

Cultural and Linguistic Hybridizations in Cameroon: English Loanwords in ngômbà

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Abstract

This paper examines the various linguistic processes that English loanwords in ngômbà have undergone due to the long-term contact between this African language and English as the language of European importation. A close scrutiny of the borrowed lexical items shows that they fall under many domains of life such as administration and religion, commerce and technology, culture and artefacts, to name these few and have undergone many modifications at the levels of phonology (clusters simplification, shwa deletion, voicing, devoicing, tone insertion, etc.), morphosyntax (compounding, syllable insertion, derivation, reduplication, etc.) and semantics (broadening, narrowing, loan translations, etc.). The present study analyses the linguistic processes that underlie English loanwords in ngômbà, a Bantu language spoken in the West Region of Cameroon. The corpus gathered for the study



comprises 249 loanwords collected through interviews and participant observation of ngômbà speakers aged between 16 and 83, living in rural and urban areas. The descriptive model is the framework used for the data analysis in this study.

Keywords: Ngômbà, Cultural hybridization, Linguistics hybridization, English loanwords, Cameroon



1. Introduction

Factors such as trade, colonisation and religion have contributed significantly to the contact between ngômbà and English. One of the linguistic implications of this contact is the borrowing of a multitude of lexical items from English, a language of European importation. Once integrated into the ngômbà lexicon, the borrowed items undergo many modifications at the level of phonology, morphosyntax and semantics. The present study sets out to describe the linguistic processes through which English words have become ngômbà words. The presentation of background of information about the ngômbà language (section 2) is followed by the classification of the loanwords into various domains (section 3). An analysis of the linguistic processes underlying English loanwords in ngômbà (sections 4 & 5) closes up the study.

2. Background of Information about the ngômbà language

ngômbà is a language spoken in four of the seven Divisions of the West Region of Cameroon in West Africa. Its speakers are the natives of Bansoa, Bamoungoun, Bamendjou Bameka and Bafounda. ngômbà belongs to the Niger-Kordofanian phylum under the Niger-Congo Subphylum. It is a language of the Benue-Congo family within the Bantoïd subfamily. Within the Grassfield sub-group of the Bantu group, ngômbà is classified under the Bamileke sub-branch of the East-Grassfield branch (Boum Ndongo-Semengue and Sadembouo, 1999 : 70). Recent studies extensively describe the structure of this language (Fossi 1997, 2000, 2006; Soh Jean Philip 2005, 2009; Ouafo 2007; Kuitche Fonkou et al. 1991).

3. Classification of the loanwords into Domains

English loanwords in ngômbà pertains to many domains of life namely religion, commerce and technology, culture, fauna and flora. Words are also borrowed from English to describe the days of the week and places in ngômbà. The tables below present the borrowed lexical items as used today by ngômbà speakers and the donor words in English. Borrowed items are presented in the first column with their phonetic transcription following the IPA style sheet. It is worth stating that the list of the loanwords in the charts below is not exhaustive rather it is a sample of loanwords from English that exist in ngômbà and their different domains of usage.

3.1 Administration and religion

Borrowed words	Donor words
ŋgômnà' [ŋgomna']	Government
mítiŋ [mitiŋ]	meeting
másà [masa]	master
mə́sə́njà[məsənd3a]	Messenger
[tວິŋ [tວŋ]	Town

Table 1. Administration and religion



prěyà [preja]	prayer
Fálà [fala]	father
ρέηgε [ρεηgε]	pegan
yěsò [jeso]	Jesus
bíshôp [bisop]	Bishop
nkwáya [nkwaja]	choir
Sátà [ata]	Satan
krětè [kretɛ]	Christian
Mə́səŋ [məsəŋ]	Mission

3.2 Commerce and technology

 Table 2. Commerce and technology

Borrowed words	Donor words
Lisà [lisa]	razor
Məsəŋ [məsəŋ]	machine
tɔ́ksúlám [tɔksúam]	torch lamp
kákŭ [kaku]	cargo
táksì [taksi]	tax
fəláŋ [fəláŋ]	Franc
ndúla [ndula]	dollar
faltè [fatlə]	factory
Səká [səka]	cigarette
látré [latre]	light
Kəlasí [kəlasi]	kerosene
ladyŏ [ladjo]	radio
mbasəku [mbasəku]	bicycle
tlaktê [tlakte]	tractor
kindət [kindət]	candle Glass
ŋjɔâktà [ndzók]	jug
zin [zin]	zinc
Mbəlàŋ [mbəlaŋ]	blanket
ndóktà [ndokta]	doctor
khinîn [kinin]	quinine

