so rich in culture they have no excuse.
>
> (Text 12: Additional Comments made by Molulu a the Patriarch in Buea post a film screening, 2013)

Basically, the audience is disgruntled and feels what pertains in the images is a lack of investment in proper representation of the cultural diversity Cameroon as a whole inspires. The underlying perception is that producers have taken the easy way out by copying and stiffly following Nollywood trends. On the other hand, video filmmakers though they admit to relying on Nollywood for artistic and mostly technical experience have found the audience expectations quite contradictory and quizzical to decipher. Some filmmakers overtly admit their aim in collaborating with Nigeria was and still is to gain film experience, others acknowledged with a pro-Nollywood content they hoped for a leeway into the already somewhat structured Nollywood markets as video film director Neba Lawrence affirmed;

> I speak generally when I say it is true that our films have a Nigerian feel to it, I cannot deny but what I will want to point out here is that, besides being a work of art filmmaking is business as well and the limited markets here stifles the growth in production. So some of the films we make with the Nigerian stars is not only to appeal to the Cameroonian viewers but if one is lucky the Nigerian or African markets as well. Our vision for film in Cameroon is wide like that.
>
> (Text 13: Comments taken from transcribed personal interview with Neba Lawrence in Yaoundé, 2012)

It should be noted that until recently, most of the films made in Cameroon that hoped for 'quality' post production were taken to Nigeria. These films were most often edited, multiplied, packaged and sent back to Cameroon in the absence of the filmmakers who could not afford the stay in Nigeria for the post production of their films. Consequently, these films were edited from purely Nigerian sensitivity and the filmmakers discovered the finished products as though they were the audience. The ones featuring Nigerian film stars were not only edited but the title of the film changed for its release in Nigeria.

Neba Lawrence further espoused that besides marketing appeal, the weak star system also stands as one of the reasons why there is a perpetual need for Nollywood faces;

> Our actors are inexperienced and of course unknown, just as we want to beef our skills working or partnering with Nigerian producers and directors, so too, we felt the presence of Nollywood actors would not only increase the market appeal but boost our artists as well. I am not saying Nigerian actors are perfect but they were willing to share with us the experience they had.
>
> (Text 14: Additional comments from the interview with Neba Lawrence in Yaoundé, 2012)

Actor and freelance journalist Alenne Menget observed that there is still a long way to go with regards to artistic recognition between the audience and video film practitioners themselves;

> We continue to clamour for uniquely Cameroonian artists in Cameroonian films, yet there is no respect at all for the Cameroonian artist. The star system in our country for video films is still at a low with people just beginning to recognize a couple of actors as film stars, but we have a habit of always shunning our own to hail strangers and this stifles the growth of the industry. I appreciate the work of those who have been in the field before us but I insist it is time we also encourage our own.
>
> (Text 15: Comments made by Menget during a film fraternity gathering in Buea, 2015)

The issue with Nigerian films and the collaboration between Nollywood and Cameroon filmmakers stirs a converse reaction which Anglophone Cameroon video film producer Agbor Gilbert Ebot bluntly described the Cameroonian audience as pretentious;

> our audience is way too pretentious, they say one thing when they mean another. They say my films are too sexually explicit yet they are the first consumers of Ghanaian films which are renowned for sexually explicit content. They are the first ones to laugh at our films for not being up to par in terms of realistic portrayal. When they meet us they tell us something different they tell us how happy they are we are collaborating with Nollywood and that we should even aim for Hollywood collaborations, then when researchers like you ask them questions they turn around and say our continuous collaboration with Nollywood is a sign of our incapacity.
>
> (Text 16: Comments taken from transcribed phone interview with Agbor Gilbert from Buea, 2015)

Contending remarks from the filmmakers vis-a-vis the issue of representation raised by some viewers motivated the next segment of this paper. With the back drop of the theory of media representation the following segment in this study focuses on two Anglophone Cameroonian video films, one which features Nollywood artists and one which doesn't. The aim here is to look at the issue of Nollywood influence and the effects on the films' reception.

4. Anglophone video film analysis

4.1. Pension vs pink poison

On the one hand there is the audience clamouring for films which will represent Cameroonians honestly, on the other side are video film stakeholders who contend their films do contain key elements that are representative of the Cameroonian society and the other elements are essential for the marketing appeal of the films. This segment looks at two films which represent two wings of Anglophone filmmaking in Cameroon, that is, with and without Nigerian input. Exploring the narrative structure, mise-en-scene decisions by the filmmakers and an apercu of the audience reception of the films. The aim here is to decipher the paradox of representation as far as the debate on representation in Anglophone video films is concerned vis-a-vis the audience and the filmmakers.

4.2. Narrative and thematic structure

Pension is the story of a retired civil servant Charles Atewong, whose life turns topsy-turvy when he is unable to access his pension post his retirement. He refuses to bribe the official in charge Mark and who swears Charles will never get the pension. The film addresses the theme of corruption, greed, frustration, old age as well as the intricate nature of nuclear families in Cameroon. The plot revolves around the main character Charles, the sub-plots look at how others are affected by what Charles is going through. The screenplay and dialogues sought to relay the turbulence Charles and his family traverse.

Pink Poison is a layered film with several sub plots, the main plot centres on a group of materialistic university girls ready to indulge in anything to satisfy their materialism. The sub plots include a woman who falls victim to a traditional malpractice and is raped by her father-in-law, a young girl who desperately wants to live a life she cannot afford ends up killing her mother for a ticket to the United States of America, a university boy who blackmails a girl in order to win a bet and so on. A plethora of themes are addressed in the film ranging from materialism, immorality, harmful traditional practices, blackmail, betrayal, murder, greed, etc.

Genre & Mise-en-scene

Pink Poison belongs to the genre popularly referred to by Cameroonian video filmmakers as the 'glamour genre', it comprises lavish sets/locations, flashy cars, fashionable costumes, makeup and hair. However at some point the purpose of this opulence shrivels as it fails to advance the plot, develop the characters nor engender a reflective semiotic reading of the film. Laden with a glut of unnecessary scenes the film stars Nollywood actor Jim Iyke who champions these unnecessary scenes and a group of recognisable Cameroonian actors such as Quinta Eyong and Solange Ojong.

Picture 6: Nollywood actor Jim Iyke in a scene in the movie Pink Poison (2014)

On the other hand the visual approach to *Pension* at the level of the set/decor, costumes & makeup, composition, lighting is contextual. The cast is made up of Cameroonian actors only, whose art aims for a realistic and recognisable presentation of the characters. The shot composition, camera angles and lighting aided in the plot development and characterisation.

