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Editorial

In the current issue of the Journal, one can notice its continuing focus on language policy, language use both in the public sphere and within the domestic context, and cultural products mediated by language such as literary works, and cinema. There are also articles that foreground political and sociological matters, and medicine.

The contributions are grouped along different academic disciplines used in the research underpinning them, or in perspectives that integrate research methods through interdisciplinarity:

Language/Linguistics/Politics:
- *Linguistic Legacy as a Hindrance to African Development in the 21st Century* (Asonganyi and Chenwi)
- *Immersion in Buea, Cameroon: Has Cameroon Pidgin Creole Stolen the Show?* (Mbonwuh)
- *The Teaching-Learning of Conditionals in English as a Second Language in Cameroon* (Gladys)
- *Scripturalité francophone des espaces de migration massive des quartiers universitaires de Yaoundé : anglophonie caractérisée, pragmatisme langagier, révélation et élévation de l'intellect* (Nkwescheu)

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Education:
- *Integrating the Liberal Arts into Entrepreneurship Education*: *Challenges and Prospects* (Setonji and Folasade)

Medicine:
- *Le vaccin anti-covid19 à l'épreuve de la rumeur* (Daniele and Valery).

However, the above categorization is not followed in the orgnisation of the contributions or their listing in the Table of Contents. Differences in methodological taxonomies (disciplinary, multi-disciplinary, and inter-disciplinary*) are, thus, used to highlight the different academic perspectives that the contributors have used and the multiple points of view from which the readers might critique the articles that are placed in juxtaposition in a designated space such as the current issue of the Journal.

While focusing on a specific geographical or conceptual location, Area Studies, such as Cameroon Studies, African Studies, and Commonwealth Studies, rely on the synergy between multiple academic perspectives and varied 'communities of learning'.

For the next issue, we welcome contributions that focus on Climate Change and Global Challenges. The deadline for receipt of articles is 31 December 2023, that falls between two key international events, the UN Climate Change Conférence (UNFCCC COP28), 30 November, 2023 - Tuesday 12 December, 2023 in Dubai, and the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in Apia, Samoa, beginning on 21 October 2024. This choice of deadline should, it is hoped, enable contributors to analyse what was achieved (or not) at CoP28, while envisioning directions and targets for CHOGM 2024.

With best wishes.

Prof Kizitus Mpoche and
Dr Balasubramanyam Chandramohan PhD, FHEA

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Society and Cultural Iniquities: A Comparative Study of Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* and Joseph Ngongwikuo's *Taboo Love*

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Abstract

It is now common knowledge that the African novel was born as a response to the derogatory representation of the continent's cultural heritage by westerners like Joseph Conrad in his novel **Heart of Darkness.** The Nigerian prolific writer, Albert Chinua Lumogu Achebe is generally recognized as the father of modern African fiction with the publication of his seminal novel **Things Fall Apart (1958**). Achebe's novel since its publication has served as a model to countless African writers. One of such writers who, from every indication must have been greatly influenced by Achebe is the Cameroonian born novelist Joseph Anchangnayouh Ngongwikuo. Achebe's sway on Ngongwikuo is very much evident in the latter's novel titled **Taboo Love (1980).** The central concern of this study is twofold. On the one hand, it aims at demonstrating through the sociological and intertextual approaches that the younger novelist J.A. Ngongwikuo was immensely influenced by the elderly novelist Achebe thematically and structurally and on the other hand, this inquiry sets out to fathom the fact that, although largely preoccupied with the revalorization or celebration of the rich cultural values of their respective societies, both authors however attribute the annihilation or near effortless infiltration of the African culture by the westerners to ''the inherent weaknesses in traditional cultures'' (Gakwandi:11).

Key Words: Cultural iniquities, inherent weaknesses, intertextual, Ngongwikuo, Achebe

1. Introduction

According to the exponents of the sociological approach to the interpretation of literature, a work of art cannot be separated from the society in which it is created. In other words, literature is a reflection of the society in which it is created. Rene Wellek and Austin Warren (1956:5) notes that ''literature is a social institution using as its medium language, a social creation…literature represents life, and life is, in a large measure a social reality''.

 Like Wellek and Warren, Ngugi WaThiongo (1994: 5-6) states that:

> Literature results from conscious acts of men and women in society. Being a product of their intellectual and imaginative activities, it is thoroughly social. The very act of writing even at the level of the individual implies social relationship….at the collective level, literature embodies in word images the tensions, conflict and contradictions at the heart of the community's being and becoming. It reflects on the aesthetic plane the community's wrestling with its environment to make it yield the means of food, clothes, shelter.

Ngugi is therefore of the opinion that ''literature does not grow or develop in a vacuum. It is given impetus, shape, direction and even area of concern by social, political and economic forces in a particular society.'' In short, literature has relevance to a given society at a given time. Put differently, African writers draw heavily from the sociology of their people in their literary productions. The informed critic must therefore bare this fact in mind if he must make any meaningful interpretation or analysis of African literature.

The sociological standpoint adopted for the interpretation of the texts at issue is the one set out by Ambanasom Shadrach (2009:8) namely, ''the socio-artistic approach''. For Ambanasom, ''the socio-artistic approach is eclectic in nature and lays emphasis on the sociology of literature, the author's artistry and the historical context in which the work is produced. In his words, ''the socio-artistic approach requires the critic to evaluate the overall success of the writer's use of technique to express in an artistic fashion some of the cultural, social, moral and ideological issues of his time, or for that matter of all times''.

Corroborating Ambanasom's views, Emmanuel Yenshu (2013:128) further notes that ''the sociology of literature goes beyond the critic's preoccupation with the issue of style and form.'' Yenshu intimates that ''the sociology of literature also deals with the social origins, relevance of artistic creation, the status of the writer and his message to the society.'' Writing in support of the sociological approach to the interpretation of literature, Ofedayo Oshin (2004:6) opines that, ''the study of the novel from the sociological point of view may be said to be relevant…because the sociology of the novel has been observed to show a deeper and more important concern for society than such literary forms like poetry or short story.''

This study is equally informed by Julia Kristeva's notion of intertextuality which presupposes the interdependence of texts on one another. That is, an author can ''draw from'', ''build on'' or be inspired by another text in the creation of his own. Elaine Martin (2011:148) quotes Krestiva's essay titled, ''Word dialogue and Novel'', in which she defines intertextuality as, ''a mosaic of quotations.'' For Kristeva, ''any text is the absorption and transformation of another.'' Text is not a unilinear entity but a heterogeneous combination of texts. Authors are said to be influenced by what they have read. In the words of Charles Bazerman (2004), intertextuality is, ''the relation each text has to the texts surrounding it.''

Bazerman goes on to note that, ''we create our texts out of the sea of former texts that surround us, the sea of language we live in. And we understand the texts of others within that same sea.'' I argue in this study that Ngongwikuo drew heavily from Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* in the writing of *Taboo Love.*

Although brought up in strictly Christian religious traditions, both Achebe and Ngongwikuo learned about traditional African cultural practices from unconverted relatives who continued to worship the gods of their ancestors around them. Achebe's father was an Evangelist and a church teacher. Odirin Omiegbe (2004:187) writes:

> Although he grew up under the shadow of his father who tried to shepherd him from the supposedly inimical influences of what Christians were taught to regard as pagan communities, young Achebe's curiosity could not be confined as he made surreptitious contacts with the traditional people in their works, their rituals and ceremonies and their vigorous masking tradition. He observed the men in their assemblies in which rhetorical and forensic skills were exhibited. Against the wishes of his parents, other relations told him stories from native folklore and history. All these influences crystalized in his fiction.

Odirin goes further to quote Chinua Achebe who wrote in his autobiographical essay, ''Named for Victoria, Queen of England,'' stating that he was christened, Albert Chinualumogu by his devout protestant Christian parents. Achebe equally recollects his early childhood experiences in the following words, ''on one arm of the crossroad we sang hymns and read the Bible night and day. On the other hand, my father's brother and his family blinded by heathenism offered food to idols.'' Achebe therefore grew up at the crossroad of cultures.

Like Achebe, Joseph Ngongwikuo was brought up at the crossroad of traditional and Christian cultures. On the blurb (cover page) of *Taboo Love*, we are given to understand that, ''his parents were the first of the Kom 'tribe' to 'be converted' to Christianity, but his grandfather-the tribe's chief, continued to worship the gods of his ancestors. In this way, the author learned of traditional and western concepts and mores that were later to shape his thinking.'' Ambanasom (2009:6) quotes Ngonwikuo to have once said:

> I wanted to write something meaningful from my experiences, I knew
> I wanted to write about Kom people, their customs, their way of worship, religion, conflict…
> I wanted to show other people how my own people lived. I saw many of the customs
> myself and learned of others through the oral tradition.

One may conjecture here that Ngongwikuo certainly wanted, like Achebe in *Things Fall Apart* to show, probably to the mistaken westerners like Conrad that before their coming to Africa, the people had a dignified culture of their own and that they did not hear about civilization and culture for the first time from their white colonial masters. Eustace Palmer (1979) quotes Achebe in his essay, ''The Novelist as a Teacher,'' delivered in 1964 in Leeds

at the first Commonwealth Conference, in which the pioneer African Literature theorist said:

> Here then is an adequate revolution for me to espouse, to help my society regain
> belief in itself and put away the complexes of the years of denigration and self
> abasement. And it is essentially a question of education in the best sense of the word.
> I would be quite satisfied if my novel (especially the one I set in the past) did no more
> than teach my readers that their past with all its imperfections was not one long night
> of savagery from which the first European acting on God's behalf delivered them.

As indicated earlier, and evident in this excerpt, Achebe's main aim of writing *Things Fall Apart* was to help his people to regain their lost dignity hitherto denigrated by ignorant racists like Conrad. Achebe however recognized the fact that his people's past (culture) had ''imperfections'' but that must not give them an inferiority complex vis-a- vis the whites. Achebe here calls on his fellow African writers to commit themselves as educators to the task of rediscovering themselves as a people, refashioning their literary and cultural institutions in a bid to assert their pride and human dignity. The skillful delineation of the rich cultural heritage of their respective societies notwithstanding, this study focuses on how Achebe and Ngongwikuo's works under discussion are 'records of the traumatic consequences of the impact of western capitalist colonialism on the traditional values and institutions of the African people', thanks to the 'imperfections' inherent in their cultures.

2. Thematic Analysis

By cultural iniquities, I mean the unfairness and weaknesses of the traditional cultural values of the societies Achebe and Ngongwikuo describe in the novels under study. That is to say, the Igbo tribe cultural values of Eastern Nigeria for Achebe in *Things Fall Apart* and the Kom tribe cultural values of the North West Region of Cameroon for Ngongwikuo in *Taboo Love.* The Kom and Igbo traditional norms are described through the harrowing experiences of Okonkwo and Iyafi, the protagonists of *Things Fall Apart* and *Taboo Love* respectively.

To begin with, Okonkwo in *Things Fall Apart* is a very important pillar of the clan who has risen to prominence through ''solid personal achievement.'' He succeeds in defeating the most powerful and dreaded wrestler of the clan-Amalinze (the cat) at the tender age of eighteen. Okonkwo is a wealthy farmer with three wives and traditional titles to his credit. His hard-earned reputation begins to dwindle when he accidentally kills a

kinsman, the son of the late patriarch-Ezeudu during a farewell gun salute at the old man's action-packed funeral ceremony. The people of Umoufia in keeping with their age-old traditional rules, summarily exile him for seven years to his motherland-Mbanta. Ironically, and even surprisingly enough, no consideration is given to him as one of the most important pillars on which the stability and security of the society lies. He has committed the so-called ''female crime'' and since it is a crime against the earth goddess to kill a clansman, he must flee from the land. His compound is stormed, set on fire and all the houses demolished by a crowd of angry men. His animals and barn are equally vandalized by the invaders who claim that they are acting under the dictates of the earth's goddess. The savage invaders intimate that they are only messengers who have been ordered by the goddess to cleanse the land that has been polluted by Okonkwo with the blood of a kinsman. It is with a deep feeling of remorse that Okonkwo's bosom friend-Obierika rhetorically questions, ''why… a man should suffer so grievously for an offence he committed ''inadvertently'' or, for want of a better term-unintentionally. Achebe through Obierika is seemingly saying that the traditional rules of the land are too dogmatic, unfair, cruel and unrealistic. Under normal circumstances, Okonkwo as an important corner stone on which the society stands should have been given a fair hearing by the traditional disciplinary council and his punishment mitigated.

It should be noted here that Okonkwo's long absence in Umoufia naturally works in favour of the white men who now easily penetrate the land with little or no resistance from the other less determined custodians of tradition. Prove is that shortly after his return from exile, Okonkwo ferociously resists the incursion of the colonizers in his community. As a stoic and no-nonsense defender of his native traditional values, he murders the most insolent white messenger at the market place. Rather than allow himself to be captured and judged by the white man in his court, Okonkwo opts to do away with his life by committing suicide.

Other very primitive customs of the Ibo tribe exploited by the westerners in their supposed civilizing mission are; the consultation and reverence of oracles and soothsayers, the throwing into the evil forests, patients with swelling diseases like leprosy and those who die during the week of peace and the stigmatization or rejection of so-called outcasts.

The imperious oracle of the Hills and Caves pronounces a death sentence for Ikemefuna who was offered as a ransom by the people of Mbiano to Umoufia. Conditioned by his environment which equates masculinity to violence, Okonkwo brutally kills the boy who calls him ''father.'' Okonkwo murders Ikemefuna for fear of being thought weak. What is however puzzling about the oracle's injunction is that no reason is given for the killing of the innocent young man. The death of Ikemefuna as Okonkwo puts it to his friend Obierika, is, ''the authority and decision of the oracle'' (46). This is all but a senseless manifestation of superstition, an unfair cultural value in the Ibo tribe that Achebe frowns at.

Like Achebe, J. A. Ngongwikuo in *Taboo Love* describes with admirable skills, the cultural norms of the Kom people in the fictional Cameroonian locality of Mukomangoc. At the centre of Ngongwikuo's satire is the practice of forced loveless polygamous marriages. Young girls are obliged to marry adults especially His Royal Highness-the Fon without their consent. The examples that readily come to mind are Iyafi and Nabi who are earmarked to marry the Fon and Timti respectively. Timti is the celebrated village hunter.

Once chosen as a *wintoc (*would be wife to His Royal Highness), a virgin girl is expected to remain chaste until the day her husband will disvirgin her. The obnoxious rules of the tribe forbid any young girl chosen by the lady queen of the palace for His Royal Highness to have sex with another man. Any chosen girl who breaks this rule exposes herself and partner to a humiliating and merciless death penalty through poisoning. Wealthy men are forced to take titles by giving goats and fouls to already initiated title holders. Any well-to-do man who fails to take the imposed titles is equally doomed to die through poisoning.

In fact, Jam, the defiant lover of Iyafi in *Taboo Love* is condemned to die through poisoning for making love to His Royal Highness' would-be-wife. Iyafi is chosen as one of the Fon's numerous wives but she elects to defy time-honoured tradition by making love with her childhood boyfriend, Jam. The young lovers are fully aware of the inescapable fate that awaits them for breaking tribal rules. When one of His royal Highness' messengers overzealously maintains that Jam should be immediately arrested and locked up in the palace ''halled prison'' so to prevent him from escaping death, Jam's partner in crime-Iyafi says:

> We cannot escape since something unknown will happen to us, so we had to stay rather than escape to end up the same way-dying somewhere, so we did not do that, because our death will shock the tribe and they will do something about growing out of their stiff rules of the tribe which allows for no exception, and death seems the best punishment for all who break the rules of the tribe (36-37)

Iyafi further notes with determination that ''we do not care for our lives when the rules of the tribe do not care for them'' (37). Jam equally states unequivocally his willingness to die for the one he truly loves in the following words. ''From the day I made love to you, you knew that I was, I am, and I shall always be ready to face my death with you.''(ibid). Ngongwikuo shows his indignation against the inhuman patriarchal tribal rules in the words of Iyafi when she fearlessly thunders out in the presence of the village elders saying: ''I want to die for all the young girls of the tribe who face my fate. I love Jam and not His Highness. I therefore found it difficult to resist making love to the one I love.!''(119). Iyafi's statements resonate with feminist's quest for female self-assertion and fulfillment. Iyafi is of the opinion that if marriage is the only opening for a woman in the patriarchal society in which she lives, then she should at least be allowed to do what she desires with her body. Forcing her to an old man she has no affection for, is tantamount to the violation of individual human rights. She opts to die as a martyr for the liberation of the female folk of her tribe.

What Ngongwikuo is seemingly saying about the institution of marriage is that, as the most sacred of human relationships, it should be contracted taking into consideration its most important ingredients, namely, mutual love and respect. Iyafi does not understand why in her tribe, people guilty of the type of 'crime' she has committed are not banished or asked ''to pay a fine of goats and fouls to his Highness and elders as it is the case in other tribes.'' (120). Iyafi's steadfast decision to die for the one she truly loves is reminiscent of Echunjei and Jane Eyre's attitude in Ambanasom's *Son of the Native Soil* and Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre* respectively. These women all go against their parents' wishes in choosing their life partners.

Unlike Jam, Iyafi's life is temporarily spared because she is already pregnant for Jam. Kom tribal rules forbid the killing of a pregnant woman even if she is guilty of whatever crime. Jam on his part is judged and found guilty by the court of elders that does not hesitate to pronounce a death sentence for him. He ''is condemned to die by the death of strokes.''(121). Jam faces death with a lot of courage. As a typical African traditionalist, he

looks forward to meeting his fallen ancestors and lover (Iyafi) in the spirit world beyond. Iyafi at the end commits suicide by jumping into a stream as a way through to her lover in the country of the death.

Another unfair cultural value on which Ngongwikuo turns his searchlight in *Taboo love* is the liberty of the Fon to marry as many as possible wives without the consent of the latter. The author clearly shows his indignation against this cultural practice in the words of the third person omniscient narrator in chapter twelve when he deliberately exaggerates saying, ''according to the time table, it took one hundred days for a wife to have her turn, get a chance to be a bed partner for His Highness for a night.''(60). The Fon as a matter of fact, had a countless number of wives. We are given to understand by the narrator that it was the daily duty of the lady queen of the palace to program which co-wife had to sleep with His Highness each night. The narrator says, ''the only exception was for the young wives whom she allowed for three continuous days after her menses, so as to make sure that they pick up children from His Highness.''(60). We are also told that the Fon did not know the total number of his children, let alone call them by their names. The Fon's wives are said to be highly adulterous given the long interval between one meeting and another with their husband (100 days minimum). The result is that the women bore many children out of wedlock but nobody dared criticize or expose them in public.

As indicated earlier, the loopholes inherent in the African cultural values were exploited to their advantage by the westerners in their colonizing enterprise on the continent. When the imperialist, referred to as the ''red man'' in *Taboo Love* first appears, the people of Umoufia and Mukomangoc in *Things Fall Apart* and *Taboo Love* respectively, offer him lands they believe are inhabited by evil spirits. The villagers are strongly convinced that offering the missionaries the so-called evil lands will discourage the expatriates from settling in their communities. The leaders of Mbanta superstitiously conclude that the evil forest is ''a real battle field in which the missionaries will show their victory or strength over traditional values.''(105). The narrator says, ''the inhabitants of Mbanta expected all the missionaries to be death in four days.''(ibid). But ironically, all the four days pass and nothing happens to the missionaries and their new converts. Everyone

is taken aback and it is once more sheepishly and humorously concluded ''that the whiteman's fetish had unbelievable power.''(106).

Like their counterparts in *Things Fall Apart*, the people of Mukomangoc (Kom) in *Taboo Love* offer the missionaries land they are convinced is inhabited by evil spirits. The Ijinikom hill is warded off in a carefree manner to the evangelists with the hope that the church people will be unable to bear the disturbances of the witches and wizards who inhabit the area. It is with conviction that the chief priest says:

> We all know that if they build there, the wizards and witches will never allow them to sleep even for a night. They will keep tormenting them to sleep even for a night by stopping their hearts from beating. The red man will not stand this and will go away quietly (173)

But to the greatest chagrin of the villagers, nothing happens with the missionaries and their followers at the Ijinikom hill when they establish their church there. Visibly defeated, the Fon shamelessly says, ''we waited long enough for the witches and wizards to drive him away but it appears that his magic and witchcraft is far above that of those amongst whom he settled.''(117). Infuriated by the news that one of his wintocs (would-be-wives), will be tying the knots or getting married to another man in the whiteman's church, His Royal Highness immediately plans to send his messengers to burn down the man of God's residence and worship house (church). Unfortunately for the Fon, information about his diabolic plan leaks out and the Reverend father is informed well ahead of time. The man of God galvanizes the support of his catechist and new converts to puncture the Fon's moves. The three loyal and very courageous messengers who show up to execute the Fon's plan are arrested and given snake beatings. They barely or narrowly escape to their homes for their dear lives. The point I am eager to make here is that blinded by their superstitious belief systems, the natives of Mbanta and Mukomangoc in the novels under analysis carefreely surrender their lands to potential rivals who later effectively use the parcels of land to outsmart them. The people's sense of frustration and regret is remorsefully and pathetically summed up by Obierika at the end of chapter twenty-one in *Things Fall Apart* when he declares:

> The whiteman is very clever. He came quietly and peacefully with his religion. We were amused at his foolishness and allowed him to stay. Now he has won our brothers and our clan can no longer act like one. He has put a knife on the things that held us together and we have fallen apart (125)

If the indigenes of Mbanta and Mukomangoc had not been too short sighted and superstitious to think that the missionaries won't succeed in the so-called ill-fated forests, they wouldn't have so effortlessly thrown away their lands to strangers. The missionaries not only build churches on the land offered to them but they as well construct schools, trading stores hospitals and courtrooms in which they judge those who go against the law. Although indicted for the adulteration of the African culture, the whiteman however comes with development. The whiteman comes along with better health facilities like the hospitals in which patients are given proper medical attention. Modern hospitals put an end to the throwing away of twins and patients suffering from swelling diseases like leprosy into the evil forest. The once dreaded evil forests now serves as sites for the modern health infrastructures in the hitherto provincial traditional set up. The church on its part serves as a melting pot where everybody, irrespective of their social status can find refuge so to speak. Put differently, the Whiteman's religion does not discriminate as it accommodates twins and outcasts ostracized by the traditional society. Western Christian religion also comes as a panacea to forced loveless polygamous marriages in Umoufia and Mukomangoc (Kom). The church and colonial administrators preach the doctrine of one man, one woman (monogamy). Warning the all-powerful Fon through his interpreter in *Taboo love*, the British District officer says:

> Tell him I have been told that he just collects girls from their parents and adds to his already big number of wives and that he gets boys for free to serve in his palace. Well tell him that I will not interfere if the girls like to be his wives or the boys his servants, but he must know that if the people complain, I will let them do what they want (184)

The District officer here warns the Fon against his patronizing attitude of forced marriages and free labour. The administrator forewarns the Fon promising that he will stand by the people should they lay any complaint to him about His Majesty's unfair injunctions. Ngongwikuo's sympathy goes to women whom he thinks should be given a free hand to choose the men for whom their hearts beats. The novelist is seemingly advocating the abrogation of societal norms that constraint individual behavior. Emmanuel Obiechina (1988:17) posits that, it is the writer's duty to use his medium to affirm those values that give fullness to the quality of life as perceived in time and space and by the same necessity, to attack those negative values that undermines the sense of fullness of life and the realization of man's full potentials. This is exactly what Achebe and Ngongwikuo in *Things Fall Apart*

and *Taboo Love* set out to do. They show us ''the multiple infirmities'' in our culture that ''afflict us'' and as well suggest the way forward.

The creation of powerful fictional characters like Futunga and Iyafi in *Taboo Love*, who make nonsense of traditional unrealistic norms is paradigmatic of the author's message. Futunga and Iyafi in principle defy traditional tribal rules by marrying men that are not imposed on them. Funtunga receives baptism in the whiteman's church where she weds with the man she sincerely loves, namely, Nkwi. This marriage throws open the floodgates of free and genuine matrimonial unions in the community. In fact, Reverend father Hans witnesses a significant increase in his flock of Christians after the ground-breaking marriage. This is because the people now feel protected by the white man of God and his native brother, the District officer. Apart from the thematic similarities of the two novels, Achebe's influence on Ngongwikuo as mentioned at the beginning of this paper can as well be noticed in terms of structure. Both novels are divided into three parts of easy-to-read chapters. Both novelists in the first parts of their respective works focus through the third person omniscient narrative point of view on the description of traditional African values before introducing the white man in the later parts.

3.Conclusion

We set out at the beginning of this investigation not only to demonstrate Achebe's sway on Ngonwikuo, but also, and perhaps more importantly, to show that though writing from different cultural backgrounds, both Achebe and Ngongwikuo in *Things Fall Apart* and *Taboo Love* respectively, are concerned amongst other issues with the negative aspects of African traditional values that acted as a leeway to the implantation of western values on the continent. By so skillfully exploring the weaknesses inherent in their indigenous cultures, both writers indirectly advocate their reevaluation. This view is equally expressed by Abba A. Abba (2020:148) in his article entitled ''*Rethinking the Slave as a Tragic Redeemer in Achebe's* **Things Fall Apart** when he opines that:

 Achebe's work offers us a moment of reflection on
cultural practices that we are slaves to and through which
we enslave others. In several ways, it suggests that while
we accuse the west of colonial injustice, we ought to pry
inwards to see how we ourselves reproduce and perpetuate slavery in our cultural productions (my
emphasis).

From the forgone discussion, we can safely conclude that Achebe and Ngongwikuo's implicitly stated message in *Things Fall Apart* and *Taboo Love* is that, while attacking the west for being responsible for the destruction of our cherished native values, we need to pause for a while for self-examination. This will enable us to weed out the black sports we have in our cultures that open the way to ''uninvited friends and strangers.''

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Linguistic Legacy as a Hindrance to African Development in the 21st Century

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Abstract

Over sixty years of independence, the linguistic issue has remained a crucial problem in sub-Sahara Africa. The post-independent period is clearly identified with colonial heritage, and one of such aspects that the colonizers left behind, which has impeded African development is the linguistic issue. The authors of his write-up believe that languages express identity and are repositories of history that contribute to the sum of human knowledge and human development. The discourse raised in this paper is in recognition that the places to which these western settlers relocated were already populated by groups of people who enjoyed long standing cultural traditions. The unfortunate experience we observed over the years is that when two countries come together cultures and languages are disrupted. Such changes are not simply the effects of time and travel but are brought about by instruments of economic and political power to the detriment of the colonized. Thus this paper seeks to answer the question to 'what extent has foreign languages impeded African development?' Guided by Achebe (1975) and Ngugi (1995) in post-colonial studies reader, a qualitative and quantitative methodology of this investigation were used. The paper concludes that knowledge is not the heritage of a single culture and language but a construction of perspectives of intercultural communication without losing a firm grip in personal identity. Thus there is a need of freedom from fear of being trapped again by the Europeans in the subtle snares of colonization.

Key Words: Linguistic legacy, development, hindrance, Africa

1. Introduction and Background to the Problem

For More than half a decade, the linguistic issue has remained a veritable problem in postcolonial African countries. About 95% of African countries still depend on the languages of their colonizers (Zabus 1991), with Cameroon being a glaring example in sub Sahara Africa particularly in the Central African Region, where English and French were inherited from colonial masters Britain and France respectively. The post-independence period is clearly identified with colonial heritage. One of such aspects that the colonizers left behind, which has impeded African development is the linguistic issue. In line with

Crystal (2000), the authors of this paper believe that languages express identity, and are repositories of history that contributes to the sum of human knowledge and human development. All of these are embedded in the people's culture. The argument raised here is that, if culture is learned, then much of it can be thought of in terms of knowledge of the world. In this regard, members of a culture must not know only certain facts or be able to recognize objects, places and people, but also they must share certain patterns of thought, and ways of understanding the world. With this in mind, they can be able to make inferences and predictions using their own language and ideology in the development of their society. To the colonizers, the notion of culture is paradoxically so identified with a colonialist agenda of intellectual, military and political supremacy on the Africans. According to the colonizers, culture is used in the dichotomies such as "us" and "them", "civilized" and "primitive", "rational" and "irrational", "literate" and "illiterate" (Spivak 1990).

The net effect of the colonial legacy is the dominance of imported languages, which began in the colonial period and has persisted till today. Proof of this is to be found in the statistics of official languages in Africa. Of the 54 countries, indigenous African languages are recognized as official languages only in 10 countries, Arabic 9, and all the other countries have imported languages as follows: French 21 countries, English in 19 countries, Portuguese in 5 countries and Spanish in 1 country (McApreko and Aning 2020). Thus, globally speaking, the linguistic scenario in Cameroon like in most Sub-Saharan African countries is characterized by dense multilingualism; the official dominance of ex-colonial languages; the official neglect of indigenous languages; the unserved colonial umbilical cord; and socio-political interwoven language related problems(Adegbija,2000)

Echu (2004) criticizes the language policy in Cameroon revealing that mother tongue education in the early years of primary education remains a distant cry, as the possible introduction of an indigenous language in the school system is not only considered unwanted by the educational authorities but equally combated against by parents who believe that the future of their children lies in the mastery of the official languages. Thus, the language policy in Cameroon lacks clear-cut objectives and orientation; and this can be traced as far back as the colonial period. A period characterized by language conflict between the colonial administration on the one hand and missionaries on the other hand.

Throughout the German colonial period indigenous languages continued to enjoy a somewhat comfortable position as far as linguistic communication is concerned. But the French colonial period was characterized by perpetual language conflict between the missionaries, who persisted in the use of indigenous languages and the French colonial administration (Stumpf 1979), Bitja'a Kody 1999). In 1917, the French colonial administration instituted a special subvention for schools that used French as the language of instruction. Eventually, schools that taught indigenous languages were closed down (Bird 2001). This expressed in decisions rendered public on October 1st 1920 and 28th December 1920, whereby the 47 schools opened by king Njoya in the Bamoum region (where Bamoum was the language of education) were all closed down. As from 1922, 1,800 schools run by the American Presbyterian missionaries, and in which Bulu was taught suffered the same fate (Bird 2001). This system of linguistic persecution (cf Stumpf 1979 was carried out with vigour, until French became the sole language in use for education. Thus language policies put in place by the German, the British and the French did no way favour the emergence of an indigenous language that could easily serve as a national language at independence geared towards the development of Cameroon.

Bird (2001) puts that there was "no choice" but for Cameroon to become bilingual in English and French. Contrary to expectation, African identity would not be compromised but enhanced. In the words of President Ahmadou Ahidjo:

> As far as culture is concerned, we must in fact refrain from any blind and narrow nationalism and avoid any complex when absorbing the learning of other countries. When we consider English language and culture and the French language and culture, we must regard them not as property of such and such a race but as an acquirement of the universal civilization to which we belong. That is in fact why we have followed the path of bilingualism since we consider not only that it is in our interests to develop these two world-wide languages in our country but that furthermore it offers us the means to develop this new culture, which I have just mentioned and which could transform our country into the catalyst of African unity, (Ahidjo 1964).

French and English started receiving vigorous attention, literacy in the indigenous languages had been halted. Tribal identity had been a threat to the colonial administrations and now it was a threat to the state. The promotion of literacy in the indigenous languages was based in the schools; the government now asserted tight control over the education system and stopped these programs. For example, in Dschang, the school established by chief Djoumessi was raided by the state authorities, and the books, typewriters and duplicators were confiscated (Bird 2001). The aim was to halt education in the local

language. Gregoire Momo, Djoumessi's brother and director of the school from 1946-59, describes the seizure as "an act of vandalism in a period when the government did not take account of cultural treasure" (Momo 1997:13). It is this cultural treasure that the colonial masters saw in African development, which was a challenge to the European vicious plan. Similar events were widespread, both in Cameroon and elsewhere in Africa, such as in Ethiopia.

Haile Selassie saw in ethnic languages, and particularly afaan Oromoo, "an obstacle to his nation- building" project. Hence, possession of Oromoo literature was declared illegal and existing works in the Oromoo language were destroyed, (Bulcha 1997).

Anchimbe(2005) comments that several developments in relationships between the different sets of languages spoken in Cameroon have resulted in the change of attitudes especially towards English and indigenous languages, the most visible being the French Speaking Cameroonians flooding English medium schools both in French-speaking Cameroonian regions and English speaking towns, and in a strong desire to reassert the value of the indigenous languages through standardization and derivation of writing systems for them. This attitude of French-speaking Cameroonians has changed the learning of English in most schools in the country and these French speaking students are rewarded with travelling abroad or picking up jobs like teaching, translation and administration etc. Mforteh (2006) reiterates in (Makoni and Meinhof 2003) that the major linguistic outcomes of European colonialism in Africa were the introduction of new foreign languages and the reallocation of functions for the indigenous languages.

The problem or the discourse raised in this paper is in recognition that the places to which these European or Western settlers relocated were already populated by groups of people who enjoyed long standing cultural traditions. These colonized African countries had populations with languages and cultural traditions (Loomba 1998). The unfortunate experience we observed over the years is that when two countries come together, there is violence due to cultural encounters, thus leading to cultural disruption. In some cases the cultures and traditions of the people who were the original inhabitants of these places are even erased. In other words, an important aspect of this process is that the two states that are brought together by this process of colonialism bear unequal power in relation to each

other. By the middle of the nineteenth century, we found European settlers and armies, educational and judicial institutions in various parts of the African continent known in history as The Scramble for Africa Peacock (1982). It is this scramble that has put the whole continent into a linguistic quagmire, which we find ourselves today .

The colonizers settlement in Africa had reshaped not only the physical, but also the cultural, linguistic and psychological landscapes in deep and abiding ways to suit their whims and caprices. The elision of local peoples' languages and cultures mark the definition itself as part of the dominant linguistic discourse which this paper dwells upon as far as African development is concerned. Colonizers attitude towards colonized languages is an explicit conformity that English and French are the right languages for interactional purposes. This autonomy according to Kachru (1986) claims racial superiority, which is the real objective of colonizers' philosophy regarding linguistic supremacy in speech community in the subcontinent. The colonizers intention was to cripple colonized cultures, languages and civilization to maintain colonized status as their destiny for a long-term planning; expansion of powers on other lands. In this light, the colonizers' linguistic, political and socio-cultural exploitation kept on mounting and has not left a breathing space for colonized communities.

Even after the independence of most African countries in the late 50s and early 60s, when they were supposed to run their system in their own manner, they realized that they had not gotten any linguistic, socio-cultural and political entity. But colonizers had eroded everything they had before. Most African countries were left with no choice than to rely on the colonizers' system. It exposed the intentions of colonizers that Africans were intentionally kept at arm's length in administrative affairs by colonizers in order to cripple their economy and administrative potentials. It shows that Africans are still in the vicious circle of colonizers because if they alienated themselves (African countries) from colonizers' socio-political and technological supremacy then they would not earn livelihood. Helplessly, they continue in the same route of learning through English and French and this is the situation that most African countries especially those in sub-Sahara Africa find themselves nowadays.

African writers like Achebe, Soyinka and Ngugi had earlier evoked European supremacy on the subcontinent in their literary works. Wolf (2001) states that, before the arrival of the European, there was no Cameroon as a political entity. The arrival of the Portuguese launched the organization and the association of tribal groups to better fight for natives' interests. These tribal group associations were later on reinforced under the German protectorate. In Cameroon today, English and French being a colonial linguistic legacy are used for official purposes as nationwide communication languages and as medium of instructions at all levels of formal education system as well as administration. The unfortunate thing in using these colonial languages is that, children grow up in their homes using, in most cases their mother tongues, which are indigenous languages. Their first contact with English and/or French is when they start primary school about the age of five years or three years for nursery school. The first shock to the children is that they have to forget about their mother tongues and start learning English and/or French, which they have to master as a tool for education and other official functions in Cameroon.

But the distinction between an official language and a national language has been introduced in postcolonial communities to accommodate the changing (Political especially) statuses of the many indigenous languages. In the very common cases, the official languages are the ex-colonial languages while the national languages are selected from the large number of indigenous languages. This is the hawk-eye postcolonial binary perspective but this classification takes place differently in different countries and the terminology is always different. In Cameron, the expression national languages refer to all indigenous languages of the country since they are treated as part of the national heritage. Interestingly, English and French do not belong to this category in spite the much talk in research circles of Cameroon English (Simo Bobda 1994), Anchimbe 2006, Kouega 2007) and Cameroon French (Biloa 2004). Cameroon Pidgin English is not mentioned in the constitution at all even though it plays a big role in linking people from different ethnic groups, languages and walks of life.

According to Mbangwana (1983:81),

… just like Portuguese, English and indigenous languages, French in turn started exerting pressure on Cameroon Pidgin English in terms of increasing its vocabulary stock with French words and shaping its grammatical patterns. Although Cameroon Pidgin English in its early days was restricted to the coastal areas of the country, today it enjoys a national character linking all

Cameroonians irrespective of creed or culture. Because of this functional role, the tendency for younger Cameroonian generations especially those of the North West and South West Regions has been to learn, and to speak Cameroon Pidgin English at the detriment of indigenous languages.

This is strengthened by Mforteh (2006) who opines that, in the informal sector of the economy, petit traders of English-speaking background have invaded the local markets in Yaoundé. Pidgin English has definitely become an acceptable and widespread language of trade in Yaoundé of almost the same strength as in Douala, Bamenda and other Anglophone towns. Articles as foodstuff, clothing and kitchen utensils are brought from the North West Region and sold in the makeshift open-air market of Yaoundé using Pidgin English in most cases.

By the early and late 70s, the teaching of Cameroonian indigenous languages were introduced and taught at the University of Yaoundé, and the teaching of these indigenous languages was stopped because of their impact on the political stability of the country (Chumbow 1980, Momo 1997, Bird 2001). This stoppage came as a result of social classes of whose languages were taught and those whose languages were not. To compensate for this policy, the government unilaterally raised the indigenous languages to national languages. The teaching of some of these indigenous languages is ongoing in our State Universities in the Departments of African Languages and Linguistics. This extensively encourages research and studies of various kinds on languages especially at the postgraduate level. This research works in collaboration with the National Association of Cameroon Language Committees (NACALCO) in the designation of alphabets for, and the teaching of, these indigenous Cameroonian languages (Che, 1987, Njika 2003, Mba and Chaitoh 2000).

These research endeavours have produced seminal results, giving the speakers of these languages a certain degree of pride that their languages can be given. The wealth of knowledge hidden in these cultures is gradually being expressed (see Ntumgia 2004). NACALCO and summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) are involved in ongoing research on the Home languages. This has started yielding fruits as SIL facilitated the translation of the Holy Bible and other Christians documents into some Cameroonian home languages such as Bafut and Bali (Wycliffe Bible Translators 1999). From the opinions of the above writers this paper situates itself on the place of linguistics vis- a- vis African development in the 21st century in the post modern era.

2. Review of Literature and Theoretical Framework

Many authors have approached this linguistic situation in Cameroon as the outcome of the nation's historicity. Chia (2006: 18) mentions "the high incidence of internecine wars and diseases and so young men were schooled in the art of tribal wars, traditional medicine etc." and each identified society, depended on the opinions of her central authority, traditional healers, soothsayers, witchdoctors and the elderly. This means that Africans have their own ideology towards development either in scientific or architecture field. Their soothsayers could predict the future and this will enable them to plan for their future development or to know the unforeseen.

But the arrival of the Europeans in Africa marked a turning point in the African cosmology specifically in education and ideology. The Europeans invaded the indigenous languages through religion, which was a more effective opium than wars fought on the other continents. Here, we discover the power of language which the Europeans have used to derail a continent to follow their belief and culture. According to Fonlon (1969) Mbangwana (1983) and Schmied (1991) the missionary efforts wererewarding as they successfully established stations in the South, changed people's linguistic attitude so that they looked up to English and French (in the case of Cameroon) instead of their mother tongues as the model. The missionaries brought not only new architecture (mission houses, schools) but also new pedagogy (western education) and a new belief system (Christianity/ Islam). The informal teaching and learning was done through observation and copying. The motivation to copy from the colonizers was so strong that even some local languages, for example, Duala, Bulu, Mungaka, Akose (Bakossi) among others were formalized and used for evangelization, the colonized still aspired for the European languages. The aspirations of the colonized were for several reasons, ranging from scholarships for training in Europe to lucrative employment as teachers, translators, nurses etc. to crown it all, the local chiefs and their subjects worsened situations by increasingly looking up to the European missionaries and administrators for solution to identified problems.