3.3 Culture and artefact

Table3. Culture and artefact

Borrowed items	Donor words
tlósì [tlósi]	Trousers
táwɛt [tawɛt]	towel



wáŋglísi [waŋglisi]	handkerchief
shúsi [∫usi]	shoes
Sətók [sətók]	socks
Kwot [kwot]	coat
shəèt [∫ət]	shirt
mbût [mbut]	boots
Mənik [mənik]	milk
mblet [mbet]	bread
kót [kót]	cot
velándà [velanda]	veranda

3.4 Fauna and flora

Table 4. Fauna and flora

Borrowed items	Donor words
káwù [kawu]	cow
muskító [muskito]	mosquito
dókfáwəèt [dókfawət]	duck
tomátoè [tomato]	tomato

3.5 Days of the week and names of places

Table 5. Days of the week and names of places

Borrowed items	Donor words
mónde [monde]	Monday
tósidê [tóside]	Thursday
aptamónde [aptamonde]	after Monday
fra&dé [frade]	Friday
Sásədɛ [sasədɛ]	Saturday
sónde [sonde]	Sunday
Bənəgló(ŋ [bənəglóŋ]	burial ground
khisim [khisim]	kitchen
Lûm [lum]	Room
kónam [konam]	corner

The sample loanwords above show that the domains in which ngômbà people have borrowed most is that of technology and commerce. The common assumption among ngômbà people is that English loanwords that describe technical material and commercial items result from the fact that many of these materials and items did not exist in the ngômbà culture before colonization. The examples supporting this assumption are words such as razor, machine, torch lamp, bicycle (technological words) and factory, dollar, tax, franc (commercial words). A similar assumption goes for loanwords in religion that would result from the Christian



religion brought along by the English colonizers and words describing clothes and house material (see table 3 on culture and artefacts). ngômbà words resist to borrowing from English to describe the flora and fauna and both young and old ngômbà people continue to use ngômbà orginal words. This explains the existence of few English loanwords in the domain. As far as the days of the week and places are concerned, ngômbà are more and more shifted by English loanwords in a way that some young people do not know the existence of equivalent ngômbà words (Ouafo, 2007).

After describing some English loanwords in ngômbà, the study now discusses the phonological, morphological and semantic processes, which affect these English loanwords in a way that the English speakers cannot recognize them.

4. Phonology, Morphology and Semantics of English Loanwords in ngômbà

English and ngômbà are languages of different structures and morphologies (see Kuitche Fonkou 1991 and Fossi 1997 for the structure of ngômbà). Thus, once in ngômbà, English loanwords have undergone many linguistic processes so as to suit the phonological, morphological and semantic constraints of the borrowing language.

4.1 Phonological processes

Weinreich (1953:24) states that changes at the level of phonology result from the fact that "it requires a very high level of sophistication to be able to render loans in their original phonetic setting". In the course of their integration into the ngômbà lexicon, English loanwords are affected by many phonological modifications following the phonological and phonematic constraints of the recipient language. Some of these processes include:

4.1.1 Cluster simplification

This phenomenon affects both consonants and vowel sounds. The simplified or deleted clusters can appear both at the initial, medial as well as final positions. In the following examples, Hyb_En-Ng means hybrid words from English into ngômbà.

• Consonants deletion: the deleted consonants appear not only at the initial position but also at the medial and final.

• Initial consonant deletion: the [s] sound in some English words is deleted when words are borrowed by the ngômbà language.

Hyb_En-Ng1: Story [stɔ:ri] tolé [tole]

Hyb_En-Ng12: Stranger [streindzə] trěnja [trendza]

• Medial consonal deletion: the consonant sounds [k] and [r] are deleted in the loanwords below

Hyb_En-Ng3: Factory [fæktəri] fátlə [fatlə]



Hyb_En-Ng4: Jewellery [dʒuəlri] njalé [ndʒàlé]

• Final consonants deletion: the final consonants [z], [f], [d], [I], [t] and [p] respectively in the English words below are deleted in the borrowed lexical items.

Hyb_En-Ng5: trousers [travzəz]	\rightarrow tlosí [tlosi]
Hyb_En-Ng6: handkerchief [hæŋkət∫If]	→ wáŋglisi [waŋgtisi]
Hyb_En-Ng7: yard [ja <u>d]</u>	→ yâ [ja :]
Hyb_En-Ng8: school [skʊ <u>l</u>]	→ səkwút [səkwút]
Hyb_En-Ng9: pocket [pokIt]	\rightarrow po ké [poke]
Hyb_En-Ng10: lamp [læmp]	\rightarrow lám [lam]

As earlier stated, not only consonant sounds but also vowels are deleted in the course of the adaptation of English loanwords in ngômbà.

4.1.2 Shwa modifications

• Shwa deletion

The [ə] sound in some English loanwords is deleted when they enter the ngômbà lexicon.