Picture 7: Captured from the movie Pension by Pani Fominyen

4.3. Reception

The fact that *Pension* is not only void of Nollywood actors but plays with the Francophone/Anglophone equation as well, adeptly handles one of the most riveting cankerworms of the Cameroonian society (that is bribery and corruption); it falls within the arguments from viewers on what a purely Cameroonian product should be like. As opposed to *Pink Poison* which not only had a Nollywood actor but had too many running plots with little investment in either but rather a showcase of 'meaningless' opulence. As a result, *Pension* should appeal more to an audience which seems repellent to anything Nollywood in their home productions. However, even though *Pink Poison* bears all the traits of a typical Nollywood rip off, it captivated the audience as opposed to *Pension* which sought for a basic representation of an easily identifiable average Cameroonian family.

A 2014 qualitative survey on the viewership and appreciation of Anglophone Cameroon video films conducted by Fominyen[1] in Buea and Limbe (where video films release recurrently), more than half of the ninety-two quizzed respondents who admitted they did watch Cameroonian films had heard of or watched *Pink Poison* as opposed to *Pension*. Those who had watched both thought *Pension* had a vital subject matter but was quite boring and slow; whereas *Pink Poison* had a more solid cast and interesting visuals. Respondents who had watched *Pink Poison* had a mixed response, those who were once again disappointed with what they described as "scattered and aimless" plots; and others who were excited to check out fashion trends, see Jim Iyke in Cameroon and laud the fact that "Cameroonians too build big houses and ride big cars like Nigerians".

4.4. Analysis

Knowingly or unknowingly the Cameroonian audience is groomed in Nollywood, Hollywood, Bollywood films and though they are avid for fresh invigorating images of Cameroonian society the predominant concepts of these other film industries dominate their expectations. In other words, they want to see Cameroon, but presented in a Nollywood or Hollywood film style and this adaptation cannot go without tainting on cultural representations. The filmmakers on the other hand seem unable to shake-off Nollywood codes for some and others minimise the entertainment quality of films. This brings us back to media representation theoretical underpinning of who is representing what and to whom with what intent as the essence of representation.

Pink Poison and *Pension* are two films which dealt with themes that affect the Cameroonian society, whether it be corruption, harmful traditional practices and immorality in the society, but the take on these subject matters differed. The media producers, that is, the filmmakers addressed these themes with different intentions and the audience they targeted were different too. *Pink Poison* though it addressed marital qualms was more focused on campus life thus targeting a more youthful audience evident in the decisions of what was being represented and how. *Pension* was focused solely on its subject matter, treating it with seriousness and a high quotient of drama; its target audience seemly more geared towards young adults and adults. Most viewers who watched *Pension* could identify with what Charles the lead character was going through as recurrent in their society. While *Pink Poison* reviews were mixed with some viewers critiquing the presentation of students, while others agreed it was a spot-on representation.

5. Conclusion

The complexities of representation vis-a-vis the audience seems to be at odds between notions of identity and extensive film grooming. The Cameroonian audience want to see themselves and they apparently underestimate the influence of foreign media product consumption. The oversight here is the probability that as a result of this influence their society may not be as unique as they think or want it to be. Through the media, the globalization of cultures has had an extensive effect on societies and the search for a uniqueness and authenticity in representation and identity is becoming even more intricate. Consequently, the audience hopes for images that are purely Cameroonian but are unconsciously guided by their expectations from accrued film habits, seen as they attest displeasure in Nollywood influenced films yet those are the films they watch most.

Using language, costumes, settings and locations in recognisable Cameroonian locales; weaving stories around some critical cultural issues in the Cameroonian society, focusing on Cameroonians artistic talent, clearly some filmmakers are adjusting to foreground critique by adding some cultural representation in their films. However, there is still need to invest in carving out their style of filmmaking, there is a need to win-over their audience by becoming more creative and entertaining. Nyingchou advanced in his 2015 master's thesis that Cameroonian films still suffer poor reception because they do not invest in the entertaining aspects of a film. He argued that filmmakers need to conquer their audience with innovative, creative and technical savvy productions. There is a lot of culture and tradition which can be tapped into and some filmmakers are already attempting this but without creative entertaining and captivating elements the films might just appear as ' boring'.

In an attempt to exploit both the Nigerian and Cameroonian film markets, the filmmakers have been unstable in clearly shaping what their cinema is about and this needs to be reconsidered. Carving out a cinematic statement for themselves will necessitate Anglophone filmmakers to adopt then adapt production techniques that would appeal to any audience but keep the content and presentation rooted to their country of origin. Even though as Awan (2008) points out " media themselves do not have unlimited control over representation, as media products must comply with the requirements of advertisers, policy makers and the audience"(14); there is need for a filmmaker to remain true to the concept of his product less its essence be lost.

The issue of uniqueness and identity of the Anglophone Cameroonian people and their need to assert this is an extensive debate. However, the fact that Anglophone Cameroonians are finally active in the world of films and challenging the Cameroonian film industry is in itself laudable. The films are still lagging as far as aeasthetics both artistic and technical go but the effort to make an impression and contribute in the growth of this field is a feat. Francophone Cameroonians as the elitist filmmaking society did not entirely reject everything related to video films, even though some castigated Anglophone Cameroonians for adhering to the practice and tarnishing the film repertoire of Cameroon. Over the years with Nigeria and Ghana building economically viable industries, these 'elites' are beginning to look at video films from a different angle. This is evident with the inclusion of Anglophone video films in the internationally recognised Ecrans Noirs Film Festival in Cameroon.

Meanwhile the issue of representation will always abound, as films no matter how close to reality, remain an individual's take on that reality and thus are tantamount to subjectivity. More and more Anglophone Cameroonian filmmakers are doing films with identifiable cultural quotient, but it still remains their perception and representation of their society. Thus, video films can bear representations of Cameroon, the Anglophone Cameroonian group, an issue or situation but it will remain representations from the producers perception which may not always agree with the viewers who appreciate it based on their own background and sensitivity. Anglophone Cameroonians will always talk of assertion, space, cultural identity in Cameroon and will perpetually seek out these elements in their films; but the decision to address this or not remains with the filmmakers. Hence, a filmmaker's re-presentation of the society and a viewers' understanding of that representation is primarily from their vantage point and bearing personal/generalised ideologies.