Njoya (1976) quoted in Wolf (2001) alludes to the formal agreements between King Bell and Queen Victoria where the former accepted "to change their customs and to follow the instructions of the British" To Fonlon (1986), the fact that these treaties were in English

rather that Duala was ominously significant. The intension of the colonizers was to devaluate indigenous customs, beliefs and languages. They (colonizers) set up formal educational system, which were exclusively in the language of theirs. Because of the insufficiency of teachers in the mission schools, many Cameroonians born between 1940-1960 started formal education in what was called vernacular schools, where they developed basic reading and writing skills in the home language (HL). The missionaries taught them how to read and write Duala, Mungaka or Bulu depending on the area. As these progress to senior classes they (learners) got introduced to a colonial language either English or French as the case of Cameroon.

The adoption of an official French and English bilingual policy by the government gave rise in the course of the years to the main distinguishing linguistic markers. Francophone and Anglophone Cameroonians, no longer vernacular Cameroonians. This was the beginning of linguistic problem as many researchers have pointed out, this distinction has barely attenuated rather than solved the linguistic deadlock propagated by the educational system in which many Cameroonians find themselves today. The policy of Bilingualism has been more on paper than in practice (see Tchoungui1983, Kouega 2001, Anchimbe 2005). The Statedid not ensure the functioning of this bilingualism rather it allowed individuals in a laissez-faire to struggle for themselves to attain this status. After independence, education was French versus English oriented. The French believed in the public school system while the Anglophone still left the management of schools in the hands of the missionaries who believed in the building of dormitories where the young learners were camped for about nine months and to spend the remaining three months with their respective families within a year.

The government on her part targeted "harmonization". This harmonization showed that the French system of education over shadowed the English system in many aspects for example, the School of Administration, Magistracy and the Military School among others were located in the French speaking part of the country. French technically became the language of power and leadership and was par excellence the language of education. All these have brought about the current crisis in Cameron today, which emanated from the judicial and educational systems. In relation to this (Anchimbe 2011) says that post colonies

have been plotted linguistically along two lines: the use of the ex-colonial language, which is often the only or one of the official languages of the nation- state and the use of the heritage of ethnic and tribal groups. In Cameroon, the distinction is besides the indigenous languages. French and English inherited from colonialism, francophonism and anglophonism respectively (Anchimbe 2005). Cameroonians, therefore, function on two lines: Anglophones (being from the English speaking part of the country) and Francophones (being from the French speaking part of the country). This has brought a lot of conflict in the nation Cameroon because of the official languages, thus tearing the people apart who were once acting as one before the arrival of the colonizers, though they had different inter-tribal problems, the situation was not like the one we have today. The linguistic issue in some postcolonial contexts for example, Cameroon has resulted in victimization and stigmatization. Being an Anglophone in Cameroon is a crime. Pejorative language is used against English speaking citizens as well as hate speech. French has been presented as being more equal than English. Dictating the peace at which upward social mobility access to market and jobs, professional schools like the School of Administration and Magistracy, Military School etc and access to public communication. With this division, the people could not unite as one to develop their fatherland, since the Anglophones are looked upon as second class citizens in the same country. All these problems including divide and rule are created by colonial masters.

Syed and Muhammad (2012) observe that Diaspora in Western discourse is another strategy to induce colonized people to leave their roots. This has developed an argument that Eurocentricity has placed more emphasis on western culture and value than colonized culture. Spivak (1990) opines that the power of discourse is used to create and reinforce western dominance. These discourses are used to describe differences between itself and others by using European cultural categories, languages and ideas to present the colonizers to maintain their dominance over colonized community and thereby creating a subaltern by excluding "the other" from the production of the discourse, when he puts it:

Only tell me about your pain. I want to know your story. And I will tell it back to you in a new way. Tell it back to you in such a way that it has become mine, my own. Re-writing

you I write myself anew. I am still authority. I am still the colonizer, the speaker subject and you are now at the centre of my talk.

The deceptive attitude of the colonizers and their use of adoption and assimilation of cultural practice as cross fertilization of cultures has made the colonized people to live into alien culture and has made cognitive structure of producing something anew (Fanon 1986), in this way, the colonized became alien even to their own culture and language, which has hindered development in the subcontinent due to imperialism

This said, the theory used to guide this analysis is the post-colonial theory from Achebe (1975) and Ngugi (1995) in The Post-Colonial Studies Reader. This concept of postcolonial theory is developed on the bases of language and theory. Ngugi (1995:283) states that "language is a fundamental site of struggle for post-colonial discourses because the colonial discourses itself begins in language" therefore the control over language by the imperial centre whether achieved by displacing native languages and installing their own languages as standard languages against other variance which are constituted as impurities. This system of values put in place by the colonial masters is a supposition to geography, the concept of history, differences in the myriad of gradations of distinction which has become the system upon which social, economic and political discourses are grounded.

Language is often a central question in post-colonial studies. During colonization, colonizers usually imposed or encouraged the dominance of their native languages onto the people they colonized even forbidding natives to speak their own mother tongues. As far as development is concerned, post-colonial theory also looks at issues of power, economics, politics, religion, language and culture and how these elements work in relation to colonial hegemony.

Anchimbe (ibid) still argues the term postcolonial from a historical point of view, that the aim is to reiterate that each postcolonial community be treated first, with respect to its individual specificities before being plotted into the broader frame. This is in line with the thinking previously provoked by Anchimbe (2007) which was earlier provoked by Anzaldua (1987) that people defend themselves as a symbol of who they are, where they come from, and what they present.

With regards to cultural theory in postcolonial study some schools of thought have brought in some contributions. The cultural evolution theory by Dunnal, C. et al. (1997) argue that cultural traits have certain meaning in the context of evolutionary stages by their relation with material, culture and social institution geared towards industrial and societal development. The ecologist sees culture as adaptation to the variety of environment in which it lives and explains cultural changes. Similarly, structural functionalized views culture as "a system of normative belief (Robert A. Manner and David Kaplan 1968) but it takes society as a stable entity. Then historical particularisms take it as a historical process and symbolic anthropologist points it out as a mental guide construct of life (see Dunnal et al. 1997) above.

Looking at the above mentioned theories in culture, language expresses social phenomenon of a culture. It is not only a means of communication but also a sense of social belongingness and social identity (Saussure 1996, Chomsky 1968). They believe that speakers identify themselves and others through the use of language. They view their language as a symbol of social identity. Thus, speakers often perceive the prohibition of its use as a rejection of their culture. Such a rejection arouses feelings of bewilderment because it leads towards such environment and culture change from his/her culture to the one that he or she is not familiar. These unfamiliar surroundings, foreign languages and strange habits of a new culture all contribute to what is known as psychological cultural shock (Byram et al. 1991).

Stephen C.W. and Stephen W.G. (1992) further explain this cultural shock with the help of colonizer and colonized psyche in language learning process. According to the model shock results from four types of feared negative consequences.

First, negative psychological consequences such as frustration or loss of control.

Second, negative behavioural consequence such as or verbal derogation.

Third, negative evaluation by out group members such as negative stereo-typing or apparent distain.

Fourth, negative evaluation by in-group members such as disapproval or rejection for having contact without group population. In this light the spread of English and French in

the subcontinent particularly Cameroon is an apt example of the above mentioned cultural shock model implanted on the natives. Therefore, English and French were spread in the sub-continent for the purpose of power and exploitation by colonizers as an instrument for systematic exploitation producing distorted economics, socio-psychological disorientation, massive poverty and dependency (Khan 2006). All of these stand as a hindrance to African development from the colonial masters.

3. Methodology

A judgmental sample technique according to Kumar (2011:384), primarily considers the researcher's judgment as to who can provide the best information to achieve the objective of their research. They only go to those who in their opinion are likely to have the required information and who would be willing to share it with them. Such sampling Kumar notes is extremely useful when we want to construct a historical reality, describe a phenomenon or develop something about which only a little is known. Therefore a pre-determined number of people who in the researchers' judgment were best positioned to provide the information needed were selected.

Being insiders the authors of this paper used purposive sampling to investigate the target population. Both the qualitative and quantitative methods were used to analyse the data. We carried out data collection using the social media as our instrument through whatsApp and Facebook. Following our interview guide which was made up of only one question that focused on whether or not the respondents agree, strongly agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the fact that foreign languages have hampered the level of development in Cameroon? Five hundred respondents were interviewed in all walks of life as seen on table 1 (one) below. Again one hundred persons were asked open-ended questions with ten (10) coming from each group of fifty (50). (See appendix).

Some of the people who could not have access to this social media were positioned or programmed to have a face-to-face interview. Some, because of their busy schedules were contacted through phone calls to have their opinion on the topic under investigation.

Table 1: Presentation of the sampled population

No	Groups Interviewed	No. Interviewed
1	Historians	50

2	Anthropologists	50
3	Linguists/Literalist	50
4	Traditionalists	50
5	Teachers	50
6	Administrators	50
7	Politicians	50
8	Jurists	50
9	Activists	50
10	Commoners	50
11	Total	500

These groups of persons were not selected by error, for historians they stand a better chance to talk about the history of Africa within the time frame of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Africa. For linguists and literalists through language and literature they also express their worries through their works for example Cameroon Anglophone writers and other works like issues in post-colonial literature, language and culture. As regards Anthropologists and traditionalists they portray the cultural and the belief system of the African people. The teachers found themselves as promoters of these foreign cultures and foreign languages like English, French, German, Spanish etc to young innocent Africans while politicians use these colonizers' languages and cultures to exploit the masses economically and physically for their personal gains with the colonial masters being accomplices in this dubious attitude. The Administrators help in the daily transactions to ease the colonizers' system of government to continue to penetrate on the life style of Africans. The judiciary apply colonial laws to the masses especially French laws in Cameroon, which were drafted in Paris without the consent of the Africans, Britain is not also far from this (see the treaty between King Manga Bell of Douala and Queen Victoria of England in our introductory pages. Activists could make their voices heard by pronouncing the extraction and exploitation of the rich natural African resources by the colonial masters, the case of Congo, Central Africa Republic and Cameroon just to name but these few. The common man came into play in this data collection because he is the one who suffers most. He does everything, pays illegal taxes, he is denied access to social amenities like portable water, electricity, medical care and at times education.

Looking at the above reasons it was but imperative to carry out a research on the role of colonizers in the African soil which has turned the African continent from the richest continent in the world in minerals and other natural resources to the poorest continent due

to the heavy arm of exploitation, distortion and mental derailment by the colonizers. The reality is manifested on the ground where Africa is plagued with civil wars, social unrest, misery, diseases, malnutrition, refugees from one country to the other seeking for humanitarian aid.

4. Results and Discussion

The analysis of our data is based on the postcolonial theory of Achebe (1975) and Ngugi (1995) in the post-colonial studies reader. It is from this standpoint that our analysis of the data was carried out and the following results were obtained using the AR/PR X 100, where AR represents Actual Respondents and PR stands for Potential Respondents.

Table 2: Statistical Table of Participant's Response to questions

No	Groups Interviewed	No. of Respondents	No. Agreed	No. Disagreed	% Agreed	% Disagreed
1	Historians	50	40	10	80	20
2	Anthropologists	50	35	15	70	30
3	Linguists/Literalist	50	42	08	84	16
4	Traditionalists	50	37	13	74	26
5	Teachers	50	35	15	70	30
6	Administrators	50	35	15	70	30
7	Politicians	50	30	20	60	40
8	Jurists	50	38	12	76	24
9	Activists	50	45	05	90	10
10	Commoners	50	47	03	94	06
	Total	500	384	116	76.8	23.2

From the statistics gotten from the table above, following our interview guide which was made up of only one question that focused on whether or not the respondent agrees with the fact that foreign languages have hampered the level of development in Cameroon? We noticed that out of the 500 persons that were interviewed, 384 persons agreed that colonial languages stand as a hindrance to African development. Giving a total percentage of 76.8% and 116 persons disagreed giving a total percentage of 23.2%. It should be noted that each group of participants constitute 10% of the size of the sample (500 participants). If 10% is divided by 500, we will arrive at 100%. That is why when we take 76.8% +23.2% it will give us 100%.

For historians 80% of those interviewed agreed that the colonizers have hindered African development from historical standpoint from pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial to globalization. As regard linguistics and literalists 85% showed that the colonizers hindered African development linguistically when they imposed their own languages on Africans and could not allowed the African languages to develop as well as theirs (see Robinson Crusoe and Friday in Daniel Defoe (2011), where Robinson Crusoe imposes his own language on Friday, but never cares to learn Friday's own language). As a result, African literature could not excel because they have no language to develop it though Africa is rich in literature and culture. For the Anthropologists and Traditionalists 75% of the results were obtained supporting the fact that Africa could not develop because their culture and ways of life including tradition embedded in Africa cosmology had been usurped by the colonizers when they invaded the African soil and destroyed their belief system. As regard the academic, 70% agreed that their thoughts are those of the Westerners and that has gone a long way to hinder African development as they transmit western knowledge and culture to young innocent Africans using colonizers' languages.

The results obtained from politicians showed that 60% posits that African leaders should be given a free hand to govern and pilot their own affairs though some of them who do not have the confidence to rule their own people rely on the colonizers to rule. The administrators had 70%from the results obtained. That they would have been more comfortable in administration if the African voice is used to administered its own people than that of the colonizers. The results obtained from the judiciary gave us 75%, the judiciary core advocates that most Africans do not understand the laws of the colonizers not to talk of the language in use (see Atoh 2012). As a result of this, development can never favour Africans since they cannot manage foreign laws especially Francophone African countries where laws were drafted in Paris.

With regard to activists, 90% of the results were obtained in favour of the fact that African development is hindered by the colonizers. For the colonizers implicitly through most African leaders suppress the activists each time they want to make their voices heard by denouncing the extinction and exploitation nature of African riches by the colonizers. The common man on his part, gave us 95% as results, that African development is hindered

by the colonizers. This group of people are those who suffered most and do not see anything good that the colonizers have done for the Africans apart from extortion of minerals from the rich African soil. When all these results from the various groups were put together it showed that 76.8% as overall results agreed that African development is hindered by the colonizers.

From the information that we had from our open-ended questions, we realised that our respondents had a good impression with foreign languages when it comes to international issues. But using foreign languages in sensitizing the people of a community in development issues is not quit correct because the information that is given to the people does not reach those in the grassroots because most of them are not educated.

Some of the responses that we got showed that most of those interviewed believed that they have a negative thinking on foreign languages because to them, these are languages that the Europeans used to impose their ideology on Africans and they the Europeans also used these languages to spy on Africans in all walks of life as far as development issues are concerned. Furthermore, Africans also believed that Africans cannot use only their mother tongues in discussing development issues, because of the multilingual and multicultural nature of most African countries especially Cameroon.

In most African communities especially Cameroon most issues of development are discussed in the mother tongue because development issues touch those at the grassroots most.
So it is better to use a language that the people best understand. At the level of the contributions that foreign languages have impacted Africans developmentally, most of our respondents concluded that foreign languages have contributed less than fifty percent (50%) in African development because the languages used are not African languages and Africans understand little or nothing when issues of development are discussed in foreign languages. Also some of the responses that we got showed that most Africans are comfortable with their various mother tongues when issues of development are discussed.

Finally, 90% of the responses that we had on the question that can both foreign languages and home languages make a good bargain in the discourses of development they were of the opinion that development issues can be conjoined in most of the African

countries. They also acknowledge in most of their responses that using only foreign languages in development issues is not quite acceptable. The issue here is that most Africans think first in their own languages, in their minds before translating their ideas into foreign languages. Thus blending the home languages and foreign languages in reflecting on African development will move the continent ahead for more than what it is today.

From the above results it may be claimed that the attachment to our African ethnic languages and cultures, which give our identities, automatically reduces our attachments to colonial languages and the identities built on them. Unfortunately, most Africans are caught in a constant process of identity fluctuation and opportunism (Anchimbe 2006), which obliges them to adopt linguistic identities according to the contexts and in response to issues at stake, in search of development. The idea of development lays emphasis on an exploration of the future as a perspective in time, thus making it difficult or impossible for Africans to digest their universalistic conceptions of development to foster development in their own societies though these practices were very successful in Europe. It is from this view point that Amin (2001) opines that development is principally about reaching modernity encapsulated by a secular worldviews including freedom of individuals, in making their own histories both as individuals and as community within the purview of democracy.

Ironically European policies have instead de-developed Africa. This point of de-developing Africa is corroborated by Ngugi Wa Thiongo in Decolonizing the mind (1986) when he argues that Europeans by de-linguising the African people (ie taking their language out of their education and imposing a foreign language on them) and by extension de-culturing them, colonialism has expansively colonized the minds of Africans and de-developed them. Ngugi suggests that to achieve viable livelihoods and development a mental decolonization is of paramount importance to Africans. Africans should use African minds linguistically, historically, geographically, psychologically and philosophically and more especially societal and cultural realities to map out development projects in Africa. If this is done, development and prosperity will be realities in Africa and for Africans. Thus, the myth of linguistic of colonial legacy that stands today as a threat to our indigenous languages and culture will be broken, paving the way for perspective affinity, that is people who share the same culture, bound to be united and to help one another geared towards

development. It is this culture that the Africans inherited from their ancestors that gives them human dignity as well as material prosperity and their identity.

Identity is derived from one's past education and socio-cultural environment in which one becomes mature. The place that one comes from and where his ancestral roots are buried becomes a foundation to define one's cultural identity. But when norms of society and culture of one's ancestors with whom they were familiar with is encroached by disparaging and ruthless colonizers, they are doomed to be rootless.

In recent times a new form of colonialism has emerged known as globalization. (Peter 2004) puts it that globalization is a new force entering into the scenario, the most powerful of all past paradigms of colonizers. It is a complex form of international cultural exchange that got attention of sociologists, cultural theorists and linguists. Globalization is continually reshaping the relationship between economics, cultures, trade and social behaviours. It has potentials to be interpreted as a duplicate of the worst effects of economic and cultural globalization, the latest manifestation of the colonizers desire to rule over the rest (Paul 2000). Similarly, imperialism is another term projected by the discourse of colonialism that is basically used as a means of maintenance of empire either through direct territorial control or through indirect method of exerting control on politics and economy of other countries with an apparent idea of modernize undeveloped countries. In such a scenario, the colonizers continue to treat the colonized communities especially African nations as their subordinates.

Therefore, globalization shows the return of the repressed, the colonizing machinery of critical paradigms that in their most benign forms assimilate "Others" to the Western disciplinary forms, and their more insidious ones as Loomba puts it, celebrate globalization "as the producer of a new and liberating"hybridity or multiculturalism and multilingualism, terms that now circulate to ratify the hoochand pooch of cultures generated by the near uni-polar domination of the western countries (Loomba 1998).

5. Conclusion

The authors of this paper aimed at redressing the above concerns with the view to contribute to the knowledge within the domains of linguistic and cultural identity vis à vis African

development in the 21st century. This paper insinuates that African development should not be based on boycott of Eurocentric ideas rather, African development should be socially inclusive and practically located points of divergence and convergence bringing in relativity, where the design as well as the implementation of Africa's educational, economical, linguistic and political projects are looked into with expansive attention to the continent's geographical, cultural, historical and social needs. By so doing, the perspective of interrelationship of all individuals round the world has changed the world into a small village that shares educational, economic, political, environmental, medical and social needs. In this way, knowledge will not be the heritage of a single culture and language, but a construction of perspectives of intercultural communication without losing a firm grip in personal identity. There is a need of freedom from fear of being trapped again in the subtle snares of colonization. It is within this context that one can understand Iran's rejection of English to maintain its cultural and linguistic identity. It has taken a hold and laborious step to break the myth that English, French, Spanish or German is the only way towards latest knowledge and technology. African nations should wake up and revitalise new strategies to remedy the continent from new shapes of colonization by demanding respect for each community's cultural and linguistic entity.

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Appendix

Open-ended Questions

1. What impression do you have on foreign languages vis-a-vis African development?

2. Is there anything wrong in using foreign languages in our development issues?

3. Do you have a positive or a negative thinking when it comes to using foreign languages in discussing development issues in Africa?

4. Can we use only our mother tongues in discussing issues of development in Africa?

5. What is your take as an African if issues of development are discussed in your community in your mother tongue instead of foreign languages especially English or French?

6. What contributions have foreign language brought to your country as far as development is concerned?

7. How do you feel when issues of development in your community are discussed in your mother tongue?

8. Can both foreign languages and home languages make a good bargain in the discourses of development?

9. What makes us to arrive at acceptance that foreign languages stand a better place in development discourses?

10. Which language do you use in reflecting on development issues?

Le vaccin anti-covid19 à l'épreuve de la rumeur
The Impact of Rumour on Covid-19 Vaccine

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Résumé

Afin de comprendre les réticences des populations à se faire vacciner, ce travail questionne l'effet de la rumeur sur l'acceptation du vaccin contre la covid19. À partir d'une analyse typologique deux groupes d'individus ont été identifiés selon leur sensibilité à la rumeur. L'existence de différences entre les groupes a été vérifiée grâce à l'ANOVA. Les résultats permettent de conclure que les deux segments diffèrent significativement en termes d'attitudes vis-à-vis du vaccin anti-covid19 : les partisans qui sont sensibles aux rumeurs hésitent à se faire vacciner tandis que les réfractaires plutôt insensibles l'accepteraient volontiers. Les implications théoriques et managériales sont discutées.

Mots clés : vaccin, covid 19, rumeur

Abstract

The present research paper examines the impact of rumours on attitudes towards Covid-19 vaccine. We therefore conducted a typological analysis that helped identify two groups of people considering their sensitivity to rumours. The Analysis of Variance helped verify the existing difference between these groups. Findings reveal a significant difference between both segments regarding attitudes towards Covid-19 vaccine: anti- and pro-vaccination attitudes, depending on whether people are sensitive or insensitive to rumours respectively. Theoretical and managerial implications are discussed.

Keywords : Vaccine, covid 19, rumours

1. Introduction

Apparu en décembre 2019 à Wuhan en Chine le Corona virus s'est rapidement répandu et en trois mois l'on a eu 118000 cas positifs déclarés et 4291 décès dans 114 pays, ce qui a poussé l'Organisation mondiale de la santé à déclarer une pandémie mondiale (Bavel *et al.*, 2020). Cette montée fulgurante s'est accompagnée d'une vague de rumeurs dont les effets néfastes sont soulignés par l'OMS. Certains gouvernements ont même été contraints de

pénaliser la publication des fausses nouvelles[1] à l'instar de l'Afrique du sud[2] ou de l'Ouganda[3]. En France, le MINSANTE a du tweeter *: « **Non, la cocaïne ne protège pas contre le Covid-19** »* afin de mettre en garde les citoyens.

Ces rumeurs ainsi propagées portent autant sur les causes de la pandémie que sur les traitements aussi bien curatifs que préventifs. Elles entrainent des conséquences non négligeables au sein des populations. Au Cameroun par exemple, des millions de doses de vaccin sont susceptibles d'être périmés en fin 2021, les populations manifestant comme une résistance à se faire vacciner. Or le gouvernement ambitionne de vacciner au moins 80% des populations vulnérables au cours de cette année.

La situation de crise sanitaire créée par la pandémie justifie parfaitement cet état de choses. En effet, selon Allport et Postman (1947) et Rosnow (1980), les rumeurs apparaissent dans des situations perçues comme menaçantes, elles se diffusent au sein de groupes fortement impliqués tant par leur objet que leur contenu et elles génèrent et contribuent à entretenir un état émotionnel négatif (comme la peur, la colère ou le dégoût) qui favorise leur propagation et pousse les individus à rechercher les informations qui leur font défaut.

La rumeur est par définition l'apparition et la circulation dans le corps social d'informations qui ne sont pas encore confirmées publiquement par les sources officielles, ni démenties par celles-ci (Kapferer, 1987). Les travaux séminaux sur ce sujet les présentaient comme des communications orales et personnelles qui circulent par le biais d'un canal informel (*i.e.* « le bouche à oreille ») au sein de groupes d'individus impliqués dans une situation de crise et qui traduisent les émotions qu'une telle situation suscite auprès d'eux (Knapp, 1944). Il va de soi que le développement des TIC et des réseaux sociaux constituent des conditions bien plus favorables à la circulation des rumeurs. D'après Sharnitzky (2007, p 35), c'est « une information inexacte ou exagérée qui se déforme à mesure qu'elle est transmise de façon directe par le mode du bouche à oreille ou de façon indirecte, *via* un média informationnel (télévision, presse écrite…) »

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[1] https://www.bbc.com/afrique/region-52209859

[2] En Afrique du Sud, un homme de 55 ans a comparu devant un tribunal accusé d'avoir diffusé de fausses informations sur les kits de dépistage.
[3] En Ouganda, un pasteur est en détention préventive pour avoir prétendu que la maladie n'existe pas sur le continent

Selon Roux et Brodin (1990), les recherches sur la rumeur ont été classées en trois écoles de pensée : l'approche fonctionnelle, l'approche psychanalytique et l'approche marketing. L'approche fonctionnelle étudie le processus de diffusion des rumeurs et les mécanismes de distorsion des messages, les conditions d'apparition des rumeurs ainsi que les variables individuelles favorisant leur transmission et la réceptivité à celles-ci. L'approche psychanalytique, quant à elle, permet d'expliquer a posteriori le contenu de certaines rumeurs, notamment celles qui créent l'évènement ; elle s'intéresse aussi aux légendes urbaines. Enfin, l'approche marketing, s'appuyant sur les acquis de l'approche fonctionnelle, est concentrée sur la gestion des conséquences de la rumeur.

Les auteurs se sont davantage intéressés aux motivations des individus à traiter les informations en leur possession ou plutôt à rechercher celles qui leur font défaut, même s'il faut pour cela en créer de nouvelles (Brunvand, 1999 et Rosnow, 1988). Très peu se sont intéressées aux conséquences des rumeurs sur le comportement des individus et ce en contexte de crise sanitaire. Le présent travail de recherche s'inscrit dans la troisième de ces orientations et s'intéresse aux conséquences que les rumeurs sur la covid19 pourraient avoir sur le comportement à l'égard du vaccin. Elle vise à mettre en évidence l'existence ou non d'une différence significative en termes d'acceptation du vaccin contre la covid19 entre les individus en fonction de leur sensibilité quant aux rumeurs qui circulent au sujet de cette pandémie. Le modèle HBM de Rosenstock (1974) est mobilisé, il met en évidence les facteurs qui déterminent le comportement des individus en matière de prévention des maladies.

La première partie de ce travail est théorique. Elle présente, grâce au modèle HBM, l'influence de la rumeur l'acceptation du vaccin anti-covid19. La deuxième quant elle, essentiellement empirique, présente la démarche méthodologique et les résultats d'une enquête réalisée auprès d'un échantillon de 602 individus. Les implications théoriques et managériales y sont également discutées.

2. La rumeur comme facteurs influençant l'acceptation du vaccin anti-covid19 : l'apport du Health Belief Model (HBM)

Développé dans les années 1950, le modèle HBM est utilisé comme fondement théorique des recherches en matière de comportements associés à la prévention des maladies, y compris pour les vaccinations (Godin, 1991).

2.1 Les composantes du HBM

D'après (Rosenstock, 1974), le HBM est constitué de quatre principales composantes qui représentent les facteurs qui déterminent le comportement des individus en matière de prévention des maladies. Ils sont présentés ici selon qu'ils représentent une menace pour l'individu ou qu'ils renseignent sur l'efficacité du vaccin.

i. Les facteurs de menace ou de motivation

Deux facteurs du HBM se rapportent à la menace que représente la maladie aux yeux des individus. Le premier facteur est l**a susceptibilité perçue.** Elle concerne l'évaluation quant de la vulnérabilité personnelle vis-à-vis d'une maladie et fait ainsi référence aux croyances qu'a chaque individu sur la probabilité de contracter cette maladie. Le deuxième facteur est **la sévérité/gravité perçue** qui renvoie aux croyances sur la gravité d'une affection et de ses séquelles ou conséquences physiques (décès, invalidité et douleur) et sociales possibles (effets des conditions sur le travail, la vie familiale et les relations sociales).

ii. Les facteurs d'efficacité ou de frein

Ici également, le **HBM** met en évidence deux facteurs qui à un individu de juger de l'efficacité d'un comportement en matière de prévention de maladies. Le premier facteur concerne l**es bénéfices perçus.** Celui-ci traduit les avantages/désavantages associés à l'adoption des actions préventives. Un plus grand avantage perçu augmentera la probabilité d'adoption d'un comportement. Le second concerne l**es obstacles perçus. Ceux-ci** sont constitués de tout ce qui peut nuire à l'action pour l'empêcher ou l'entraver. Il s'agit des coûts à supporter si l'on adopte le comportement souhaité. Ces coûts peuvent être monétaires, psychologiques (peur) ou physiques (effets secondaires associés aux vaccins). Une perception élevée des obstacles réduira la probabilité d'adoption du comportement souhaité.

Cependant afin de déclencher cette action un autre facteur est nécessaire que Rosenstock (1974) appelle « les indices à l'action » qui peuvent être internes (douleur, symptômes) ou externes (information, événement). La rumeur pourrait constituer dès lors un facteur qui contribue, de notre point de vue, à freiner l'adoption de la vaccination.

2.2 La rumeur : définition, spécificités et typologie

2.2.1. Définition et spécificités de la rumeur

La rumeur est une déclaration controversée et vérifiable (Zhao et al., 2015), une information en circulation dont le statut de véracité n'a pas encore été vérifié au moment de la publication (Zubiaga et al., 2018), ou encore une affirmation dont la véracité est mise en

doute et n'a pas de source claire, même si ses origines et ses intentions idéologiques ou partisanes sont claires (Hamidian et Diab, 2015). Avec l'évolution technologique, la rumeur prend de nouvelles formes. Elle est un sujet ou une question qui circule sur l'internet, les réseaux sociaux ou les téléphones mobiles. Elle diffère de la rumeur traditionnelle en termes de contenu et de construction, telle qu'elle s'exprime par écrit et sous forme de texte, d'image, de son, d'animation et de vidéo (Abdelkader et Mohamed, 2018). Ainsi, dans un contexte de crise sanitaire comme celle de la pandémie du covid19 actuelle, nous adaptons la définition de Qazvinian et al. (2011) pour qui la rumeur est une information qui émerge et se propage dans le corps social à travers le bouche à oreille, les réseaux sociaux et la téléphonie mobile et dont la valeur de vérité est non vérifiée ou délibérément fausse.

Les spécificités de la rumeur sont liées à leurs contextes, leurs fonctions ainsi que leurs contenus. En ce qui concerne le contexte, les rumeurs surviennent dans des situations ambiguës (c'est à dire que la signification ou les conséquences d'une situation ne sont pas claires), menaçantes ou potentiellement menaçantes, des situations où les personnes concernées ressentent le besoin de comprendre ou de se rassurer. La menace peut être tangible comme lorsque la vie est en danger (Turner, 1964), quand une perte est imminente (Bordia, DiFonzo, Haines et Chaseling, 2005), quand il y a des risques importants (Slackman, 2003), et/ou quand notre santé est en jeu (Mirik et al., 2002).

Les rumeurs peuvent remplir des fonctions de divertissement, de communication des normes du groupe, de définition de la structure et des limites du pouvoir au sein d'un réseau social (Di Fonzo et Bordia, 2006). Dans les situations ambiguës et déconcertantes ou les individus éprouvent le besoin de comprendre, la rumeur joue un rôle collectif d'apport de sens (Di Fonzo et Bordia, 2006). Les contenus de la rumeur sont fonction des contextes dans lesquels elles sont nées et des fonctions qu'elles remplissent. Dans des contextes d'ambiguïté ou de menace, dans le cadre desquels les gens discutent des rumeurs pour essayer de rendre la situation intelligible et gérer une menace, les rumeurs sont des énoncés informatifs, c'est-à-dire qu'elles sont assertives plutôt que directives ou interrogatives (Di Fonzo, 2005), qui se diffusent par l'intermédiaire des gens et sont perçus par leurs « hôtes » comme relativement utiles d'une manière ou d'une autre (Rosnow et Georgoudi, 1985) mais

invérifiées. Ici, la rumeur n'est rien d'autre qu'une idée ou un ensemble d'idées véhiculant des informations.

2.2.2. Typologie de la rumeur

La littérature présente plusieurs systèmes de classification des rumeurs, selon que celles-ci renvoient à des messages différents en termes de contenu, d'étiologie ou d'objectifs sous-jacents (Koenig, 1985 ; Kapferer, 1990 et Kimmel, 2004). L'un des systèmes de classification les plus connus a été suggéré par Knapp (1944), qui distingue les rumeurs positives de celles dites négatives. Selon cet auteur, les rumeurs positives reflètent les désirs du public et les résultats souhaités.

En revanche, les rumeurs négatives représentent des résultats craints ou anxiogènes. Les rumeurs effrayantes peuvent être classées selon que leur contenu reflète le thème de la conspiration ou de la contamination. Les rumeurs de conspiration font état de politiques ou de pratiques d'une entreprise commerciale jugées menaçantes ou idéologiquement indésirables, tandis que les rumeurs de contamination prétendent qu'une certaine caractéristique d'un produit commercial est potentiellement nocive ou indésirable pour les consommateurs.

Enfin, une autre catégorie de rumeurs est constituée des rumeurs d'anticipation qui précèdent un événement attendu (Allport et Postman, 1947). De telles rumeurs peuvent être caractéristiques des ouï-dire positifs sur le marché de la consommation, comme les messages relatifs à des lancements de produits très attendus (Furukawa et al., 2002). La situation de crise sanitaire engendrée par la pandémie de la covid19 a fait naitre des rumeurs négatives qui relèvent à la fois de la conspiration, de la contagion et des *fake news*. D'ailleurs, Knapp (1944) souligne que la quasi-totalité des rumeurs véhiculent des croyances négatives et anxiogènes.

2.3. L'effet de la rumeur sur l'acceptation du vaccin anti-covid19

2.3.1. Les rumeurs anti-vaccin : le poids des théories conspirationistes

La pandémie du covid19 a eu comme la plupart des situations de crise son florilège de rumeurs, le contexte aidant. En effet, d'un côté le manque d'informations claires sur le sujet, les tâtonnements des différents gouvernements et les débats parfois houleux entre les membres de la communauté scientifique ont contribué à rendre cette situation encore plus

ambigüe. De l'autre coté, le développement des réseaux sociaux a facilité la circulation fulgurante de tout type d'informations.

Les théories conspirationistes sont nées peu de temps après le début de l'épidémie et perdurent (Bavel, 2020). Pour certains, le virus SARS-CoV-2, était une arme biologique créée par les Chinois pour faire la guerre aux États-Unis ou inversement[4]. Les symptômes de la Sars-cov2 n'ont pas également contribué à améliorer l'ambigüité de la situation. La covid19 est telle une grippe ? Un paludisme ? Ainsi, les réseaux sociaux ont été le théâtre de fausses nouvelles et de la désinformation sur la covid19 avec des conséquences potentiellement dangereuses, notamment la non adoption des gestes barrières, l'adoption de pratiques dangereuses telles que l'intoxication, et le rejet du vaccin. Pour certaines rumeurs, la médecine conventionnelle était impuissante face à ce nouveau virus et il fallait recourir à la médecine alternative pour se protéger du virus[5].

2.3.2. Hypothèses de recherche

A notre connaissance, très peu d'études ont examiné le lien entre rumeur et intention de se faire vacciner. Le modèle HBM peut contribuer à expliquer comment la rumeur liée au covid19 est susceptible d'impacter l'acceptation ou non du vaccin.

En effet, les deux premiers facteurs du modèle à savoir la gravité perçue et la susceptibilité perçue pourraient expliquer pourquoi les individus sont moins enclins à adopter un comportement souhaité (ici la vaccination) s'ils pensent que le problème de santé a peu de chances de les toucher. Or, certaines rumeurs ont entrainé une perception moindre de la susceptibilité et de la gravité perçues de la covid19. Les adeptes de la théorie du complot par exemple ne croient pas à cette maladie et considèrent quelle a été inventée pour détruire les africains. Par conséquent, ils pensent qu'ils ont très peu de chances de la contracter et ne sont pas prêts à se faire vacciner. Bien plus, certaines rumeurs en circulation ne présentent vaccin comme étant source de risques graves. Cela est renforcé par le discours des scientifiques qui a tendance à ne donner de garanties sur la capacité du vaccin anti-

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[4] Gertz, B. Coronavirus may have originated in lab linked to China's biowarfare program. *The Washington Times* https://www.washingtontimes. com/news/2020/jan/26/coronavirus-link-to-china-biowarfare-programpossi/(2020).

[5] Sommer, W. QAnon-ers' magic cure for coronavirus: just drink bleach! *The Daily Beast* https://www.thedailybeast.com/qanon-conspiracy-theoristsmagic-cure-for-coronavirus-is-drinking-lethal-bleach (2020).

covi19 à protéger le sujet non contaminé et à empêcher que le sujet contaminé n'en contamine d'autre. Ce qui conduit à la première hypothèse de ce travail :

H1 : il existe une frange de la population qui est sensible aux rumeurs anti-covid19

Par ailleurs, comme le veut le principe de la vaccination, toute vaccination implique des coûts immédiats et des bénéfices différés. Dans les études sur la vaccination contre le HPV, les freins principaux à la vaccination sont la sécurité insuffisante du vaccin (Boehner et al., 2003 ; Constantine et Jerman, 2007 ; Dempsey et al., 2006), les effets secondaires du vaccin à court et long terme ainsi que la peur des piqures (Davis et al., 2004 ; Dempsey et al., 2006 ; Short et al., 2010 ; Stretch et al., 2008). Toutefois, nous postulons qu'en contexte fortement rumoré, une rumeur négative peut diluer les bénéfices escomptés et amplifier les coûts notamment physiques et psychologiques. Dans le cas de la covid19, plusieurs obstacles apparaissent. Les obstacles physiques notamment ceux attribués par la rumeur aux effets secondaires du vaccin. Ainsi celui-ci modifierait l'ADN des individus et/ou rendrait stérile. De même que les obstacles psychologiques : il serait attribué au vaccin des propriétés létales. Ainsi tous ceux qui l'auraient pris décéderaient dans un délai de 02 ans. Le vaccin anticovid19 serait également un outil de surveillance des masses (selon la rumeur une puce serait injectée et permettrait de surveiller les individus. Plusieurs vidéos ont d'ailleurs circulé sur les réseaux sociaux montrant des pièces de monnaie ou des téléphones portables adhérant sur l'endroit de l'injection chez les personnes vaccinées. Nous souscrivons au point de vue de Smith Le (2017) qui affirme que les connaissances fondées sur les preuves scientifiques peuvent favoriser la vaccination alors que les connaissances découlant des rumeurs, préjugés ou mythes constituent des barrières à la vaccination. Partant de ces considérations nous formulons les hypothèses suivantes :

H2. Les individus sensibles à la rumeur refuseront de se faire vacciner

H3. Les individus insensibles aux rumeurs se feront vacciner

3. Méthodologie

3.1 L'échantillon

Afin d'évaluer l'impact des rumeurs sur la covid19 sur l'intention de se faire vacciner, une enquête a été administrée sur un échantillon de convenance de 606 individus. Notre choix

des rumeurs se fonde sur une sélection empirique des rumeurs citées par l'OMS et des rumeurs locales identifiées auprès d'un échantillon exploratoire, sur les réseaux sociaux. Un tri à été faits et les rumeurs choisies sont propres au contexte. La collecte des données s'est faite à travers une enquête par questionnaire.

Tableau 1 : structure de l'échantillon

Critères	Catégories	Effectif	Pourcentage
Genre	H	318	52,5
	F	288	47,5
Age	- de 25 ans	179	29,5
	25 - 35 ans	15	2,5
	35 - 45 ans	139	22,9
	45 ans et plus	273	45,0
Profession	Fonctionnaire	44	10,7
	Ménagère	10	2,4
	Etudiant	99	24,0
	profession libérale	260	63,0
Revenu	- de 50000 F	198	32,7
	50000 - 100000 F	72	11,9
	100000 - 150000 F	161	26,6
	150000 - 200000 F	103	17,0
	200000 F et Plus	72	11,9

Source : résultats tris à plat

3.2 La mesures des variables

Cette étude comprend 2 types de variables. Une variable indépendante à savoir les rumeurs sur la covid19 et une variable dépendante : l'intention de se faire vacciner.