Hyb_En-Ng11: police [pəlis] → plúsi [plúsi]

Apart from vowels deletion, there is also the process of schwa insertion, which affects some English loanwords in ŋgômba.

• Schwa insertion	
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Hyb_En-Ng12: candle [kændl]	\rightarrow	kiíndə́t [kid <u>ə</u> t]
Hyb_En-Ng13: mattress [matris]	\rightarrow	mətənəsi [mət <u>ə</u> n <u>ə</u> si]
Hyb_En-Ng14: bread [bred]	\rightarrow	mbəlêt [mbəlɛt]
Hyb_En-Ng15: to learn [to l3:n]	\rightarrow	nə lánə [nəlanə]
Hyb_En-Ng16: witness [witnis]	\rightarrow	wúsənêt [wusənɛt]

English loanwords in ngômbà are also affected by the phenomenon of reinterpretation of new segments or sounds substitution.

4.1.3 Reinterpretation of new segments or sounds substitution

Some English sounds segments which do not exist in ngômbà are substituted by the ones of this Bantu language so as to fit the phonological constraints of the language. This phonological process usually affects consonant sounds.

Hyb_En-Ng17: marriage [marid₃] \rightarrow malet [malet]



Hyb_En-Ng18: sugar [∫ʊgə]	\rightarrow	shúkà	[∫uka]
Hyb_En-Ng19: fish [fi∫]	\rightarrow	fĭsi	[fisi]
Hyb_En-Ng20: tractor [traktə]	\rightarrow	tlaktě	[tlaktɛ]
Hyb_En-Ng21: radio [reidjəʊ]	\rightarrow	ladyŏ	[ladjo]
Hyb_En-Ng22: rice [rais]	\rightarrow	lésì [<u>l</u>	esi]
Hyb_En-Ng23: kerosene [kerəsin]	\rightarrow	kəlasí [ka	ələsi]
Hyb_En-Ng24: frying pan [fraiiŋ pæn]	\rightarrow	frepà [fr	epa]
Hyb_En-Ng25: Friday [fraidi]	\rightarrow	frǎdé [fr	əde]

It can be observed that the sounds $[d_3]$, [g], [f] and [r] in the above English words are systematically replaced by the sounds [t], [k], [s] and [l]

4.1.4 Devoicing

Some voiced consonants in English words become voiceless when these words are integrated into the ngômbà lexicon.

Hyb_En-Ng26: bad [bad]	\rightarrow	pát [pat]
Hyb_En-Ng27: table [teibl]	\rightarrow	táple [taple]

The English voiced consonant [b] in the words "bad" and "table" is voiced into [p]

4.1.5 Voicing

In the process of borrowing, some English voiced consonants become devoiced. It is the case of consonants such as [p] and [t] which change into [b] and [d].

Hyb_En-Ng28: Carpenter [kapəntə]	\rightarrow	kápìndà [kapinda]
Hyb_En-Ng29: Country [k^ntri]	\rightarrow	kondre [kondre]
Hyb_En-Ng30: Lamp [lamp]	\rightarrow	lambò [lambo]

4.1.6 Consonant hardening

Fricatives become stops and continuant sounds are replaced by non-continuant ones.

Hyb_En-Ng31: half [haf]	\rightarrow háp [hap]
Hyb_En-Ng32: wash mouth [wɔ∫məʊθ]	→ wasmöp [wasmop]
Hyb_En-Ng33: wonderful [w^ndəfʊl]	\rightarrow wándáfût [wandafut]
Hyb_En-Ng34: nothing [n∧θiŋ]	→ nátiŋ [natiŋ]
Hyb_En-Ng35: thousand [θaʊznd]	→ tosi [tosi]



In a, b, c, d and e, the sounds [f], $[\theta]$, [l], $[\theta]$ and $[\theta]$ are respectively replaced by the sounds [p], [p], [t], [t] and [t].

4.1.7 Homographic nasal assimilation or nasal insertion

In the process of the adaptation of English lexical in ngômbà, some homographic nasals such as [m], [n] and [ŋ] are inserted before certain consonants.

Hyb_En-Ng36: bicycle [baisikl]	\rightarrow	mbasəku [mbasəku]	
Hyb_En-Ng37: jug [dʒʌk]	\rightarrow	njôk [ndʒɔk]	
Hyb_En-Ng38: the some [θəseim]	\rightarrow	ndisêm [ndisɛm]	
Hyb_En-Ng39: grater [greitə]	\rightarrow	ŋgrətà [ŋgrəta]	
Hyb_En-Ng40: dirt [d3t]	\rightarrow	ndotí [ndoti]	
4.1.8 Glottal insertion			
The glottal sound ['] is inserted in some English loanwords in ngômbà.			