Though an insistence on pro-Cameroonian content will always be in-demand, imposing to a certain level what the creative mind of an artist should present thwarts the beauty of the art and makes it devoid of sincerity and an earnest perspective. Research on Anglophone Cameroon video films is an unexploited field as these films have just cropped up in recent years. Consequently another angle of future reflection would be a take on the Francophone Cameroonian audiences' reactions to AngloCam video films.

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Air Traffic and International Health in Africa: The Need for Innovative Health Policies and Systems

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Abstract

The importance of international travel to international health cannot be overemphasised. International health deals with disease dynamics occurring across international boundaries. Modern air travel is a strong indicator of the extent to which the world can be exposed to infectious diseases. This paper argues that Africa's share of disease in international health is higher than her involvement in international commercial travel because of her weak health care systems. Information was obtained predominantly from online sources notably the free digital repositories of publicly accessible journals like *BioMed Central, Plos ONE*; the Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Reports of the Centre for Disease Control and the World Health Organisation. Analysis revealed that the volume of air traffic remains lowest in Africa. Conversely, Asia recorded the fastest growth in the volume of air passengers notably from China. Given the recent rise in Sino-African migrations, African populations may be at high risks of influenza epidemics originating from China. There is the need for policy that favours the development of innovative and responsive health care delivery systems in Africa in the wake of the emergence and re-emergence of virulent infectious diseases.

Keywords: Air traffic, international health, Africa, infectious disease, China

1. Introduction

The increased intensity of international travel at the onset of the 20th century was a significant factor in the process of globalization which in itself signalled the emergence of the concept of international or global health. International health deals with disease dynamics occurring across international boundaries. Movements across such boundaries have evolved tremendously over the past 500 years starting from long distance travel by sea, followed by rail and road and more recently by air. The effectiveness, rapidity and extent of modern air travel are strong indicators that global population is at risk of virulent infectious diseases (Tatem, Rodgers & Hay 2006: 1). The outbreak of new or re-emerging infectious diseases, especially the zoonotic types anywhere on the globe represent threats to humanity everywhere. Although rail and road transportation systems have been around for more than 200 years, it is the air transport system that has transformed the trends in global movements. Pavia, (2007: 621), Eberhart-Philips et al. (1996: 9), Olsen et al. (2003: 2418) and Mangili & Gendreu, (2005: 989), all note the influence of the introduction of commercial long range flights on the diffusion of infectious diseases around the world. The recent outbreak of the Ebola virus in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone threatened the entire world because of the increased connectivity of global air transport. On 8 August 2014, the World Health Organisation declared the Ebola Virus Disease outbreak, an international public health emergency (WHO, 2014 http://www.who.int/csr/don/2014_08_08_ebola/en/). That led to the imposition of travel bans to and from the infected countries in some cases, and the strict enforcement of travel screening in countries that did not impose such bans. Koonin, et al. (2015: 222) note the importance of passenger screening in minimising the likelihood of international spread of the Ebola virus in the advent of the recent West Africa Ebola epidemic that spread to the USA and Spain amongst other places.

The rapid spread of infectious diseases across continental distances is not new. Cholera is believed to have been introduced into West Africa by Guinean students returning from the former USSR for holidays, and its outbreak in Northern France was thought to have been caused by the atomised discharge of human wastes from toilets of aeroplanes, flying between Europe and India through France (Adesina, 1983: lecture notes). On 19 February 1992, five cases of *vibrio cholera* were detected in California and all the patients had been passengers on the same commercial flight from Buenos Aires to Los Angeles transiting through Lima (Eberhart-Philips et al. 1996: 9). The Liberian who brought the Ebola virus to Nigeria was detected sick while on a regional flight from Liberia to Nigeria.

Human mobility has increased in high income countries over 1000 fold since 1800 and aviation has expanded with global economic growth, personal affluence and paid holidays that have favoured mass tourism. These have heightened the worries surrounding the potential spread of infectious diseases (Tatem, Rodgers & Hay 2006: 1). No matter how sophisticated a health system may be, the sudden outbreak of new diseases or new strains of similar diseases has remained a challenge lurking the world and undermining most of its health care systems. Over the past two decades, health care delivery systems in sub Saharan African countries have been devastated by economic crisis, bad governance, corruption, war and the pressure of disease. Compared with other systems across the world, they are the least resilient. Although participating least in global commercial aviation, the weak resiliency of Africa's health care systems in the face of an outbreak of one or more strains of infectious and zoonotic diseases in the world will be catastrophic on the population and its social and economic systems. This paper illustrates the fact that in the wake of increased international air travel, African countries stand greatest risks of exposure to multiple infectious diseases because of their weakly responsive health care systems and infrastructure.

1.1. Infectious diseases in international health

Concerns about the disease risks associated with international travel have been expressed for some time now and in different ways. The most important has been the institution of international health regulations (IHRs) by the World Health Organisation (WHO) as far back as 1969 preceding the International Sanitary Regulations first adopted by the 4th World Health Assembly (WHA) in 1951 (WHO, 2008:1). The 1969 regulations covered six quarantinable diseases (plague, cholera, yellow fever, smallpox, typhus, and relapsing fever), but were amended in 1973 and 1981 to reduce the number to three (yellow fever, plague and cholera) and also to mark the global eradication of small pox (WHO, 2008:1).

In response to changes in patterns of trade, traffic, disease and health care options, new international health regulations were adopted by the 48th WHA in 2005 and became applicable in 2007. The prime objective of these new regulations was worded as follows: “to prevent, protect against, control and provide a public health response to the international spread of disease in ways that are commensurate with and restricted to public health risks, and which avoid unnecessary interference with international traffic and trade” (WHO, 2008: 1). The scope of the IHRs 2005 was not limited to any disease like the previous regulations did but was broad enough to cover any illness or medical condition irrespective of origin or source that presents or could present significant harm to human health. This meant that the WHO and country ministries in charge of health henceforth had to be more proactive at predicting, alerting, and mobilising the international community in the case of any potentially deadly infections anywhere on earth. That is why, in the light of the new orientation of the IHRs 2005, a range of infectious (diseases new strains of old diseases, emerging diseases and zoonoses) have become of great concern in international health. Some of the diseases that constitute a real challenge to global health today are presented in table 1.