Six (06) items permettent de mesurer les rumeurs[6]qui sont évaluées sur une échelle de mesure à 5 points allant de « pas du tout d'accord » à « tout à fait d'accord » Il est posé au répondant la question suivante : « en général, je pense que … ». L'intention de se faire vacciner est évaluée grâce à 01 item sur une échelle de mesure à 5 points.

Tableau 2.Opérationnalisation des variables

RUM1	Le SARS est un virus qui aurait été inventé dans un laboratoire en Chine.
RUM2	Le vaccin contre le Covid19 causera la mort des personnes vaccinées.
RUM3	Le vaccin contre le coronavirus contient une substance stérilisante
RUM4	Les africains sont des cobayes sur lesquels les puissances occidentales viendront tester le vaccin
RUM5	Le vaccin contre le coronavirus serait conçu pour modifier l'ADN des êtres humains

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[6]measured using 2 adapted items (Aditya[6], 2014, Bloch, 2014, Fine et al. 2005; Kostka, 2008),

RUM6	Le vaccin contre le Corona virus serait un outil de surveillance de masse
INTVac	Je compte accepter le vaccin contre la Covid19

Source : Auteurs

3.3 Les outils d'analyse des données

Pour identifier les groupes d'individus selon leur sensibilité à la rumeur, une analyse typologique par la méthode de classification hiérarchique couplée à une analyse par les nuées dynamiques a été appliquée. Ensuite, l'analyse de la variance à 1 facteur (ANOVA) a été employée pour tester les variations entre les segments en fonction de leurs comportements à l'égard du vaccin anticovid19.

4. Résultats

4.1. Analyse typologique

Les 5 rumeurs étudiées ont été utilisées pour construire notre typologie. Quelle que soit la méthode, l'existence de 2 classes s'avère être la solution la plus pertinente. En effet, une troisième classe présente des effectifs inférieurs à 10% de l'échantillon. L'échelle de Likert à 5 points a été utilisée. La modalité de réponse centrale est 3. Les variables les plus discriminantes sont RUM 1 et RUM5 qui suggèrent que le virus aurait été inventé en chine et que le vaccin serait conçu pour modifier l'ADN des individus. Ce qui conforte la thèse complotiste.

Le premier groupe (70,95% de l'échantillon) est constitué à majorité de femmes (53,72%). La tranche d'âge la plus représentée est celle des 45 ans et plus (43,25%). Il s'agit des partisans. Ils croient à la thèse complotiste et sont donc sensibles aux rumeurs avec une moyenne de centre de classe (3,8).

Le second groupe (29,04% de l'échantillon) est composé à majorité d'hommes (67,61%). La tranche des 45 ans et plus est également la plus représentée (49,43%). Ils ne sont pas du tout sensibles aux rumeurs (moyenne de centre de classe 2,2). Ce sont les réfractaires. La seule rumeur à laquelle ils sont sensibles est celle du potentiel stérilisant du vaccin. Ceci n'a rien à voir avec la pandémie mais avec un clichée largement répandu selon lequel les vaccins administrés sur les populations africaines ont pour objectif de réduire leur taux de natalité.

Tableau 3. Typologie des citoyens selon leur sensibilité à la rumeur

	Partisans	Réfractaires	F	P
Le SARS est un virus qui a été inventé dans un laboratoire en Chine.	4	1	1962,699	0,000
Le vaccin contre le covid19 provoque des effets indésirables et va même jusqu'à causer la mort.	3	2	400,384	0,000
Le vaccin contre le corona virus contient une substance stérilisante	5	4	400,384	0,000
Les africains sont des cobayes sur lesquels les puissances occidentales viendront tester le vaccin	4	3	475,303	0,000
Le vaccin contre le coronavirus serait conçu pour modifier l'ADN	3	1	2661,592	0,000
n	430	176		
Moyennes centre de classe	3,8	2,2		

Enfin, nous avons établi le profil de ces deux segments par la mise en œuvre d'une analyse discriminante. Nous allons évaluer la contribution de chaque variable indépendante à la discrimination des groupes. Les résultats du test d'homogénéité des variances indiquent que nos données ne violent pas ces conditions (M de Box, 388,233 ; F 38,467, Signification 0,000). L'existence de différences entre les groupes a été vérifiée grâce à l'ANOVA. Les résultats permettent de conclure que les deux segments diffèrent significativement (tableau 4). Une corrélation canonique proche de 1 signifie que le modèle est bon. Plus le lambda de wilks est proche de 0 plus les moyennes sont significativement différentes.

Tableau 4 fonctions canoniques discriminantes

Test de la ou des fonctions	Valeur propre	Lambda de Wilks	Khi-deux	ddl	Sig.	Corrélation canonique
1	2,102[a]	0,322	681,435	4	0,000	0,823

3.2 Profil comportemental des segments

D'après le tableau 5, la variable explicative permet de discriminer entre les deux groupes. Les Lambda de Wilks inférieurs à 0,9 indiquent un fort pouvoir discriminant des variables explicatives. L'on peut donc conclure que les partisans hésitent à se faire vacciner tandis que les réfractaires sont tout à fait d'accord à l'idée de se faire vacciner.

Tableau 5. Test d'égalité des moyennes des groupes

	Les partisans	Les réfractaires	Lambda de Wilks	F	Sig
Je compte accepter le vaccin contre la covid19	3,15	4,59	0,661	309,381	0,000

La dernière étape de l'analyse consiste à évaluer l'efficacité de la procédure de classification. Pour tester notre solution a deux groupes, une analyse discriminante a été effectuée. Les résultats révèlent un taux de classement des individus très satisfaisant.

Tableau 6 : Matrice de confusion selon la sensibilité à la rumeur

Résultats du classement[a,c]					
Classe d'affectation (nuées dynamiques)			Classe(s) d'affectation prévue(s)		Total
			1	2	
Original	Effectif	Partisans	430	0	430
		Réfractaires	30	146	176
	%	Partisans	100,0	0,0	100,0
		Réfractaires	17,0	83,0	100,0
Validé-croisé[b]	Effectif	Partisans	430	0	430
		Réfractaires	30	146	176
	%	Partisans	100,0	0,0	100,0
		Réfractaires	17,0	83,0	100,0
a. 95,0% des observations originales classées correctement.					
c. 95,0% des observations validées-croisées classées correctement.					

5. Conclusion

La présente recherche est partie du constat d'une certaine réticence des populations à se faire vacciner contre le covid19. En prenant en compte la floraison d'informations non vérifiées autour de cette pandémie, elle avait pour ambition de questionner l'effet de la rumeur sur l'acceptation du vaccin. En d'autres termes, elle visait à mettre en évidence l'existence ou non d'une différence significative en termes d'acceptation du vaccin contre la covid19 entre les individus en fonction de leur sensibilité quant aux rumeurs qui circulent

au sujet de cette pandémie. Le modèle HBM de Rosenstock (1974) a été mobilisé pour saisir le comportement des individus en matière de prévention des maladies.

Une enquête par questionnaire a été réalisée auprès d'un échantillon de convenance de 606 individus les rumeurs citées par l'OMS et des rumeurs locales identifiées auprès d'un échantillon exploratoire, sur les réseaux sociaux. Les rumeurs les plus pertinentes au contexte on été retenues. L'analyse typologique a permis d'identifier deux groupes d'individus selon leur sensibilité à la rumeur (les partisans et les réfractaires). Les résultats obtenus grâce à l'ANOVA permettent de conclure qu'il existe effectivement une différence significative entre les deux segments en matière d'acceptation du vaccin anti-covid19 : les partisans qui sont sensibles aux rumeurs hésitent à se faire vacciner tandis que les réfractaires plutôt insensibles l'accepteraient volontiers.

Ce travail permet sur le plan théorique de confirmer le rôle social des rumeurs notamment « Expliquer l'inexplicable » (Shanitsky, 2007). En effet, selon la psychologie du contrôle, ce qui est inexplicable est anxiogène. Etant donné que cette situation constitue une menace pour leur équilibre affectif, les individus développent toutes sortes de stratégies destinées à rétablir l'équilibre en trouvant à tout prix des explications, même les plus irrationnelles (Shanitsky, 2007). Il apparait donc normal qu'en contexte covid largement dominé par l'incompréhension de la situation, des rumeurs aussi farfelues les unes que les autres puissent circuler. En effet, les choses difficiles à expliquer telles que les épidémies subites imposent des explications. La rumeur fait partie des éléments à utiliser pour rétablir ce contrôle sur les événements. Elle apparaît comme un outil explicatif d'une réalité sociale. Par ailleurs, le vide scientifique sur le sujet à l'exemple de l'épidémie de VIH a contribué au développement de croyances(Shanitsky, 2007). L'établissement d'une typologie est dés lors normale car il existe des personnes sensibles à ces rumeurs et d'autres pas.

Au regard de ces résultats il importe, pour les gouvernements qui tiennent à amener les populations à se faire vacciner, tenir compte des rumeurs en circulation dans les stratégies de communication sociale mises en place. Pour cela, celles-doivent avoir pour objectif entre autres de déconstruire les informations non vérifiées qui circulent, car elles deviennent de véritables certitudes pour les partisans, les radicalisant ainsi quant à la vaccination.

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Domestic Retributive Discourses in some Cameroonian Families and the Effect on Children's Cognitive Development

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Abstract

Humiliating, mocking, insulting or belittling remarks are observably recurrent repulsive techniques in most Cameroonian homes. It is often considered a means of harsh, violent, profane or derogatory language intended to demean someone (Jay, 2009). While Cameroonian parents explore this punitive approach to correct their children, it seems to have an effect on children's cognitive development and sometimes affect their communicative and social interactions in public places. This study investigated some parents' abusive language on their children and opened the way for further investigation into the effects it could have on children's cognitive development. 100 parents and 50 children in the city of Yaounde were considered for this initial study within the Bullying theory as suggested by Peter (2017) and Piaget's (1978) Cognitive Development Theory. Parents were interviewed on sample invectives they often use on their children. The invectives were classified and the 50 children were interviewed on the effects of sample invectives on them. It was realised that parents mostly use spiritual, habitual and physical invectives on their children and that children are most affected by spiritual and physical invectives. Consequently, it is argued that such invectives are detrimental to the children's confidence, beliefs and even affects their social interactions and performances.
Key Words: Invectives, cognitive development, children, Parents, Yaounde

1. Introduction

Children generally require parental control, and parents everywhere have very creative and interesting manners of controlling their children. Parents sometimes, out of anger, use repulsive expressions which they latersometimes regret. Frustration and anger is blamed for making them routinely victims of angry outbursts. Generally, linguistic preferences in such state of frustration could have significant effects on the social growth of those they repulse, especially if they are children. Bender and Blau (1987) remark that some children express immediate damaging effects which vary with age. In their own words, they stress that:

the infantile state is prolonged or reverted to in the younger child, and the so-called latent stage with its normal intellectual and social interests is sacrificed. There appears to be mental retardation in some cases, and school accomplishments are thwarted. Anxiety states with

bewilderment concerning social relations occur especially in children who are abused by parents. (op cit.: 516)

Consequently, parents' linguistic choices in reprimanding their children could greatly influence the way the children relate with other children in the bigger community. Azar et al. (1988:1) assert that the cognitive effects of abusive words "range from attentional problems and learning disorders to severe organic brain syndromes." This could have an even more damaging effect on young Cameroonian children growing in the realities of a post-colonial multicultural Cameroonian society.

While there are international human right laws that defend children against all forms of abuse including verbal abuse, cutting down the level of verbal abuse could perhaps better prepare children for nation building. Most recently, a UN report from the community for the right of the child reports that most countries of the world are systematically failing in defending the rights of children, especially those in residential care (UNCRC 2018). The reports notes more than four decades of inaction – a figure which some researchers (Aguilera, 2019) have argued that it goes way beyond four decades.

Post-Colonial multilingual Cameroon borrows from a myriad of cultures and children grow up in multicultural contexts where they easily impact or are influenced by virile abusive discourses. Such chain therefore easily spreads information which could eventually become a national tendency in language, culture or any other stage or domain of social life. In this study, samples were got from Cameroonian families to find out the extent to which children are affected by domestic abusive expressions.

2. Orienting Social Construction on Parenting and Child Development

Today's world is built on values, beliefs, morals and language which all stem from interactions, identity, politics, practices, behaviours and a cross section of societal ideals. Coincidentally, children are born to live in such web of diversities. Wittgenstein (2015) argues that there is a close relationship between language and the world and that language is in the heart of such nexus. He remarks that language has an underlying logical structure,

a structure that provides the limits of what can be said meaningfully, and therefore the limits of what can be thought. The limits of language, for Wittgenstein, are the limits of philosophy. This idea finds expression in social construction in which language is at the centre of such construction. Heaton and Groves (1994:91) argue that "language is a poison that can be used to seduce, mislead and bewitch us, but it can also heal, as when we speak truly". Consequently, how we use language depends on whether we want to create or destroy.

While the primary function of language is communication (Crystal (2003)), language is largely emotive in nature. An idea, expressed in ten different ways, can stimulate ten different reactions. Social construction is often encoded in ideas, feelings, emotions and a general societal modus operandi. Verbal interactions between parents and children take place in any of the languages of their choice. Parents need to establish a zero tolerance policy for verbal abuses at home. But this is hardly the case because they tend to be quite abusive in their reprimanding techniques. Jay & Janschewitz (2008) remark that swearing is common among youths – a phenomenon which is present in almost every language of the globe. They add that "a lot of people will also swear freely within the boundary of their own homes including their garden, and this often means that it is within the hearing of their children or neighbours" (op. sit.: 2). His concern is mostly on how it is particularly difficult to control foul language among children.

Essentially, most studies in this domain have focused on physical, sexual and psychological abuses and ways of detecting abuses. Sapolsky and Kaye (2005) point out that unethical words are used in society but the users and recipients enjoy foul language. They explore why people abuse others with no remorse. Their concern borders on societal youthful uses of foul language and the feeling of embarrassment it evokes. Such habits could stem from parents in whose care children grow to a certain level. In discussing the sources of abusive language, it is important to take the effect it could have on children's cognitive development and societal interaction. Sapolsky and Kaye argue that mental health issues or disorders could result from disgusting language. They also remark that Children sometimes use offensive expressions as a ticket to group membership. Banks and Banks (2005) argue that behaviour is shaped by group norms. The group equips individuals with the behavioural patterns they need in order to effectively fit into different societal structures.In

such contexts, they could have lesser effect on victims who share the same discourse community and not those outside it. Debra (2007) has argued that verbal abuse lowers self-esteem and can lead to all sorts of problems and depression.

Information from The Institut National de la Statistique (2007), presents child abuse in Cameroon as the worst forms of child labour, particularly in dangerous forms of agriculture. While in this study we explore the abusive way language is used, The Institut National de la Statistique, is rather more concerned with what constitutes abuse from the handling of pesticides and sharp tools, tilling of the soil, and transporting heavy loads. Children work with livestock and may suffer injuries at different levels. The report suggests that children are involved in the production of cocoa, banana, coffee, palm oil, rubber, and tea. Such abuses align with what has been reported in other contexts (Banks and Banks 2005 and Debra 2007) and could have psychological effects on the victims.

The effects of child abuse are quite diverse. Rabiatou (2008) vividlypaints the dangers that children face at different levels in the society. Adults are often the perpetrators of such abuses though children too sometimes exert much pain on their peers. Scholars and researchers (Banks and Banks 2005 and Debra 2007, Rabiatou 2008) are quite unanimous on the dire need for children to be protected from all sorts of violence. Children constitute the future of every nation and Azar et al. (1988:1) argue that whatever form of abuse meted on themhas a significant effect on their behaviour in the future. Consequently, children should be protected against all forms of abuse because every society recognises their wellbeing as a catalyst not only for the continuity of the human race but most essentially for meaningful social and economic development. Whilewe cannot undermine the relevance of Rabiatou's (2008) study, she however, does not look at sample linguistic variables and the cognitive consequences they could have on children.

In Cameroon, child abuse is as prominent as in most parts of the world. Rabiatu (2013) presents the Cameroonian child in the face of numerous abuses. She captures the situation of children at conflict with the law, those suffering from physical, psychological, and sexual abuses while others grapple on the streets with no parental control or guidance.While Rabiatu paints a terribly bleak picture of the Cameroonian child in the face of multiple

abuses, the Cameroonian government has shown some concern to child abuse and neglect related issues through Article 19.1 of Cameroon Constitution which states that;

> State Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse.....

As in most cases of right documentation and effective practices in most parts of post-colonial Africa, the abuses continue to make news in some locality. Rabiatu (2013) recognises government's effort in cutting down on abuses, but also remarks that the effort must be intensified.

Over the years, different countries have been signing conventions to protect the rights of the child. A good example is the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (CAPTA), signed by about 140 countries andmade law in early 1974. The Act created the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect (NCCAN), The Center was to support state and local efforts for the prevention and treatment of child abuse. The Cameroon Ministry of Social Affairs (MINAS) has among her missions, that of assisting children who are abused either physically or otherwise especially if proof of the abuse is visible, shown significant interest in abused children. It has been noted that Cameroon children suffer from various forms of abusesat homes, schools, market places and streets. The observation could be linked to the United Nations Children's Fund, (UNICEF 2009) assertion that the Cameroon government identified 435 street children in the two main cities of Yaounde and Douala in 2008 and 1000 children are in preventive detention. The number of children who are victims of child abuse in Cameroon could be higher since there is no official database available. In this study, we investigate domestic oral abuses which could be a principal cause of other abuses as well as the likely consequences they could have children cognitive development.

3. Theoretical Framework

This study is built on the logic of the Bullying theory as suggested by Peter (2017) and Piaget's (1978) Cognitive Development Theory. The Bullying theory interrogates motivations for bullying, countered with well-designed contents and strategic approaches. Peter (2017) argues that bullying is a complex form of interpersonal aggression. This theory

permits us to interrogate the sources or motivation for abuses as well as linguistic abusive preferences. This study also leans on Piaget's (1978) cognitive development theory. The cognitive development theory is a progressive reorganization of mental processes as a result of biological maturation and environmental experience. Piaget argues that cognition is an information processing view of an individual's psychological functions whereby the child's understanding of the world changes as a function of age and experience. Consequently, as children progress through the stages of cognitive development, it is important to maintain a balance between applying previous knowledge (assimilation) and changing behaviour to account for new knowledge (accommodation). This theory facilitates our understanding of how children grow with oral abuses and how such abuses affect them psychologically.

4. Method

The population of this study was made up of children and adult with English-speaking background living together in the city of Yaounde. From this population, we sampled 100 parents and 50 children. Essentially, Cameroon is an English and French bilingual country but our limitation of the study to those with English backgrounds was meant to obtain sample comprehensible expressions for further analyses. The informants were interviewed on the different parental domestic abusive preferences as well as the long- and short-term effects they could have on the 50 children. 20 families were closely observed for qualitative details. The opinions of the informants were categorised and analysed in relation to the psychological effects they could have on children. The results were presented on tables and figures.

5. Results

This study was designed to find out the different retributive expressions parents use to reprimand their children as well as the effects such expressions could have on their children. The first concern was to find out how many parents use different invectives when correcting their children and the findings could be seen on Figure One.

Figure One: Parents' use of invectives when correcting their children
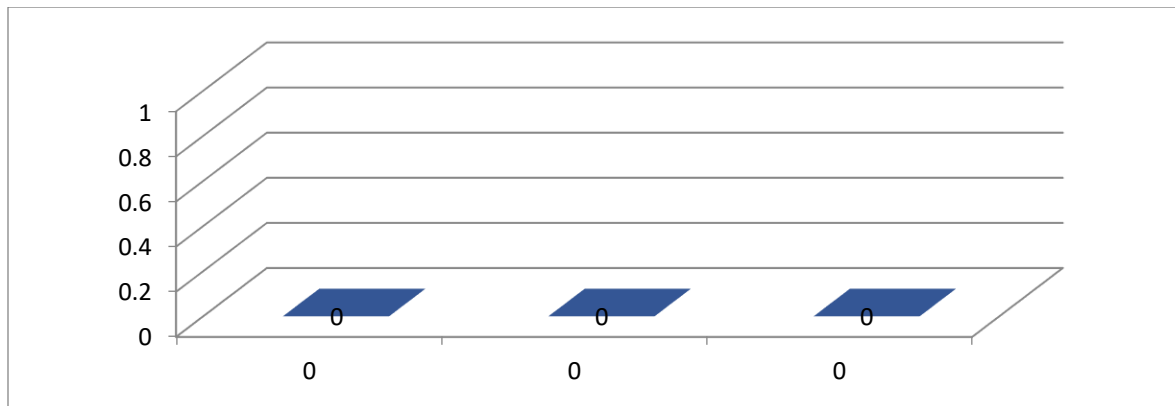
From the above figure, more parents use abusive expressions when correcting their children. Those who said they never insult their children also added that when they are mad, they simply express their anger or interrogate their children on their actions but not insult them. This group of informants argued that cursing their children could have spiritual implications on them. Those who sometimes insult their children claimed that they sometimes consciously or unconsciously do so when they are extremely angry. Like those who noted that they always insult their children, they argued that they only do it to expunge bad feelings and do not generally mean what they say. The last group of parents indicated that they always insult their children whenever the children annoyed them. Rabiatou (2008) remarks that, while parents might insult their children unconsciously, the insults could have a long-term effect on their cognitive development. It might affect their self-esteem, beliefs, confidence and ability to interact with their peers in the bigger society.

The next concern was to find out sample abusive expressions as well as the cognitive effects they could have on the children. Consequently, the informants were asked to state some of the invectives they use when they get angry. From a long list of variables, we chose 20 for further analysis in relation to the effects they could have on the children's cognitive development. The variables were noted and classified under three broad categories as can be seen on Table One.

Abusive Expressions			
Spiritual Invectives	**Habitual Invectives**		**Physical invectives**
Evil child!	Careless child!	Stupid	Big head!
Unlucky!	Dull child!	Wayward	Genital
Crazy child!	Lazy child!	Nonsense!	Size
Cursed child!	Stinking	Empty head!	Height
May God punish you!	Idiot!	Ugly	Body features

The invectives were classified in three broad categories – spiritual, habitual and physical looks – and the specific variables analysed in relation to their possible denotative and connotative implications. For systematic purposes, we shall begin with invectives connected to spirituality.

i.   Spiritual Invectives

Generally, Cameroon, like most parts of Africa is built on very firm spiritual premises. Consequently, invectives related to spirituality could hurt victims more and perhaps lead them to a state of desperation. First, the expression "evil child" could have a remarkably devastating effect on the child. This is so because the word "evil" denotes something that is profoundly immoral or bad. it could mean something harmful, something malicious that causes misfortune or simply something connected to powerful destructive forces. In Cameroon, however, the last denotation is often more prominent than the others when the expression "evil child" is used. If taken seriously, it could refer to the notion of Abiku or obanje[7] in African Traditional Religion[8]. The expression "unlucky child" could also have farfetched spiritual implications. This is because it is generally believed that being lucky is a natural phenomenon. Consequently, insulting someone as unlucky could take them below the natural human standard. This could even be more painful if it comes from a parent. The phrase "crazy child" makes reference to a child affected by a psychiatric disorder. In Cameroon and most parts of Africa, mental disorder is often considered to be spiritually induced. This could also mean that for the child to have attracted such negative spiritual punch, he/she must have been cursed from birth. The phrase "cursed child" insinuates that a child has been afflicted with harmful thought to result from a curse or the child is evil to a point of being despicable. While the parents who use this phrase on their children argued that they were rather concerned about the fact that the children were stubborn to the point of causing irritation or annoyance, there have no control on how the children interpret it. Some parents sometimes evoked curses from the supreme deity for their children as in the

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[7]Children come from the world of the unborn which is also controlled by the ancestors (or dead) (opcit). The ancestors decide which child is born normally or with special powers. In West Africa, and some parts of East Africa, such children are referred to as *ogbanje*or *abiku* because they are born with special powers which permit them to live in the three spiritual worlds[7] at the same time Sunday Ilechukwu in *Ogbanje/Abiku and cultural conceptualizations of psychopathology in Nigeria*.

[8]A set of highly diverse beliefs that includes various ethnic religions (Wikipedia, 2020)

last example in this category – "may God punish you". Again parents remarked that they do not really mean what they say but that such invectives are but an episode of outburst of angry thoughts, and since God understood that they did not mean what they say, he could consequently not curse the child.

ii.   Habitual Invectives

A habit is an attitude, addiction or a pattern of behaviour that is repeated so often that it becomes typical of somebody, even though they may be unaware of it.Invectives such as "careless child", "dull child", "lazy child", "idiot", "stupid", "nonsense", "stinking", "ugly", "wayward", and "empty head" all suggest a certain level of behavioural stretch which goes way beyond parental expectations and principles. If a child is careless, they do not give enough careful attention to the details of a particular thing. Indeed, most of the parents who claimed they use invectives also said they use this insult on their children. A dull child is one who is slow to learn or understand issues. The idea of laziness is sometimes attributed to the above two examples, but it also means a child is unwilling to do any work or make an effort. The word "idiot" is an offensive term that deliberately insults somebody's intelligence. It denotes that the person's IQ is approximately 25 or under and a mental age of less than three years. The word "stupid" also appeals to lack of intelligence. It means a child lacks intelligence, perception or common sense. This is quite close in meaning to "nonsense" which describes an irritating, disrespectfulor obnoxious behaviour. "Stinking" and "ugly" have almost the same implications. "Stinking" means something gives off very strong and unpleasant smell. Most parents however often use it to mean unpleasant or contemptible as an action or behaviour. This is also somewhat close to "ugly" which refers to something unpleasant or objectionable or morally repulsive. It also means a lack in appealing physical features, especially facial ones. It is also used to describe a tendency to result in violence or hostility. Most of the parents only use it to reprimand specific behaviours and not to describe the physical features of their children. Three parents however indicated that they sometimes use it to describe their grown-up daughters' makeups in a bid to encourage them to be more natural than artificial. The word "wayward" refers to someone who is disobedient and uncontrollable and the phrase "empty head" is an offensive phrase used to insult someone's intelligence. These invectives appeal to

behaviour and unlike those which connote some sort of spiritual implications, they appeal more to victims actions and manner of relating with others.

iii.   Physical Invectives

Some of the parents indicated that they were most likely to use body parts such as head, size and height but they only used them for purposes of correction and not to ridicule their children's nature. Some indicated that they use body part invectives depending on the crime committed. For example when a child strays a lot, they could use their legs (e.g. twisted legs) and if the children get so interested in things that have nothing to do with them, they could use their eyes (e.g. * I will pierce your fat eyes!) etc. They remarked that they use size to discourage so much eating. Consequently they could use expressions like "*take your fatself out of here! *Continue to eat like a pig, fat fool! *You will explode someday, if you like eat whatever you see!" etc. Those who use height claimed they only use it when they are angry and desire to retaliate in a way that directly hurt the children's pride. Some parents were, however,noticed to insult their children's genitals, though in very creative ways some of which were sometimes delivered in indigenous languages. Consequently, such invectives as "*may God cut off your penis!" were used. Most of the parents, however, indicated that they are most likely to use invectives connected to behaviour than others as could be seen on Figure Two below.

Figure Two: Parents' Preferred Invectives
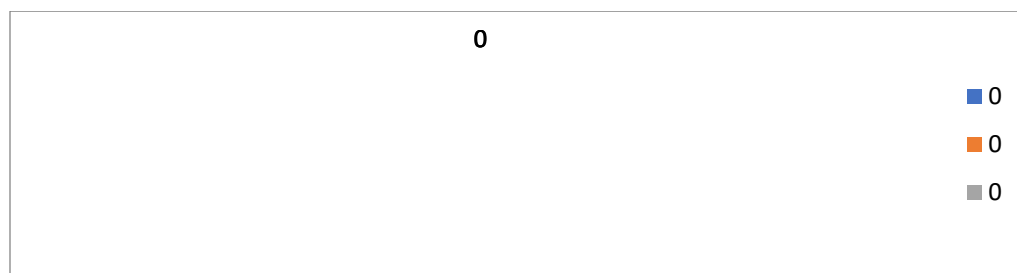
While some parents feel comfortable insulting their children in different ways, they lose sight of the fact that some children could totally disregard the pragmatic expression of anger and ignorantly interpret them from a purely superficial angle which could have a farfetched implication on their cognitive growth. Consequently 50 children were interviewed on their parents' repulsive nature as well as their invective preferences. The following table shows the children's attitudes towards parents' invectives.

Alternative reactions	Freq.	%
Very angry	6	12%
Angry	21	42%
Normal	23	46%
Comfortable	0	0%
Very comfortable	0	0%
Total	50	100%

Clearly, while parents may use remarkably insightful invectives on their children, the majority of the children have grown to be used to their preferences and so find it quite normal. The children who said they found it normal also added that they grew up hearing a lot of such expressions from their parents and so when they hear them now, they really do not mean much more than they did so many years back and they know their parents do not mean what they say. This could mean that the children quickly recognised their parents' mood at such a time and understood that they were only cursing because they were mad at them. 27 others however indicated that they get angry when parents use certain insightful invectives especially those with spiritual inclinations. This is so because they feel that they come with curses that could affect them at some point in the future. They also indicated sad feelings on invectives connected to body parts because, as some of them indicated, they are not responsible for their nature and so should not be ridiculed, especially by their own parents.We however noticed all six children, who took this stance, had a complex background or relationship with the parents. Some had lost a parent and others were only adopted into their new homes. Consequently, whenever invectives were used on them, they interpreted them in relation to their background.

The children were asked if such insightful preferences affected their social life and all 27 children said it does, though at different levels. Some felt that it affected their studies while others said they really did not allow parents' invectives affect them because the parents were almost always using them. 13 (48.14%) of those who felt angry when invectives were used actually indicated that sometimes it affected their moods and consequently their social interactions or activities. Some of them simply said that they detested insults

especially when they come from parents. Those who shared this view also said that it affected their confidence and also the way they related with their parents and friends especially during such moments.

6. Conclusion

In this study, it was realised that Cameroonian parents use different types of invectives, including those with spiritual, behavioural and physical inclinations and that children are more likely to be psychologically affected by spiritual and physical invectives because they touch on ideologies that could influence their beliefs in themselves. While it could be quite difficult to totally transmute parents' invective preferences, these can be mitigated to a certain extent through regular educative programmes that sensitize them on the effects of invectives on children's cognitive development. The Sociolinguisitic Profile and Development of Cameroon project could delve into the investigation of the effective psychological and cognitive effects of the use of invectives on children. It could also investigate the effect of Media sensitization programmes on the use of invectives on children's societal relationships and project from time to time, to discourage psychologically disturbing insults which could affect children's effective contribution to nation building. The project can also investigate the use of invectives in other towns and in the rural areas in order to inform policy on the necessity of polite language usage between parents and their children.

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Petrol-Culture and Women's Survival Strategies: A Cultural Ecofeminist Perspective in Selected Niger Delta Narratives

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Abstract

This study aims to interrogate petrol-culture in literary representation in order to discuss Niger Delta women's strategies to survive existentialist conditions caused by oil culture. Interventions and discourses on feminist ecologies or ecologies of feminism have increased enormously in the last decade and take varied perspectives in different contexts, experiences, and kinds of mediations. This multiplicity of perspectives calls for the necessity to continue conceptualizing ecofeminisms in order to continue to edify the interlink between humans and the environment. That is why informed by cultural ecofeminism, this article analyzes Tanure Ojaide's *The Activist* (2006), Helon Habila's *Oil on Water* (2010) and Inno Ejike's *Oil at My Backyard* (2014) in order to discuss how women struggle to survive against the background of hegemonic tendencies in petroleum exploitation cultures that oppress and repress human and nonhuman others. In the process, the article establishes the interrelationship between ecological and feminine repressions and strategies of human survival and eco-restoration in the context of petrol-cultures in literary representations. It also retrieves discourses that articulate African Women's embedded ecological ethics and intimate interrrelationships and interdependencies with nature in petrol-cultural, social and epistemic spaces. The contention is that cultural ecofeminism does not only reveal hegemony's domination of human and nonhuman others, but it reveals how the intimate interlink between women and nature permits women to be profoundly sensitive, understanding and responsive to hegemonic ruination as they work to survive and also to restore the sacredness and sanctity of ecology. The analysis reveals that some degree of eco-consciousness and feminist knowledge of the intimate interlink between women and nature proffers mitigating steps towards curbing the effects of hegemonic petrol-cultural excesses on humans and nonhumans others.

Key Words: Petrol-culture, women, survival strategies, narratives, Niger Delta

1. Introduction

Environmental study is one of the most topical and sensitive areas in contemporary academic discourses. This is because of the diverse environmental challenges faced by human beings and elements of the biosphere. In a bid to discover the causes and effects of

environmental challenges, many researchers and critics across academic disciplines have taken great interest on environmental studies. Literary critics in their varied ways are foregrounding the vital role African literary writers play in the imagination of ecologies. Amongst them are: Enna Sukutai Gudhlanga, Josephine Muganiwa and Musa Wenkosi Dube (2022); Cajetan Iheka (2021); Ernest N. Emenyonu, Cajetan Iheka and Stephanie Newell (2020); Sule Emmanuel Egya (2020); Cajetan Iheka (2019); Eve Nabulya (2018); Eunice Ngongkum (2017), Nol Alembong, Oscar Labang and Eunice F. Fombele (2015); Sarah Harrison (2015) ; Munyaradzi Mawere (2013) ; Byron Caminero-Santangelo (2007) ; Cara Cilano and Elizabeth DeLoughrey (2007) ; Graham Huggan and Helen Tiffin (2007) ; Rob Nixon (2005).

Other literary critics have particularly focused on the link between feminism and/or women and ecology in African Literature. For example, Terry Westby-Nunn (2021) who discusses ecofeminism as a tool to resist oppressive toxic power and magical realism as a tool to contest reality, hence to her, magical realist devices are an effective means of communicating crucial ecofeminist concerns. Also, Salman Mohammed Salama (2020) explores the parallels between the degradation of the environment and the oppression of women in NoViolet Bulawayo's novel *We Need New Names* while Peter O.O. Ottuh (2020) contends that the primary belief of ecofeminism is that male supremacy over women parallels the suppression of nature and that this mutual domination has led to environmental destruction by the controlling patriarchal society. Munamato Chemhuru (2019) on his part interpretes ecofeminist environmentalism in the African communitarian philosophy and *Ubuntu*, with the aim to reflect on how this interconnected philosophy is an alternative to anthropocentrism. Also, Ifechelobi Jane Nkechi and Asika Ikechukwu Emmanuel (2017) have analysed Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* through an ecofeminist lens with the aim to showcase the role of women and their interconnectedness with nature. Further, through an interrogation of selected works by Sindiwe Magona, Dianne Shober (2017) seeks "to reveal the value of literature as a tool to counteract destructive political and patriarchal rhetorical paradigms, which have served to oppress nature and women and, through ecofeminist discourse, mitigate lasting global change" (1). Eunice F. Fombele uses the ecofeminist lens to demonstrate how Werewere Liking in *Orphee Dafric* shapes perceptions of human/nature relations as she builds an African ecocultural identity (2015).

Lilian Cheelo Siwela (2014) also traces the ecological footprints of our foremothers as an ecofeminist approach to women's interconnectedness with nature. Directly related to the present paper in context and subject matter is Ikechi Chioma Elizabeth's, Rohimmi Noor's and Rosli Talif's (2020) publication, which focuses on Christie Watson's *Tiny Sunbirds Faraway. The article* discusses the context of the Niger-Delta region of Nigeria, using an ecofeminist point of view, which to them, is vital to unveil the exploitations of the natural environment and its resources while examining the connections between women and nature.

Research around African environmentalism and ecofeminism in African literature has enormously progressed in recent years, establishing the interlink between women's subjugation and nature's oppression. The present researchers still see the need to contribute in the ecofeminist discourses in African Literature because the study of the interlink between feminism and ecology take differing perspectives in different cultural contexts, communities, class, race, experiences and practices. Siwila (2004: 132) supports this claim when she maintains that, "ecofeminism can be described as a challenging multifaceted and multilocated structure". Also, Mary Mellor (1997: 296) observes that although ecofeminism posits a linkage "the nature of the link between women and nature and the source of their common experience are more problematic questions". Moreso, Trish Glazebrook (2002: 13) posits that "Ecofeminists insist that feminism and environmentalism are inherntly connected, but it is not always clear what the nature of that connection is". By framimg cultural ecofeminism to analyse selected literary texts from the Niger Delta petroleum exploiting cultures, the present work contributes in the needed continuous conceptualisation of the perspectives in the link between feminisms and ecologies. Using Tanure Ojaide's *The Activist* (2006), Helon Habila's *Oil on Water* (2010) and Inno Ejike's *Oil at My Backyard* (2014) this article offers a critical discussion of imperial hegemony's unsustainable exploitation of nature that results in the subjugation of human and nonhuman others and reveals the link between ecological and feminine repressions in petrol-cultures. The paper maintains that inasmuch as petroleum exploitation has far-reaching consequences on humans in general, the process of petroleum exploitation has far more degenerating effects on nature and inhumane effects on women.

However, because of the intimate interrelationships and interdependencies women have with ecology because of their socially constructed gender roles and responsibilities, they have learned to adopt eco-conscious survival strategies and to work towards eco-reparations. In this perspective, the analysis retrieves discourses that articulate African Women's embedded ecological ethics and strategies of survival in petrol-cultural, social and epistemic spaces.

2. The Cultural Ecofeminist Frame

This study frames cultural ecofeminism to interpret the selected Niger Delta petrol-cultural narratives. To understand cultural ecofeminism, one needs to first understand what ecofeminism is. The term ecofeminism was coined by the French writer Françoise d'Eaubonne in her book *Le Féminisme ou la Mort* (1974) translated as *Feminism or Death* (2022). According to her, ecofeminism relates the oppression and domination of all marginalized groups (women, people of color, children, the poor) to the oppression and domination of nature (animals, land, water, air, etc.). This means that ecofeminism interrogates the subjugation of both human and nonhuman others. This association between ecology and human others as seen in Cecilia Herles (2000: 109) operates "as a source of both subjugation and resistance, exploitation and inspiration." Jeffrey Bile (2011: 13) maintains that this discursive formulation has three lines of argument: "deconstruction, revaluation, and a third way". These lines of argument are varied ways to critically analyse a literary text using ecofeminism, which to Laila Fariha Zein (2017: 2): "is a branch of feminism that sees environmentalism, and the relationship between women and the earth, as foundational to its analysis and practice. Zein (2017) adds that there are several branches of ecofeminism today having different approaches to the study of the relationship between the woman and the environment, some of which are: liberal ecofeminism, spiritual/cultural ecofeminism, and social/socialist ecofeminism (or materialist ecofeminism) and vegetarian ecofeminism. The spiritual/cultural ecofeminist strand is framed for analysis in this article.

The spiritual/cultural ecofeminist perspective looks at the domination of hegemonic mainstream cultures of patriarchy and imperialism over women and nonhumans, the effects of such repressive forces, strategies of resistance, revaluation, and reparation with survival inspirations. Cultural ecofeminism as Val Plumwood (1993: 7) insists looks at the

meaningful nature of the interrelatedness of female consciousness with nature and other forms of domination:

> If we are women, we have as a group interest to escaping our ancient domination. We women also have an interest, which we share with all other living creatures and among them with men, in a sound and healthy planet, in sound, healthy and balanced ecosystems and in a sustainable and satisfying way of living on the earth.

This means that the anti-sexist and anti-imperialist thinking in relation to environmental ethics deconstructs, resists, revaluates and creates the third space of epistemes of interrelations and interdependencies in convivial existence between humans and nonhumans. Cultural ecofeminism according to Birkeland (1993: 20) attempts in "the promotion of equality, nonviolence, cultural diversity and participatory, noncompetitive, nonhierarchical forms of organisation and decision making." Accordingly, cultural feminism aids to curb the excesses of the capitalist mentality in petrol-cultural environments in that the theory propels the analysis to discuss the negative effects unsustainable oil exploitation activities exert on human and nonhuman other; it helps reveal values that curb inequalities between men and women within the web of nature; it reveals the interconnectedness and interdependencies that exist between women and ecology. Therefore, cultural ecofeminism helps the analysis to deconstuct human and nonhuman others as products of cultural constructs and the result is that the position of women and nature and, in fact, humankind in general, is revalued in that paradigm shift.

According to Carolyn Merchant (2017), spiritual/cultural ecofeminism celebrates the relationship between the woman, nature and culture expressed in the worship of earth goddesses (Mother Earth) or other forms of spirituality which clearly present the woman as earth-centered, thus this strand of ecofeminism advocates a sense of human-nature interrelationship. Kathryn Miles (no date) also contends that "cultural ecofeminism has roots in nature-based religions and goddess and nature worship as a way of redeeming both the spirituality of nature and women's instrumental role in that spirituality." The spiritual aspects of cultural ecofeminisms also have bearings in the analysis of ecological feminisms in oil cultural literary representations of Africa.

Unlike radical ecofeminism which is built on the assertion that the study of hegemonic imperial and patriarchal domination should be geared towards ending the interlink between women and nature, that the negative or tradable characteristics that

surround that association encourage the exploitation of women and nature for cheap labour and resources, cultural ecofeminists is forward looking. As defended in this article, cultural ecofeminists encourage the analysis of the interconnectedness and interdependencies between human and nonhuman worlds in order to understand the interlinkages between women and nature in terms of their repression and in terms of their familiarity and intimacy. Kathryn Miles (no date) has insisted that cultural ecofeminists believe the sensitive link between women and nature ought to be valued and understood by society as it gives the human world a more direct and much needed connection to the natural world with which human beings must continue to have an ecological coexistence.

3. Women's Eco-consciousness and Survival Strategies in Oil Cultures

Women in petrol-cultures as portrayed in the selected narratives are confronted with environmental hazards caused by eco-unfriendly exploitation of the environment by imperial hegemonic cultural actors and the Federal Nigerian Government. Challenged by this existential menace, women are forced to develop a sense of eco-consciousness. That is why writers from oil exploitation cultures are informed by this environmental threat background as their naratives represent women's eco-consciousness and survival strategies. Using Tanure Ojaide's *The Activist* (2006), Helon Habila's *Oil on Water* (2010) and Inno Ejike's *Oil at My Backyard* (2014), this subsection demonstates with the use of the cultural ecofeminist frame, how women in the selected narratives are eco-conscious and how they develop survival strategies that are eco-reparative.

In *The Activist*, women demonstrate their eco-nsciousness when they take up the repsonsibility to address the environmental problem caused by Shell and Texaco. These Multinational Corporations are a symbolic representation of imperial hegemony's culture of unsustainable exploitation of nature that results in the oppression of human and non-human others. It is this domination of hegemony's mainstream culture of imperialism that cultural ecofeminists resist. As cultural ecofeminists, Ojaide's women counter repressive forces through strategies of communal evaluation and reparation. This sense of eco-consciousness leads Mrs. Tami Taylor to convene a meeting of Warri women where they strategize and discuss issues that pertain to their well-being. Women caution each other not to cast a blind eye on the ongoing pollution and other forms of environmental degrading

effects on their environment. In the following excerpt Mrs Taylor reveals to women in the meeting the reasons why they need to be sensivtive and conscious of the dangers possed to their environment:

> I have called you my fellow sisters to discuss the many issues that pertain to us in the ongoing oil exploration in our area. Let us not pretend and say we don't know what fueled the crisis in the Warri and neighbouring areas. It was oil that caused the bloody conflagration that we have just survived. Before oil was discovered in the area, every fisherman could afford to buy for themselves as many nets as needed. When did a proud people start fighting charity? (Ojaide: 238)

The rhetorical question at the end of this quotation reveals that Mrs Taylor and the women are conscious of the negative effects caused by the activities of petroleum exploitation on the environment. Witness how their rivers and soil are destroyed and this damage in turn cost humans their livelihood and wellbeing, demonstrating how oil activities destabilise the interdependency and interconnection between humans and nature. Cultural ecofeminists highligt the association between ecology and human others as Herles (2000) insists that the damage of the interlink between human and nature is a source of subjugation and exploitation of human others and of nature.

One of the resolutions of the convened meeting is the formation of the Women for the Delta Forum (WODEFOR) association. The association becomes a platform for communal discussions of survival strategies in an environment that has become eco-unfriendly because of the degrading effects of oil exploitation. The formation of WODEFOR in a rural patriarchal Niger Delta community in which women and nature are oppressed, exploited and rendered voiceless by foreign multinational corporations is of parampount importance to the survival of the women and restoration of nature. The discussions and resolutions of the WODEFOR on session is revealing of the women's determination to confront their existential conditions:

> An executive committee was also put in place, Women of the Delta Forum (WODEFOR) …The women primed themselves for action. They would look for ways to talk to oil companies to persuade them to arrest the deteriorating envrionmental situation in the Niger Delta. They would also address the military government about their ocncerns. They knew that would be a difficult task because the soldiers in the government did not respect women. They saw women only as sex mates and would be pushed hard for a meaningful discussion, but they would do their possible best. (Ojaide: 244)

The women do not have only the environmental problems to address, but also the patriarchal military and the Nigerian government to confront. The strategy of reparation women adopt in the meeting is that they should be sensitive and conscious of the dangers possed to the environment as a result of unsustainable exploitatoion of the environment. This is a forward-looking step on finding solutions to environmental predicaments that surround them, a pertinent tenet of cultural ecofeminism.

Ojaide (2006) represents the role of the women in an environmentally degrading community as agents of change. Women are conscious of the interdependent relationship humans have with the environment. They are alert of the dangers of facinf them as the environment is being abused by human capitalist greed and ecologcally hegemonic repressive activties of multinationals petroleum exploittaion agents. The women put in place survival strategies that go a long way to protect, preserve and restore their natural reosurces from completely being jeopardized. They value their environment and all its resources like rivers, the forests, farmlands on which they depend for survival. In order to protect these environmental resources and ensure a healthy and environmentally sensitive community, Ojaide shows how the women stand at the vanguard of ecological restoration by bringing up strategies that will enable them remain resilient and survive admist the enviromental pollution and abuse of their inextricable relationship with nature. Ojaide paints a picture of one of the female survival strategies when the narrator underscores that:

> we need to act now before it is too late. We have all seen how each matter get worse. Our lives cannot be one long story of being victimized. We have to put a stop to being victimized in order for us to live happy and contented lives. It is a fight for survival. No matter what happens, we shall be victorious because our cause is just." (Ojaide: 266).

The women of an ecologiclaly degrading community, who are conscious of their responsibilities and interlinked relationship with nature, take timely and ecofriendly actions to liberate themsleves and the entire community from continuously being victimized by the hegemonic manifestation of petrol-capitalism. Their eco-conscious action and determination is enshrined in the fact that, they believe against all odds that, they will be victorious in their actions to restore the environment and environmental resources so as to continually explore their interdependent relationship in order to meet up with their socio-economic responsibilities.

The women of the petroleum bearing community of Ojaide's text are conscious of the values and significance of their environment and its resources. As cultural ecofeminists, the women fight to maintain an ecological coexistence with their environment:

> the women discuss how to make their environment safe from pollution and attract real development. Bell Oil, the other oil companies, and the Federal Military Government could make as much wealth as they wanted from the sea, but let them be mindful that people had always lived there and were still living there. The communities of the oil-producing areas wanted to breathe fresh and clean air in their streams and rivers. They did not want to eat fish that harboured poison in them. They wanted to farm their own crops to be self-reliant on food. They wanted to live healthy life. And they wanted the damage done to the environment to be treated seriously. (Ojaide: 243)

They desire a healthy community with clean water, fresh and healthy air and cultivatable farmlands to carry out their social responsibilities of providing for their families and the general preservation of their close relationship with elements of the biosphere. The role of the Government and multinationals in the exploitation of the environment and its resources is predominantly repressive and hegemonic and the result is the unsustainable exploitation of enrivonmental resources. As cultural ecofeminists, the women of this environmentally degrading society map out survival strategies that work tewards ecological restoration and preservation of their relationship with the environment.

The women of the despoiled community find strenght in unity as a survival strategy. They consider coming together and addressing their problems as one of the strategies that could help them survive the challenegs posed by the multinational corporations on their lands. Considering the nexus between the women and nature, and how the pollution of the human and non-human elements of the environment affects their roles and responsibilities in the community, the women decide to speak as one people as they organize private meetings among themselves to find solutions to the problems that plague their land. The women have realised that their survival in a community attacked by eco-unfriendly human activities will not be possible if their little differences are not resolved to give them a neutral and conducive platform to address their problems. This explains why women of all walks of life come together in the meeting to reconcile and be at peace with one another. This reconciliatory meeting is led by Mrs. Timi, who brings women doctors, lecturers, lawyers, priestesses to a meeting to brainstorm on their common challenges as a way of finding possible solutions to the destopic activities of the multinational companies in their

community. The need for unity and sense of responsibility for community survival is revealed in Umutor's words:

> I am Umutor and I came this morning from Oginibo. I knew this was going to be a great meeting and missing a day's work is no problem. After all, there is not much to show for the hard work because of our soil and rivers. Thank you, Timi, for calling us women together. We have before now been divided into wives and daughters in our separate villages and towns, but this is the first time we are meeting as women. (Ojaide: 239)

This sense of unity is a relevant survival strategy for women whom together with nature, are oppressed by the repressive and petrol-capitalist activities of the foreign multinational companies which deprvive them of their intimate and interdependent relationship with nature.

In *Oil on Water*, Habila's (2010) women are driven by the spirit of eco-consciousness and the desire to uphold the values and sanctity of their intimate relationship with nature. Their cultural eco-conscious existence is mapped out as they come together as Worshippers with the aim of using their cultures and traditions to restore their despoiled environment. The use of the African culture and tradition by the women as a survival strategy to curtail the negative effects of oil exploitation reveals a cultural ecofeminist tendency. Confronted by pollution and a degrading environment, the women of the Irikefe community put in place cultural ecofeminist strategies of restoration of the values of their environment. The situation is captured in this excerpt:

> The land was so polluted that even the water in the wells turned red. That was when the priests from different shrines got together and decided to build this shrine by the sea….And each day the worshippers go in procession to the sea, to bathe in it, to cry to it, and to promise never to abominate it ever again. And did that help? Did the rivers turn normal? Yes, and ever since we have managed to keep this Island free from oil prospecting and other activities that contaminated the water and lead to greed and violence. (Habila: 130).

The efficacy of the African eco-culture in environmental restoration is underscored. To preserve their nexus with nature, the rural women of the despoiled community of the text apply the knowledege of their culture by coming together in one accord, aknowledging that their rivers and lands have been abused by the culture of petroleum exploitation. Against this backdrop, the women decide to go together in procession and in a solemn spirirt of worship to the sea where they perform rituals of envrironmental purification. The performance of this act of ecological cleansing by

the women of such a polluted community is a demonstration of a sense of eco-consiouness. The efficacy of their spiritual action is confirmed as it restores the values and sancitity of their river that was already polluted and abused by activities of the petroleum exploitation officers.

Habila (2010) further in the narrative presents a young woman, Gloria, who uses her profession as a medical doctor to deploy survival strategies in order to avert the numerous deaths recorded in the community of Irikefe. The deaths results from the populations' drinking of polluted water and their exposure to gas flares. Gloria unravels one of the efforts she makes towards arresting the negative effects of pollution on the people and the different elements of nature when she states that:

> Well, I did my duty as their doctor. I told them the dangers that accompany that quenchless flare, but they wouldn't listen. And then a year later, when the livestock began to die, and the plants began to wither on their stalks, I took samples of the drinking water and in my lab I measured the level of toxins in it: it was rising steadily…when I confronted the oil workers, they offered me money and a job. The manager, an Italian guy, wrote a cheque and said I was now on their payroll. He told me to continue doing what I was doing, but this time I was to come to him only with my results. I thought they'd do something with my results, but they didn't. (Habila: 92)

In a community like Irikefe where strong network of systemic corruption has been established between the foreign petroleum explorers, the government and the community leaders. These foreign explorers consider this network as a liscene to ravage the population and their natural resources through gas flaring and oil spillage whose precarious effects are evident in the death of livestock, plants, and the people of the community. This strong foundation and network of corruption renders the initiative and efforts of Gloria futile. Her lab results reveal the high level of toxins in the water that the people consume as the cause of numerous deaths. But instead of making efforts to address the problem and rescue the people from their deplorable conditions, the manager offers to bribe her into ignoring the effects of their activities on the people which makes Gloria's initiative fruitless.

Gloria remains firm in her decision to fight for the survival of the people of Irikefe despite oppositions from perpetrators. After failing to convince the Italian manager of the petroleum company into addressing the problem of pollution caused by culture of petroleum exploitation, Gloria refuses to give up. She comes up with another survival strategy that could resolve the environmental pollution and numerous dead recorded daily

in Irikefe. In her second efforts, Gloria takes blood samples and records the toxins level, and this time, she presents the results to the government. But nothing is done to address the situation. Through satire, the government and NGOs which are supposed to be more concerned about the wellbeing of the people, are revealed as those who give a deaf ear to the unspeakable effects of pollution on the citizens and the environment.

Enno Ejike (2014) in *Oil at My Backyard* presents a set of ecologically restoring methodologies used by the womenfolk to curtail the negative effects of petrol-culture. This is underscored when the women whose water, farmland, air are polluted and destroyed, tend to call the attention of the agents and the government. Their cry for help fails on deaf ears and they resort to using personal methods to survive the negative effects of petrol-culture as they protect and restore their rich environment. The narrator of *Oil at My Backyard* reveals the strategies deployed by one of the women of the community of Rumuma to assuage the plight and agony of the community women. Their strong nexus with their environment has been jeopardized by the activities of the multinational corporations. This is underscored when the narrator tells Chris about the efforts of Ngozi, his wife in the following excerpt:

> Your wife was with us in this village and she put up a spirited performance to alleviate the sufferings of the womenfolk. Some of the projects she initiated are yielding dividends to the women at large. Such is evident at our market square and our acceptance to apply organic fertilizer in our farms. (Ejike: 162)

The continuous ecological oppression and subjugation by the activities of the transnational corporations in Rumuma jeopardize the interconnected relationship between women and the environment. As a result, Ngozi comes up with a project to help liberate the suffering rural women from their plight and to restore their relationship with the environment. This serves as a survival strategy in that, through Ngozi, the women are able to engage in their agricultural activities through which they provide for the families.

Education is one of the strategies womenfolk acquire to help them manage the degrading environment. Ejike (2014) presents a woman who, though disturbed and frustrated by the hegemonic oppression of the environment via petrol-cultural activities, resorts to studying petroleum engineering abroad. She comes back home with the knowledge acquired in order to transform mindsets and educate the community on how to

avert environmental predicaments. Ngozi wins a scholarship to study in America where Chris her husband is. We are told that she begins her studies when the narrator reveals that "Ngozi settled down for classes without waste of time. At first it was difficult understanding American accent, especially from Blacks" (Ejike: 147). Knowledge on petroleum exploitation by the indigenous population of Niger Delta is considered here as a palpable strategy needed to unseat the petrol-capitalist and environmentally degrading activities evident in the culture of petroleum exploitation. This challenge is taken by a woman to safe her community from environmental abuse and to preserve the relationship between the woman and nature.

Ngozi's studies change the narrative of suffering in the life of her indigenous population. She believes that rather than using violence, knowledge could be best transformative strategy to bring a change as "she indicated her intention to run for the post of Local Government Chairman" (Ejike: 176). Through her zeal for knowledge that could transform her community and better the situation of her people, Ngozi pulls a political crowd which leads to her success as the Local Government Chairperson of her community. Her successful transformative activities are revealed as follows:

> Ngozi took over the mantle of leadership on a bright note. As soon as she was sworn into office, the oil companies operating in her Local Government Area paid their outstanding education fund, which was accruing for the past three years. She swung into action immediately. She paid all arrears of bursary owned to the students from her Local Government Area. She announced five additional scholarships to each village and built an additional classroom block in each of the fifteen towns that made up her Local Government Area. She approached the oil companies to support her pet project, specialist hospital for women and children. (178)

Ngozi's leadership contributes significantly to the development of her community and brings about a transformation for the good of her people. It serves as a platform for the indigenous population to cope amidst the negative effects of petrol-culture. Both women, young girls and children could be taken care of. She is an ideal woman whose example must be emulated by other women in the petroleum-bearing communities. She runs an open-door office and welcomes everyone into her office, listens to people and tries to handle their problems. As a result of her leadership, Petroleum companies could no longer eject oil into the atmosphere arbitrarily. Advanced equipment is made available to reduce environmental effects of the culture of petroleum exploitation. It is revealed by the narrator how she goes

between the youth's demands and the company to make sure that the people are not exploited but satisfied by the oil company. This presents a leader who has risen to make a difference for the good of her people and the entire community. Thus, an exemplary strategy for all female folks in the ecologically degrading community.

4. **Conclusion**

This article set out to interrogate petrol-culture in selected Niger Delta fiction in order to discuss eco-consciousness and strategies to survive deplorable conditions caused by oil culture. This article has analyzed Tanure Ojaide's *The Activist* (2006), Helon Habila's *Oil on Water* (2010), Inno Ejike's *Oil at My Backyard* (2014) in order to discuss how women struggle to survive against the negative effects of subjugation, exploitation, and the abuse of environment in petroleum exploitation cultures that oppress and repress human and nonhuman others. From the analysis, it is realized that despite the environmentally harmful effects of oil-culture on the human and non-human others in petroleum exploitation communities, the women are cultural ecofeminist solution oriented, that is, they are forward looking. The article has established the interrelationship between ecological and feminine repressions and strategies of human survival and eco-restoration in the context of petrol-cultures in literary representations, which is a cultural ecofeminist tenet. It has also retrieved discourses that articulate African Women's embedded ecological ethics and intimate interrrelationships and interdependencies with nature in petrol-cultural, social and epistemic spaces. The discussion revealed that cultural ecofeminism does not only reveal hegemony's domination of human and nonhuman others, but it reveals how the intimate interlink between women and nature permits women to be profoundly sensitive, understanding and responsive to hegemonic ruination as they work to survive and also to restore the sacredness and sanctity of ecology.

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Immersion in Buea, Cameroon: Has Cameroon Pidgin Creole Stolen the Show?

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Abstract

From the early 80s when Cameroon could no longer sponsor immersion in Britain and France for anglophone and francophone students respectively, the anglophone and francophone regions of the country have been made to entertain the programme. Students of the Universities of Yaounde 1 and Buea offering the bilingual programme in English and French move to these two towns during the second semester of their final year. It is supposed that Buea is English speaking because it is found in the anglophone region while Yaounde is French-speaking since it is in the Francophone region. This study was carried out in Buea, particularly on the campus of the University of Buea and the surrounding towns. Observers were placed at entry points into the University and around the University environment to observe and note what language each pair or group of people passing by spoke. It was observed that Cameroon Pidgin Creole comes first, followed by English, French and the mother tongue. This paper therefore argues that if immersion means going beyond the classroom to equally learn from the environment, then the students from the French speaking background will not be reinforcing the English learned in the French dominated environment. They will, however, be learning a new language which is equally good for national integration, but not the goal for which they went for immersion. This in itself is a source of conflict. The theory used for this paper is the socialization theory by Cazden (2001).

Key Words: Immersion, Buea, Pidgin, Creole

1. Introduction

The immersion programme in Cameroon has gone on for so many years now amidst a fast changing linguistics sphere, but very little has been done to find out whether those who are supposed to benefit from the programme actually benefit from it. Though this study does not out rightly investigate that, the sociolinguistic presentation of the immersion environment as it is now will help one to say whether the programme is meeting its goals or not. In a bilingual country like Cameroon, the need to have students express themselves in both English and French is the major idea behind the creation of bilingual institutions in the country. Immersion begins in Cameroon as early as nursery school (Sokeng 2013), however, immersion programmes are more organized at the tertiary than at the elementary levels in Cameroon. In fact, Echu (2005:643) says 'it is more or less a private initiative in Cameroon having no systematic form of organization whatsoever'. The universities of

Yaounde I and Buea, all state institutions, have been involved in this exchange programme. In the 2016/2017 academic year, St Jerome Catholic University in Douala also began sending students to the Faculty of Arts of the University of Buea for the immersion programme. This shows that the need to address the linguistic concerns of the environment in which this programme takes place is imperative.

The purpose of this sociolinguistic study is to show that students who leave Yaounde or Douala to Buea for immersion programme have as goal to improve on their spoken English from the environment in which the study is done. They are also expected to acquaint themselves with a new culture of the immersion environment. This study however, focuses only on the linguistic aspect of the immersion programme and the conflict that can likely ensue if the students fail to meet their expected needs. It studies the languages spoken in the environment in which the immersion students carry out their studies. Given that for now, two universities- Yaounde 1 and St Jerome, view Buea as the best environment for the immersion of their students, most certainly because it is in one of the two English-speaking regions of Cameroon, this study becomes very necessary as the result may provide the stakeholders in this programme with some vital information that may help them reorganize the programme.

2. Background of the Study

Immersion program is an alternate term for a dual language program in which thestudents learn academic content through two languages (Springer, Anton and Woerner, 2017). As for the case of Cameroon, Echu (2005: 643) holds that 'as regards the traditional Anglophone and Francophone systems of education, the term immersion is commonly used when Francophones attend Anglophone schools or when Anglophones attend Francophone schools'. Baker (2007) cited in Sokeng (2013:170) holds that the term 'immersion' was first used to describe intensive language programs for US troops about to go abroad in the Second World War. In the 60s, 'immersion education' was coined in Canada to describe a new form of bilingual education. In the 70s, during the post-colonial period, Francophones went to England and Anglophones to France. During the 1980, there was an economic crisis which rendered the Cameroon government incapable sending the students out of the country for this programme. Unable to send students out of the country for further studies,

the government signed an agreement with Higher Teachers Training College (H.T.T.C.) Bambili in order to send Francophone students to improve on their English while Anglophone students remained in the University of Yaoundé 1 to better acquire and learn French. That agreement ended in 2008/2009 for reasons those managing the programme now cannot explain. Since Cameroon has two English speaking regions, they decided to change the region from the North West to the South West and to the then lone Anglo-Saxon University. Thus as from 2009, the University of Yaoundé1 signed a five year agreement with the University of Buea. In 2010 and in 2011, a memorandum of understanding was signed between the two institutions, marking the start of the immersion programme.

3. Related Empirical Issues

This section reviews the languages already existing in the environment in which this immersion programme takes place. Given that local languages which are spoken by the local population in the area of study are not spoken commonly around the school environment where the students for immersion are usually lodged, the review will focus on three major commonly spoken languages, Cameroon Pidgin Creole, English and French. I will term this the linguistic situation of Buea town.

i. The Linguistic situation of Buea

As I have already indicated, the linguistic situation of Buea does not limit itself to a few languages. Buea is one of the cosmopolitan towns in Cameroon where hundreds of languages are spoken. Nevertheless, the commonly spoken languages where people of different linguistic backgrounds communicate with freely are Cameroon Pidgin Creole, English and French.

ii. Cameroon Pidgin Creole

Buea is the Headquarter of the southwest region, one of the two anglophones regions of Cameroon. According to Alobwede (1998), from 1400 to 1844, Cameroon coastal regions were under the sway of CPc. Considering that Buea is in the coastal region of Cameroon, one can safely conclude that pidgin started in the Southwest region very early than was the case in other regions of Cameroon, the Northwest region inclusive. Alobwede (1998:54)

carried out a survey on the acquisition of English and Pidgin English as a first language in some major towns in Cameroon. Of significance to this paper is the percentage of CPc vis-a-vis English language that immersion student seek to study in Buea.

Table 1: Acquisition of English and Pidgin in some selected cities

CITIES	ENGLISH	PIDGIN
Bamenda	3.5%	24%
Mamfe	1%	25%
Kumba	3%	22%
Buea	13%	28%
Limbe	9%	30%
Douala	6%	10%
Yaounde	8%	15%

It is clear from Alobwede's study that the rate of acquisition of pidgin in Buea is higher than of English language, meaning that people find it a more convenient mode of expression (Ubanako 2015:512). Since acquisition is not equal to production, it can be argued that one can acquire pidgin as a first language but stigmatisation of that language hampers usage. This study, which investigates usage, especially in Buea town where the use of pidgin is higher, covers the opening left by the 1998 study and a similar study much earlier by Koenig et al (1983).

iii.   **English language**

As for English in Buea, this town is the Headquarter of the South west region, an anglophone region. Although many scholars (Kouega 2002; Menang 2006; Fonka 2014) agree that the term anglophone in Cameroon is so peculiar to the Cameroon context because it is more about geographical location than linguistic division, there is no gainsaying that the acquisition of English is given the pride of place in this region. Kouega (2002:111) concludes his study in the Southern British Cameroon by stating that:

> English is used in the home when speaking with children; it is the major language of instruction in primary and secondary schools and a minor language in all professional schools. In religion, preachers and their flock make extensive use of it, and so do lawyers in courts. English is the language of educated people, the elite of the country.

It is clear from these findings that English dominates all professions, both public and private in the southwest region of Cameroon. This region has the first of the two Anglo-Saxon universities in Cameroon, the University of Buea, where everything is taught in English and admission, especially for those who did French education is based on the results of an intensive English language course. This is because unlike in the Francophone regions where English is a foreign language, in the southwest and the northwest regions, it is a second language. Seidlhofer's (2003) description of English as the language of science, technology and economics worldwide is an accurate description of English in the Buea. Given that Buea is not cut off from the rest of the world, English functions as an international language for international communication, collaboration and co-operation (Coleman 2010). It is one of the two official languages that connects Buea to other regions and the external world.

iv.   French Language

Buea shares borders with the littoral region, one of the eight French-speaking regions in Cameroon. This closeness facilitates a lot of mobility between these two regional capitals for business purposes. With the status of an official language in Cameroon, French is not limited to the eight francophone regions. Going by Biloa and Fonkoua's (2010:313) take that "le français est la principale langue de scolarisation et de communication au Cameroun" (French is a major language of education and of communication in Cameroon), it will hold also for Buea. This is very true for bilingual institutions in Buea and government structures where French is largely used for Communication. The origin of the effective use of French in education in the anglophone part of the country as a whole and Buea in particular is traced in Christiane and Courade (nd), when they indicate that in 1963, a federal bilingual government school was created and the Buea linguistic centre was closed in 1977. The teaching of French in this part of the country then changed from radio assisted to teaching by teachers like was the case in the francophone part of the country. The great use of French in Buea today can also be attributed to the fact that 'un effort particulier avait été consenti pour toucher les hauts fonctionnaires' (ibid: 525) (a particular effort was put in place to touch the high functionaries), who were living in the federal capital.

It can therefore be seen that from the very outset, the use of French was greatly encouraged in Buea because of her political status as a federal capital.

v.   Immersion in Cameroon

Immerse, from Latin word *immersionen or immersio,* is a word made up of two particles: the morpheme *im* that means 'in', 'into'; plus the stem *merse from megere* that means 'to plunge', 'to dip'. So, immerse signifies putting something in a liquid so that all the parts are completely covered. Taking from this brief etymological view point, we can say that 'Language Immersion Programme' is a programme that aims to enable students or learners of one language to be closer to another language by being in more contact with native speakers of the language, to develop and perfect listening and speaking skills and also, to appreciate the culture and traditions of the community in which the immersion is taking place. This means the immersion was a socialization programme. Socialization according to Cazden (2001:87) is the process of internalization through which human beings become members of particular cultures, learning how to speak as well as how to act and think and feel. Similar to the Canadian case where French immersion programs were developed in Canada to promote bilingualism among English speakers (Brisk 2001:697), French and English immersion programmes had as original purpose to promote bilingualism among Cameroonians of the French and English backgrounds.

According to Académie Lafayette (nd), the long-range goals of an immersion program include:

1. developing a high level of proficiency in the foreign language;
2. developing positive attitudes toward those who speak the foreign language and toward their culture(s);
3. developing English language skills commensurate with expectations for student's age and abilities;
4. gaining skills and knowledge in the content areas of the curriculum in keeping with stated objectives in these areas.

These goals are not different from those on the website of Etudes bilingues (Bilingual studies) of the bilingual department of the University of Yaounde 1. It is expected that during the immersion programme,

- students follow courses and undergo trainings that will highly improve their speaking-listening-writing abilities in their second language;

- They are encouraged to read books, listen newscasts, documentaries, speeches and to watch movies in their second language.
- At the end of this programme, the concerned students are required to provide a report in their target language, in which they give an account of the various activities they had been doing during the programme.

Still according to this source, this programme that lasts for three months, is undertaken by final year students for the degree programme. It should be noted that it was in 1960 that this programme was implemented in the University of Yaounde I, in the Department of Bilingual Studies. From its outset, year three students that are Anglophone and Francophone were sent to France and England respectively.

The downturn of Cameroonian economy from the mid-1980s to the early 2000s was a real upheaval for the University in a sense that, it was now underfunded and could not keep sending its students abroad. The University therefore fell back on ENS Bambili, an Anglophone area, with which it signed an agreement allowing Francophone to go there for their immersion while Anglophones remained in Yaounde. The agreement came into effect in 1990.

In 2009, another agreement between the universities of Yaounde and the University of Buea was signed. The aim was the same but the clause was modified. An exchange of students was added. Thus, since 2010, the University of Buea has remained the lone host of immersion students from the University of Yaounde 1.

Whether or not the environments, especially that of Buea, in which the immersion programme in Cameroon takes place is helping the programme to attend its objectives remains the major preoccupation.

4. Related Theoretical Issues

This paper is examined under the Language socialization theory by Cazden (2001). Socialization is the process of internalization through which human beings become members of particular cultures, learning how to speak as well as how to act and think and feel. The term 'language socialization' is used more often for the primary socialization that takes place during childhood within the family (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986, Ochs and

Schieffelin 2011); but it should also refer to secondary socializations throughout life to specialized forms and uses of language. There is general agreement that primary socialization occurs through participation, and through interaction between children and more mature speakers, both adults and peers. In fact, family and community settings for the virtually universally successful process of language socialization are often cited as the prototype of effective learning environments. While implicit immersion in language-related activities is certainly crucial, there is also evidence that more explicit tuition also occurs (Ochs 1990). This theory is apt for this study on immersion because the whole idea behind immersion is so that students who are involved get to socialize in their new environment with the aim of reinforcing their language B.

5. Methodology

With the help of my students, we did a linguistics survey of the Campus of the University of Buea and the neighbourhoods. Apart from the University campus where data collectors were set at every entry and exit points, the following places close to the University were also surveyed: Mile 17, UB Junction, Check Point, Dirty South, Ndongo Neighbourhood. Some were set at Molyko, mile seventeen and around check point, very close areas to the University. This is because all or most of the students for the immersion programme do not stay far away from the university. The 10 data collectors had as task to observe 50 groups or pairs of people in their different locations and note the language each group or pair was using for communication. Some liked the exercise and went beyond the number. Since the number simply improve on the data, all information gathered was used for this study. In all, 870 groups or pairs of people were observed and the result are presented in the next section. This data was collected within two academic years, 2015/2016 and 2016/2017. These were periods of stability before the anglophone crises rocked this region. This was equally not during the immersion period where many French-speaking students from Yaounde were always on campus.

6. Data Presentation and Analysis

As I noted in the methodology section, I used 10 data collectors for this study. The different observed locations out of the University campus are just a walking distance or a hundred francs for a taxi, making them students' residential areas. In all, 10 different locations were

surveyed on quite different days and in two years. As for the linguistic situation of the surveyed locations, at least three languages were spoken by the different group of people. From the data collected, the most frequent of the languages spoken were English, French and pidgin. Local languages or any foreign languages were captured as others. In cases where groups code-switched, their language was not noted because it would be biased choosing one of the languages. Table 2 presents the entire data collected, which corresponds to 870 groups or pairs of people.

Table 2: Language use in and around the University of Buea

Observation points	Languages				
	English	French	Pidgin	others	Total
Sossoliso	14	6	26	4	50
Science Faculty entry	16	12	21	1	50
Mile 17	7	15	25	3	50
UB Junction	23	15	60	2	100
Check point	24	17	33	8	81
Dirty South	49	62	240	21	372
Ndongo Neighourhood	11	4	28	7	50
Molyko	14	11	21	0	50
Second gate	7	5	8		20
UB Campus	7	8	35		50
Total	162	155	497	46	870

For this data to be visible, I have examined it under two environments that directly affect immersion students- the university campus and the university environment.

i.   Linguistic survey of the university Campus

By university campus, I am referring to those locations from the university gate to the campus where data was collected for this study. Of the ten locations, three of them were on Campus- the faculty of science entry, Faculty of education junction and second gate. A total of 120 groups were surveyed on Campus.

Table 3: Linguistic survey of the university Campus

Observat-ion points	Languages									
	English	**%**	**French**	**%**	**Pidgin**	**%**	**others**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Science Faculty entry	16	32%	12	24%	21	42%	1	2%	50	100%
Second gate	7	35%	5	25%	8	40%	0	0%	20	100%
UB Campus	7	14%	8	16%	35	70%	0	0%	50	100%
Total	30	25%	25	20.9%	64	53.3%	1	0.8 %	120	100%

The linguistic survey of the University campus as presented on table 3 shows that of the 120 groups of people observed, 30 (25%) discussed in English, 25 (20.9%) discussed in French, 63 (53.3%) discussed in Cameroon Pidgin Creole and 1 (0.8%) discussed in another language other than the three. It is clear from these statistics that if immersion students of the French expression from Yaounde were even to be confined on the campus of the University of Buea, their goal of improving on their English language would not be met. If we generalize this figures on table 3, it will indicate that only 25% of the total number of people on campus speaks English. Contrary to their expectation, 53.3% of the entire university community speaks CPc, a language some scholars and educator, as observed by Chia (2006:20), have alleged destroys English and also hampers its acquisition. This is not even an acceptable language on the campus of the University of Buea where there are a number of signs calling for people to distance themselves from Pidgin. The linguistic survey of the campus of the University of Buea shows that 75% of the languages use does not meet the expectations of students who come to Buea for immersion. The next section surveys the environment close to the University where many students live.

ii.   Linguistic survey of the University neighbourhood

By university neighbourhood, I mean those places that most likely serve as students' residential areas because of their proximity to the University. These include check point, Sossoliso, Mile 17, Ndongo neighbourhood, UB Junction, Dirty South and Molyko. A total of 750 groups or pairs of people were observed in these six neighbourhoods.

Table 4: Linguistic survey of University neighbourhood

| Neighbour-hoods surveyed	English	%	French	%	CPc	%	others	%	Total	%
					Languages					
Sossoliso	14	28%	6	12%	26	52%	4	8%	50	100%
Mile 17	7	14%	15	30%	25	50%	3	6%	50	100%
UB Junction	23	23%	15	15%	60	60%	2	2%	100	100%
Check point	24	29.3%	17	20.7%	33	40.3%	8	9.7%	82	100%
Dirty South	49	13.2%	62	16.7%	240	64.5%	21	5.6%	372	100%
Ndongo Neighourhood	11	22%	4	8%	28	56%	7	14%	50	100%
Molyko	14	28%	11	22%	25	50%	0	0%	50	100%
Total	142	18.9%	130	17.3%	433	57.8%	45	6%	750	100%

The results from the survey carried out in the various neighbourhoods are not much different from those of the University Campus. Of the 750 groups or pairs observed, 142 corresponding 18.9%, 130 corresponding to 17.3%, 433 corresponding to 57.8 and 45 corresponding 6% speak English, French, CPc and others respectively. Since the use of English out of Campus is not regulated as it is the case on Campus, it has shown a very significant drop. The other languages other than French and CPc that were almost insignificant on Campus are quite visible in the neighbourhood. Students of immersion living in these neighbourhoods are almost in English deprived environments as over 80 percent of the languages spoken are not languages of their primary interest. Of all the neighbourhoods surveyed, Dirty South, which is the closest to the university and inhabited largely by students has a total of 372 groups. This is a cumulative statistics given by different observers over the two years period. The curious thing about this neighbourhood is that it has the lowest rate of English usage, 13.2% and the highest rate of CPc, 64.5%. The linguistic situation of all these neighbourhoods is just a mirror image of Buea town, especially locations where students reside.

iii.   The omnipresence of Cameroon Pidgin Creole

The answer to whether or not CPc has stolen the show as far as the immersion environment in Buea is very clear. Yes, CPc has not only stolen the show, it owns the show. It has defied all attempts to silence it on Campus using sign posts and defamatory utterances. In a well-designed and meticulous investigation carried out by Chia (2009: 47) on the various uses of CPE by students in the University of Buea, he found out that they used CPE in the discussion

of both science and art subjects. When these students were asked why pidgin and not English or French, they gave the following answers: 'we feel very much at home with pidgin. It is the language we speak when we are not under tension; English and French are stressful and mark social distance such as there is between lecturer and student'. I will add here that the use of Pidgin on Campus is not limited to students, everyone including lecturers and administrators of both the English and the French expression socialise more with CPc than with English or French. CPc is therefore the people's language and not a people's language. Some speak it not because they want, but because they need to cope in the environment. Some have claimed that if you speak in English or French in the market, prices of good immediately change. They are forced to learn pidgin so as to move along with market prices.

Figure 1: Overview of the language situation in Buea
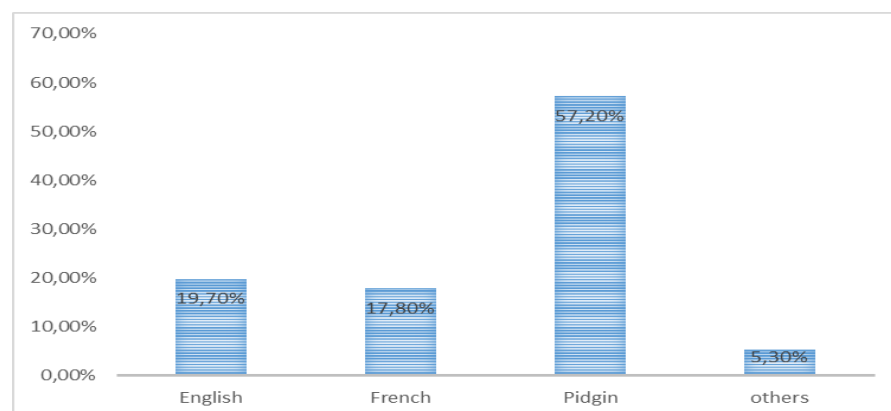
The overview of the linguistic situation in Buea, that is, in and out of the university Campus shows that the use of CPc is more than the use of all the other languages put together. Figure 1 shows that 57.2% of Buea inhabitants speak CPc, 19.7%, 17.8% and 5.3% socialise in English, French and other languages respectively. This shows that CPc is omnipresent in the immersion environment in Buea. If socialization according to Cazden (2001) is the process of internalization through which human beings become members of particular cultures, learning how to speak as well as how to act and think and feel, it therefore stands that this theory goes well with immersion. Students on immersion in Buea are most probably to speak the language they are frequently exposed to than the language they want to speak, but have less contact with. What students on immersion are most likely to speak within the time of their stay in Buea is CPc and not English. This, of course, is primary

socialization which according to Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) and Ochs and Schieffelin (2011) has to occur through participation, and through interaction between children and more mature speakers, both adults and peers. As Fonka (2011) posits, the government's negative attitude toward CPc has been reducing as the years go by. This is perhaps the reason no one cares to renew the old sign posts on the University of Buea Campus banning the use of Pidgin on Campus. Learning to speak and understand CPc, the most widely spread contact language in Cameroon is certainly a good thing for the students on immersion. That is even one of the reasons for immersion, to learn the culture of the people. Language is part of a people's culture and learning it improves socialisation. However, learning a different language when one is out for another should be an issue to bother those organising the immersion programme in Cameroon and should cause an evaluation and a review of the goals for this programme.

7. Results and Recommendations

The data analysed in this paper presents very glaring results about the immersion environment in Buea. To the best of my knowledge, since the creation of this programme, no such study has been conducted to evaluate the effectiveness of the acquisition of English by immersion students in Buea. The following results can be established from this study:

i. **Cameroon Pidgin Creole dominates the immersion environment:** whether on the university Campus or the neighbourhoods of the University, the language that is highly spoken is CPc, followed by English, then by French and other languages last. What has been surprising is the low usage of English language, especially on the Campus of the University of Buea, which carries out all lectures in English. The low use of English indicates that decrees do not put language into people's mouths, but the love and the ease to speak that language does. English is one of the two official languages in Cameroon and a second language to anglophones, most of whom are in the two English-speaking regions. Most schools in Buea, from the basic to the tertiary levels use English for instruction and most of them discourage the use of Pidgin, but pidgin and not English is used for social interaction. Cameroon Pidgin Creole as truly stated by many scholars in various manners (Atechi 2011; Fonka 2019, 2014a & 2014b; Kouega 2001; Mbassi-manga 1976; Mbangwana 2004; Schröder 2003) dorminates the linguistic environment in the two anglophone speaking regions.

ii. **The increase use of French is phenomenal:** Worthy of note in this paper is the high use of French in Buea. The rate of communication in French both on the University Campus and the University environs shows that English and French are almost used equally. This is probably because quite so many state officials in key administrative positions are from the French-speaking background. They live with their families in Buea and carry out all their communications in French. Equally, with many francophone children going in for English education but still communicating more in English than French (Fonka 2014c), it is but normal to have an increased use of French in Buea because of this attraction to English. It is clear from this study that in terms of language for inter-personal communication, Buea is gradually wind-swept of her Anglo-Saxon prime heritage, transforming it into a city that may be more of French than English if this linguistic trend continues.

iii. **The near inexistence of other languages:** Other languages, which are generally local languages are almost inexistent because the University of Buea is found in the city of Buea, a cosmopolitan city where inhabitants are largely from different linguistics backgrounds. Most indigenes of the southwest region live a little far from the busy town and this research did not go beyond the nearest University neighbourhood. Much of local languages would have been registered if the research was carried in the whole of Buea, not only in the town.