Disease	Date detected	Geographical area of detection	Global spread	Status in Africa
Chicungunya	1952	The Makonda plateau at the border between Tanzania and Mozambique	India and Europe	Endemic
HIV/AIDS	1981?	Africa	All continents	Endemic
H5N1		Asia	Asia and the Pacific, Europe, and Africa	Endemic in West and North East Africa
H1N1	1918	USA	All continents but most severe in North and south America, Western Europe, Central and South Asia and Oceania	Occasionally epidemic
Cholera	Ancient	Indian sub-continent	Global	Endemic
SARS	2002	Guangdong-China	All continents	Inexistent
Ebola	1976	Africa	Africa, Pacific, USA, Europe	Epidemic
Mad cow disease	1980s	United Kingdom		
Malaria	Ancient	Tropical belt	Africa, North America, South America, Asia, Oceania	Endemic

Table 1: The global dimension of some emerging, re-emerging and zoonotic diseases (Source: Tatem, Rodgers & Hay (2006).

These diseases are zoonotic (H5N1, H1N1, Ebola, and the Mad cow disease) and also vector-borne (HIV/AIDS, cholera, SARS and malaria). Although most of them have spread to virtually all continents of the world, it is mainly in Africa that they have become endemic. A disease is described as endemic when it becomes constantly presently in a given geographical area or population, whereas it is epidemic when it only occasional breaks out in given geographical areas or populations. Of the nine diseases presented in Table 1, only the SARS and the Mad Cow disease have not been reported in Africa, and of the seven reported, four are native to the continent while three are imported (H5N1, Cholera and H1N1). Cholera, dreaded for its debilitating effects on its victims was first reported in Guinea, West Africa in 1971 probably brought in by students studying in Russia which had also suffered the effect of the disease in its seventh pandemic (Adesina, 1983, lecture notes). Cholera has touched all continents of the world except Australia. Whereas it has been effectively eradicated in Europe, North America, and most of Asia, it has become endemic in Africa, with most countries in West and Central Africa reporting nearly regular annual outbreaks. In Cameroon, for example, since the onset of cholera in 1971, the outbreaks in the country have been fairly regular notably in the major cities of the forested and coastal south and the northern regions. Table 2 summarises the reported cholera outbreak episodes in Cameroon since 1971.

Year of outbreak	Cases	Case fatality rate (%)
1971	>2000	15
1985	>1000	9
1991	>4000	12
1996	5786	8.3
2004	>8000	-
2005	2847	3.86
2006	922	3.8
2009-2011	22762	-
2014	3355	-

Table. 2: Cholera trends in Cameroon since 1971 (Sources: WHO Global Task Force on Cholera Control, 2012 & Reliefweb, 2014. www.who.int/cholera/countries/CameroonCountryProfile2/*reliefweb.int/disaster/ep-2014-000100-cmr*)

In spite of the persistence of cholera in the country, the case fatality rate (CFR) has been declining with each epidemic indicating significant medical improvements in the handling of the disease. Notwithstanding this scenario, the cholera situation remains a source of grave concern to health authorities and the population.

Some of the reasons for the high probability of infectious diseases easily taking a very firm grip on African populations are discussed in the following section.

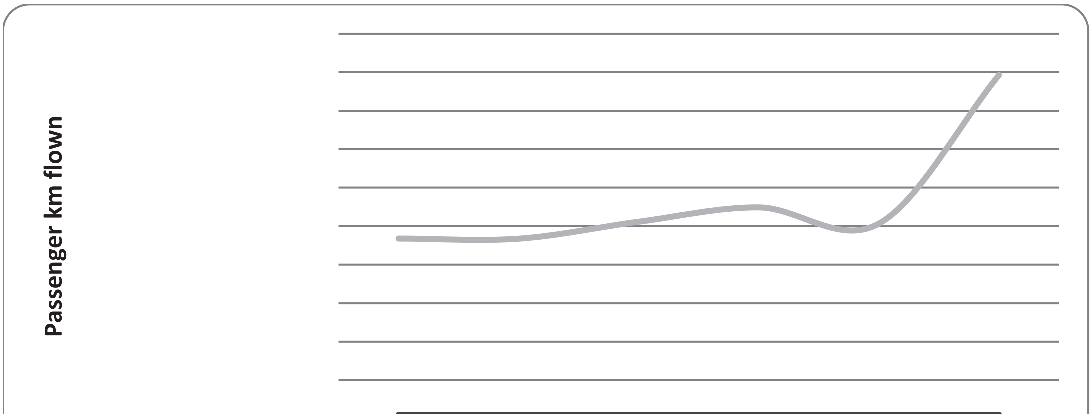
Weak health care delivery system

From a global standpoint, sub-Saharan Africa registers the highest ratio of population to health workers. In 2010, there were only 0.2 physicians and 0.8 nurses and midwives to 1000 people in the region compared to 0.6 and 0.9 in South

Asia, the two poorest regions in the world. Sub Saharan Africa also registers the smallest percentage of population with access to improved sanitation facilities. The World Bank in the World Development Indicators 2012 (2012: 110) illustrates that in 2010 only 31% of Africa’s population had access to improved sanitation facilities, up from 26% in 1990. Paradoxically, South Asia whose access rate was just over 22% in 1990 had risen to 38% in 2010. These indicators signify that disease reporting, treatment, surveillance, and control are weak and outbreaks may easily overwhelm the health care system. In the repeated cases of cholera in Cameroon and other parts of the world, it was clearly established that areas with lower access to proper water and sanitation were subjected to highest attack rates (Njoh, 2010: 2 & Stacie, 2011: 2143). In the northern regions of the country where trans-border movements are common, cases were also recorded. For example, in 2014, three cases of cholera were reported in the Far North region of the country involving a Nigerian family that had crossed over to Cameroon to seek medical treatment (Reliefweb, 2014. http://reliefweb.int/disaster/ep-2014-000100-cmr). Between 2009 and 2011, many cases of cholera were also reported in the neighbouring Nigerian states of Borno, Adamawa and Taraba. In the affected regions of the Far North and North, less than 25% of the population had access to potable water and worst still, less than 5% had access to latrines (WHO, 2012: 1).

- *The rapid growth in commercial air travel in Africa*

Although still the Lilliputian of the sector, Africa made impressive strides in commercial air travel in the last decade. Between 1997 and 2003, there was a 92.75% increase in passenger-kilometres flown between Africa and Europe, Asia, The Middle East, Southern Pacific and within Africa itself (Fatokun, 2005: 32). This scenario is illustrated in figure 1, depicting an exponential growth in kilometres flown from 2002.