8. Recommendations

i. **Revision of the major goal of immersion:** From the webpage of the bilingual department of the University of Yaounde 1, it is clear that during the immersion period in Buea "students follow courses and undergo trainings that will highly improve their speaking-listening-writing abilities in their second language" This study shows that this goal cannot be achieved because it is the environment to enforce, especially the speaking part, not the classroom. What is done in the classroom in Buea can be done in Yaounde and if help is needed, teachers can be brought in from Buea for an exchange programme to deploy whatever techniques that are used in Buea to enforce the language study. This will spare the student the waste of time and resources to go to Buea for intensive English in the name of immersion. According to report by students from the immersion of 2015 from the bilingual department webpage, one of them expresses her disenchantment by saying, 'Les administrations des deux universités ont besoin de redéfinir ce qu'ils entendent par immersion programme' (the administrations of the two Universities have

to redefine what they mean by immersion programme). Emphasis now should rather be placed on culture than on English language. Even that too is a problem because there are already many francophones who share the same culture as those of the students on immersion and the tendency is to go closer to people they already know than those they don't know. If they were not in such an environment, they would have no choice than to create new relationships that would permit them intermix and learn a new culture. The students, based on the same report from the Bilingual Training web page, seem not to understand what culture they are supposed learn 'Finalement, on voulait nous imbiber dans la culture des anglophones, ou des anglais? Nous ne savons pas' (Finally, they wanted to immerse us in the anglophone culture or the English culture? We don't know). The goals of immersion should therefore be redefined to avoid open confrontations in the future.

ii. **Environments for practical work:** If this programme must continue in the country, given that the financial situation that caused the suspension of the programme has not improved, the two Universities should identify more institutions in Buea and even in Bamenda where English is prioritized. Student should not be the only ones to go looking for whatever institution they would want to work with themselves because they don't even know the linguistic situation of those institutions.

iii. **Duration of Immersion**: The three months' period the student have for immersion should be reviewed to at least a year and two third of this time should be dedicated for practical activities with institutions. This will make the students meet different people in the different institutions much more regularly, a situation which exposes them to frequent communication.

9. Conclusion

This paper set out to explore the immersion environment in the University of Buea and its environs. The aim was to find out if the languages used in these places are such that students on immersion can improve on their English language. With the use of a clear and unbiased survey method, it is evident that besides the English Language, French, Cameroon Pidgin Creole and local languages are conspicuously present in the same environment. This study did not expect to have English alone in any of the places surveyed. However, very outstanding is the fact that the presence of CPc is higher than all the other languages put together. This alone casts some doubt on the usefulness of such an environment to someone

who wants to improve his/her English through inter-personal interaction. This study holds that with the present linguistic situation and no attempts by the different institutions to do adjustments, the immersion programme would not be serving the desired needs of the students. With the same methods of teaching in Buea as it is in Yaounde and the new environment not providing any extra linguistic help with regards to the target language, the programme is simply an intensive English teaching not immersion. We should note that this study has not in any way suggested that acquiring Cameroon Pidgin Creole as an extra language is a bad thing. Nevertheless, being obliged by the environment to acquire CPc when the goal was to acquire English language should call for a revision of strategy by the institutions involved in the programme.

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The Teaching-Learning of Conditionals in English as a Second Language in Cameroon

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Abstract

Choice and use of strategies in the teaching-learning process are fundamental. Teaching strategies are common communicative methods through which a teacher delivers his or her subject matter to the learners based on predetermined instructional objectives in order to promote learning (Dorgu 2015). However, these teaching strategies are questioned when it comes to the use of English conditionals because learners of English as a second language use various strategies in structuring conditional sentences; strategies which mostly deviate from theoretical predictions. This paper examines the strategies learners use in producing conditionals in English as a second language in Cameroon in correlation with teaching methods. Data was collected from Form Five students of Government Bilingual High School Genie, Douala after a teaching experiment involving a control group and an experimental group. Various tasks (production, gap-filling grammatically judgment) were then administered to both groups. The data was analysed in a contrastive manner checking for the impact of teaching on the use of conditionals by these learners. The analysis and discussion were informed by Ur's (2005) theory of language teaching and learning, Selinker's (1972) theory of interlanguage and Glaserfeld's (1989) Constructivist teaching and learning theory. Findings reveal a significant difference in the use of conditionals between the control group and the experimental group indicating that teaching methods correlate with learner acquisition and use of English conditionals.

Key Words: English, conditionals, leaner strategies, teaching, Cameroon

1. Introduction

While there have been many published works in the area of language teaching and learning, there is a need to have research that emphasises the teaching-learning of conditionals, especially the strategies used by second language learners in producing them. Drawing inspiration from language teaching and learning, (Ur 1996), Nunam (1996), Jack and Lockhart (1996), Norbert and Kit (1997) and Willis (2003), this paper investigates the teaching and learning strategies in English conditionals by learners of English as a second language in Cameroon. While Oxford (1990:8) sees learning strategies as specific actions taken by the learner to make learning easier, faster, more enjoyable, more self-directed, and more transferable to new situations; teaching methods can also be said to be the fundamental art and science guiding the management and strategies used for lesson

delivery in the classroom. Dorgu (2015) defines teaching method as the strategy by which a teacher delivers his/her subject matter to the learner based on predetermined instructional objectives in order to promote learning in the students. Westwood (2008) sees teaching method as comprising the principles and methods used by teachers to enable student learning. These definitions reveal that teaching has principles and methods meant to maximize students learning.

In this light, the teacher has a number of competing concerns. For example, the teacher plans activities designed to facilitate the learners' acquisition and use of the target language through a lesson in a particular setting. Like other speech events, however, lessons have a recognisable structure. They begin in a particular way, they proceed through a series of teaching and learning activities, and they reach a conclusion (Jack and Lockhart 1996). The opening of a lesson consists of the procedures the teacher uses to focus the students attention on the learning aims of the lesson. Research on teaching suggests that the opening, or entry of a lesson generally occupies the first five minutes and can have an important influence on how much students learn from a lesson (Kindsvatter, Wilen, and Ishler 1988). According to them, lesson beginnings can serve a variety of purposes. For example, they help learners to relate the new lesson to that of the previous (cognitive contribution), assess relevant knowledge (cognitive contribution), prepare them for what is to follow (effective contribution) and reduce the disruption caused by late-arriving students (pragmatic contribution).

A series of teaching and learning activities make up the lesson Wong-Fillmore (1985: 29). Most lessons do not consist of a single activity; rather, the teacher analyses the overall goals of a lesson and the content to be taught and then plans a sequence of activities to attain those goals. This sequence of sub-activities for a lesson establishes a kind of format or script for the lesson Wong-Fillmore (1985: 29). Like Wong-Fillmore, Ur (1996) postulates that variation of components during a lesson motivates the learners and facilitates understanding. According to her, interest is likely to flag in a lesson, which is entirely taken up with one kind of activity. Learners will find it more difficult to concentrate and may get bored and irritable which will detract from learning and may produce discipline problems in some classes. A varied lesson, besides being more interesting and pleasant for both teacher and learners is also likely to cater for a wide range of learning styles and strategies,

and may delay onset of fatigue by providing regular refreshing changes in the type of mental or physical activity demanded.

Since language lessons consist of a sequence of sub-activities, which address the overall goal of the lesson, deciding how much time to allocate to each sub-activity is an important issue in teaching. Richards (1990) identified pacing as one of the most significant features of a teacher's lesson. According to him, since teaching involves monitoring students' engagement in learning tasks and deciding when it is time to bring a task to completion and move on to another activity before students' attention begins to fade pacing has a great role to play in all teaching lessons. Various suggestions according to him are given concerning pacing. They include, avoiding needless explanations and instructions. Using a variety of activities within a lesson rather than spending the whole time on one activity. Avoiding predictable and repetitive activities where possible. Selecting activities of an appropriate level of difficulty. Setting a gold and time limit for activities and monitoring students' performance on activities to ensure that students have had sufficient but not too much time.

Another important dimension in teaching is ending a lesson effectively. Closure or ending refers to those concluding parts of a lesson, which serve to:

a) Reinforce what has been learned in a lesson

b) Integrate and review the content of a lesson and

c) Prepare the students for further learning

Several strategies are available to create an effective lesson closure. These strategies do not only help facilitate learning of the content of the lesson, but also allow the lesson to be seen as an integrated whole. Strategies, which teachers use for closure, include: summarising what has been covered in the lesson, reviewing key points of the lesson, relating points the lesson to the course or lesson goals, pointing out links between the lesson and previous lessons, showing how the lesson relates to students' real-world needs, making links to a forthcoming lesson and praising students for what they have accomplished during the lesson

However, it is surprising that despite the numerous sub actives put in place by teachers in each language lesson, English conditionals appear to cause a problem or

difficulty to learners of English as a second language. It has been observed that they use several strategies to structure English conditionals. They use strategies of omission, substitution, spelling, concord and new forms. This pushes us to question the correlation between the teaching and the learning of this aspect of the English grammar.

2. Issues in the Use of English Conditionals

This part of the paper examines empirical and theoretical issues related to the use of conditionals in order to foreground a better understanding of the use of conditionals.

a. Empirical Issues in the Use of Conditionals

Examining the teaching and learning of English conditionals to Chinese, Mei Wu (2012) uses the probability approach in teaching conditionals. This research approach aims at investigating how effective the probability approach is to teaching conditionals. Another aim of this approach was to simplify and classify conditionals into only four basic types. The last significant objective of this approach by Mei Wu was to enhance students understanding of English conditionals. Findings show that, the probability approach greatly enhances Chinese learners' understanding of English conditionals. According to Mei Wu, students who learned the probability approach were found to have scored 6 points (averagely) higher in a quiz than those who did not receive lectures on the approach.

By way of comparison, there is a point of convergence between the present study and that of Mie Wu (2012). Like Mie Wu, the present paper deals with the use of conditionals and learner strategies. Again, both works are experimental studies that focus on teaching approaches and techniques to enhance the learning of conditionals. In all, both works posit that variation in teaching strategies impact learning positively. However, the present paper diverges from the previous one in that it the teaching method proposed is storytelling and cartoon network games while the previous work deals with the teaching of conditionals through the probability approach.

In a similar empirical study, Cheng (2005) examines the acquisition of English conditionals by Chinese learners of English as a second language. His main aim was to examine the syntactic differences between English and Chinese Conditionals and the relationship between both languages. Findings reveal that English makes a grammatical distinction among different types of conditionals but Chinese has no such grammatical

distinctions. Chinese conditionals have only one verb-tense Pattern to express different degrees of conditionals be it present factual or future predictive. Again, there are five basic structures in Chinese conditionals as oppose to English. According to Cheng's findings, English and Chinese conditionals employ different levels of linguistic devices to express counter factuality. In English, the linguistic features at the syntactic level determine the type of conditionals. This is a sharp contrast to Chinese conditionals that use different devices at the lexical of deictic expressions such as past time expression like *zoutain* "yesterday, the first person pronoun *wo* "I" and the demonstrative pronoun *Zhe* "this". Although Cheng (ibid) focuses on the comparison between Chinese and English conditionals, both studies converge in that they investigate the use of conditionals by learners of English as a second language.

b. Theoretical Issues in the Use of Conditionals

Ur (1996) explains and demonstrates a teaching process in grammar. She postulates that the process of teaching language is a very complex one that has necessarily to be broken down into components for purposes of study. These components include acts of (i) planning, presenting and explaining new materials (ii) providing practice, and (iii) testing. She says that in the classroom, it is the teacher's job to promote these three learning processes by the use of appropriate teaching acts. Thus, he or she plans the lesson, presents and explains new materials in order to make it clear, comprehensible and available for learning. The teacher has to give practice to consolidate knowledge; and test the learner in order to check what has been mastered and what still needs to be learned or reviewed.

At the planning stage of the lesson, Ur (ibid) holds that teachers must ask themselves the following questions when preparing for a lesson:

- How long before a specific lesson, do you prepare it?
- Do you write down lesson notes to guide you? Or do you rely on a lesson format provided by another teacher, the course book, or a teacher's book?
- If so, are these notes brief (a single page or less) or long (more than one page)?
- What do they consist of?
- Do you note down your objectives?
- Do you actually look at your notes during the lesson? If so, rarely? Occasionally? Frequently?
- What do you do with your lesson notes after the lesson?

Ur further says that at the planning stage of a lesson, variation of components in a lesson is an important issue in the teaching leaning process. Below are some guidelines for the combination of different components according to Ur (1996):

1. Put the harder task earlier
2. Have quieter activities before lively ones
3. Think about transitions
4. Pull the class together at the beginning and the end
5. End on a positive note

At the teaching stage, she postulates that in order for our students to learn something new (a text, a new word, how to perform a task), they need to be first able to perceive and understand it. One of the teacher's jobs is to mediate such new material so that it appears in a form that is most accessible for initial learning. This kind of mediation may be called "presentation". she holds that when a lesson is effectively presented attention, perception and understanding are achieved as the learners are alert, they see or hear the target learning material, and understand the meaning of the material being taught.

As far as explanation and instructions are concerned, Ur (ibid) posits that when introducing new material, we often need also to give explicit descriptions or definitions of concepts or processes, and whether we can or cannot explain such new ideas clearly to our students, we may make a crucial difference to the success or failure of a lesson. One particular kind of explanation that is very important in teaching is instruction: the directions that are given to introduce a learning task, which entails some measure of independent student activity. In the light of this experience, guidelines for effective explanations are preparation of the lesson, capturing the attention of the class, presenting information more than once, being brief, illustrating with examples, and getting feedback from the learners.

Constructivist teaching and learning theory advocates a participatory approach in which students actively participate in the learning process. For Von Glaserfeld (1989) cited in Sithara and Faiz (2017) constructivism as a theory of knowledge puts forward the following principles:

> Knowledge is not passively received but actively built up by the cognizing subject, and the function of cognition is adaptive and serves the organisation of the experiential world, not the discovery of the ontological reality.

The core of the constructivist is that the learner is an active participant in the learning process and that the teacher has to take account of that in their effort to facilitate learning. Siober (2007) identifies the core ideas of the constructivists approach to learning as knowledge is actively constructed by the learner, not passively received from the outside. Learning according to him is something done by the learner, not something that is imposed on them.

Constructivist theories of teaching and learning raise the following interesting questions according to Sithara and Faiz (2017): "Does teaching involve the transmission of knowledge or the facilitation of learning? This question leads to a further question: "Who is a teacher?" In the authors view a teacher is a person who possesses expert knowledge on the subject he/she is teaching by virtue of his/her academic qualifications. One can safely assert that the teacher possesses more knowledge about the subject he/she is teaching than the average student. This entails that at some level teaching must involve transmission of expert knowledge from the teacher to the student. However, what the constructivist literature on teaching and learning has to add to this is that learning is an active experience. One can agree with the constructivist literature on the point that the learning experience is greatly enhanced when the student is an active participant in the learning process. It is here that the teacher's role as a facilitator of learning becomes important. Therefore, in the authors view, the answer to the first question is that teaching involves both the transmission of knowledge and the facilitation of learning.

Selinker's (1972) Interlanguage theory is another theoretical framework adopted for this study. It states, among other issues that there are developmental features that tend to occur in learners, language in the course of Second Language Acquisition (SLA). On the one hand, learners make errors of different kinds. In some cases, they fail to use grammatical features at all (omission) and use one grammatical form in place of another (misinformation). Learners internalise chunks of language structure (i.e. formulas) which they use to perform communicative functions that are important to them and which contribute to the fluency of their unplanned speech. It is further argued by advocates of interlanguage theory that the presence of undesirable features in the language is an indication that learning is taking place and that those concerned are actively involved because in the course of language acquisition, learners form their own rules, modify them and get rid of unpalatable ones with

time. This explains why learners' features, otherwise known as permeable sequences, reduce in frequency as they move along the interlanguage continuum.

3. Methodology

A sample size of sixty-eight Form Five students and one teacher from GBHS Genie, Douala was identified using a purposeful sampling procedure. Thirty scripts from the sixty-eight students were randomly selected. The institution was chosen for convenience reasons as the colleague there could facilitate the research. The Form Five students were chosen because, Form Five marks the end of secondary education (5 years). Here, learners are expected to be at a relatively advanced proficiency level. They are supposed to have been exposed to classroom English in primary school where they spent six years. As far as the teaching and learning of conditionals is concerned, the Form Five students have been exposed to grammar lessons in general and conditionals in particular though they may differ in terms of proficiency level.

The leaners were divided into two groups: Experimental Group and Control Group. Data was collected in two phases from the two groups. In the first phase, data was collected from members of the control group and in the second phase, data was collected from members of the experimental group. Our main aim dividing the learners into two groups and collecting the data at different phases was to investigate the use of conditionals at the level of the control group and also to investigate the impact of the proposed teaching strategies of conditionals at the level of the experimental group. Through different writing tasks such as, gap filling task, multiple choice task, grammaticality judgment task and production task, the same data was collected from both groups of learners at the different phases. However, the teaching of conditionals was done to the experimental group using story-telling and cartoon network games.

The tasks were masked and structured to ascertain natural answers from respondents. The gap-filling task consisted of 30 tokens, five testing each conditional type (i.e. conditional type one, two, three and zero). The other 10 tokens were fillers structured to mask the exercise for genuine answers to be provided by the students. The grammaticality judgment task (GJT) was meant to assess the learners' ability to recognise cases of grammaticality and ungrammaticality in conditional sentences. In the task, the learners were expected to grade

the suitability of underlined words in each case by correcting the wrong element in the spaces provided. The option that the learners preferred was used to interpret and comment on their proficiency. Five tokens of each conditional type were used to test the learners (see appendix three 3).

The production task was meant to assess the written production of the learners. In the task, phrases were given to the learners to make them conditional. The essence was to have a clear view of their written production. This method was preferred because it offers a direct means of assessing the manner or the various ways in which these learners use English conditionals. The task consisted of 20 phrases which they were to transform into conditionals. This captures 5 sentences for each conditional type (see appendix 4).

Cartoon network as a teaching strategy allows for a range of groupings and interaction. Learners work in groups, sharing ideas, brainstorming, trying to discover cause and effect, answers to problems and creating something new to add to existing knowledge. In this teaching strategy, students' do not only make their own picture of what the grammar is about, but because of their entertaining character students do the serious work of grammar through the context of a game which is much more attractive for them and every student is involved. The teachers on their part are able to find out what students' knowledge is without being in the center of their attention. The role of the teacher in this teaching strategy is that of a facilitator. The teacher guides the students through informed discussion to discover things for themselves. Students no longer sit down to be informed or loaded by the teacher but discover lesson contents by themselves as they respond to the teachers prompting in the form of questions, assignments project works and so on. The learner is an active participant in the learning process. Rather than transmitting knowledge to the learners, teachers collaborate with them to create knowledge and understanding in their mutual social contexts. This method boosts students' interest, stimulates exchange of ideas, facilitates and enhances learning by giving students room to discover the lesson, develop their communicating skills, mental skills such as critical thinking, reflective thinking and evaluative diverse opinion. Above all, it makes leaners active participants in the lesson. The activities of this teaching method are appended (see appendix 5).

Story telling is one of the teaching and learning strategies put in place to teach the experimental group. The method encourages recognition, system building, exploration,

consolidation and spontaneous mastery of conditionals. Our main objective using this teaching strategy was to trigger the learners and allow them to discover the lesson themselves. Through storytelling, we encourage learners to recognise a general phenomenon in conditionals in English given that the stories would be narrated in accordance with the syntactic structure of each conditional type. Through it, the learners become aware of the various processes involved in structuring conditionals and their intended meaning of communication. This teaching strategy is done through different activities (see in appendix 6).

The scrips were examined in terms of the different strategies used by the learners in the various tasks, in the different groups. They were entered on tables and charts in frequencies. Stretches of texts within which the strategies occurred were identified for illustration. This was later represented on tables and charts for better understanding.

4. Analysis and Results

This section analyses student's use of conditionals in the different tasks and highlights the different strategies used by them. The discussion begins with an overview of strategies of omission, followed by strategies of substitution, spelling, concord and the use of new forms from both the members of the control group and the experimental group.

4a. Strategies of Omission

This strategy type mainly comprised of the omission of a grammatical element like the (ed) morpheme and the "s" in the third person singular of the simple present tense in verbs. In the output of the learners, it was discovered that some learners systematically omitted the (ed) morpheme in the past tense, and the "s" in the third person singular of the simple present tense. An illustration from the learners' scrips is captured below and the frequency of occurrence of this phenomenon presented in a table.

e.g. 1. If she work* hard, she will succeed.
For: If she works hard, she will succeed.

Table 1: Omission of (s) in the Third Person Singular of Verbs

Task Type	Omission of (s) Control Group	Percentage	Omission of (s) Experimental Group	Percentages
GFT	22	73.33	15	50%
GJT	17	56.66	10	33.3%
PT	20	66.66	16	53.33%
TOTAL	**59/90**	**65.55%**	**41/90**	**45.55%**

From the statistics, 59 cases in the omission of the (s) in the third person singular were registered by the members of the control group giving a percentage of 65.55%. While the members of the experimental group recorded 41 cases with an average of 45.55%.

4b. Omission of (ed) in the Simple Past Tense of Verbs

A systematic omission of the (ed) morpheme in the simple past tense of verbs was also noticed in the production of the learners. Some illustrations from the data in the omission of the (ed) morpheme in verbs can be seen in the example below and the frequency of use captured on the table that follows.

e.g. 2. If the president appoints* him Minister, they would rejoice.

For: If the president <u>appointed</u> him Minister, they would rejoice.

Table 2: Omission of the (ed) Morpheme in Verbs

Task Type	Omission of (ed) Control Group	Percentage	Omission of (ed) Experimental Group	Percentages
GFT	17	56.66%	14	46.66%
GJT	20	66.66%	15	50%
PT	24	80%	15	50%
TOTAL	**61/90**	**67.77%**	**44/90**	**48.88%**

The findings from the general overview in the omission of the (ed) morpheme in verbs revealed that less omissions were recorded by the members of the experimental group compared to those of the control group. Based on the statistics, 44 cases of omission were recorded from the experimental group giving 48.88%. While the frequency of the control group was 61 cases giving 67.77%.

4c. Substitution in Near Homophones

This strategy type mainly comprised of the substitution of near homophones as in wins/winds, cash/catch, won/worn, had/hard, work/walk, hit/heat, live/ leave, went/ when, raise/race etc. as in the example below. The frequency of such usage is captured on the table that follows.

e.g. 3. She will succeed, if she works had*.
For: She will succeed, if she works <u>hard</u>.

Table 3: Substitution of Near Homophones

Task Type	Substitution Control Group	Percentage	Substitution Experimental Group	Percentages
GJT	18	60%	14	46.66%
PT	19	63.33%	15	50%
TOTAL	37/60	61.66%	29/60	48.33%

It is evident from the table above that the substitution of near homophones was common in the language of both groups of learners. Based on the statistics, 37 cases of substitution ware observed in the control group giving 61.66% while the experimental group had 29 cases giving 48.33%.

4d. Strategies of Spelling

In the out put of some of the learners, we found spelling strategies in near homophones like wins/winds, cash/catch, won/worn, had/hard, work/walk, hit/heat, bus/boss, live/ leave, went/ when, raise/race, peace/piece as exemplified below.

 e.g. 4. If I worn* lottery, I would fly to London.
For: If I <u>won</u> lottery, I would fly to London.

Table 4: Strategies of Spelling

Task Type	Strategies of spelling Control Group	Percentage	Strategies of spelling Experimental Group	Percentages
GJT	15	50%	12	40%
PT	24	80%	15	50%
TOTAL	39/60	65%	27/60	45%

It could be noticed that, while the members of the control group registered a high frequency of 39 cases of spelling strategies corresponding to 65%, those of the experimental group registered 27 cases giving 45%.

4e. Strategies of Concord

Concord here refers to agreement in elements of the sentence e.g., subject-verb agreement (in number, person), pronoun-antecedent agreement (in number, person, gender) etc. An analysis of students' scripts revealed that most of them had ways of marking agreement not predicted by the theories.

e.g. 5. I would punish the students, if I was* the discipline master.
For: I would punish the students, if I <u>were</u> the discipline master.

Table 5: Strategies of Concord

Task Type	Concord control group	Percentage	Concord Experimental Group	Percentages
GFT	23	76.66%	13	43.33%
GJT	22	73.33%	15	50%
PT	24	80%	15	50%
TOTAL	69/90	76.66%	43/90	47.77%

The statistics revealed that, 69 out of 90 cases of strategies of concord were observed in the control group giving 76.66% while the members of the experimental group had 43 cases out of 90 giving 47.77%.

4f. Use of New Forms

This strategy type included other jumbled up structures noticed on the learners' scripts that could not adequately be classified under any of the other strategies. Most of the students exhibited cases of new forms. Consider the following example:

e.g. 6. When you drink, do not drove*.
For: When you drink, do not <u>drive</u>.

Table 6: Use of New Forms

Task Type	Use of New Forms Control Group	Percentage	Use of New Forms Experimental Group	Percentages
GFT	22	73.33%	12	40%
GJT	24	80%	13	43.33%
PT	27	90%	14	46.66%
TOTAL	**73/90**	**81.11%**	**39/90**	**43.33%**

This strategy type registered the highest number of usages among others in the control group. Looking at the statistics, 73 cases of new forms were recorded in the control group giving 81.11% while the experimental group recorded 39 cases giving 43.33%. A representation of the use of conditionals by these learners as seen above; on charts will give a clearer picture of the learner strategies use.
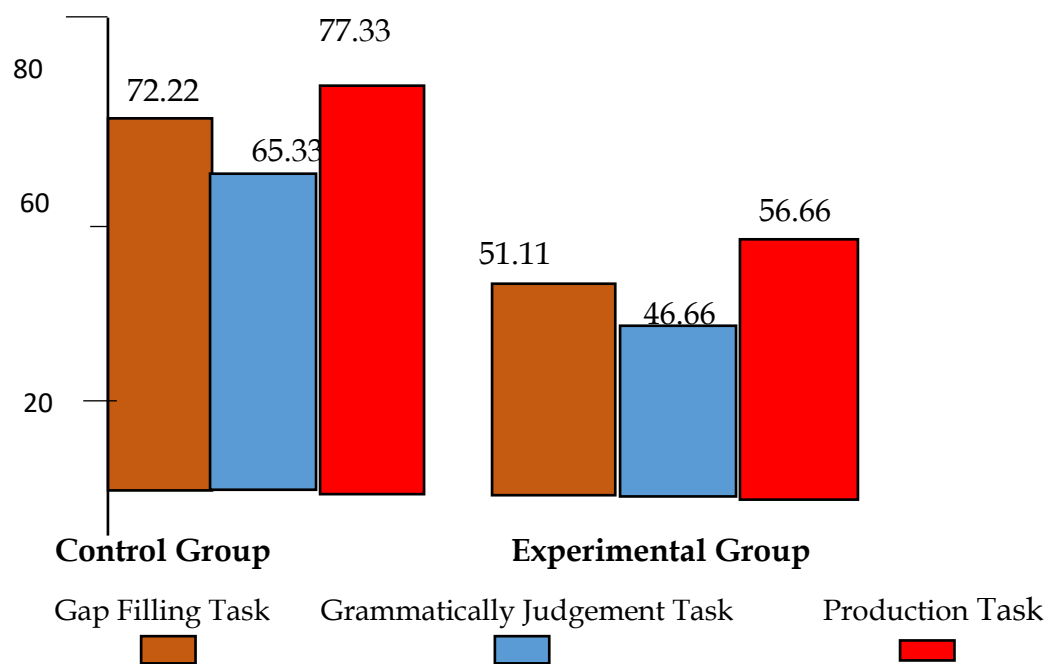
Chart 1: Overview of the frequency of strategies from the control and experimental groups

119
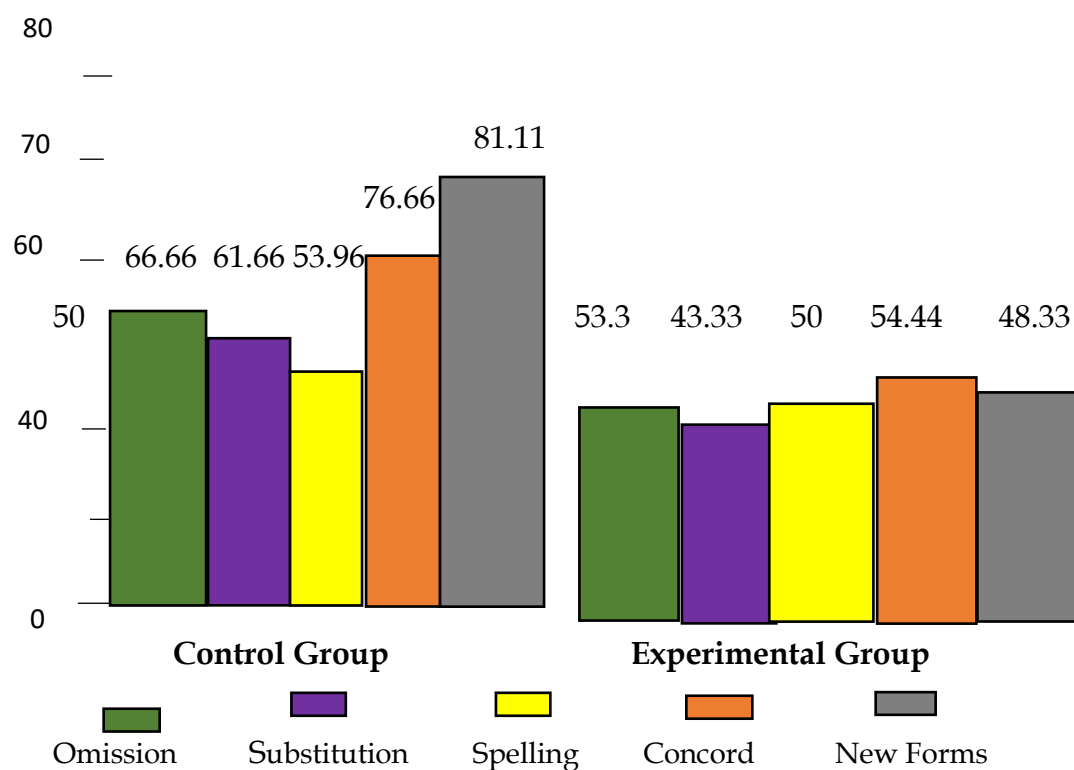
Based on the above, the highest frequency was registered with respect to strategies of new forms by members of the control group with a perventage of 81.11, closely followed by strategies of concord with 76.66%, omission with 66.66% and substitution with 61.11%. The least frequency of strategy was recorded in the category of spelling with 53.96%. With respect to the experimental group, the highest frequency was registered in strategies of concord 54.44%, followed by strategies of new forms 53.33%, strategies of omission and spelling with 50%. The least frequency was registered in strategies of substitution 48.33%.

The chart above also indicates that the frequency of stategies varried according to the task pe wherein the production task registered the highest number of strategies (116/150) nile the task with the least number of strategies was gap filling task (65/90). The general number of stategies in per task in all the strategies types can be captured by the chart below.

Chart 2: Overview of each task from the control and experimental groups

The chart above indicates that the frequency of strategies varied according to the task type wherein the production task registered the highest frequency of strategies (116) for the control group as against (85) for the experimental group. While the task with the least number of strategies was the gap filling task that registered (65) in the control group and (46) in the experimental group. The general frequency of strategies per task in all the task types can be captured by the table below bellow.

Table 7: Overview total strategies of control and experimental groups

Strategies	Control	(%)	Experimental	(%)
Omission	61/90	66.66	45/90	50
Substitution	37/60	61.66	29/60	48.33
Spelling	34/60	53.96	30/60	50
Concord	69/90	76.66	49/90	54.44
New forms	73/90	81.11	48/90	53.33
Average	**279/390**	**70.25**	**201/390**	**51.11**

From the tables and charts above, it is evident that L2 learners have developed several ways of using conditionals. These strategies vary in the different tasks but there is an evident correlation between teaching and learning this grammatical aspect as can be observed from the low frequency of use of deviant strategies by the experimental group. There is a considerable drop in frequencies of all the strategies for learners of the experimental group compared to those of the control group.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

This paper set out to investigate the use of conditionals by learners of English as a second language in Cameroon and how teaching informs this. Results from the findings reveal that significant cases of learner strategies of different kinds are traceable in their written production. Despite the statistical difference in the performance of both groups of learners, it was noticed that their written production was characterised by several strategies such as omission, substitution, spelling, concord and new forms. This may be blamed on the teaching methods giving the performance of the two groups. This unconscious use of language forms according to Selinker (1972) is an indication that learning is taking place. It is argued by advocates of interlanguage theory that the presence of undesirable features in the language of leaners is an indication that learning is taking place and that those concerned are actively involved because in the course of language acquisition, learners form their own rules, modify them and get rid of unpalatable ones with time. However, teaching methods need to align with intended learning outcomes. The strategies identified in learner usage here are teaching-sensitive as the members of the experimental group who were taught conditionals through cartoon network games and story-telling registered fewer cases of deviant strategies as opposed to the members of the control group. This is an indication

that acquisition[learning] is a process that keeps on evolving as those involved move along the interlanguage continuum towards the target language forms Selinker (1972).

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Cross Cultural Encounters and Diasporic Sullenness: A Study of Imbolo Mbue's Behold the Dreamers and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's Americanah

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Abstract

The 'American dream' of having a better life abroad has pushed so many Africans to leave their respective countries for Europe or America for greener pasture. Unfortunately, Europe and America do not turn out to be what they thought. This paper argues with compulsive profundity that what is perceived as American dream is American nightmare. Using two texts, *Behold the Dreamers* and *Americanah*, the study explores the socio-economic, cultural and political challenges that overwhelm immigrants, especially the youths. Characters in Mbue's *Behold the Dreamers* and those in Adichie's *Americanah* are enchanted, excited and elated by their dreams of having a better life in the American society, but these dreams were never actualized. It further investigates the socio-economic experiences of these African characters in the diaspora and the despair encountered resulting from dreams deferred. This study, therefore examines the disillusionment and frustration that characterize Mbue and Adichie's characters in the selected works as they grapple with their expectations and the actual realities in America. The study operates on the premise that characters in the two texts are induced and motivated by dreams of a better life to immigrate to America where they end up being disillusioned and frustrated. Guided and informed by the Postcolonial theory, this study contends that, one's perception of place in which he/she finds himself or herself is determined by the socio-cultural background of place/local; that success is linked to mentality and personality. The study revealed that, people should constantly redefine themselves vis-à-vis the socio-cultural and political realities of their milieu before embarking on any venture.

 Keywords: Culture, encounters, diaspora, sullenness

1. Introduction

The dispersion of Africans around the globe has a long history. More Africans are willing to migrate overseas than ever before. The reasons for this desire to migrate are amongst other things, economic betterment, poor political structures and the quest for quality education. Sometimes, famine, natural disasters and (civil) wars feature amongst these

causes. As a result, migrants from a wide variety of African countries are establishing routes using countries to transit through or to settle in prospering or vanishing into obscurity. Every western country has had its own particular treatment of African immigrants.

Young Africans are driven and fired nowadays by dreams, fantasies, wishes and demands from family and friends to become prosperous abroad (Europe and America). What makes this migration special are the ways in which these migrants decide to travel; they often do this under dangerous circumstances. More often than not, the dangers that African migrants face as they cross the Sahara and Mediterranean are often hidden from public view. They are exposed to the dangers of death through dehydration, exposure to attacks from erring and frustrated migrants or Arab gangs; famine and contamination with all sorts of diseases have often taken a high toll on them.

Since migration to Europe involves considerable costs which can only be covered in many cases from contributions from the extended family, some desperate African migrants who cannot afford the costs and the rigors of legal migration prefer to cross the Sahara on foot and then cross the Mediterranean. Thus, they do whatever it takes to belong and become citizens of these new communities. They seek asylum, play American and Canadian lotteries, marry old citizens of the foreign countries, or contract sham marriages just to get legal documents that can permit them live as citizens in their host countries. This quest to fit in and belong to new lands has also become an abiding concern in contemporary literary works about Africa and its diaspora.

This shows that in today's world, the issue of belonging is so crucial that it is difficult to discuss certain political, social, and economic issues without linking them to it. *Americanah* and *Behold the Dreamers* respectively reveal quiet explosive realities about what Gurr, refers to as diasporic receptivity. Gurr posits that, "Deracination, exile and alienation in varying forms are the conditions of existence for the modern writer…the basic response of such conditions is the search for identity, the quest for home, through self-discovery or self-realization (Gurr, 1963, p. 14).

2. Statement of Problem

As a result of the unfavorable social conditions in Africa (especially in Cameroon and Nigeria), as well as the quest to achieve success and happiness, people have often

interpreted the American dream to mean "making it big" or "striking it rich" in America. Even when the term is not being used to describe the accumulation of great wealth, it often denotes extreme success of some kind. There are obvious cross-cultural differences encountered by immigrants who are thrown into different unpleasant reactions on arriving the hopeful land of dreams. How they have faired forms the crust of this research complemented by the characters in Mbue and Adichie's fictions.

Arising from the statement of problem stated above are the following research questions:

1) What accounts for immigrants' desire to migrate to America or Europe?

2) How have Mbue and Adichie Presented and represented the predicament of these immigrants in their novels?

3) Which cross cultural encounters do Mbue and Adichie's characters experience abroad in the works under study, and what is the impact of these encounters?

4) What are the strategies put in place by these immigrants to get out of this quagmire?

3. Hypothesis

This paper is based on the hypothesis that characters in Mbue's *Behold the Dreamers* and Adichie's *Americanah* are lured by the dream of a better life in America and Europe, but they end up in disillusionment, frustration, despair and pains. The cross-cultural encounters they face rather result in Diasporic sullenness. This gets them to realize that life back home has more to offer them than the plastic life in America and Europe. The main argument of the study is therefore predicated on the premise that the much talk about the 'American Dream' is a fantasy, make-belief and a mirage. It is therefore, the contention of this paper that, the phantasmagorical lifestyle created in the imagination of these immigrants is far from being a dream as it is a nightmare as demonstrated in the creative and novelistic vision of Mbue and Adichie.

The paper therefore examines the disillusionment that characterizes Mbue and Adichie's characters in *Behold the Dreamers* and *Americanah* as they grapple with their expectations, aspirations and the actual realities in America. This disillusionment occurs when they fail to achieve their dream of having a better life. The paper has as objectives to establish the fact that diasporic realities are often quite different from the initial expectations of immigrants, and this accounts significantly for the immigrant's frustrations. It shows that life in one's native country is much better than life in a host country as demonstrated in the two novels under study. The American dream of great expectations and fulfillments becomes a nightmare. This article is informed and guided by the Postcolonial theory which serves as a linchpin which is used to analyze the concepts of cross-cultural encounters and diasporic sullenness in *Americanah* and *Behold the Dreamers*. The Postcolonial theory is a counter-discourse to colonial discourse. This theory came into existence when colonial powers took over control of the colonies. This theory is out to debunk and denounce the Eurocentric view about Africans and their culture. This theory has as proponents Edward Said, Homi K. Bhabha, Frantz Fanon and Gayatri Spivak. In concrete terms, the theory analyses forms of cultural practices and cultural suppression paying attention to the relationship that exists between domination and resistance to domination. Postcolonialism cuts across race, gender oppression, class division, culture, power and language, hence, postcolonial discourse potentially embraces and is intimately linked with a broad range of dialogues within the colonizing powers, addressing various forms of "internal colonization" as treated by minority studies of various kinds such as African-American, native American, Latin American, and women's studies. All of these discourses have challenged the main streams of Western philosophy, literature and ideology.

This paper will be discussed under three thematic clusters[9]. The first is **The African Experience and the Push Factors:** It examines the African experience as a push factor responsible for the displacement of characters in the text from their country of origin to America.

The second thematic cluster is **Diasporic Realities and Deferred Dreams:** It focuses on the socio-economic experiences of Africans in the diaspora. Specifically, it examines the

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[9] **A group of similar things positioned or occurring closely together**

struggles and challenges of African immigrants in America and the despair that characterizes life in the New World.

The third theme is, **Beckoning Homeland: Towards Self-Realization:** This third cluster discusses the effects of cross-cultural encounters on the difficult choices Mbue's characters make. They come to realize that, indeed there is no place like home; that if you can make it at home, you can make it anywhere. There is the realization the one does not need to go out of his home country before attaining economic prosperity.

4. The African Experience and the Push Factors

The African experience is multi-dimensional, multi-faceted and eclectic in nature. It ranges from slavery, imperialism, and neocolonialism. This has created socio-political and economic crises leading to frustration, disillusionment, and discouragement. All of these have enhanced and facilitated the movement from Africa to overseas countries. The Push factors are usually associated with negative factors, as they are seen to drive a person or a group of people out of their country of origin. These push factors range from political instability, economic crisis, and the lack of basic facilities.

Adichie and Mbue extend their concerns to the Postcolonial world to show how contemporary problems plaguing Africa can no longer be blamed solely on time or history, but equally on place—the way man deals with his environment and the natural resources found therein. The economic space offers us a more insightful appreciation of the African experience as a push factor for migration. Bad governance, the failures of religion, social injustice and social unrest associate with all the places the characters find themselves in can be read as factors that cause postcolonial subjects to disconnect/displace themselves from one place to another, even if that new place is far away from home. This takes us to the relationship between place and history that Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin refer to in the introduction to *The Postcolonial Studies Reader* entitled "Place". They argue that, "Place is a palimpsest, a kind of parchment on which successive generations have inscribed and re-inscribed the process of history" (Ashcroft, 1995, p.392).

It is worth noting that the political factors of migration are those reasons that are either influenced by government policies, administrative practices or political instability that can cause people to leave their habitual residence for other countries. Civil wars, state violence

and political instability cause people to move to other countries. For instance, in counties like Nigeria and Cameroon, violent conflicts, underdevelopment, poverty, political instability and corruption have forced hundreds of thousands of Nigerians and Cameroonians to migrate and settle in Europe and America. Recently, these countries have been characterized by severe armed conflicts, poor governance, increased poverty and immense suffering with extensive human rights violations that cause widespread population displacement.

The characters in *Americanah* and *Behold the Dreamers* have lost faith in the ability of the place where they thought would provide them good life. Politically, Adichie presents a Nigeria which is under political dictatorship. No history of Nigeria is complete without the reign of the military which has ruled Nigeria for the better part of its existence as a sovereign nation. These glorious interventions in the politics of the nation have left many battered. In *Americanah,* Aunty Uju in a conversation with Ifemelu emphasizes the fact that "…I blame Buhari and Babangida and Abacha because they destroyed Nigeria" (Adichie, 2013, p.220).

At the economic level, the conditions of different places serve as both push and pull factors of that habitat respectively. Poverty is one of the economic factors that has and continues to plague African countries. Poverty is at the heart of Africa's problems. This poverty is not a natural phenomenon, but has been caused by bad governance. This is an overview of some of the economic challenges facing the continent. Nigeria and Cameroon face this economic challenge and all this is because of mismanagement and underdevelopment. Nonetheless, Walter Rodney in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* argues that, Africa was deliberately exploited and underdeveloped by European colonial regimes. Today, however, the puppet leadership left behind by colonialism is even doing worse. The resources are used to develop themselves and the colonial masters. The deplorable economic conditions in *Americanah* and *Behold the Dreamers,* which Adichie and Mbue paint so well, are what contribute in sending characters out from one place to another.

From the narratives, in *Americanah* and *Behold the Dreamers,* it is obvious that Nigeria and Cameroon are experiencing crises. Ifemelu for instance, grows at some point in her life in hardship and has to pretend not to notice the fights between her mother and her father over their financial situation when her father loses his job. He is fired from his job at Federal

Agency because he refuses to call his boss "Mummy". The narrator explains thus: "He came home earlier than usual, wracked with bitter disbelief, his termination letter in his hand, complaining about the absurdity of a grown man calling a grown woman Mummy because she had decided it was the best way to show her respect" (Adichie, 2013, p. 56). Caught up in grief, he cries out "Twelve years of dedicated labor. It is unconscionable" (ibid). Being a family man that he is, he decides to go on a job hunt to be able to take care of his family. Unfortunately, he is not able to get a job for himself.   Jende in Mbue's *Behold the Dreamers* also explains the hardship that his parents go through to make sure that they have a good life. Both his mother and father strive to give him and his other siblings a good life and possibly a bright future. This is a difficult dream to realize in Cameroon because of the hard economy. This leaves Jende with no other option than to seek refuge in America where he hopes he can get a prosperous life and help his poor parents. In a conversation with Bubakar, Jende talks about the pathetic story of his life. The narrator explains that, "Jende sat up in his chair, clasped his hands on his lap, and began telling his story. He spoke of his father the farmer, his mother the pig trader and pig breeder, his four brothers and their two-bedroom *caraboat*[10] house in New Town Limbe…" (Mbue, 2016, p. 21). Jende feels bad about the way his family lives and the struggles his parents pass through for them.

This hardship pushes him to migrate to America—"He Jende Dikaki Jonga, son of Ikola Jonga, grandson of Dikaki Manyaka ma Jonga, was going to America!" (Mbue, 2016, p. 19). At this moment, Jende feels complete as he is on the verge of becoming a better man. And like most Cameroonians, he does not intend to go all the way to America, his dreamland, and return to Cameroon after three months. The narrator makes this clear in the novel:

> Who travelled to America only to return to a future of nothingness in Cameroon after a mere three months? Not young men like him, not people facing a future of poverty and despondency in their own country. No, people like him did not visit America. They got there and stayed there until they could return home as conquerors—as green card—or American passport—bearing conquerors with pockets full of dollars and photos of happy life. He was certain he wouldn't see Cameroon again until he had claimed his share of the milk and honey, and liberty flowing in the paradise—for strivers called America. (Mbue, 2016, p. 19)

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[10] **Houses constructed with plywood**

America, in the novel under study, seems to be the ideal place that characters yearn for. Most characters paint a utopic picture of America and are bent on going there by hook or by crook, but unfortunately, America is not what so many people think because like every other place, it has its challenges.

5. Diasporic Realities and Deferred Dreams

Africans in the diaspora experience socio-economic hardships which leave them in a sullen state. As a result of the challenges they face, these characters lose faith in the ability of making a better life in America. However, what they find in America leaves them wondering whether their immigration was worth the effort. Mary Walters, in "The Immigrant American Dream", dwells on the struggles of immigrants who have fled troubled homelands in search of a better life in the United States. They end up being confronted with enormous hardships and leave with shattered dreams. Walters states that,

> ...citizens of the world have on American shore with little more than a suitcase and a dream of a better life. The promise of freedom and opportunity continues to lure foreigners to the United States, even though stories of hardship and isolation comprise the bulk of American immigrant literature. Having reached the Promised Land, immigrants find themselves faced with unimaginable obstacles … (Walters,2013, par 4)

Since the discovery of America and her tremendous economic boom, inhabitants from different parts of the world have scrambled to be part of its benevolence. The assurance of extreme freedom and success have made Africans dream of a better life in America. They are indifferent to the stories of hardship and discrimination of their fellow compatriots in the diaspora. When they themselves arrives the dreamland, they come to the realization that the host country has its limitations indeed.

Jende gets a job which entails washing of dishes at two restaurants. He works from morning to evening for little wages. The narrator points out that, "With the two jobs, he worked mornings, afternoons, evenings. He worked weekends too. For six days of the week he left before Liomi woke up and came back after he was in bed… (Mbue, 2016, p. 257).

What is particularly lamentable is the fact that despite all this work, he is not adequately paid. This is a trifle pay for someone who works so hard that he neither has time to see his son go to bed nor does he see him when he wakes up. Just three weeks into the jobs, his feet begin to ache. The amount of time and sacrifice he puts into this job gives him just one result—aching feet. In fact, he has to leave one job early one afternoon and call off

the other job in the evening. The pains in his feet seem to have travelled to his back. The narrator explains that, "he spent many mornings before work lying on the floor, writhing in pain, swallowing as many as five Tylenol capsules at a time" (Mbue, 2016, p. 303).

Jende decides to see a doctor to help him combat these pains. Upon his arrival, he is asked if he has any major stressor in his life. Jende's reaction to the doctor's question is that:

> Yes, Doctor...in a few weeks I am due to stand in front of an immigration judge to continue begging him to please not deport me. My farther just died and I could not bury him. What could be a bigger shame for a firstborn son? My mother is getting too old to be breeding pigs and farming and selling in the market so I have to start sending her money more frequently. I have a wife and two children whom I need to feed and clothe and shelter every day. My wife is supposed to return to school to keep her student visa, and I don't know if I'll be able to afford the international student tuition by washing dishes in restaurants so, yes, Doctor, I have many major stressors in my life. (Mbue, 2016, p. 304)

Jende presents his challenges to the doctor just the way they are. He is trapped in an immigration purgatory. The state in which he finds himself stems from his determination to stay in America. The fact that he has to appear in front of an immigration judge to plead his case is a major challenge. He is left with no option than to beg; he practically has to solicit mercy so that he should not be deported to Cameroon.

In the absence of a good job, black immigrants are faced with dehumanizing working conditions. They do menial jobs for long hours for very minimal pay. The omniscient narrator in Americanah observes thus:

> Everyone joked about people who went abroad to clean toilets, and Obinze approached his first job with irony: he was indeed abroad cleaning toilets, wearing rubber gloves and carrying a pail, in an estate agent's office on the second floor of London building. (Adichie, 2013, p. 292)

The image of wearing gloves and carrying a pail depicts Obinze's despair. He is lucky to have this job because he adopts the personality of Vincent Obi since he does not have his own papers to permit him get a job. He had dreams of enjoying the benevolence of England—dreams in which there was no conception of cleaning toilets. He feels humiliated because the realities he faces are not what he had expected.

Ifemelu on her part does not find it easy getting a job in America either. She is forced to take up another person's identity just to have a job that can help her survive. Aunty Uju explains to her, "You see I am working three jobs and yet it's not easy" (Adichie, 2013, p. 131). She advises Ifemelu to take up the identity of Ngozi Okonkwo—an American citizen who has gone back to Nigeria for some while to start a business. The narrator makes it clear

that "Ngozi Okonkwo was at least ten years older than she was, with a narrow face, eyebrows that started like balls before loping into arcs, and jaws shaped like the letter V". "I don't even look like her at all Ifemelu had said when Aunty Uju gave her the card" (Adichie, 2013, p. 148). Uju explains to her that, "All of us look alike to white people…Nigerians took all sort of names here. Even she had once been somebody else" (Adichie, 2013, p. 10). Impersonification becomes a common technique adopted by the immigrants for survival.

6. Beckoning Homeland: Towards Self-Realization

This section of this paper looks at the changes that the characters undergo as they come to the realization that there is no place like home. Away from their natal homes, characters live in diasporic conditions which are often characterized by a sense of non-belonging. Jende comes to a state of self-realization when he starts considering things outside the lenses of European superiority and decides to come back home. He does so even before his wife accept the alternative. He explains, "I'm ready to go back home…I want to go back to Limbe, I don't want to stay in this country anymore" (Mbue, 2016, p. 305). His decision leaves Neni in a devastated mood. Husband and wife get into an argument because Neni is totally against such an option. Jende reasons with Neni when he says:

> You think I don't want to remain in America, too? You think I came to America so that I can leave? I work as a servant to people, driving them all over, the whole day, sometimes the whole week, answering yes sir, yes madam, bowing down even to a little child…I lower myself more than many men would ever lower themselves. What do you think I do that for? …because I want us to stay in America, but if America says they don't want us in their country, you think I'm going to keep on begging for the rest of my life?...Never. Not for one day…nonsense. (Mbue, 2016, p. 230-231)

This fight comes up because Neni still has a strong conviction that she can make "home" anywhere she is and wants to do so in America. Meanwhile, Jende has been pushed to the wall by hardship and feels that he has to return home where he feels complete, whole and fulfilled. Despite the fact that he loves to stay in his dreamland, America, it no longer has room for his family and him. His stagnancy prompts him to swear to stop begging to stay in a land that does not give him fulfillment, solace and hope. He adds that:

> I don't like what my life has become in this country. I don't know how long I can continue living like this, Neni. The suffering in Limbe was bad, but this one here, right now…it's more than I can take…have you not seen how unhappy I've been? I'm trying really hard, but I don't know if my life will get better in this country. How long will I keep on washing dishes? (Mbue, 2016, p.306)

He acknowledges that the suffering back home seems to be preferable to what they are experiencing in America. Even though he has been working hard to survive, there is very little he has achieved. His status as a dishwasher makes him a person of the inferior class; this is a dehumanizing job. At this point, all he thinks of is returning home where he can be recognized and, of course, be happy together with his family. It dawns on him that having papers in a country like America is not all that matters. What matters most is to find true happiness where everyone is. He cries out in exasperation "I don't know if I can continue suffering like this just because I want to live in America" (Mbue, 2016, p.310). In fact, Jende personally asks his lawyer to stop following his case regarding seeking an asylum for him. He rather tells him to petition the judge, asking the latter to close the deportation case in exchange for Jende's voluntary departure from the country in ninety days.

In "Searching for Belonging—An Analytical Framework", Marco Antonsich argues that, "where you belong is where you are safe, and where you are safe is where you belong" (Antonsich, 2009, p. 25). For centuries, people in different parts of the world continue to hunt for a place where they can be accepted. This therefore brings the notion of the homeland into the limelight. Home is actually the best hiding place. Even our compatriots who die in the diaspora are brought home because it is believed that, that is where their spirits belong. In the Post-colonial dispensation, it is believed that home is anywhere you make it. In the African philosophical thought and cosmology, home is where you actually belong (one's cultural roots), a place where he can commune with his ancestors

Home is seen as a place that can be remembered because it embodies the essence of one's entire being. While in America, Jende's mind is in his homeland in Limbe. He imagines how they always spent Christmas back at home. The narrator states that, "He imagined Neni taking Liomi to New Town, to wish a happy Christmas to his mother who must have prepared a meal of chicken stew with yams and a side of *ndole[11]*, as well as a dish of plantain and *nyamangowa[12]*. He yearned to hear their voices…." (Mbue 239). Jende has nostalgic feelings about home. He wishes to spend this festive period with his family in New Town,

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[11] A Cameroonian dish consisting of stewed nuts, ndoleh (bitter leaves indigenous to West Africa). It is traditionally eaten with plantains, or yams.

[12] Meat from pig (pork)

Limbe, because he is far away from home. He cannot access his mother who is dear to him nor can he eat the dishes she would cook at Christmas.

Migrants are confronted with enormous frustration and setbacks which make them come to a state of self-realization—they discover that America actually does not have as much to offer as they had anticipated. As a result of this, they run back home to find solace. In the state of self-realization, Jende is stripped of the illusions that many have about the West. Having lived and experienced the realities of life in America, he courageously decides to go back to his roots.

7. Conclusion

This paper has examined the concept of cross-cultural encounters and diasporic sullenness in Mbue's *Behold the Dreamers* and Adichie's *Americanah.* It was geared at examining the perceptions that Africans have about Europe and America, and its actual reality. It discussed the socio-political and economic predicament of the African continent as a push factor for characters in the texts under study to migrate to other countries like America and England in pursuit of a fulfilling life which is not possible in their countries of origin. It equally preoccupied itself with the African experience in the diaspora and how this leaves them in a sullen and melancholic state.

Placing *Behold the Dreamers* and *Americanah* against the backdrop of the Postcolonial theory, the study highlighted the tenets of Postcolonialism to analyze issues related to migration. Both texts under study deal with Postcolonial experiences of migration, hybridity, race, language, double consciousness, centre/margin binarism, and identity. The theory is used to examine issues related to migration and belonging. It dealt with how the shift from one's locality to a completely different environment shatters the character's sense of belonging in the host country. The analysis of this study revealed that, race is a determining factor in the attainment of the America dream. It has highlighted the social, economic and psychological challenges that Black immigrants face in an attempt to fully integrate into Western culture and society.

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Scripturalité francophone des espaces de migration massive des quartiers universitaires de Yaoundé : anglophonie caractérisée, pragmatisme langagier, révélation et élévation de l'intellect

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Résumé

Le caractère bilingue anglais/français[13] de la pléthore d'enseignes commerciales des Francophones des quartiers universitaires de Yaoundé I, ainsi que la nature spéciale des services offerts via ces pancartes, nous ont poussée à en analyser les curiosités sociolinguistes qui en ressortent. Cette étude s'est faite dans l'intention d'y retrouver les types d'identités et de relations sociales en vigueur entre les populations en transhumance dans l'espace en étude. Nous avons pu ainsi découvrir une anglophilie évidente que nous avons attribuée à un habitus structurel langagier certain et à une recherche du profit maximal. Il s'observe que ces enseignes sont un usage pragmatique d'une richesse linguistique internationale manifestée par une diglossie bienfaisante qui garantit la visibilité de l'anglais et la lisibilité du français. De même, les fonctions publicitaires des écriteaux sont assumées de façon parfaitement complémentaire par ces langues, ce qui donnerait aux locuteurs *natifs,* tant de l'un que de l'autre code linguistique, de se sentir interpelés dans le nouvel espace interculturel.

Mots Clés : migration, anglophilie, pragmatisme, visibilité, lisibilité

1. Introduction

Heller dans la préface de Simonin et Wharton (2013 :11) déclare que « *la rencontre avec l'Autre qui est au centre de l'idée du contact demeure chargée de nos jours [et] pour beaucoup, c'est l'expérience quotidienne de la rue* ». Par ailleurs, Pooley (2001 :44) affirme « *qu'une présence étrangère aura des conséquences non-négligeables sur la situation sociolinguistique d'une région* ». Les quartiers universitaires, en général, sont des lieux essentiellement habités par des personnes non autochtones, en conséquence, des migrants. D'aucunes y sont en quête de savoir, et donc en principe y sont de passage pour les études (bien que parfois elles s'implantent définitivement dans les lieux) ; d'autres y sont attirées[14] soit par les

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[13] Le Cameroun a une politique de bilinguisme institutionnel français/anglais. Le premier est la langue officielle première de huit régions administratives jadis *colonisées* par la France, tandis que l'anglais est celle de deux régions administratives, anciennes *colonies* britanniques. Ce pays compte par ailleurs 280 langues nationales vivantes (*Ethnologue*, 2014).

[14] « Les villes attir[a]nt l'industrie à cause de ces deux facteurs essentiels (main-d'œuvre et marché) et, à son tour, l'industrie développ[ant] de nouvelles possibilités d'emplois et suscit[ant] des services » (Castells 1975 :27 cité par Calvet, 1994 :75)

opportunités d'affaires spécifiques dans les milieux universitaires et les milieux jeunes, soit par des possibilités que la concentration de populations engendre en termes de besoins vitaux et économiques. Les quatre quartiers universitaires de Yaoundé I (Ngoa Ekelé, Melen, Elig Effa et Obili), dont nous étudions ici la scripturalité spatiale, rentrent parfaitement dans ces caractérisations. Une pré-enquête en ces lieux nous a fait constater un usage systématique particulier des deux langues officielles du Cameroun par les commerçants sur leurs enseignes ; et ce travail se propose d'analyser cette spécificité, en corrélation avec les paramètres sociaux en situation.

2. Objectif et délimitation du travail de recherche

L'analyse sociolinguistique des productions langagières des espaces sus-cités voudrait démontrer que les croisements de cultures ont entraîné des comportements linguistiques détonants. En effet, comme le disent respectivement Binistri (2004 :2) et Hamers and alii (2001: 9), « *les situations linguistiques résultent des migrations [tant]endogènes [qu']exogènes* » et "*Language behavior is the product of culture and such it follows the rules of enculturated behavior; [it also] molds culture, that is, cultural representations are shaped by language behavior*". L'ambition de cet article est de ressortir ces particularités sociolinguistes et de les étudier, -dans le postulat que ces analyses révèleront assurément des types de relations en vigueur entre les sujets parlants des deux langues institutionnelles du Cameroun en migration dans l'espace à l'étude. La sociolinguistique ne dit-elle pas qu'il y a covariance systématique entre la langue et la société ? Heller (Préface de Simonin et Wharton, 2013 :11) affirme justement que :

> Nos réseaux actuels, nos mouvements, nos échanges sont intensifiés et passent de plus en plus par une médiation langagière laissant des traces facilement observables et accessibles […]. [A cause de cela], le ''contact'' devient […] bel et bien un phénomène central non pas de la langue, mais des sociétés. Il révèle comment nous nous organisons en termes de catégories sociales (utilisant pour ce fait un paquet d'outils sémiotiques et matériels, dont la langue).Vue de cette manière, la langue se produit (constamment, et de façon émergente) dans des processus sociaux de différenciation (et de construction d'inégalités) et n'en est pas la source.

Dans le cadre de ce travail, nous nous intéresserons essentiellement aux écrits anglais/français de propriétaires camerounais francophones.

3. Justification du sujet

Lors d'un passage fortuit par les lieux sus-cités, nous avons été captivée par le riche et spécial paysage scriptural privé qui s'est révélé à nous comme étant un espace linguistique particulier saisissant. Nous y avons cru nous retrouver dans un « dreamt land[15] » certain pour le Cameroun bilingue institutionnel toujours en quête de son vivre ensemble entre Anglophones et Francophones. Ces particularités scripturales étaient encore plus notoires dans les localités adjacentes aux institutions universitaires telles l'Institut des Relations Internationales, l'Ecole des Postes et Télécommunications, l'Ecole Supérieure Polytechnique, la Faculté de Médecine et des Sciences Biomédicales, l'Ecole Supérieure des Travaux Publics et, les environs immédiats du campus-mère de l'Université de Yaoundé I. En effet, une fois dans ces lieux, nous avons eu l'impression d'évoluer dans la Cité des écrits in vivo (Calvet, 2009), tant il y en avait partout et de formats si hétéroclites. Une première exploration de l'œil de ces écrits nous a donné de constater l'usage presque exclusif du français et de l'anglais, langues officielles du Cameroun, usage tantôt en tandem, tantôt disjoint. La présence massive d'enseignes en anglais dans cette zone francophone, -étant donné que l'on est ici dans le domaine des affaires, et donc de la recherche du profit-, d'un côté, connote nécessairement une présence significative de Camerounais anglophones, bien entendu migrants, et de l'autre, leur partage de l'espace avec leurs congénères francophones non moins migrants[16] pour la plupart. L'on est, de ces faits, en mesure de présager qu'une analyse sociolinguistique de cette scripturalité confirmera ces assertions de Bulot (2011 :7 et 13 respectivement) d'après lesquelles : « *les mises en mots sont des praxis révélatrices des rapports sociaux reproduits ou transférés* » et «*les langues spatialisées [ont] des liens et corrélations*».

Lesdits espaces présentaient une singulière hétéroglossie (indice d'une pratique linguistique certaine, d'un « *languaging* » certain) qui, creusée, ferait sûrement ressortir du

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[15] Pour dire « monde rêvé, vu en vision » et non pas « dreamland » qui signifierait « monde imaginaire, monde des rêves ».

[16] En effet, entre les années mil neuf cent soixante et mil neuf cent quatre-vingt-dix pendant lesquelles Yaoundé abritait l'unique université du pays, l'on se devait de s'établir à la capitale camerounaise si l'on voulait faire des études supérieures au Cameroun. Cette Université demeure d'ailleurs la plus courue du pays, vingt-cinq ans après la création de sept autres universités d'Etats dans les autres régions du pays (Cf. les statistiques des promotions des enseignants camerounais d'université dans les grades supérieurs de décembre 2018, dévoilées lors de la cérémonie de présentation des vœux au Ministre de l'Enseignement Supérieur, le 25 janvier 2019).

« *metroligualism* », c'est-à-dire des « *styles qui puisent dans des ressources linguistiques conventionnellement et idéologiquement associées à différentes ''langues''* » (Heller, ibid. :11). Comme le dit Binistri (ibid.), l'espace urbain qu'est la ville est un terreau aux variations linguistiques compliquées, étant donné qu'il est constitué pour la plupart de migrants. Ces derniers, -en quête d'opportunités en terre *étrangère*-, sont forcément confrontés aux enjeux et autres défis de la vie, d'où cette gestion linguistique spontanée, produit d'une clairvoyance ontologique, d'une stratégie efficace d'émulation existentielle (Ripoll : 2006).

Nous sommes en effet partie de l'hypothèse qu'une pratique linguistique particulière est le fait d'êtres humains aussi typiques, « *le signe [étant] l'instrument qui sert à catégoriser le monde* » (Klinkenberg, 1996 : 105). Notre arrêt sur image était d'autant fasciné que le Cameroun se trouve dans une époque de son histoire où les rapports officiels de parité dans son colinguisme institutionnel (Balibar, 1985) -et par ricochet le traitement des locuteurs *originels*[17] des langues ainsi associées-, connaissent des reproches de la part de la minorité linguistique officielle (20%), les Anglophones et, des regrets du côté de la majorité linguistique officielle (80%), les Francophones. Ces derniers auraient en effet voulu se voir donner les moyens d'acquisition meilleure de l'anglais tandis que ceux-là auraient, entre autres, voulu voir leurs compatriotes francophones parler autant l'anglais que les Camerounais anglophones parlent le français (Chiatoh : 2018). Il faut signaler que si le constat de Chiatoh (ibid.) sur l'assimilation linguistique de la minorité camerounaise anglophone par la langue officielle première de la majorité, rentre dans l'ordre naturel des choses tel que précisé infra par Calvet (1994 : 2002), l'inverse, ainsi que le révélerait la scripturalité informelle à l'étude ici, se présenterait comme un fait marqué, un fait hors norme.

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[17] Anglophones/Francophones.

4. Recueil des données et travaux antérieurs sur le suje

Nous avons, pour la cause, recueilli par photographie[18] une quatre vingtaines d'enseignes commerciales dans lesquartiers universitaires de Ngoa Ekelé Bonamoussadi[19], Ngoa Ekelé-Ecole des Postes, Ngoa Ekelé-CRADAT, Ngoa Ekelé-Château, Melen-EMIA, Melen-Polytechnique, Elig Effa-Ecole Supérieure des Travaux Publics, Obili Chapelle-ANACLAC. Le choix de ces quartiers et, d'endroits précis dans ceux-ci, a été orienté par l'impression qu'ils donnent au promeneur d'être la Cité des écrits plurilingues[20] in vivo comme dit supra, tant il y en a partout et sur des formats divers. Ces écrits abondants aux contenus variés et aux dimensions composites concourent à « *rendre plus visible et plus audible [ce] monde moderne multilingue* » (Milroy et Muskyen (1995 :1). Et divers éléments contribuent à cette visibilité/audibilité. Simonin et Wharton (2013 :16) disent judicieusement que :

> L'expansion de la scolarisation et de l'éducation formelle, la massification de l'immigration, le développement des mass médias et des technologies de l'information et de la communication (TIC), dont internet, et l'augmentation croissante des communautés bilingues, multisites ou non, virtuelles ou non, représentent des mutations macrosociales significatives auxquelles s'ajoutent ''la modernisation et la mondialisation des échanges'', ''le renouveau à grande échelle de la revendication des minorités linguistiques''.

Ces facteurs de visibilité et d'audibilité de l'espace contemporain s'appliquent presque totalement au sujet de notre préoccupation courante. Si la scripturalité urbaine est un champ d'investigation de la sociolinguistique urbaine exploré par bien de chercheurs, au Cameroun, seul Eloundou (2010) a fait une étude sur les écrits publicitaires des propriétaires anglophones du quartier Obili à Yaoundé. Nous n'avons donc pas trouvé de travail scientifique sur le sujet en examen ici.

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[18] « *La photographie [permettant] d'appréhender [l]es signes urbains en les transformant en documents* » (Bulot, 2006 : 11).

[19] Les appendices après le trait d'union donnent une indication précise du site de recueil des données. Il faut signaler que nous avons mené des enquêtes sur les écrits urbains dans une vingtaine de quartiers de la capitale politique du Cameroun, et ce n'est qu'ici que cette spécificité s'est révélée.

[20] « *Quant à l'opposition entre « bilinguisme » et « multilinguisme », les rapports entre les deux notions sont relativement complexes. Pour certains, « bilinguisme » signifie un intérêt pour deux langues. Pour d'autres, le bilinguisme n'est qu'un cas particulier de plurilinguisme. L'intuition a tendance à donner raison à cette option* ». (Py et Gajo, 2013 :73)

5. De la prégnance de l'anglais sur les enseignes commerciales des Francophones en zone francophone

La quasi-totalité des écrits des Anglophones de ces mêmes sites ont presque toujours au moins un quelconque élément du français ou de la France[21], sans plus. Les écrits francophones quant à eux, des quartiers universitaires de Yaoundé I, sont presque toujours très ostensiblement dans les deux langues officielles du Cameroun. Par ailleurs, force est de constater que la raison sociale ou le titre du commerce, -c'est-à-dire la partie qui assure le plus la vitrine d'un commerce-, y est généralement en anglais. Comme exemples nous avons : BAM'S TELECOM, Orange Shop, Michelle Business Center, Kenn's- Print, Titan-Academy, Zen Concept, Pal Technology, Basic Electronic Center, Easy Recharge, All Computer Accessories, Azam Center, Fashion Police.

L'on ne saurait s'étonner outre mesure de ce que les pratiques sociales écrites de la capitale politique camerounaise soient en français, quand bien même elles le seraient exclusivement[22]. Cela parce que cette métropole est située dans la partie francophone du pays et bien loin des régions anglophones. En effet, les enquêtes ont montré qu'alors que les minorités linguistiques déplacées en zone urbaine deviennent généralement locutrices de la langue véhiculaire ambiante, les *natifs* de cette dernière, qui y vivent, demeurent essentiellement monolingues. Calvet (1994) cite le cas des Bambara de Bamako au Mali, essentiellement monolingues, qu'il présente comme (ibid : 221) : « *la traduction locale d'une loi plus générale [vu que] les locuteurs des grandes langues internationales (anglais, français) sont souvent monolingues, tandis que ceux des langues moins parlées (grec, danois, […]) sont plus fréquemment plurilingues* ». Cependant, cette loi ne s'applique aucunement sur les Camerounais francophones, propriétaires de commerces aux lieux sus-cités, si l'on s'en tient à la place de choix revenue à l'anglais sur leurs enseignes.

On en vient à la conclusion selon laquelle la scripturalité à l'étude dans cet article traduit, tout compte fait, une anglophilie certaine des leurs auteurs, amour de l'anglais manifesté à travers la signalétique spontanée ; « *les rapports entre langues [étant] conçus comme des rapports sociaux* » (Calvet, 2001 :34). Exemple :

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[21] Voir Djoum Nkwescheu, Angeline, 2019, « Incorporation sociale anglophone marquante en milieu exolingue camerounais vue à travers la scripturalité in vivo de quartiers universitaires de Yaoundé », in *Cameroon Journal of Studies in the Commonwealth (CJSC),* Vol 5, Number1, 141-161.

[22] Pour ce qui est de la langue officielle…

Qu'est-ce qui peut justifier un tel phénomène ? Heller (ibid. : 12) déclare à juste titre que celui qui s'intéresse au contact de langues fait nécessairement « *un questionnement sur la nature du langage et son rapport avec (ou son existence comme partie de) la société.* »

6. De la motivation des choix linguistiques des écriteaux

La bilingualité (Hamers et ali (1989/2001)) anglais/français des auteurs des écrits en analyse ici connote un bilinguisme ambiant. La profusion de celle-là corrobore l'assertion de ces chercheurs (ibid.) qui avaient prédit que le 21è siècle verra le nombre des bilingues, -qui dépasse déjà celui des monolingues à l'époque-, aller s'augmentant. Cette recherche et cette exposition de sa bilingualité ne sauraient être désintéressées, l'homme ne faisant des efforts que tant que cela lui profite (Martinet, 1970). Avant l'entrevue auprès des propriétaires sur les raisons de leurs préférences langagières, nous avions émis trois hypothèses principales quant à celles-là. Ces réponses provisoires sont présentées dans les lignes suivantes : (1) - La présence intensive de l'anglais sur ces écrits urbains francophones tient du fait qu'il est la langue d'origine des technologies de l'information et de la communication, essentiel des services offerts ici. (2) Aussi, cette préférence linguistique serait sous-tendue par des raisons d'économie de l'espace, vu la nature synthétique de l'anglais qui s'oppose à celle analytique du français (Bloomfield, 1970). (3) Ce serait aussi le fruit d'un réalisme économique, consistant à se garantir la potentielle clientèle d'origine anglophone plutôt abondante ici (Djoum Nkwescheu, 2019), suite à la « *massification de l'immigration* » *(*Simonin et Warthon, 2013 :16). Cette dernière hypothèse implique une préalable identification de l'alter avec qui l'on partage l'environnement. Il y aurait de ce fait confirmation de l'assertion de Mondada (2004 :1) selon laquelle « *la ville n'est pas peuplée d'êtres anonymes* », car :

> les activités sociales des citadins dans les espaces publics, qu'elles soient verbales ou non-verbales, sont constamment orientées vers la catégorisation d'autrui : l'autre n'est pas un inconnu sans visage et sans qualités ; il est appréhendé sous des catégories rendues pertinentes dans le contexte. (Ibid. :73)

Nous avons posé aux gérants/propriétaires des commerces la question de savoir pourquoi sur leurs enseignes les titres étaient en anglais et les services offerts en français. Leurs réponses respectives ont été catégorisées en trois. Nous donnons ci-après un échantillon de chacune.

a) La propriétaire de *Galaxy Computer Service* a affirmé que « *c'est pour que le locuteur de chacune des langues officielles du Cameroun puisse y trouver son compte et rien de plus* ». Cette informatrice pensait visiblement ici plutôt à l'accès au sens, mais à la réflexion, la *satisfaction* de chaque locuteur qu'elle assurerait ainsi semble être plus du domaine de l'identitaire et non de celui de l'intelligibilité. En effet, il n'y a pas traduction sur ces enseignes de la même information dans l'autre langue. Néanmoins, cette réponse a entériné notre hypothèse (n°3) relative au réalisme économique.

b) Le propriétaire d'*Authentic Repro* a, de son côté, déclaré que sa raison sociale est en anglais pour des raisons de visibilité internationale. Il en est ainsi, dit-il, parce qu'il voyage de par le monde (Etats-Unis, Inde, Chine, Dubaï, …) avec sa carte de visite qui porte le nom de son commerce. On pourrait affirmer que cet homme d'affaires a parfaitement compris que « *nos réseaux actuels, nos mouvements, nos échanges sont intensifiés et passent de plus en plus par une médiation langagière laissant des traces facilement observables et accessibles* » (Heller, 2013 : 11). C'est donc encore du pragmatisme économique.

Ce propriétaire, en effet, partagerait la pensée des autorités administratives asiatiques d'après laquelle l'anglais est le « *language that permits […] to enter into the global community and […] compete both with other Asian neighbors and with competitors in other parts of developing world*" *(Baldauf et ali (2010:430)* ». La prégnance de cette langue à travers le monde serait la

conséquence du fait que "[…], *globalization, the world economic system, and easier access to mass media and the Internet have made English the world's lingua franca* » (idem, p.431).

En outre, le propriétaire d'*Authentic Repro* affirme que le listing des services qu'il offre est en français parce que sa clientèle *in situ* est essentiellement francophone.

c) L'auteure *d'Achille Service* nous a dit de la structure de sa dénomination commerciale que « *c'est beau ainsi* » et qu'elle ne peut même pas imaginer qu'on puisse dire « *Service d'Achille* » parce que « *cela sonne mal* ». Ce jugement de valeur rappelle la déclaration de Hamers et ali (2001:9) selon laquelle "*Language behavior is the product of culture and such it follows the rules of enculturated behavior*". En effet, la structure syntagmatique anglaise des écrits commerciaux s'est tellement ancrée en cette propriétaire qu'elle ne peut tolérer que son enseigne ait la construction française. Une telle idée lui est d'ailleurs impensable. Mais en profane, elle appréhende son rejet en termes d'esthétique et non d'habitus linguistique *psychologique* (Encrevé, 1982).

Relevons qu'aucun propriétaire n'a expliqué son choix de l'anglais comme étant dû à sa nature synthétique, quand bien même nous le leur avons suggéré dans le but de vérifier notre deuxième hypothèse. Il en est de même de l'hypothèse n°1 sur la langue d'origine des technologies de l'information et de la communication comme motivation de la préférence de l'anglais sur son écriteau.

7. De la capitalisation de son opulence linguistique dans un emploi diglossique atypique : visibilité vs lisibilité

Comme signalé supra, la très grande majorité des enseignes des commerçants francophones des quartiers universitaires de Yaoundé I commence en anglais. Ainsi, la visibilité (Millet, 1998), le donner à voir, ce qui frappe, est assurée par l'anglais, tandis que la lisibilité (ibid.), le donner à lire, qui indique les offres de service, est assurée par le français. Il y a donc alternance codique, « *code-swicth, phénomène de contact linguistique* » (Lüdi, 1991 :54), bien calculée. Rappelons que le code-switch est présenté par Winford, (2003 :101) comme une des caractéristiques du comportement des bilingues qui « *exploitent les ressources des langues qu'ils maîtrisent de diverses manières, pour des buts sociaux et stylistiques, et accomplissent cela en passant d'une langue à l'autre, ou en les mélangeant de différentes manières* ». Gumperz

(1989 :57) quant à lui le définit comme « *la juxtaposition à l'intérieur d'un même échange verbal de passages où le discours appartient à deux systèmes ou sous-systèmes grammaticaux différents* » tandis que Heller (1988 :1) pense que c'est « *l'utilisation de plus d'une langue dans le cours d'un même épisode communicatif* ». Toutes ces définitions, dans leurs spécificités respectives, sont retrouvées dans notre corpus avec les emplois de l'anglais et du français. En effet, les enseignes commerciales des Francophones des quartiers universitaires de Yaoundé I sont presque toujours très manifestement dans les deux langues officielles du Cameroun. Par ailleurs, chacune des deux langues y joue un rôle systématiquement fixe.

La diglossie anglais/français des écrits privés à l'étude ici est justement « *une spécialisation [publicitairement]*[23] *fonctionnelle […] de langues en contact dans [cette] communauté* » (Fishman, 1971 :97). Nous pensons qu'elle est la manifestation d'un « pragmatisme langagier », sorte d'usage avisé de ses avantages linguistiques. C'est ainsi que d'un côté, l'anglais en assure l'éclat, -révélant la raison sociale du service offert et/ou le nom de l'opérateur économique- et, de l'autre, le français présente les offres de service. On peut donc affirmer qu'il y a ici une sorte de diglossie, vu que ces deux langues sont en fonctions complémentaires sur les écriteaux sur lesquels elles figurent concomitamment.

Pourquoi parlons-nous de « pragmatisme langagier » ? Les services offerts, généralement présentés dans le détail, sont essentiellement en français parce que la majorité de la clientèle est francophone et que l'on veut se l'assurer totalement. Ce listage des services en français, non seulement donnerait au passant d'entrer dans le commerce en ayant une idée exacte de ce qu'il va y trouver, mais aussi et surtout, son grand volume donnerait à l'éventuel client francophone de ne pas s'y sentir étranger à cause de la langue étrangère de la raison/dénomination commerciale. Le message est connoté tant pour le Francophone que pour l'Anglophone. Pour le premier, ce serait: « On est entre nous », et pour le second: « Tu es bien chez toi ici ». Comme le dit Dumont (1998 :111), « *le choix d'une langue n'est pas anodin, ni sans effet sur le récepteur ; c'est le moyen de toucher une catégorie de personnes qui devrait être assez vaste, celle dont les membres lisent [ladite langue]* ».