	1	2	3	4	5	6
Passenger Km flown	91586	91514	100319	107768	99333	176534
Year	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2003

Figure 1: Growth in air passenger transport in Africa, 1997-2003 (Source: Fatokun, 2005)

Quite apart from the passenger-km flown, the number of people travelling by air has also increased tremendously in Africa. Between 2010 and 2013, air traffic passengers increased by a record 13%, representing 8.7million passengers. Figure 2 illustrates the increase in passenger air traffic in Africa between 2010 and 2013.

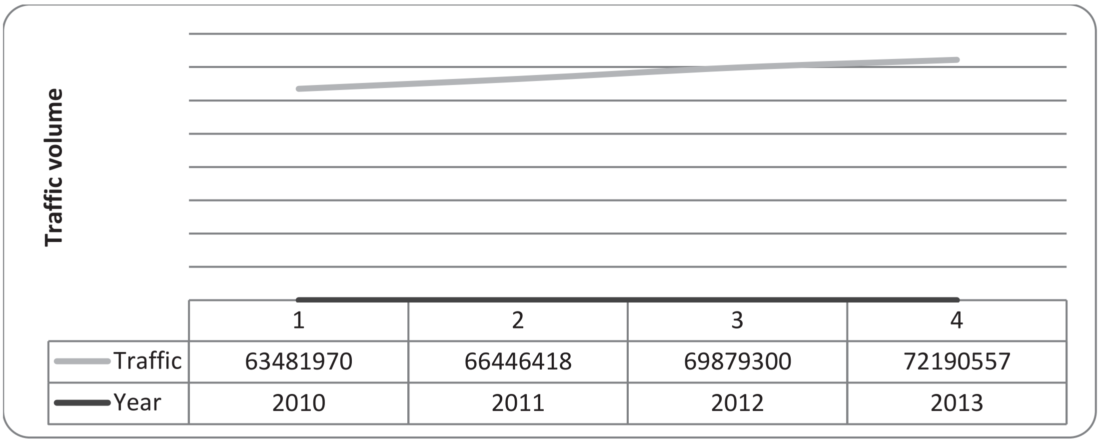


Figure 2: Growth in passenger air traffic in Africa between 2010 and 2013 (Source: Fatokun, 2005)

Of all the modes of transport common around the world, road and air dominate in Africa. In 2005, 50% of all the international tourists in Africa used the air medium as opposed to 41% by road and 9% by water (Fatokun, 2005: 32). In conjunction with a weak health surveillance system, many air travellers enter Cameroon and other African countries without adequate health screening and with the inexistence of natural barriers, extensive and fluid land boundaries are no hindrance to undetected incessant cross-border movements.

1.2. International travel and emerging infectious disease in Africa

Global air travel passenger volume is still lowest in Africa in spite of the significant strides the continent has made in the development of international commercial air travel. This scenario is depicted in Table 3 which presents global air passenger growth in volume by region in 2011 and 2012.

Region	Passenger volume 2011 (millions)	Passenger volume 2012 (millions)	Change (%)
Asia	724	787	9
Europe	658	680	4
North America	587	597	2
Latin America	178	189	6
Middle East	97	99	2
South West Pacific	79	82	4
Africa	51	52	2

Table 3: Global air passenger growth in volume by region in 2011 and 2012 (Source: Travel PR News Editors, 2013 (www.amadeus.com))

Table 4 presents the population at risk of cholera by WHO mortality regions. The greatest risk of cholera infections is registered in the SEAR B & D mortality strata, followed by the AFR-D & E. Conversely, the highest incidence of cholera per 1000 people at risk is registered in the African and not Asian region.

WHO mortality stratum	Total population at risk	Cholera cases	Incidence (per 1000 at risk)
AFR-D (Africa with high child mortality and high adult mortality)	196 462 691	392 929	2.0
AFR-E (Africa with high child mortality and very high adult mortality)	254 606 241	1 018 524	4.0
EMR-B (Eastern Mediterranean with low child and low adult mortality)	11 817 550	1174	0.1
EMR-D (Eastern Mediterranean with high child and high adult mortality)	114 459 890	187 619	1.6
SEAR-B (South East Asia with low child and low adult mortality)	50 443 558	22 686	0.4
SEAR-D (South East Asia with high child and high adult mortality)	694 832 590	1 201 682	1.7
WPR-B (Western Pacific with low child and low adult mortality)	120 530 784	12 055	0.1
TOTAL	1 443 153 304	2 836 669	2.0

Table 4: Population at risk, estimated number of cholera cases and estimated annual incidence in endemic countries by WHO mortality stratum (Source: Ali M et al, 2012 (http://www.who.int/bulletin/volumes/90/3/BLT-11-093427-table-T2.html)

By far the most significant health threats of air travel today come from influenza, plague, tularaemia, viral hemorrhagic fevers (Ebola, Marburg, and Lassa), anthrax and small pox (Tatem, Rogers & Hay 2006: 6). Coming particularly from China and Asia in general, there have been three influenza epidemics since 1918, and with heightened intensity of air travel, their spread across countries and continents have become very efficient. The new found Sino-African economic relationship means more travel interactions between Africa and China.

1.3. Sino-African migration and disease risks

China's policy to open up its economy "the Open Door" policy introduced in 1978; its industrial and entrepreneurial reforms of the 1980s; the "Go Out" policy of the late 1990s, and its admission into the World Trade Organization in 2001 were major factors in the emergence of the country as a world economic power (Cissé, 2013: 17). This has significantly modified patterns of global migrations and trade. The country attracts a large number of foreigners seeking work, study, business or trade and the Chinese have also ventured out to Africa in search of business opportunities and trade (Cissé, 2013: 17). In 2013, China ranked the fourth largest source of global migrants, and between 1990 and 2003, emigration from China grew by 128.6%. Paradoxically, in spite of its economic boom, the number of immigrants into China has remained low with a deficit of over 8.4million (Wang, 2014 www.ccg.org.cn). There are barely about 800 000 foreigners in China originating mainly from South Korea, the USA, Japan, Burma, and Vietnam with Africans constituting just 100 000, more than half of whom are from South Africa and Nigeria. Conversely, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences puts the estimate of Chinese immigrants into Africa at 1million (Wang, 2014 www.ccg.org.cn). Today, the Chinese presence is ever more evident in African cities and the colony of African traders, businessmen and students is also growing in China (Cissé, 2013:18). Most Chinese immigrants into Africa are temporary workers who are mainly employed in Chinese state owned enterprises (SOEs) and independent companies. A few are however staying longer to build their own businesses (Park, 2009: 2). Globally, Chinese emigrants are estimated at over 9.3million, 73.5% of them concentrated in Southeast Asia. Although the deficit in Sino-African migration is over 90%, air traffic between the two regions is gradually becoming significant lately with companies like Ethiopian Airlines, EgyptAir, South African Airlines and Kenya Airways which have opened up regular flights to various destinations in China, notably Guangzhou and Beijing (figure 3).