En outre, l'anglais de ces écrits aurait une influence positive sur les Francophones. Cet attrait relevant cette fois-ci du domaine du non-verbal, du voir, de l'« *optocentrique* », comme cela

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[23]Nous avons substitué le « socialement » de Fishman par « publicitairement ».

serait le cas avec un dessin, une image, un jeu typographique (Millet, 1998). Il s'agirait donc du beau, l'anglais connotant « *l'esthétique, la jeunesse, la mode* » (Dumont, 1998 :93). Mais la langue de Shakespeare pourrait aussi jouer tant sur les Francophones que sur le Anglophones un rôle psychologique, celui de *l'assurance qualité*, l'anglais étant la langue *maternelle* privilégiée des technologies de l'information et de la communication dont les services y afférents sont les plus offerts ici. Il faut ajouter que la rédaction en anglais de la raison d'être du commerce pourrait donner à croire que les produits qui y sont délivrés sont authentiques. Dumont (ibid. : 93) affirme à propos que « *derrière toute annonce, toute image, tout slogan se profile une philosophie du consommateur* ». Par ailleurs, la préférence du français lors de l'énumération des services offerts (langue qui n'est pas nécessairement incompréhensible aux Anglophones ici), quant à elle, serait motivée par le souci de clarté, « *l'information linguistique [étant] ordonnée dans le champ du lisible* » (Millet, ibid. : 33).

8. Registre linguistique, emploi diglossique et éducation

 Le style langagier châtié et l'usage diglossique de l'anglais et du français sur les enseignes commerciales étudiées dans ce travail d'investigation révèlent les niveaux intellectuel et culturel élevés tant de leurs émetteurs que des récepteurs cibles. Blaumaert et Huang (cités par Bulot 2011:8) déclarent fort à propos que « signs *[in a locality] will contribute to the organization and regulation of that space by defining addresses and selecting audiences*». Millet (1998 :26) dans son article intitulé « La ville : un espace socio-sémiotique », affirme, quant à elle, qu'une promenade dans un milieu urbain conduit à se « *pencher sur une ville témoignant des hommes qui s'y sont inscrits, se donnant à voir et à lire au regard plus ou moins attentif des passants* ».

Les titres tels *Kenm's Print*, *Zen Concept*, *Titan Academy*, assurent la visibilité du commerce. A cette visibilité s'adjoignent, pour la lisibilité respectivement, (1) « La référence de l'impression et de la reliure à chaud en Afrique Centrale. Reliure à chaud, infographie : Coupe des documents ; Réfection des vieux documents ; Secrétariat bureautique ; Formation à la carte, » ; (2) « Concevoir l'inattendu, créer l'inoubliable. Cartes : De vœux ; Professionnelles ; De visite. PLV : Roll up, Flying banners, Pop up banners » ; (3) « Anciennes épreuves, documentation, informations et Préparation aux examens ». Il est intéressant de noter que les choix linguistiques, lexicaux et structuraux opérés pour ces écriteaux témoignent tant des identités intellectuelle et culturelle des leurs concepteurs que

de celles de leurs potentiels destinataires. Il faudrait en effet nécessairement appartenir à l'intelligentsia pour pouvoir les concevoir tels quels et/ou les décrypter. Pour parler comme Calvet (1994 :266) : « *dans ces trois exemples, le message est relativement cryptique : il faut être culturellement et linguistiquement informé pour déchiffrer [ces contenus,] les inscriptions définiss[a]nt leur public, le limit[a]nt, ne s'adressant qu'à des récepteurs prédéterminés* ».

Nicolaï et Ploog (2013 :268) affirment fort à propos que « *la langue apparait alors comme l'un des éléments primordiaux des systèmes sociaux* ». Nous relions justement ici les écrits d'espaces urbains particuliers à des personnes spécifiques, ce qui relève de l'écologie des langues que Haugen (1972, paraphrasé par Nicolaï et Ploog (ibid.)) évoque « *quand un espace communicatif donné (tel la ville) peut être subdivisé en différents domaines, liant les actes langagiers à des [êtres]*[24] *spécifiques* ». Les images suivantes sont parlantes sur le sujet :

9. L'effet de l'habitus linguistique sur les commerçants ordinaires, source d'élévation et d'inconforts langagiers

Autant on peut dire que le type de services offerts, relatif aux technologies de l'information ou à la formation académique, impose le style linguistique soutenu, autant l'on ne saurait

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[24] Haugen (1972) parle de « fonctions spécifiques » plutôt.

le soutenir pour ce qui est des services destinés au commun des mortels. Pourtant, les écrits à l'étude ici présentent le même registre linguistique et le même caractère diglossique quand bien même ils proposent des prestations auxquelles fait recours tout le monde. Hult (2010:90) affirme que « *visual language used in public spaces represents observable manifestations of circulating ideas about multilingualsim [and] this carries crucial sociosymbolic importance as it actually identifies – and thus serves as the emblem of societies, communities, and regions* ». Le milieu universitaire imposerait-il de lui-même *sa langue* à qui voudrait s'y intégrer ? En tout cas, c'est ce que semblent révéler les écriteaux des commerces ordinaires des quartiers universitaires de Yaoundé I.

En effet, à côté du registre langagier élevé, on perçoit sur ces derniers écrits des indices d'inconfort dans la pratique de la langue : de l'hypercorrection, signe d'insécurité linguistique (ex. *clées* internet[25]) ; de la combinaison syntagmatique *inacceptable* (Chomsky : *1967)* (ex. *Rechargez* vos abonnements) ; du calque structural du français Nom+Adjectif+Nom (ex. Krisma *Beauty Perfect*, traduction quasi littérale de *Beauté Parfaite Krisma)* ; de problèmes de catégorie et de forme linguistiques (ex. *des cadeaux* à la place de *de* cadeaux, *de marques* au lieu de *de marque*). Nous y avons également décelé une erreur de catalogue dans la disposition des articles offerts (ex. sous la rubrique *bijouterie* on trouve *les montres* et *les parfums).* L'absence de signe de ponctuation avant l'énumération (après *des cadeaux)* est peut-être un oubli du sérigraphe, pourrait-on penser…

Nicolaï et Ploog (ibid.) déclarent que la géographie des langues dont le champ d'investigation est l'écologie des langues est « *cette science qui étudie le rôle des langues comme composante culturelle globale de l'écologie humaine. Les vecteurs de la dynamique des langues [étant] alors les hommes eux-mêmes, mais aussi leur production culturelle liée à la langue, les textes* ». Comme le démontrent les trois photographies ci-dessus, l'environnement change l'homme. Bien qu'il y ait des ratés, l'on ne saurait ignorer l'effort, conscient ou non, des propriétaires de ces commerces ordinaires à inscrire leurs productions langagières dans le style ambiant des écriteaux. Il y a bien une diglossie anglais-français dans les fonctions complémentaires visibilité/lisibilité : Krisma Beauty Perfect/ Sauna-Esthétique-coiffure, etc.; Fashion Police/Prêt à porter hommes et femmes, etc.) ; (Easy Recharge /Rechargez vos abonnements). Il s'agirait alors de ce qu'Encrevé (1982 cité par Calvet, 1994 : 124) appelle l'habitus et qu'il définit comme étant « *l'ensemble des dispositions socialement acquises qui structurent de façon socialement distincte toutes les pratiques linguistiques, pratiques d'audition (perception) et pratiques de locution (production)* ». Pour ce qui est des propriétaires des commerces aux enseignes en analyse dans cette sous-partie, « *il y a, pour parler comme Bourdieu, une sensibilité des locuteurs à la tension du marché qui les [oriente] soit vers la production de telle ou telle forme linguistique, soit vers l'utilisation de telle ou telle langue. Et bien sûr, dans le cadre de la langue choisie, vers la production d'une certaine forme* » (Calvet 1994 :12).

10. Conclusion

L'analyse de la scripturalité privée francophone des zones de fortes migrations des quartiers universitaires de Yaoundé I dévoile quatre réalités principales :

1. Une anglophilie évidente des propriétaires francophones, celle-ci sous-tendue par les deux raisons essentielles que sont : - un habitus inconscient à la structure syntagmatique des titres en anglais, confondu à de l'esthétique ; -un pragmatisme économique national (vouloir se garantir aussi la clientèle anglophone abondante) et international (avoir une vitrine mondiale pour ses affaires).

2. De l'autre côté, la bilingualité systématique anglais/français de ces écrits crée une ambiance de diglossie aux fonctions publicitaires parfaitement complémentaires. D'une part, la langue anglaise y assure toujours la visibilité, l'éclat du commerce, en ceci qu'elle est la langue qui y notifie la raison sociale, le titre. D'autre part, le français y assure la lisibilité, la compréhension, l'intelligibilité : la liste détaillée des services offerts apparaissant toujours, après la raison sociale, en français. Dans le même ordre d'idées de partage de fonctions, l'anglais annonçant les commerces des produits liés aux technologies, fonctionnerait comme une sorte d'assurance qualité, de garantie d'originalité. Également, cette langue jouerait un rôle non verbal, celui d'attrait, pour ceux qui n'y sont pas lettrés, en agissant sur leur esprit telle une belle œuvre d'art, vu sa connotation du rêve américain (Dumont : 1998). Nous avons parlé ici d'exploitation judicieuse de ses avantages linguistiques et avons appelé cet usage diglossique, du « pragmatisme langagier ».

3. Aussi, les écrits francophones étudiés dans ce travail suggèrent l'appartenance à l'intelligentsia de leurs propriétaires et des potentiels destinataires. En effet, le fait que la majorité des écrits examinés offrent des services relatifs aux technologies, leur code-switch anglais/français, langues internationales, et leur registre linguistique châtié, donnent une nette impression au promeneur d'évoluer dans un « quartier latin », un quartier « temple de l'esprit ».

4. Cette atmosphère intellectuelle irradie sur les écrits des enseignes des commerces ordinaires de ces mêmes sites. En effet, on détecte également sur ces derniers cet habitus linguistique manifesté par le registre élevé de la langue et l'usage diglossique anglais/français ; ceci toujours en fonctions respectives d'assurance de la visibilité et de la

lisibilité des services offerts. Néanmoins, sur les écriteaux des commerces de produits de première nécessité, se retrouvent des traces de non maîtrise langagière. Il s'agit notamment de l'hypercorrection et d'incongruités sémantiques et catégorielles. Lesdits indices servent de témoins des niveaux d'instruction et de culture beaucoup moins élevés de leurs propriétaires, comparativement à ceux des auteurs d'écrits supra. Tous ces paramètres amènent à penser, avec Dumont (1998 : 144), que « *nul ne peut nier à quel point l'environnement graphique peut compter pour comprendre une ville, non seulement dans son histoire […] mais dans son organisation sociale* ».

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Integrating the Liberal Arts into Entrepreneurship Education: Challenges and Prospects

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Abstract

The recent innovative move in Nigeria to improve the nation's economy and to build a strong human capacity stronghold for a viable economy is achievable through practical entrepreneurship education. A lot has, therefore, been done on the quest for technical and vocational skills that will drive the nation towards technological and scientific growth. This quest has reflected through government giving much emphasis and financial support to science, technical and vocational education at the detriment of improving students' creative skills in the liberal arts education. Such liberal arts vocational skills as speech writing, storytelling and other non-visual arts creative skills become relegated to the background. This begins the culture of aliteracy, lack of skill of expression, a gradual loss of the nation's cultural heritage and national identify and non-achievement of our national philosophy. This paper therefore harnesses the question and answer of where and how the English literature teacher comes in and, what learning experiences are to be included in the liberal arts curriculum to help inculcate robust utilitarian education pulsating with liberal art skills as well as molding of the graduates in the field with the ability to cope with after school challenges, to create self-employment and achieve self-actualization.

Key Words: Entrepreneurship Education, Liberal Arts Skills, Utilitarian Education, Self-Employment

1. Introduction

The need for entrepreneurship education started emerging in the mid-1980s. Before this period, unemployment and poverty eradication were not part of the government agenda as we have now. The role assigned to entrepreneurship for economic growth and development especially in the developed countries such as USA, Britain, Japan, Canada, etc. made other developing economies adjust their developmental concept and plan and see entrepreneurship education as a vital means of sov1ng their economic problems. Ubong

(2013) posits that in the 21st century any country that hopes to achieve rapid soda economic transformation has to tread the path of entrepreneurship or stay at the bottom of the ladder as a Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HPC). HIPCs are 39 developing countries with high levels of poverty and debt overhang which make them eligible for special assistance from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Entrepreneurship appears to have worked in the developed world. Strom (2011) in Ubong (2013) reviews the plane of entrepreneurships in the developed world and declares:

> We know that innovate entrepreneurs - those who bring new products and processes to the market – are disproportionately responsible for the breakthrough or disrepute innovations that change our daily lives and allow the rapid improvement in standards of living that developed countries have experienced over the past century, and also disproportionately responsible for job growth in industrialized economies.

Afenyadu, et al (2001) believe the evidence of their research findings, that there is an apparent mismatch between the capabilities being in developed in the graduates of our tertiary institutions and the actual manpower needs of developing countries. The argument here is that tertiary institutions in developing countries are producing unemployed graduates, not necessarily as a consequence of non-availability of jobs, but essentially because the available jobs do not match their acquired skills (Afenyadu et al., 2001). Ogege (2011) argues that the lack of entrepreneurship education in the curricula of tertiary institutions should also be seen as a major contributory factor to the high unemployment among graduates. Ogege (2011). He believes that entrepreneurship education makes it possible for the youth (whether they are graduates or not) to acquire the requisite skills to be self-employed without undue reliance on an over-burdened government to create jobs for them. As a result of the perceived importance of entrepreneurship in the economies of societies, especially, its ability to reduce unemployment interest in entrepreneurship education is on the increase.

Arogundade (2011) observes that political instability and inconsistencies in the social and economic policies of successive governments in Nigeria for instance, led to the emergence of high level of unemployment. In the mid - 1980s, Nigeria witnessed a lot of economic hardship which resulted in unemployment of youths and graduates, early retirement of workers as a result of structural adjustment policies and bad economic trends in the country. During this period of economic upheavals, the country was not focused on

entrepreneurship innovations that could have cushioned the effects of the country's economic problems. However, in recent years, Nigeria has implemented far reaching economic reforms aimed at improving macro-economic management and business environment.

It is pertinent to consider and rethink the role of entrepreneurship education in stimulating the economic well-being of the country. Arogundade (2011) observes that tertiary education has not been properly included in the philosophy of self-reliance such as creating a new cultural and productive environment that will promote pride in self-discipline. However, in recent time, the government and educational agencies are working assiduously on incorporating entrepreneurship education in the nation's educational curriculum.

A lot has, therefore, been done on the quest for technical and vocational skills that will drive the nation towards technological and scientific growth. This quest has reflected through government giving much emphasis and financial support to science, technical and vocational education at all the educational levels. However, it has been noted that students' creative skills in the liberal arts education have not been harnessed to realize entrepreneurship education goals. Such liberal arts vocational skills as speech writing, storytelling and other non-visual arts creative skills become relegated to the background. This begins the culture of aliteracy, lack of skill of expression, a gradual loss of the nation's cultural heritage and national identity and non-achievement of our national philosophy. The paper therefore harnesses the question and answer of where and how does English language or literature teacher comes in and, what learning experiences are to be included in the liberal arts curriculum to help inculcate robust utilitarian education pulsating with liberal arts skills as well as molding of the graduates in the field with the ability to cope with after school challenges, to create self-employment and to achieve self-actualization.

2. Challenges of Entrepreneurship in Liberal Arts

Entrepreneurship is defined as creative and innovative response to the environment and the process of giving birth to a new enterprise. Such response can take place in any field of social endeavour such as business, agriculture education, social work amongst others. It is an attempt to create value through recognition of business opportunity, management of risk

taking, and through communication and management skills to mobilize human, financial and material resources that are necessary to bring a project to fruition.

Having an entrepreneurial orientation, however, is as important as acquisition of skills of oral and written English for a successful career. These two qualities can be learned together in schools in this dispensation of education for self-reliance. For the past fifteen years in Nigeria, however, systematic and effective actions regarding Entrepreneurship Education have been taken to promote entrepreneurial mindsets in the society. Some proposals have been suggested to realize this. Some of these can be applied in an English as a Second Language (ESL) class, thus making it a dual-purpose one, which is both teaching English and creating an entrepreneurial mindset.

In our changing world, which is getting harder and more and more demanding for the future generations, young people are required to have a lot of skills. Among those, two skills seem vital for a successful career: is having a good command of English, which is the world language and the technical language of the new generation and, the other is having an entrepreneurial mindset. This paper aims at the possibility of infusing entrepreneurial instructional skills activities in an English and liberal arts class.

3. The Prospects of Teaching English and Entrepreneurship

It is a generally accepted fact that English is the language of the global world and there are numerous benefits of learning it at an early age. Among these are better and more advanced reading skills, greater confidence giving brains a boost, greater opportunities in college or careers and a bigger view of the world (Dinçay, 2011). On the other hand, entrepreneurship is getting more and more important. In past decades, policy makers and economists labeled entrepreneurship as one of the key factors to increase economic growth and innovation, In the wake of this development, entrepreneurship education programmes have been proliferating all over the world as these are considered a way of fostering successful entrepreneurship activity (Rosendahl Randolph & Sloof, 2012). Because education is an effective key to shaping young people's attitudes, skills and culture, it is vital that entrepreneurship education is addressed from an early age. Entrepreneurship education is essential not only to shape the mindsets of young people but also to provide the communication skills and knowledge that are central to developing an entrepreneurial

culture (Rosendahl, Randolph and Sloof, 2012). European Commission emphasizes the need to embed it in all sectors of education through the Entrepreneurship 2020 Action Plan and the Rethinking Education Communication. Both documents call on Member States to provide all young people with a practical entrepreneurial experience before leaving compulsory education. It also highlights the importance of learning by doing within education and training (Entrepreneurship Education, 2013). Another organization to support early entrepreneurial education is UNESCO, which states that "fostering entrepreneurship attitudes and skills at all the levels in schools raises awareness of career opportunities as well as of ways young people can contribute to the development and prosperity of their communities. It helps reduce youth vulnerability, social marginalization and poverty" (UNESCO, 2014).

Consequently, the skills related to having a good command of English and having an entrepreneurial mindset are the most basic skills to be taught in Nigerian schools and, the earlier they are taught, the better it is for the students. So, the authorities in Nigeria should do their best to equip the children with English as early as possible; likewise, English language and other liberal arts teachers in the school system should try to teach entrepreneurship skills at an early age. Thus, the basis is to design the curriculum and arrange instructional activities in English as a Second Language (ESL) in such a way that the students can both learn English and gain an entrepreneurial mindset.

4. Suggested Methods to Integrate Entrepreneurial and Communication Skills

The courses specially designed bearing entrepreneurship in mind must include some activities that are selected carefully to give the learners the ability to look into the future as well as harnessing environment potential which is an essential entrepreneurial competency. The activities should also help the students adapt to new situations easily, to think independently and to learn through mistakes. The focus should be on self-confidence, perseverance, risk taking, decision making, negotiation skills and tolerance of uncertainty (Entrepreneurship Education, 2013). ESL lessons during which various activities are used are suitable to achieve these goals because short dialogues or role-playing activities along with problem solving activities, reading passages and writing tasks are excellent opportunities to internalize a certain idea. Introducing the subjects and vocabulary which

may inspire entrepreneurship is a must to attain the goals. This is both teaching English and addressing the subconscious mind. One of the techniques suggested here is "repetition" of the same thought. Repetitive thoughts can be quite powerful. The repeated experiences help the children form the foundation for the patterns of behavior they exhibit as adults. To make the same logic work in a language class, similar ideas or words can repeatedly be given in most of the passages or dialogues studied in the class, which is the idea of entrepreneurship in this study.

Another technique is "context problems" approach. Context-rich problems require short realistic scenarios giving the students a plausible motivation for solving a problem (Bangs, 2012). To apply this technique in a language classroom, it is important to choose simple entrepreneurship inspiring subjects that are interesting for the students and confine them to the vocabulary and the language command which the students have. If the subject is interesting enough, even the most un-composed students want to say something about it.

Another method to use in the language class may be to make use of reading passages which may give the idea of entrepreneurship or innovation. Studying a passage which contains some messages about entrepreneurship may be inspiring for the students. Some of the students are more inclined to think and behave like an entrepreneur and some others are more reluctant about this. The students with an entrepreneurial inclination may benefit more from the classes designed with entrepreneurship in mind while the others may gain certain point of view on entrepreneurship.

The teachers can either make up suitable activities to be used in the class or they can adapt one of the many available simplifying the language according to the level of the students. Selecting the vocabulary suitable to the level of the students is important because when it comes to talking and expressing themselves, the learners can have difficulty because of their limited vocabulary while native speakers can talk without such a hardship. So, the teacher should assess the level of the exercises precisely. These activities can be as simple as only asking: "What kind of business would you like to start if you come about some money?" or "What is the best or worst business you have ever seen?" Sometimes it may be only a "role playing activity between a trader and his customer" or "a conversation between bread delivery man and the customer". The teacher should take care to choose subjects

which are familiar, frequent interesting and serving the purpose. Then s/he should give the vocabulary the students need to talk or write about the subject and prepare some prompts to stir up ideas. After learning the vocabulary and reflecting on the subject for a while the students can be ready to discuss or write about the subjects chosen.

5. Conclusion

In the study, it was seen that the success stories of the entrepreneurs are interesting for the students and it is possible to integrate an entrepreneurial mindset through the topics used in various activities in English as a second language lessons. No matter what the level and the complexity of the activity are, the focus will be on both teaching English and creating an entrepreneurial mindset. It is extremely important for our children not only to have the qualifications to survive in today's highly competitive world but also to think and behave like an entrepreneur. Only by having the necessary qualifications and using them to create new ventures can the future of the nations get the welfare they deserve. Because entrepreneurship is seen as one of the life buoys to save the world's economy in the future, it is vital to provide our children with skills to think and behave like entrepreneurs. ESL classes with a rich mixture of activities present us with golden opportunities to achieve this aim. It must not be hard to redesign some of the activities in an English class in such a way to create an entrepreneurial mindset and to contribute to the welfare of not only a person but also a country, or maybe the whole world. It is expected that if the suggested activities are integrated into the lessons with more exercises given, better results with respect to creating entrepreneurial mindsets in English language and liberal arts students at tertiary level will be achieved.

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Narrative Punctuations in Nollywood Film: A Semiotic Perspective

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Abstract

Narrative punctuations are signs that are used to aid the meaning-making processes in film narration for clarity and easy comprehension. They include what is known as filmic punctuation and the techniques of the film medium. Consequently, these filmic punctuations and techniques guide the meanings viewers attribute to the screen images. Film narration relies heavily on the use of the filmic punctuation to communicate the message in the narrative just as punctuation marks in written language. They structure and suture the shots, scenes and sequences together in the narrative to produce a meaning laden narration. This is done through the proper use of filmic punctuation and techniques like cuts, dissolves, wipes, fades, dollys, pans, and superimposition among others as connectives and also as marks of the beginnings and ends of narrative actions, scenes and sequences for the viewer. This paper appraises the use of filmic punctuations and techniques in Nollywood to aid the meaning-making process in the narration. The paper employs the social semiotics principles to describe and analyse the filmic punctuations and techniques as meaning-making modes in film narration. The findings reveal that filmic punctuations and techniques of the medium function are as the punctuation marks of grammar and written languages in the field of film communication today. The paper concludes that filmic punctuations and film techniques are modes and semiotic resources used in Nollywood films as connectives and punctuation marks to punctuate the narrative for easier understanding. We therefore, recommend that the filmic punctuations and other techniques of the medium should be properly harnessed for meaning-making and visible communication in the domain of film narration.

Key Words: Narrative, Punctuation, Film, Communication, Signs, Nollywood

1. Introduction

A film's narration is driven by the narrator. The filmmaker is the narrator and he chooses the narrative technique to employ in the course of telling his story. As a story teller, the filmmaker has many options of how to tell the story. The film narrative depends mostly on the images and sounds assembled and synchronised. The diegesis of the narrative is dependent on how the shots and other elements are stringed and synchronised to produce meaning. This way, proper understanding of the narrative content and context of the actions is assured for the viewers. Film as a form of communication has a language of its own with

its grammar and syntax. Like every other system of communication, film has its conventions which filmmakers understand and use in the syntactic arrangement of the shots, scenes and sequences that make up the narrative. The stringing of film shots which is seen as the syntactic arrangement of film depends on the filmic punctuations to make meaning, just as written narratives depend on punctuation marks to make meanings out of series of words joined together. Punctuation in languages involve using certain marks to divide sentences and phrases to ensure clearer semantics. Hence, to punctuate is to use punctuation marks to mark notable differences and boundaries within a communication system. Punctuation marks are symbols used to aid clarity and comprehension in communication. Every form of communication has its method of meaning making and therefore a structure which is peculiar to such system. The medium and the conventions of such medium determines what constitutes the syntactic system and how they are used. Film communication makes use of varied communication system. A film may involve several methods of communication. There may be aural communication among the characters; visual communication with the viewers as well as with the characters; audio communication with the viewers; and graphic communication with the viewers. Whichever form the message is encoded, there is a system of punctuation that is involved. In film communication, punctuation marks are the techniques of the medium. These techniques are used to create meaning within the narrative context. When individual shots are stringed together in narrative through the narrative techniques, they present a complete and unified narration. The stringing of these shots with the correct filmic punctuations creates meaningful flow of the film's narrativity. This paper, seeks to interrogate film techniques as punctuation marks that strengthen syntax and semantics in film narration.

2. Communication and Punctuation

As stated earlier, punctuation marks are symbols that are used to aid comprehension in a communication system. Punctuation marks have the power to guide a reader's interpretation and comprehension of the content of any communication process. Hence, a wrong placement of punctuation a mark can lead to a total or partial misconception of the content of a message. Generally, languages have their symbols and forms of punctuation. Writings in English, French, German, Greek or our local languages definitely will show

different forms of symbols used for punctuation. For a clearer picture, the punctuation marks referred to here are for English language as a system of communication. There are some common punctuation marks used in written and spoken English to ensure clarity of understanding and meaning. They include: apostrophe, colon, comma, dash, ellipsis, exclamation mark, hyphen, parenthesis, period (full-stop), question mark, and semicolon. Each of these is represented in written English by a symbol which guides reader's interpretation and comprehension of the written text. For film narratives, the punctuation signs are imbedded in the narrative technique and structure. They form what are referred to as filmic punctuations which are seen as transitions, connectives or mere techniques of film. Movie making is the only creative endeavor that encompasses all of the arts - writing, photography, painting, acting, music, dance, architecture, dress-making, make-up, carpentry among others. In film narratives, stories are told through images and sound and the filmmaker aspires to use his/her film to entertain, express emotion and to deliver a message through the images and sound.

3. Filmic Punctuations and Techniques

Filmic punctuations deal with the way the shots in film narratives are organised to generate meaningful narrative. Braudley & Cohen (2009: 4) writing on film language argue that:

> …it is only when shots are organized according to repeatable, recognizable codes that they become discourse and are capable of telling a story. Cinematic language comprises a number of cinematic codes and sub-codes, […] (which) permits us to account for the procedures by which cinema denotes such narrative phenomena as succession, priority, temporal breaks, and spatial community. […] The students of the language of cinema must therefore, account for the processes and mechanisms that make it possible for the viewer to interpret them correctly.

Film narratives are anchored by the filmmakers who are the storytellers. In most Nigerian films, the filmmaker may choose to employ the African narrative technique of moonlight story telling whereby the storyteller is distinguished as a groit or he/she can present the story as a straight conventional narrative. Whatever structure the filmmaker uses, there are narrative techniques which film narrations employ for detailed treatment of the narrative. These techniques ensure the flow of the story and the proper use of such ensures the right semiosis in the viewer. The use of these techniques foregrounds the communicative tendencies of the images and also affect the structuring of the images, sound and other elements for the purpose of communication. In film art, the diegesis of a film narrative

depends on how the shots are stringed and the different sounds synched to produce meaning for proper understanding by its viewers. Film as a form of communication has a language of its own with its grammar and syntax. As a means of communication, film has techniques and rules which govern its structuring. The structuring of film shots is seen as syntax and the linking of these shots are the phrases. Therefore, when the shots are stringed together, they make a complete statement or sentence. The stringing of these shots with the use of filmic devices/techniques creates a flow of the film grammar. The filmic devices, then, serve as the narrative punctuations.

The filmmaker uses techniques that are conventional to the film medium to construct meaningful narratives. Film narratives usually present many ideological views, but the signs in a film will point towards the dominant idea which the filmmaker wants to project. With the signifier and the signified working together in a film text, the message is conveyed through the images in the narrative.

4. Film Punctuations, Shots and Techniques

In film, narratives are anchored through camera shots and techniques. According to Jean Mitry (2013), a narrative's placing "can only be apparent through successive shots themselves placed relative to each other in respect of the narrative flow." (as cited in tonymckibbin.com/../semiotic-theory) A shot is one of the signifying tools of the film medium, and therefore, a sign. The shot is the basis of the signification process in film while the sign itself is the minimal unit of signification. According to Giannetti (1996: 454), "a single shot from a movie generally contains dozens of signs, forming an intricate hierarchy of counterpoised meanings. Every cinematic shot consists of dozens of signifying codes that are hierarchically structured." Thus, the filmmaker while choosing his shots imbues them with connotation which the viewer deconstructs during consumption. There are different types of shots that a filmmaker can use in the process of constructing a narrative. They include: long shot, medium shot, close-up shot, aerial shot, panoramic shot. Each of these shots functions within the medium in a certain specific way that is dictated by the film medium. Eisenstein (2009: 18) describes the shot as "a tiny rectangle with some fragment of an event organised within it." A cinematic shot may also be seen as the framed image of object(s) and character(s), object(s) alone, or character(s) alone. The cinematic shots are the

filmmaker's basic narrative tool. It is through the combination and manipulation of shots that film narratives - the text emerges. According to Eisenstein (2009: 18), "… what we do in cinema, juxtaposing representational shots that have, as far as possible, the same meaning, that are neutral in terms of their meaning, in meaningful contexts …" This foregrounds the juxtapositioning of different shots and images to create a meaningful narrative. Similarly, Zettl (2003: 117) notes that "the basic purpose of framing a shot is to show images as clearly as possible and to present them so that they convey meaning and energy." Consequently, the shot can be seen as an important tool in film signification. The shot signifies through its composition and framing, and this is where the filmmaker's manipulation comes in. The manipulation of the shots is geared towards making meanings, creating contexts and forms for the narratives. The filmmaker's manipulation is further intensified by the use of techniques that ensure a form of linkage that presents the narrative as one continuous flow. These techniques form what can be seen as filmic punctuation marks.

Unlike the written word, film's basic unit, which Metz (2009: 74) argues is the shot, is neither symbolic nor arbitrary but iconic; therefore, it is laden with specific meaning. This meaning is somehow linked with the structuring of the narrative. It is in this structuring that filmic punctuations come to play. Filmic punctuations therefore are fundamental to the syntactic arrangement of the narrative which also determine the semantic readings of such narrative. Discussing the structure of film, Sparshott (1979: 339) states that,

> Aesthetically, a film consists of shots organized into scenes which are themselves articulated into sequences. (…). Accordingly, shots cohere into scenes through relevance, each shot being experienced as relevant to expectations aroused earlier in the scene (ideally, I suppose, by the preceding shot).

For Eichenbaum (1981)**,** this structuring of shots is seen as "filmic syntax" which is "the way in which the shots were linked into "phrases" and "sentences." (as cited in Bordwell, 1985: 17) Therefore, filmic punctuation ensures a well sequenced filmic syntax, and consequently, a semantically worthy narrative.

In structuring the shots for a meaningful narrative, use is made of the filmic punctuations and other techniques of the film medium. In addition to suturing of the shots, the filmmaker uses other techniques of the medium to signify ideas in the process of his/her communication. These techniques express ideas in the body of the narrative text. They

include electronic effects in film such as fades (in/out), cut, dissolve, wipes, superimposition, and slow-motion. In film production and film study, these techniques function just as conjunctions in the production and study of language. They have been referred to as "filmic punctuations" (Harman, 1991: 92), and "connectives" (Worth, 1981: 54). Like in language, the duty of the connectives in film is to string different shots together as a continuous whole in the meaning making process. These filmic punctuations and electronic effects perform the same role as the punctuation marks used in languages like period (full stop; end of a sentence), comas, apostrophe, hyphen, colon, semi-colon, dash, question mark, exclamation mark, ellipsis, parenthesis, brackets, among others. Ideally, a series of shots combine to create meaning. A combination of images, sound, music, dialogue, graphics, titles, texts on screen and motions/actions are what create meaning in film narratives. For the shot, each reveals information about "what is going on […] but critically also sets questions or builds expectations that are answered, or partially answered, by the next "shot" (https://languagesonscreen.org). It is the function of the connectives and filmic punctuations to ensure the smooth flow of the shots into one another for meaningful narrative. Worth (1981: 54) writing on how shots are manipulated and connected in film narrative notes thus:

> There are, for example, different ways of connecting videmes in a sequence. One can use the straight "cut," merely pasting the end of one videme to the beginning of another; or one can use a "fade," in which one end is blended into blackness and fades into the next image. Still another way is a "dissolve," in which the end of edeme and the beginning of another are gradually merged into one another, making the separation of the two almost impossible to detect.

For instance, a fade-in in film signifies the beginning of a sequence, while fade-out signifies the end of a sequence. For a filmmaker, a fade-in is the beginning of a sentence, while a fade-out is a full stop as in linguistic syntax. Likewise, a cut can signify a pause in the sequence like a coma in a sentence (Leo Braudley, 2009: 68). Following the same line of argument, a dissolve signifies a passage of time just like wipes. Dissolves are used to signify a longer passage of time, while wipes are used to signify shorter passage of time. Dissolves can also be used in differentiating the past from the present as in flash-backs, dreams, or recalling a past memory. According to Dmytryk (1984: 83-84),

> The function of the dissolve is mainly to facilitate transition. In its simplest form it can carry us from one place to another or from one time to another. In complex clusters, such as the Hollywood montage, the dissolve is the filmmaker's "time machine," transporting the viewer instantly backward

or forward in time and location at his will. In more sophisticated usage, dissolves aid greatly in the manipulation of pace and mood.

Discussing further on the use of dissolves in narratives, Dmytryk (ibid: 85) notes that "it *connects* the outgoing and the incoming sequences, welding the two disparate sections into one" as a connective. Bellour (2000: 68) reiterates dissolve as a punctuation mark in film narrative that shows transition from one action to the next or from one time to the another:

> … the segmental nature of the shots is reinforced by an element which, for all that it is not inherent in its definition, is often consubstantial with it in the classic narrative; the twelve shots open and close on lap dissolve – a punctuation that here functions as a (…) sign of demarcation.

Bellour (ibid) is analysing the codes used in *The Big Sheep* in terms of how they function within the narrative. Thus, dissolve is also a filmic punctuation that delimits passage of time. Dissolves in can also produce what Bellour terms "a folding effect". (2000: 74). Folding effect can be seen in scenes marking dreams, flash-backs, or where past memories are recalled in the course of narration. Dissolves give it a start-end-start effect.

Camera movement can also be used to punctuate actions in film narratives to give the same effect that may be likened to punctuation marks in written and spoken languages. Camera movement has so much efficiency for not only a film's aesthetics, but generally portrays quality in terms of storytelling. Knowing the effects of camera mobility is key to its application; for as the popular proverb has it, "when the purpose of a thing is not known, abuse is inevitable." It is not enough being able to identify or even have the technical knowhow of a given movement. Camera movements when applied properly as transitions help to strengthen the narration. For example, wipes are also used as filmic punctuations in sharp and sudden memory recall situations. They also produce a folding effect as dissolve, but on a sharper and limited space of time. On the other hand, a filmmaker can use slow-motion to signify a dream state or a heightened emphasis on an action. It can also be used in signifying a heightened pace of the action like in a chase scene. In such a case, it heightens the emotional attachment of the viewer to the danger which the actor is facing. Superimposition on its part involves the merging of two or more images at the same time. It can signify a psychological imbalance on the part of the subject (actor) or a confused state.

There are other camera movements which can be used as transition markers and connectives apart from wipes and slow-motion. The pan, the tilt, the zoom and the dolly are all used as one form of transition or another in the meaning-making process of the narrative

text. Transitions are naturally seen from the point of view of trickiness. This is so for every film genre. The reason for this is simple; the filmmaker undoubtedly needs to figure ways to conceal, merge, or disguise the bridges. Interestingly, camera movement can handle all of these. Take for instance a "whip pan" otherwise called "swish pan". A whip pan is a kind of camera movement that is most popular with transition. A whip pan can be used as transition by intentionally rotating the camera on its X-axis to create a disorientating effect or high speed. A tilt (up or down) on the other hand can also be used to direct viewer's attention to a particular area of the image, most of the time to emphasize such area. Camera tilts are very useful in revealing details in a character to aid the meaning-making process. Likewise, a dolly (in or out) and a zoom (in or out) perform almost similar functions in film narrative punctuation. The difference is that dollying involves moving the physical camera towards or away from an object or subject, while zooming involves the mechanical changing and manipulation of the focal length of the camera lens to bring the object or subject closer or farther from the camera.

5. Nollywood: Use of Narrative Punctuations and Techniques

Nigerian filmmakers have always made use of filmic punctuations in structuring their narratives. Like all other film practices in the world, they employ techniques analogous to grammatical punctuations of language to communicate to their viewers. They use camera movements and techniques of the medium to make their message explicit to the audience, leaving them with a feeling of satisfaction and contentment generally. Yet, there may be cases of dissatisfaction and lack of comprehension, but the bulk of the narratives are understood by the viewers. So far, the use of filmic punctuations has brought a lot of positive innovations and eloquence to Nollywood films. With film techniques which are predominantly visual, the films are punctuated at editing to communicate to the viewer something that is beautifully composed because of the creative use of the filmic punctuations. This may involve physical manipulation of images, sound, music, dialogue, graphics, titles and texts in the construction of the narrative. Apart from the construction of the images as shots, there are other manipulations which the filmmaker employs in rendering his message to the viewer. They altogether form the technicalities of the medium. These technicalities and their manipulations are what string the images into one whole

narrative. However, Nollywood filmmakers like filmmakers all over the world use filmic punctuations and techniques as connectives, transitions other punctuation marks.

The way and manner in which images and sounds are structured is the ultimate indicator to the meaning viewers can decipher from film narrative. Having established that the way shots are stringed together creates a meaningful narrative, and that a narrative is a combination of images, sounds, music, dialogue, graphics, titles and texts on screen which communicate meaning to the viewer, the connectives (film techniques) filmic punctuations are what create the underlying meaning and strengthen the narration. Consequently, fades (in/out) can be a powerful punctuation mark in film narration indicating transitions and conjunctions. A fade-in marks the beginning of a sequence, while a fade-out signals the end of the sequence in film narration. A fade (in/out) maybe likened to one of the following in filmic punctuation: (i) beginning of a sentence/sequence; (ii) inverted commas open (fade-in) and close (fade-out); (iii) end of a sentence/sequence; (iv) passage of time (fade-out/fade-in). Hence, fades are equivalent to full stop (period) in written and spoken language as they mark the end and beginning of a sequence and action in film narration.
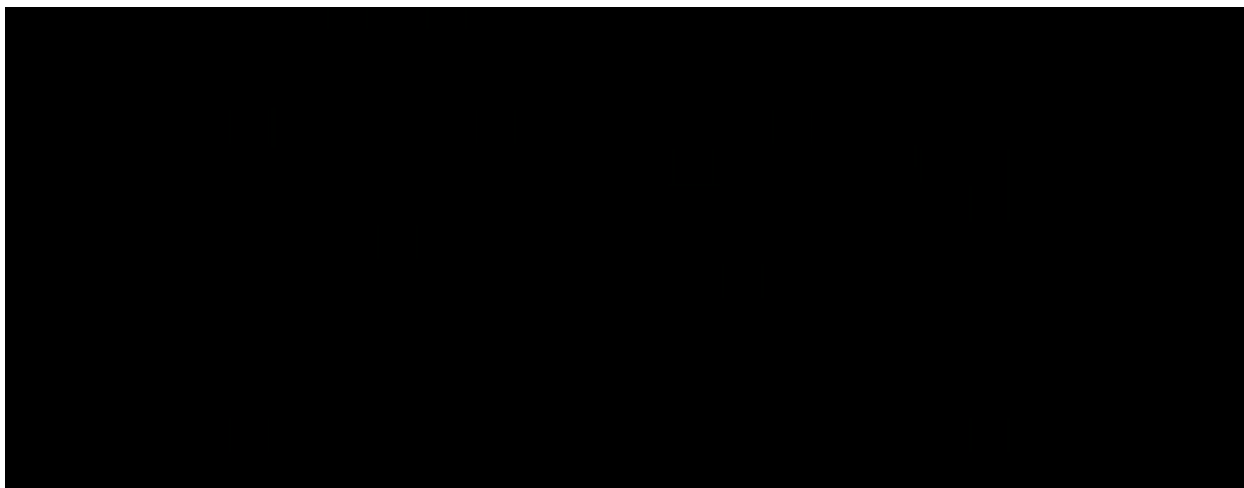

Fig. 1. A typical fade out screen to signal end of sequence

In *Igodo 2* (2002), the filmmaker used fade-out to signal the end of the opening sequence, while fading-in to signal the beginning of the search for solution to the community's mysterious deaths.