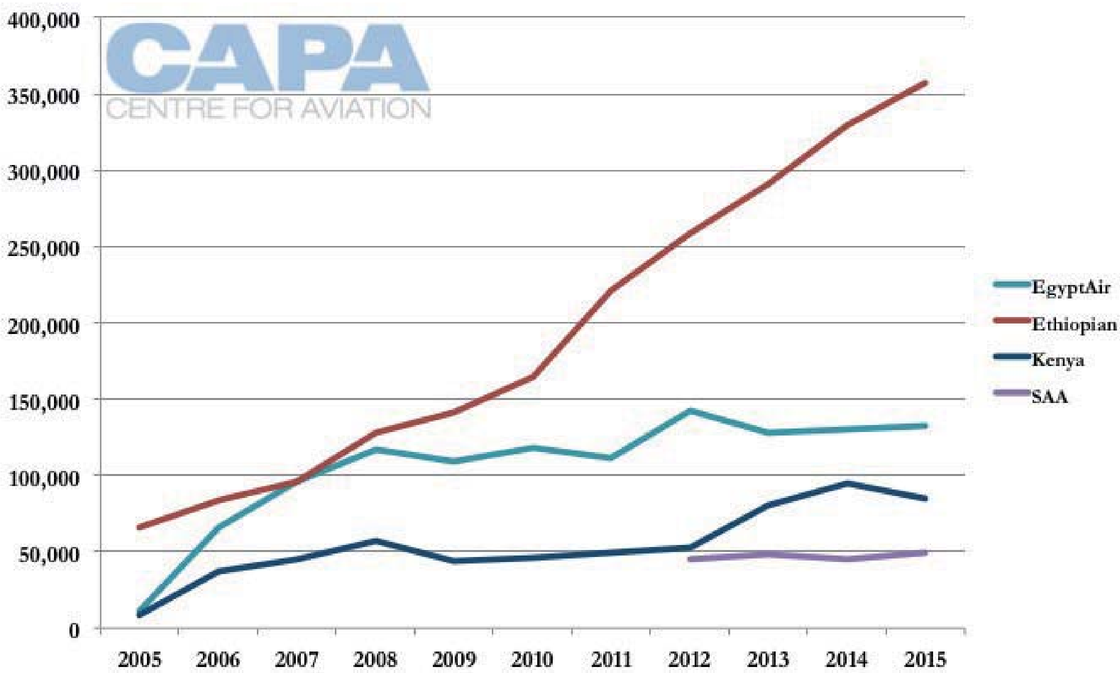


Figure 3: Annual Africa-China capacity of major African carriers (EgyptAir, Ethiopian Airlines, Kenya Airways and South African Airways): 2005-2015; Source: CAPA - Centre for Aviation and OAG; (http://centreforaviation.com/analysis/ethiopian-airlines-2015-outlook-more-rapid-expansion-as-it-becomes-africas-largest-airline-204559)

Given the weak resilience and the slow adaptive capacity of Africa health systems in the face of a sudden infectious disease outbreak, the risk of an influenza pandemic in Africa in the wake of increased contact with China is heightened. The fears are based on the fact that of the three influenza epidemics in human history, two originated in China in 1957 and 1968 and in the past 150 years, one plague pandemic and two influenza pandemics have originated from southern China (Tatem, Rogers & Hay 2006: 4) Similarly, SARS is thought to have originated in Guangdong province in 2002 among people trading in live game. In 2003, an outbreak of SARS in Hong Kong infected over 8000 people in 26 countries and five continents in a few weeks (Tatem, Rogers & Hay 2006: 5) Sub Saharan Africa was spared probably because of its relatively low connection to global air transportation hubs. Figures 4 & 5 are illustrative of the global spread of the 2003 SARS outbreak in China and the pattern of global air travel.

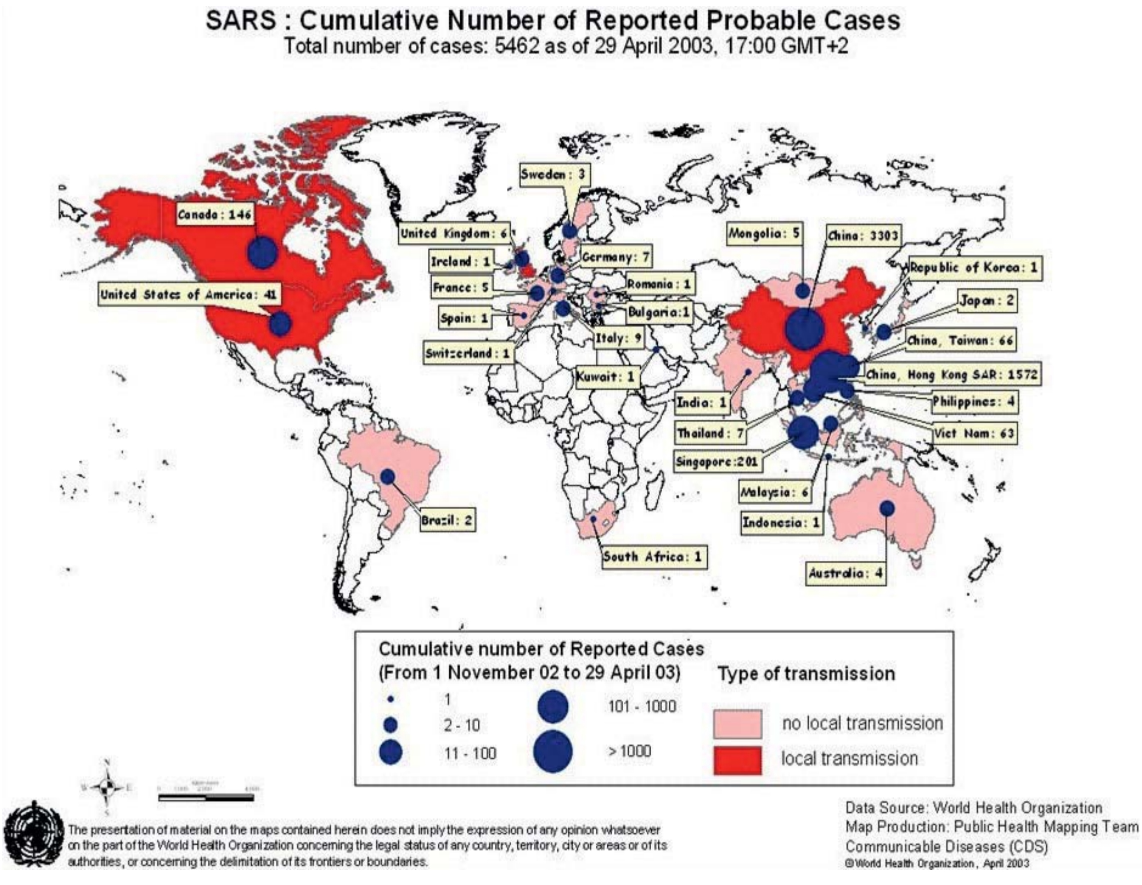


Figure 4: Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome: Cumulative number of reported probable cases on 29 April 2003; Source: WHO Map Production. Public Health Mapping Team, Communicable Diseases, 2003 (http://www.who.int/csr/sars/country/ en/)

As figure 5 illustrates, Africa and South America are least connected to global air traffic and were the least affected by the SARS disease. China, North America and Western Europe were the most affected because of their interconnectedness with global air routes. The USA, Canada, Western Europe and Australia recorded the highest traffic in passenger miles travelled reaching 30000 million, while most of Africa was less than 600 million miles. While Europe and North America recorded over 50million international flights per annum, sub-Saharan Africa was barely between 5-10 million.

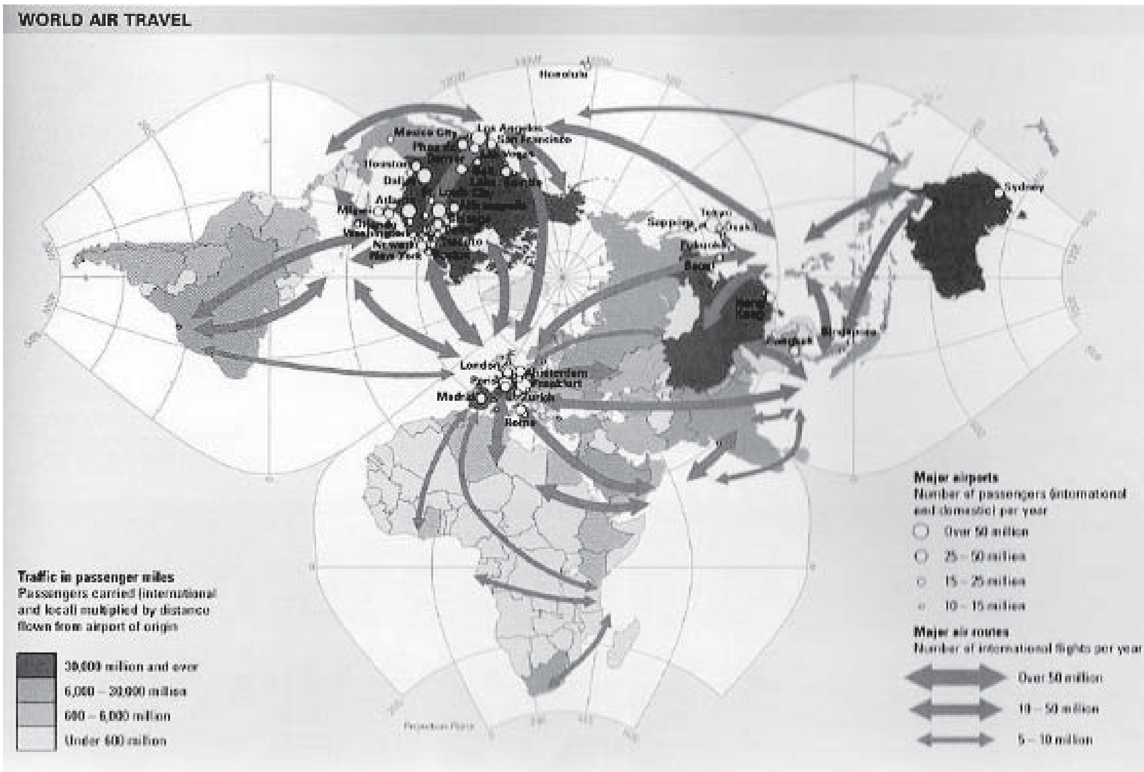


Figure 5: The volume and pattern of global air traffic; Source: Zuckerman, E (2008). (http://www.ethanzuckerman.com/blog/wp content/2008/09/airmap.jpg)

The map of the degree of probability of the outbreak of infectious disease spread by air travel ties up neatly with the map of the global pattern of air traffic and the map of the 2003 pattern of SARS (Figs. 4, 5 & 6). Therefore, the probability of the outbreak of SARS as well as other highly infectious diseases like the Ebola Virus, cholera and others depend on the degree of connectivity of each country or region to global air traffic hubs.

Emerging infectious diseases are dangerous in parts of the world where they never existed before because of the lack of natural immunity in the susceptible population. That is why European expansion and the introduction of ailments like small pox virtually wiped out whole civilizations that did not have any immunity to it (Tatem, Rogers & Hay 2006: 2). The recent outbreak of the Ebola haemorrhagic fever in West Africa was so deadly because it was the first ever experience in that region. Notwithstanding, advances in technology and its application to science and medicine has offered a window of hope to medical practice that now has a high potential for diseases prevention and control.