Cuts are another technique used in Nollywood narratives quite often. Cuts on their own are also recognizable punctuation marks in filmic narration. Cuts generally are used to join two separate shots together to create a smooth flow of the narration. They shift the attention of the viewer, introducing new actions and angles to the narration. Cuts can also

be used as commas, semicolons and colons in film narration as they indicate a pause in a sentence. Because commas are used to separate ideas or elements within the structure of a sentence, it can also be used in separating ideas in film narration. Likewise, cuts and inter-cuts are used as semicolons in film narration. Semicolons are used to connect independent clauses and show a closer relationship between the clauses than a period (full stop) in a sentence. Separate shots are joined together through cutting in editing to form a scene; and scenes joined together to form a sequence. For colons, traditionally they are used on three capacities in written language – to introduce a quotation; between independent clauses when the second clause explains the first just like the semicolon; for emphasis.

Fig. 2. Long shot of warriors

Fig. 3. Cut to a medium shot to emphasize action.

In film narration, the flashback technique can be equated to colon in written language. The flashback technique is used most of the time to explain or give background to a current action, scene or sequence in film narration. It can also be equated to the following in film narration: brackets (used for technical explanations or to clarify meanings); braces (used to list items to show that they are considered a unit); parenthesis (used as a qualifying remark).

Nollywood filmmakers also use dissolves as punctuation marks. Dissolve as seen earlier is a filmic punctuation that indicates transition from one scene, action or sequence to another in film narration. It involves one sequence fading over another. Dissolves are used to transit from one sequence to another as in flashback sequences in film narration. A typical example can be seen in *Egg of Life* (2003). In the first sequence, the narrator in a moonlight tale is telling the children an epic story of based on re-incarnation myth. The folktale based on the myth of *Ogbanje* in Igbo belief system, *Waibode* in Ijaw belief system, or *Abiku* in Yoruba belief system. To visually transport the children and the viewers to the narrative world, the filmmaker dissolves from the scene of the narrator and the children to a distant time in the past. Subsequently, after the narration, the viewers and the children are also brought back to the scene through another dissolve back to the scene.

Fig. 4. Moonlight tale scene.

Fig. 5. Flashback to Ogbanje tale
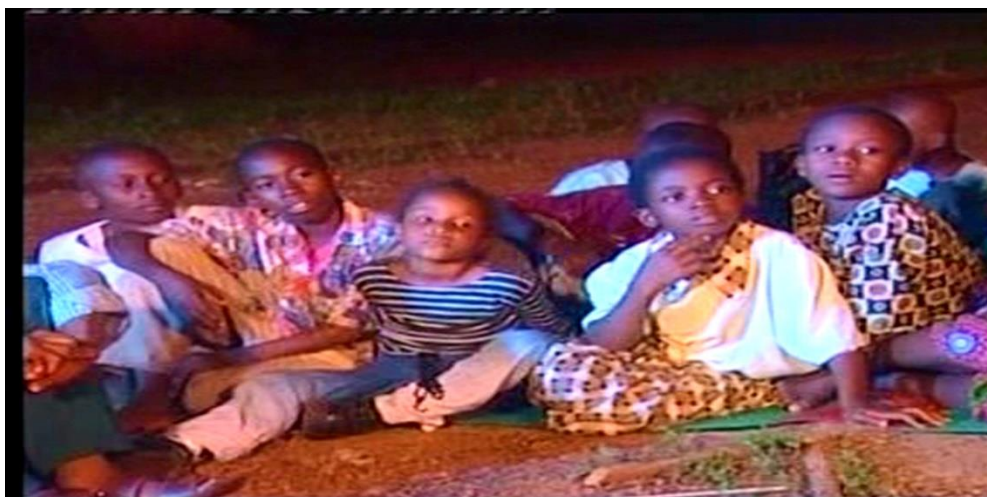

Fig. 6. Dissolve back to Moonlight Scene

Fig. 7. Children (end of dissolve scene)

Dissolve is achieved by superimposing one image or scene over another. While gradually fading in one image or scene, another is at the same fading out. Montage is another

technique of film narration that is used as transition. The Hollywood montage according to Dmytryk (1984: 135):

> is almost invariably a transition. It […] is composed of a number of silent cuts, often in a series of dissolves, and always musically underscored, […]. It is, in truth, simply a more complicated, and often more pretentious, version of the straight dissolve.

Montage as film technique and filmic punctuation is used to show passage of time, a transition of time in action, scene and sequence. In *Igodo 2* (2002), the opening sequence presents series of transition close to Dmytryk's description of Hollywood montage above. Here, the filmmaker presents a long sequence of a crowd of people journeying to a destination. This he did by using a number of silent cuts in a series of dissolves, and underscored with the theme music of the narrative. The silent cuts and dissolves help to create the notion of distance and passage of time.

Fig. 8. Women journeying through the village.

Fig. 9. Dissolve to their coming back to the village.

Dmytryk ibid: 135-136) further explains how montage works in film transitions with an example thus:

A familiar example: As a sequence ends, the camera dollys in to a shot of a window. Through it we see a tree in full summer foliage. Now the scene dissolves to another shot of the same window (often an exact duplicate of the preceding set-up), but the tree is now bare. The next shot shows the tree and the surrounding terrain covered by a blanket of snow. The final dissolve discloses the tree heavily loaded with blossoms, and as the camera pulls back to a full shot of the interior of the room and a new scene gets under way, the viewer knows that approximately 1 (*one*) year has elapsed.

The above example clearly shows how montage works as transition in film narration. Film being a unique mode of communication does communicate through manipulation of images to express different kinds of relationships – temporal, special, graphic, rhythmic or conceptual between shots, scenes, sequence or objects and characters within a narrative.

6. Conclusion

This paper has investigated the use of narrative punctuations in Nollywood films from a social semiotic perspective. The filmic punctuations and techniques used in film narrative are important tools used by the filmmakers and film editors to link the disjointed images from different locations and sources (in some cases) to produce a meaningful film narrative. In this view, these filmic punctuations and techniques which are used to punctuate film statements have been recognized as having certain properties analogous to punctuation marks in written language. The montage, cross –cutting, dissolve, dollying and flashback can be equated to one or more grammatical punctuation in written language. The visual images and techniques are the film's grammatical structure and they give films the power to communicate effectively. According to Eichenbaum (1981), "film language is no less conventional than any other language. … Cinema has not only its 'language,' but also its 'jargon,' rather inaccessible to the uninitiated." (cited in Prince, 2009:96) Consequently, appropriate application of the filmic punctuations in a film's narration signifies meaning in consonance with the totality of the film narrative for viewer's comprehension. The viewers unconsciously recognize and interpret these signs in making sense of the film narrative as a range of semiotic resources available in their environment.

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Filmography

Egg of Life 1 60m; colour , English; Dir. Andy Amenechi. Screenplay, Kabat Esosa. Prod. OJ Productions. DVD. Lagos, 2003.

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Occult, Charms and the Devil: Screening Dystopia in Africa

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Abstract

Among the most dynamic tropes in Nollywood over the years is its depiction of the supernatural in African cosmology. Central to this construction is the logic of a metaphysics that holds an ideological view of the world as a realm of interactions between forces: the supernatural, the natural and the inanimate beings. The aim of this paper is to explore the spectacle of this communication in the context of Africa and use it to theorise Nollywood's efforts at interrogating dystopian cultures from below. While this helps to contribute in interpreting cinematic imagery of African worldviews, it will also illustrate how the 'supernatural' is a huge influence in (African) people's everydayness. By means of nuanced textual analysis, five Nollywood films namely, *Narrow Escape* (1999), *Thunderbolt* (2001), *Pastor's Blood* (2006), *Deadly Sacrifice* (2009) and *Idemili* (2014) are used to illustrate how African cosmovision is a reliable framework for texts with depictions of supernatural powers. Among the findings this study makes is that Nollywood sufficiently relies on African worldviews as a framework for encoding narratives to ensure believability in the eyes of viewers.

Key Words: Nollywood, dystopia, occult, charms and supernatural

1. Introduction

The nollywoodization of African culture is one reason why the Nigerian film industry is a site for nostalgic escapism and social learning. This is because Nollywood's narratives are often drawn from people's realistic circumstances, foregrounding cultural and psychological dispositions. The films do not only explore Africa's worldviews but also point to her metaphysics as a framework for encoding storylines. As abstract as the notion of extraterrestrial beings like God, gods, angels, ancestors, ghosts, heaven, hell, Devil, ritualistic powers and witches are to artistic visualizations, Nollywood frames them as part and parcel of reality in Africa. Thus, given the preponderance of such visuals that dramatize transcendentalism, the argument of this paper is that Nollywood's representations have profound implications for theorizing religious, psychological and metaphysical dispositions of Africans as beings-in-the-world. In this sense, the idea of interactivity of forces in terms

of power plays that cause mayhem in society is what is referred to here as 'screening dystopia' in Africa.

The concept of 'dystopia' is constructively activated by exploring circumstances of life where supernatural powers cause terrible human predicaments. Thus, the category of films explored in this essay has to do with catastrophes exasperated by utilization of black (supernatural) powers, ordinarily called *juju,* charms or voodoos. In this light, dystopia is defined as the "malevolent powers of the occult or black arts" (Worland, 2007: 23) which triggers fears and disrupts normalcy in individual, family or community lives. It is a situation created through magical or seemly religious powers to discomfort others in the society. Commenting on the prevalence of such representations that give this kind of impression in Nollywood, Haynes argues that "the supernatural is engrained in Nigerian film culture and has been one of its defining and distinguishing attributes" (2016: 109). No matter how this is looked at, it could be argued that most Nollywood filmmakers achieve this impression by delving into their culture and traditions in constructing narratives with supernatural interactions with human beings. Doing this, no doubt, has its merits, such as making narratives seem proximate to people's experiences as well as making them highly acceptable to immediate audiences for commercial reasons. Among the films analyzed to justify this claim are *Narrow Escape* (1999), *Thunderbolt* (2001), *Pastor's Blood* (2006), *Deadly Sacrifice* (2009) and *Idemili* (2014). But before looking at them as metanarratives in underscoring Africa's socio-religious worldviews, it is necessary to first of all conceptualize this cosmovision that Nollywood applies as a framework in constructing movies with spiritual or metaphysical underpinnings.

2. Africa's Cosmovision as a Narrative Framework in Nollywood

From time immemorial, people have viewed realities from different perspectives but most importantly in binary oppositions: visible and invisible, man and woman, heaven and earth, black and white, body and soul. This generally is what obtains in Africa, which scholars like Onwubiko (1991) and Ukaegbu (1991) corroborate in relation to issues of interactivities that happen between supersensible and human beings. Onwubiko (1991: 3-4). on this point argues that:

> Ideologically speaking, the African world is a world of inanimate, animate and spiritual beings. The African is conscious of the influence of each category of these beings in the universe. Their existence, for the African, is reality, so also is the fact that they interact as co-existent beings in the universe. This idea of the world is accepted by the African and is passed on from one generation to another. It forms the basis of the African's ideology in relation to his existence in the world. This idea helps the African to define and explain intelligibly, the rationale behind all that he does, wants to do, what he can do or is expected to do in life…. This is why it is not illogical for Africans to tell stories connecting animals, human beings and the spirits, all acting together in a community, each in the story depicting a definite direction or course of action.

Accentuating this view of Africa's cosmovision is Ukaegbu (1991: 70), who states that "the traditional Igbo talks of the physical, metaphysical and the abstract" thereby using the Igbo people of the South-eastern part of Nigeria to speak on the continent and notion of cosmic vision. Like the Igbos, so also can one speak of the Yoruba people of the South-south geopolitical zone of Nigeria. Here, Haynes avers the impression he gets from reading Soyinka's writings on the tripartite nature of African worldviews. According to him, Soyinka describes "the universe of the Yoruba mind as containing the living, the dead, and the unborn in intimate coexistence" (2016: 105). Of course, one ought to not be confused by crosschecking the use of the word 'mind' in place of 'world' but to note that what is implied is a recognition of the lines of profound communications between forces in African cosmology. It is this reality that Parrinder (1962: 10) acknowledges when he states that "to Africans, the spiritual world is so real and near, its forces intertwining and inspiring the visible world that whether pagan or Christian, man has to reckon with things invisible to mortal sight". Following this line of thought too is Mbiti (1969: 57) who argues that in African worldview,

> the invisible world presses hard upon the visible: one speaks of the other and African peoples 'see' that invisible universe when they look at, hear or feel the visible and tangible world. This is one of the most fundamental religious heritages of African peoples.

Suffice to say that the word 'heritage' as used by Mbiti here is insightful because it does not only speak of the material world that Africans inherit from their forebears but also of the way perceptions are culturally shaped. In this instance, religion as much as metaphysics is implicated in thinking about human actions and reactions in such a way that there are natural and supernatural consequences on whatever obtains in the society. This, arguably is one index that is utilized in shaping Nollywood narratives as to make them speak ideologically to a people's culture. What this means is that African traditional viewpoints are integrated in narrativizing Nollywood stories which is what Gollin (1992: XII) implies

when he argues that Nollywood "film's popularity depends on intricate but customary visual, auditory, and narrative conventions which help audiences understand what they see and guide their responses".

Exploring Nollywood narratives, especially in its representation of supernatural powers, viewers are led to observe "a curious convergence of metaphysics and techniques in the worldview shaped by Africa's ancestral religions" (Akinwale, 2016: 167). This is verifiable on the basis that whether in contextual everydayness or in film representations, people are inundated with settings and narratives imbued with ideological positions. It is for this reason that this essay considers Africa's cosmovision as utterly commodified in present day Nigerian film industry since it serves it as a framework of production for acceptability purposes. In this sense, culture in Nollywood is a significant aspect of the language of visual representation (Turner, 2006: 68) whereby filmmakers are said to be producing films from grassroots perspectives and especially for grassroots people.

The evocation and depiction of supernatural powers in the movies is one aspect of Nollywood narratives where cultural ideologies and perspectives are highly mobilized. Africans ordinarily fear and respect supernatural entities and those who represent them and the films tow this line. They consider subjects and objects consecrated to God or gods as sacred and Nollywood storylines reinforce this mindset to achieve believability. Thus, it is because of this that the portrayal of socio-religious powers is often framed as either salvific, gothic or overwhelming, especially when boosted with serious visual or sound effects. Scenarios that reveal supernatural powers in the films are therefore often activated to show extraterrestrial influence on the human plane through acceptable links to spiritual beings which can be: prayers, charms, amulets, libation, incantation, ritual sacrifices, invocation, voodoo or dream manipulations because of a people's cultural ideological dispositions. Speaking on this kind of understanding among Africans, Parrinder (1962: 10) argues that it is:

> not only gods but spiritual forces of many kinds [that] are very potent: witness the lucky charms which most babies and many adults wear, the libations made to the spirits at the crises of life, the oaths supported by spiritual sanctions, the witch-hunts that are still so frequent and distressing…

This kind of impression shows reasons why a high premium is placed on African traditional worldviews when encoding films with elements of supernatural powers. It therefore becomes appropriate to argue that while evil thrives in Africa is because of a worldview

that fears and respects those with devilish powers in a society where free access to judicial processes is nonexistent. Of course, this is not denying the fact that many people are reasonably guided by rational logic or denying the existence of evil in the world but essentially decrying the way superstition rather than pure religion is being ideologically activated in people's everydayness. Again, it is not arguing that everything about African culture is bad but stressing the fact that most of it that breeds fear ought not be promoted because it is unhelpful. Among the bad cultures of Africa is what Mbiti (1962: 200) describes as 'evil magic'. This, according to him, "is the belief in and practice of tapping and using this power to do harm to human beings or their property…. A great deal of belief here is based on or derived from fear, suspicion, jealousies, ignorance of false accusations, which go on in African villages. Thus, this kind of situation orchestrated by (mis)appropriation of devilish powers is what causes bad blood and stands on the way of communal cohesion in societies. It is this that is discussed here as triggering dystopia in the society. Harping on people's worldviews, Nollywood presents this kind of culture in stereotypical fashion and by so doing depicts ways and means by which the wicked inflict supernatural harm to others.

Writing on the prevalence of movies with this kind of depiction in Nollywood, Njoku (2006: 78) decries betrayals and suspicions in communalistic communities. He argues that, "this brand of interpreting social relationships reflects Thomas Hobbes view of human beings in the state of nature, namely, a state of war of all against all, where human beings are wolves to others, seeking to eat and devour one another". Again, it is on the basis of scenarios like this in films with representations of supernatural, nay diabolic powers, that the notion of dystopia is evoked here. Defined as "utopia that has gone wrong, or utopia that functions only for a particular segment of society" (Gordin, Tilley and Prakah, 2010: 1), one considers those who manipulate devilish powers to torment others as causing dystopia. Nollywood has two ways of depicting this notion – in traditional society and in modern day Christianity setting.

Whereas in traditional society, representations are made of traditional chief priests who serve deities as well as bad elders, uncles and mothers-in-law who use charms against others, this is different in modern day Christian church settings where priests and pastors through the power of Christ battle with evil forces. Notions of prayer services such as

'deliverance' and 'exorcism' are used in combatting evil powers. Writing on the existence of demonic powers, Mende (2012: 47) is of the view that:
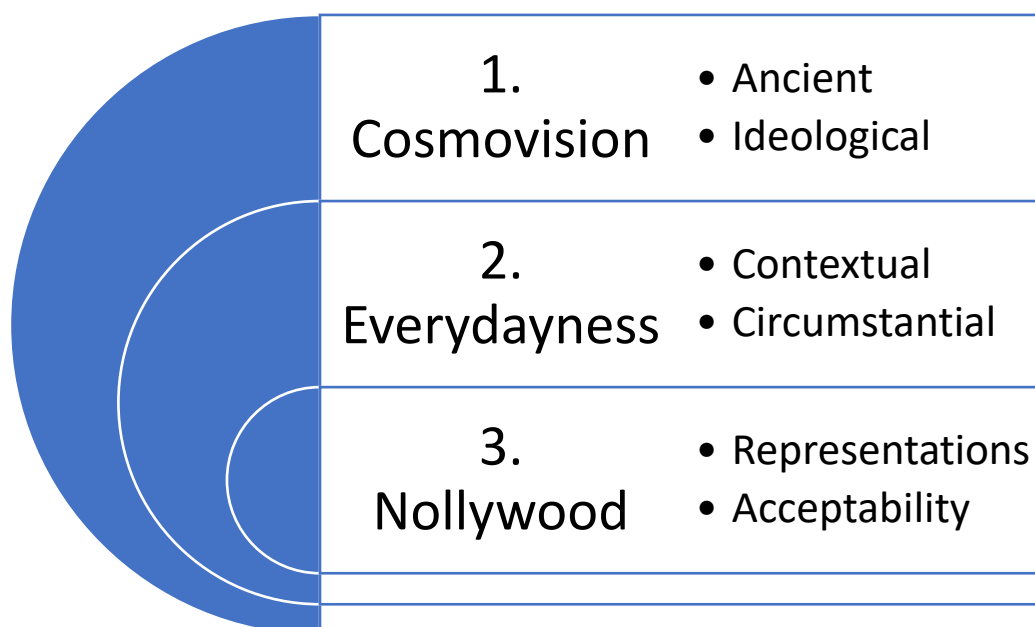
> Demonic oppression or possession becomes manifest due to involvement with the occult…. Every occult power is from Satan and does no good. It is the counterfeit of the true supernatural power which God gives his people in prophecy, miracles and gifts of knowledge.

This viewpoint is contextualized on the usage of a biblical passage often considered an empowerment tool in Christian ministries for fighting against occultic powers. It is found in St. Paul's letter to the Ephesians wherein he states that "We are not fighting against human beings but against the wicked spiritual forces in the heavenly world, the rulers, authorities and cosmic powers of this dark age" (Ephesians 6:12).

Following this, Hackett (2003: 68). acknowledges how deep this ideological worldview is implicated in the deliverance ministries of religious leaders who fight against these occultic powers and their manipulations. She describes her encounter with a Deliverance ministry in Lagos (Nigeria) in the summer of 2001 while carrying out research. Thus, reporting her findings, she argues that:

> narratives of Satanic initiations and exploits can be put to good use by ambitious pastors, especially when broadcast to a larger audience…snakes, dragons, human blood, cannibalism, bizarre births and car accidents on demand are recurring features of the stories.

This shows that what is seen in movies is often taken from people's existential experiences which invariably is shaped by their cultural perception and worldviews. Graphically we have tried to represent this in the following way:

1. Cosmovision	• Ancient • Ideological
2. Everydayness	• Contextual • Circumstantial
3. Nollywood	• Representations • Acceptability

In other words, the plotlines of Nollywood narratives, whether religious or social, are taken from the filmmaker's cosmovision (background) which is ideological and ancient. Then, the filmmaker contextualizes this in people's circumstantial situations and models his or her art after the imaginary framework he or she establishes on its basis which gets manifested in Nollywood films. To further explicate the veracity of this claim in the new Nigerian popular industry, five movies are analyzed to tease out the use and depiction of spectacles of supernatural powers as conceived in African cosmology.

3. The Supernatural in Nollywood and Its Evocation of Dystopia

As said earlier, many films in Nollywood are fashioned to reinforce perennial cultural ideologies. They socialize viewers while shaping their consciousness of circumstantial realities. Religion, being a huge aspect of African culture gets represented with all sense of sacredness and fear of the unknown. Such representations vary in their portrayals. While some depict salvation narratives, others foreground dystopia and others, a mélange of both or something else. *Narrow Escape* is one film which depicts clash of supernatural powers in terms of Godly power versus black magic. It tells the story of Odumodo who uses his wife for money rituals at the shrine of the Mukendes, a secret cult in the community. Unfortunately for Odumodo, his only son, Emmanuel elicits to serve God as a Catholic priest, which he objects to by locking him up in a room. Emmanuel miraculously escapes and gets trained and ordained as priest. He is finally posted to his village where he encounters severe oppositions from the secret society which his father is part of.

Narrow Escape dramatizes belief in the supernatural and showcases this disposition in people's attitudes and fears. It opens by showing Emmanuel crying in his dream over the loss of his mother. She (his mother) wakes him up and counsels him not to be afraid as Emmanuel narrates his nightmare and warns her not to travel. But his mother ignores him and obeys his father who sends her on a trip in which she gets killed in a vehicle accident.

In several ways are the affliction of the just made to happen in *Narrow Escape*. The entire screen life of Fr Emmanuel can be described as scenes of narrow escapes. Firstly, he escapes from his father's house. Secondly when armed robbers are sent to beat him and steal his car, he survives them narrowly. Next is when he conducts the funeral rites of his mother and someone from the Mukendes tries to kill him with gun shots. Thus, the entire film is a

story of how the power of God is made to win over the power of evil. But be that as it may, the most important argument here is that *Narrow Escape* utilizes people's conception of spiritual powers in its narrative. It also presents worldviews in such a way that corroborates the logic of this essay by using spectacular visual effects to demonstrate the presence of devilish power and release of people from its bondage. It also showcases the agency of charm as one of the tools used to afflict harm on others. This is dramatized when Odumodu gives his wife some liquid in a small bottle to rob round her face before undertaking the trip without her knowing that it is charm. Again, the idea of using diabolic means to cause the accident and death of his wife is a pointer to the storyline being shaped after the worldview of Africans. What this betrays is the belief of most people that sickness, accident and death can be invoked on people by their enemies. Thus, while this is very superstitious, it goes without saying that many believe such realities occur. Like the clash of supernatural powers in *Narrow Escape*, so also is it in many other films like *Thunderbolt*.

Tunde Kelani's *Thunderbolt* is anchored on mythical, superstitious and traditional belief system regarding infidelity in marriage, especially in the Yoruba culture of Nigeria. It narrativizes the story a spell, locally called *magun,* placed on women in marriage to checkmate adultery. Generally, it is a charm surreptitiously invoked to punish a woman who cheats on her husband. One can say that this as a cultural belief is used by the filmmaker to interrogate supernatural powers in African metaphysics. Presented in one hour, forty-two minutes, *Thunderbolt* revolves around love, marriage, betrayals, ethnicity and the struggles of common people. It is the story of young graduates on National Youth Service Corps Program in Nigeria.

The opening sequence begins with a wide angle shot that moves aerially, panning gently round the geographical location of the school where Ngozi and Janet, the female graduates teach. The camera systematically reveals a crowd of students gathered at an assembly ground, being addressed by the Vice Principal of the school. It is a weekend and people seem to be in rush to get back home, including the protagonist, Ngozi, who is recently married to Yinka. Unsuspecting that anything could be an issue in her marriage, Ngozi gets ready for her husband in bed at night but is skillfully avoided. She does not know what the problem is apart from the viewer who knows that the husband is acting on suspicion of her infidelity based on gossips he heard at a bar. Suspense is therefore

heightened in this film when confused and saddled with emotional pains, Ngozi begins to suffer depression and refuses to talk to anybody. On one occasion thinking that her ethnic background could be the problem she speaks to Yinka, her husband, thus: "I know my being Igbo is not easy on you but have I betrayed you?" Yet, nothing comes out of it.

Of course, neglecting Ngozi in bed and avoiding to sleep with her is Yinka's way of avoiding the curse (*magun*) he placed on her from catching up with him. *Magun* is a charm that a man invokes on his wife so that whenever she sleeps with another man outside of him, her genital will gum-up with that of the man until a native doctor comes to disentangle them. To an African mind that believes in the presence of diabolic supernatural powers, it is easy to abide by this kind of worldview but to a westerner or most African elites, such a belief system constitutes a site of aporia, a superstitious belief at its best or a baseless traditional myth. The infliction of spell on unsuspecting wives in such a culture does not only essentialize traditional strictures against women in patriarchy but activates the agency of charms in marital affairs. With crisis in her home, Ngozi is characterized in this film as living a sad solitary life until she encounters an unknown Divine messenger in the market place. It is an old man with a feminine voice who asks her to seek help because she is infected with a deadly ailment. Again, the depiction of this character conveys the impression of an ongoing interaction between the dead and the living on viewers. The old man appears like a ghost unnoticed by others and pulls Ngozi aside where he speaks to her in coded esoteric language and in her native Igbo language as follows:

> [M]y voice is not for the ears of the market. You, my daughter, are in danger. You have an affliction on your body that may bring your whole life to an abrupt end if you are not careful…. Your innocence is your only saving grace. Take heed of your health or else you die a shameful death. Take heed of my voice or death will hit you like a thunderbolt.

Although Ngozi does not understand the message of the old man initially, she has no option but to speak to her landlady who takes her to a native doctor, popularly referred to as 'the wise one' or 'eye of the gods' in African metaphysics. This is because native doctors are taken to be gifted with knowing the mind of the gods and ancestors. After series of incantations and other symbolic rituals, the native doctor tells Ngozi about her past and present challenges before revealing that she is infected with *magun*. As a matter of intertextuality, it is instructive to state that *Thunderbolt* shares resemblance in thematic thrust and evocation of supernatural powers with *Xala,* a film by Ousmane Sembene. While

Xala (impotence) refers to a curse placed on a politician, El Hadji in that film to make him sexually dysfunctional, albeit metaphorically, *Thunderbolt* (*magun*) is the story of a curse placed on a woman, Ngozi, to disgrace her if she ever commits adultery in marriage.

Contextualizing the practice and belief in the potency of charm across Africa and as seen the movies, scholars tend to identify two kinds of ways charms are (re)presented: the positive and the negative. While the negative kind of charm, called evil magic "involves the belief and practice of tapping and using this power to do harm to human beings or their property" (Mbiti, 1969: 169), the positive charm refers to those:

> charms [that] are products of mystical manipulations of supernatural forces through which concrete protection and assurance are promised to human beings, in times of life-crisis and insecurity. They are employed in some places, according to people's worldview, for curing diseases, guaranteeing progress and maintaining fortunes (Asiegbu, 2000: 65).

In Ngozi's case, both the negative and the positive uses of charms are made manifest in *Thunderbolt*. The negative is when her husband inflicts her with the curse while the positive is when the native doctor uses his own spiritual power to heal her of the ailment. Of course, arguments like this can trigger more problematics in scholarship such as asking whether charms as implied here refer to the same thing as traditional medicines in African worldview and whether the supernatural effects in the potency of traditional medicines (akin to science in orthodox medicine) is not probably being overblown and misleading in the context of these narratives that essentialize African cultures. Hoping that these are debates worth exploring in further studies, this essay concentrates on demonstrating how Nollywood utilizes African cultural worldviews as frameworks of production for its films.

Like these other films before it, *Pastor's Blood* is a simple story that revolves around the use of supernatural powers in African rural society. It is the story of land dispute and the invocation of diabolic powers to attack perceived enemies. It is the story of a king who loves his second in command, usually called the traditional Prime Minister. He gives the man a piece of land as a sign of encouragement and appreciation without knowing that it will cause envy in one of his other chiefs who goes to obtain charm from a native doctor which he plants in the land and kills the innocent man. A pastor returns from exile to this town and observes the misdemeanors of the man whom he confronts and warns to repent. Annoyed, because of the pastor's message, the man blackmails him (pastor) by bribing a young lady to accuse him of rape while he sends some young men to beat up the pastor on

the basis of the accusation. The pastor is further probed at the king's palace and having no one to testify on his innocence, is condemned to die by hanging. Thus, this film is the depiction of charm as a tool for achieving vendetta against perceived enemies as well as proof of how narratives are hinged on cultural worldviews. Again, it is a simple story similar to popular talks across news items in Africa as well as mythical fables, meaning that socio-cultural perspectives often get represented in Nollywood films. Hence the serious issue in a representation like the *Pastor's Blood* is not only the interrogation of the unnecessary rape of justice by false accusations across Africa but the misapplication of black magic powers in causing disequilibrium in a community. Like *Pastor's Blood* in depiction of supernatural powers according to Africa's cosmovision is also another film from the same director, titled *Deadly Sacrifice* (2009).

Deadly Sacrifice is a film that is mythical in content and dwells on the traditional worldview of interactions between the 'spirit world' and the 'human world'. Whereas it sounds more like a fable told electronically, its presentation in form and content makes it a veritable vernacular text that illustrates lines and rituals of communication between human beings and dead ancestors. It is directed by Amayo Uzo Philips and tells the story of the family of a traditional ruler, Eze Ochikaeze II, whose daughter, Princess Akweke, is mistakenly given in wedlock to a spirit.

Originally the princess grows and is generally admired by young men of the village. She refuses to be married by any until an unknown hunter by name Odum comes to seek her hand in marriage. This angers one of her former suitors, Dinta, the best village hunter who vows to fight for what he loves. He therefore plans to confront Odum and tracing him into the wild discovers that he is a ghost. He pulls his den gun to shoot but could not lay hands on him because he is immaterial. Confirming that the king's in-law is a ghost, he rushes home to inform the king and other villagers. Confounded and asking questions about the background of the man, the king makes consultations with his chief priest who directs those three able-bodied young men be dispatched into the evil forest in search of the princess and her maidens. Dinta and his two friends volunteer to undertake the dangerous journey after fortifications by the chief priest. In this instance, symbolic iconographies can be said to depict the supernatural and its sacredness: the chief priest, his costume and rituals as well as the use of visual effects to depict apparitions of the ghost.

The land of the dead in the evil forest as this film portrays is characterized by strange movements of different spirits and scary abodes. Particularly in depiction of physical movements, the film uses profound visual effects to dazzle audiences as characters vanish underground and resurface somewhere else like trunks of trees or their roots. Some are also characterized with long necks and feet. For instance, the head of Odum is occasionally cast as speaking to his enemies while hanging effortlessly on a tree-trunk where the mouth widely opens and closes. At other times the spirits are cast to cause earthquakes or tear up some parts of the ground with vibrating sounds and smokes to appear or vanish. Here, the interplay between the two worlds of the dead and the living justifies the claim on Nollywood's application of African perception of reality to films. Similar in depiction to this kind of cultural matrix is *Idemili* where computer-generated images are also massively utilized to aesthetically create spectacles of worlds parallel in communication with each other: the supernatural world of the gods and the natural world of human beings.

Idemili is a Nollywood masterpiece where supernatural powers from the perspective of African traditional religion are robustly (re)presented without tincture of opposition. It is directed by Ernest Obi with iconic displays of epic costumes, use of totems and charms to narrativize a mythical story about an ancient kingdom. It is the story of Ekemma, a maiden depicted as "daughter of the river goddess, *Otakasi*, the offspring of Idemili, benefactor of the childless." Ekemma falls in love with a man but being dedicated to Oshimiri, the goddess of the land, is forbidden to get married. Her suitor, Ekwedike, a village hunter comes to forcefully take her home without knowing it is the day of her consecration and she is exceptionally vested with so much powers on that day. As he commands his companions to shoot the assembly of men and women gathered for the initiation rites and approaches Ekemma to hug her, he instantly melts away like a pack of cards and dies. Released from her trance, Ekemma discovers she has inadvertently killed her lover and runs away to a distant land where as the story unfolds one comes to learn she gives birth to a baby girl before passing away.

The film opens with series of wide angle and close-up shots fused smartly together in a montage. A young maiden runs away and suddenly stops under a big tree where big hawks gather round her. This seamlessly dissolves onto another scene where an elderly

woman dressed in white sternly addresses a confounded young man. It is Ekwedike, the lover of Ekemma and the priestess of Oshimiri, Ekemma's mother:

> **Priestess:** Your intentions are good. But my child, Ekemma, is no man's wife.
>
> **Ekwedike**: Nne, but I understand the ways of the deity.
>
> **Priestess:** Then, you will also understand that my daughter is one with the gods; essence of the nine villages that make up Amaitenani land. When she does become the priestess of Idemili, I am sure she will choose you.

The above discussion sets the pace for suspense in the story of *Idemili*, bringing together so many native doctors as well as signaling to a great extent the awareness of rituals of communication between human and supernatural worlds. This is shown in spoken lines and props that signify sacredness. The native doctors are characterized by painting of one eye with white chalk and wearing of white costumes while Ekemma is depicted as a split-personality torn between two desires: that of her vocation as dedicated to the river goddess and that of being a young lady with the desires of the flesh. Structurally speaking, *Idemili* spans three generations and tells both mythical and modern-day stories. It is a narrative twisted to give a sense of mystery in convoluted form and uses different metaphors to achieve links between the different worlds: incantations, divinations and enchantments.

From the story of the priestess in the first generation to the third generation of her progenies, the mystery of Ekemma's life and connection to the Oshimiri river goddess is the pivot upon which this film revolves. It traces the roots of a young girl betrothed to a prince in another kingdom charged to get married as the apparent heir to the throne. Being in love and ready to consummate their marriage, the Prince discovers that Ekemma's waist beads could not break and when forcefully done, splash water all over his room. Instantly Ekemma is lifted up with different snakes appearing and coiling round her body. She falls into a trance and loses knowledge of her environment while the Prince discovers he has mysteriously lost his manhood. With this scenario, the chief priestess of the land by means of incantations worships the goddess and pleads that Ekemma comes down. By her supernatural powers the priestess discovers that Ekemma is not meant to be somebody's wife as she is dedicated to the river goddess and recommends sacrifices to appease the goddess and cleanse the Prince.

There are so many things that portray supernatural powers in *Idemili*: use of charm, incantations and rituals. There are also lines of symbolic communications that point to dealings with another world: invocation of ancestors by the priestess, use of progeny's blood to cure the king of an ailment caused him by the queen. In all of these is the ideology of the cosmic vision of Africa manifested by means of belief in supernatural powers and effects of their use in human world. Here, there is also the veneration of ancestors and evocation of wizardry as means of utilizing esoteric powers in human realm. *Idemili,* in essence, is one Nollywood production that dovetails Africans as a people with deep religious sentiments and rich ritual observances.

Thus, looking at the preponderance of supernatural depictions in the selected five films used for this study, it is agreeable to state with Barlet (2000: 143) that Nollywood films "create a participation in the play of vital forces which rule the world". Again, the impression is made that Africa's cosmovision serves as ideological conduits for shaping most Nollywood narratives. With particular reference to the use of supernatural powers to cause dystopia in Africa, the following mise-en-scenes are used to underpin Nollywood's points of view as imbued with African cosmovision:
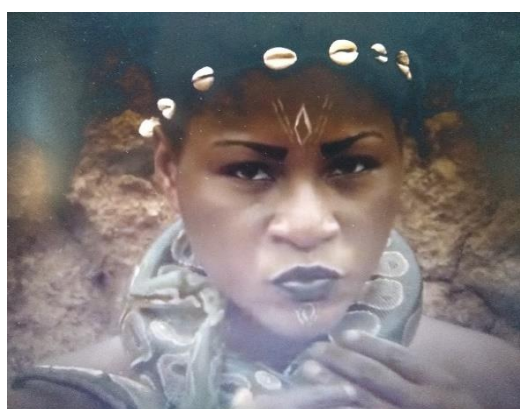
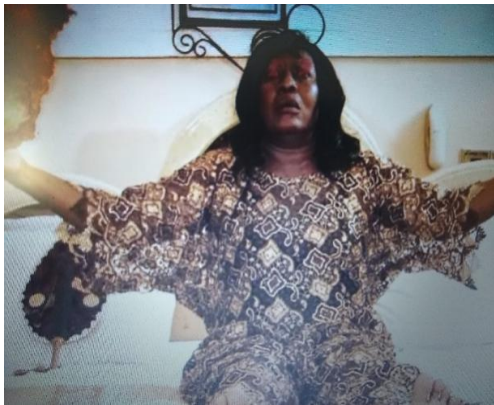

Idemili - Ekemma in her 1st generation
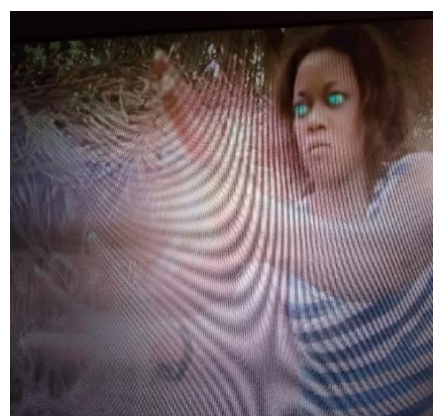
Ekemma using her powers to fight

Charm of a convert in *Narrow Escape*

Disguised chief priest invokes power to kill

The Queen in *Idemili* as witch with power

Narrow Escape, Goat jumps out of a cultist

4. Conclusion

What this essay has done is to identify not only the source of Nollywood stories but also how cultural ideologies help to shape stories with depictions of supernatural powers. In illustrating this, five Nollywood films, spanning a period of fifteen years are critically analyzed. Considered as somewhat religious films in relation to both African traditional religion (ATR) and modern-day Christian religions, the texts are explored as sites underpinning the contexts of their productions and its cultural ideology. Given this impression, issues that portray Africa's belief in the supernatural were identified, such as: reverence for sacred subjects and objects, use of rituals and totems for bilateral communications between human and supersensible worlds and the impact of diabolic manipulations on individual and community lives. This generally helps to show how Nollywood's acceptability is hinged on proximity of storylines to people's circumstantial contexts. Again, by the merits of the findings of this study, it is arguably right to assert that Nollywood filmmakers do not only commodify African culture in narratives but also apply

its tenets as production framework for believable stories. This is the case of films with religious depictions wherein supernatural powers are conceived and applied on narratives based on people's cosmovision as seen in the ones studied here. It is also the conviction one gets by observing the use of charms, amulets or witchcraft powers in tormenting innocent lives or what this paper identifies as dystopia in African culture. Thus, the functionality of Nollywood films can be said to depend largely on its viewers' grasp of specific ideological worldviews, especially those of Africa, which the movies help to affirm and extend while entertaining the viewers.

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