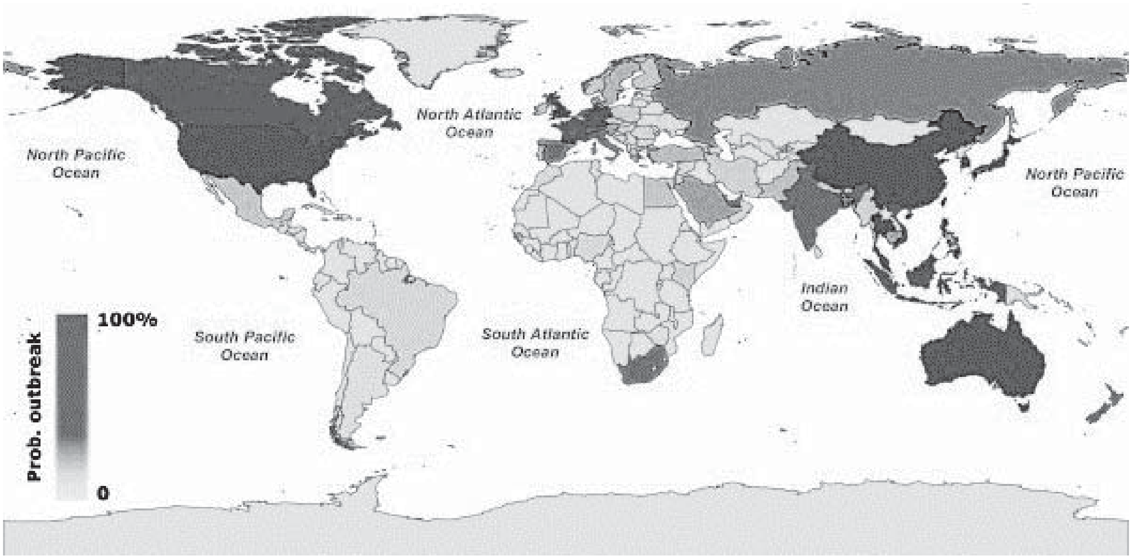


Figure 6: SARS outbreak likelihood; Source: Colizza et al. 2007. (http://bmcmedicine.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/1741-7015-5-34)

1.4. Discussion and conclusion

The relatively low connectivity of Africa to global air traffic hubs has spared it from the propagation of deadly infectious diseases notably from the Asian continent to a large extent Notwithstanding, it is very likely that the few cases of imported viral and bacterial infections into Africa will become endemic on the continent if the health care delivery system does not improve. As air traffic develops and expands, the continent's exposure to the outside world especially China will increase. The risks of the importation of new and potentially deadly viral and bacterial infections into Africa are evident. The first amongst the destinations of African migrants in China is Guangzhou (capital city of Guangdong province and the largest city in Southern China) whose African population has grown impressively in the past 15 years and is estimated to be close to 100 000 today (Cissé, 2009: 17 & Bodomo, 2010: 699). Bodomo, (2010: 699) proposes the emergence of a Sino-African bridge through the Guangzhou African business community by which Chinese people perceive Africa on the one hand, and Africans get integrated into the Chinese business community, thereby strengthening Sino-African social, economic and linguistic relationships. Granted that they are mostly involved in trade (retail and wholesale) and many maintain a steady link with Africa by creating African outlets of their retail and wholesale chains, the risks of any influenza outbreak entering Africa has heightened today.

The efficiency of the spread of infectious diseases by air travel has been abundantly covered in the literature on international health. Eberhart-Phillips et al., (1996:9); Pavia, (2007: 621); (Tatem, Rogers & Hay 2006: 2); & Koonin et al., (2015: 222); among others variously underscored the ability of persons infected with diseases like cholera, malaria, and avian influenza to travel virtually to any part of the world within only a day. In the cases of cholera and avian influenza, diffusion by air transport can be both contact and relocation. In the hours spent travelling by air, close contact may result in disease spread through saliva droplets when people talk and eat together. Therefore spread of disease may start in the aircraft. Eberhart et al, (1996: 9) reports on the detection of *vibrio cholerae* O1 in 1992, in the stools of five patients who had all travelled in the same flight from Buenos Aires, Argentina, via Lima in Peru. Of a clinical study of 155 travellers from different origins to Germany, a pathogen was detected in 44% of the travellers, the most common of them being the human parainfluenza virus and influenza virus detected in the patients at 15.5% and 14.25, respectively.

In the face of this apparently difficult situation, what should be done to improve the management of any infectious diseases that might be imported into Africa? Disease surveillance at international borders, air and seaports has long been seen as a way of detecting and controlling the spread of viral and bacterial infections. One of the ways of sustaining the growth of Sino-Africa economic and social development is in the area of disease surveillance which will make the bridge between Africa and China strong and sustainable. Although a disease surveillance system can never be a hundred percent efficient, its ability to predict, adapt, and cope with changing disease situations determines its overall success. China and Africa need to develop active disease surveillance to protect their populations and economies from shocks deriving from travelling bans, and border closures; which might be imposed due to disease outbreaks, and which might have devastating effects on economic activity. The development of fast and reliable electronic communication by mobile phone and the internet may also serve as medium through which local populations in functional health areas and districts are trained to report suspected infections to the disease control units in ministries of public health for rapid interventions.

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Augustin Simo Bobda is professor and Chair of English Language & Linguistics at ENS, University of Yaoundé 1. He is a leading authority on the phonology of West African/New Englishes, a career which began with his pioneering book: *Aspects of Cameroon English Phonology* published in 1994 by Peter Lang. He has published over 70 articles in international peer-reviewed journals in many aspects of New Englishes, 10 monographs and edited volumes in linguistics and ELT, as well 6 book reviews in international journals such as *World Englises* and *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. He is a DAAD and J. William Fulbright scholar and has presented papers and delivered lectures in conferences and other academic events in the USA, Germany, Hong Kong, mainland China, Canada, Taiwan, South Africa, Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone. He is a member of the editorial board of many international journals and has supervised over 10 PhD theses in Cameroon and abroad. He is founder and director of the B&K Language Institute—probably the first and renowned accredited language services centre in Yaoundé.

Daniel Nkemleke is professor in English language and linguistics at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, University of Yaoundé 1. His major research involves exploration of ESL academic databases in comparison to other databases (corpus linguistics), and how this can be used as a basis for academic writing instruction in tertiary education. He has compiled general and specialized corpora of Cameroon English, since 1994. He is currently involved in academic networking and mentorship, focusing on junior scientists who struggle with international publications and project writing. He runs a network for Academic Writing Excellence involving colleagues in five African countries (Cameroon, Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, and Tanzania) and Germany, in which they mediate text of junior scientists, provide information on conferences and publication outlets. His international research awards include the Humboldt Fellowship, the Humboldt Alumni Prize Award for Innovative Research Initiative, and the J. William Fulbright Scholarship. He has over 30 publications in peer-reviewed journals in Europe, North America, Asia and Africa, including his book: *Exploring Academic Writing in Cameroon English: A corpus-based Perspective*. He has supervised more than 80 postgraduate projects, including 3 PhDs in Cameroon and abroad.

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