Hyb_En-Ng41: question [kwest∫ən]	\rightarrow	khì'sì [khi'si]
Hyb_En-Ng42: governor g∧vnə]	\rightarrow	ŋgómnà' [ŋgómna']
Hyb_En-Ng43: pillow [piləʊ]	\rightarrow	pilu' [pilu']

It can be noticed that the insertion of the glottal ['] is made at the words medial and final positions

4.1.9 [h] insertion

Not only the glottal is inserted in English loanwords in ngômbà but also the [h] sound in the loanwords below:

Hyb_En-Ng44: fever [fivə] \rightarrow fibhà [fibha]

Hyb_En-Ng45: auction $[\Box \Box:k$ ∫ən] → hóksì [hóksi]

Hyb_En-Ng46: key [ki] \rightarrow khí [khí]

Hyb_En-Ng47: kitchen [kit \int ən] \rightarrow khísim [khisim]

4.1.10 Monophtongisation

English diphtongs and thriphtongs are systematically replaced by monophtongs in the borrowed lexical items. These English sounds are transformed into monophtongs because they are nonexistent segments in the ngômbà language.

Hyb_En-Ng48: motor [məotə] \rightarrow mətua [mətua] Hyb_En-Ng49: soldier [səodzə] \rightarrow sonja [sondza]



Hyb_En-	Ng50: comb	[kəʊmb]	\rightarrow	khûm [khum]

	Hyb En	-Ng51: radio	[reidiəu]	\rightarrow	ladyŏ [ladjo]
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Hyb_En-Ng52: rice [rais] \rightarrow lési [lesi]

4.1.11 Vowel modifications

• Vowel shortening

Some English vowels that are long are shortened in the process of borrowing.

Hyb_En-Ng53: carpenter [kapəntə]	\rightarrow	kápinda [kapinda]
Hyb_En-Ng54: cargo [kagəu]	\rightarrow	kákù [kaku]
Hyb_En-Ng55: school [skul]	\rightarrow	səkút [səkú]
Hyb_En-Ng56: auction [ók∫n]	\rightarrow	hóksi [hóksi]
Hyb_En-Ng57: liter [li:tə]	\rightarrow	lita [lita]

• Vowel raising

The pitch of some low vowels raises in some English loanwords in ngômbà.

Hyb_En-Ng58: candle [kandl]	\rightarrow kíndət [kindət]
Hyb_En-Ng59: trousers [trauzəs]	→ tlósì [tlósI]
Hyb_En-Ng60: capenter [kapɛntə]	→ kápínda [kapinda]
Hyb_En-Ng61: bad [bœd]	→ pát [pat]
Hyb_En-Ng62: watch [wót∫]	→ wásì [wasi]

It can be noticed that [a] raises into [i], [ə] changes into [i], [a] becomes [a] and [ó] turns into [a] in example (15a), b, c, d and e respectively

• Vowel lowering

The pitch of other English vowels is lowered down when the words in which they occur are borrowed.

Hyb_En-Ng63: scissions [sizəz] \rightarrow	səsási [səsasi]	
Hyb_En-Ng64: cement [siment] \rightarrow	səmɛt [səmɛt]	
Hyb_En-Ng65: captain [kœptin] \rightarrow	kaptɛn [kəptɛn]	
Hyb_En-Ng66: witness [witnis] \rightarrow	wusənêt [wusənɛt]	
		_

[i] becomes [ə], [I] changes into [ϵ] respectively in examples (16a) , b and c, d.

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• Vowel rounding

Some English vowels become round in the course of borrowing.

Hyb_En-Ng67: witness [witnis]	\rightarrow	wusənêt [wusənɛt]
Hyb_En-Ng68: number [nAmbə]	\rightarrow	numba [numba]
Hyb_En-Ng69: window [windəu]	\rightarrow	wúndo [wundo]
Hyb_En-Ng70: dirt [d3t]	\rightarrow	dóti [doti]
Hyb_En-Ng71: purse [p3s]	\rightarrow	pósa [posa]

The English vowel [i] is replaced by [u] (example 17a and b), the vowel $[\Lambda]$ changes into [u] (example b], [3] becomes [o] (example 17d and e).

4.1.12 [i] insertion

The [i] sound is inserted in some loanwords medial and final positions.

si]
]
oside]
əmasi]
ti]

Vowels other than [i] and [ə] are inserted in some loanwords.

4.1.13 Epenthesis or vowel insertion

Hyb_En-Ng77: lamp [lamp]	\rightarrow	lambò [lambo]
Hyb_En-Ng78: mat [mat]	\rightarrow	mətà [məta]
Hyb_En-Ng79: table [teibl]	\rightarrow	táple [taple]
Hyb En-Ng80: lend [lend]	\rightarrow	lenta [l□nta]

The vowels [0], [a], $[\varepsilon]$ are inserted are the loanwords final positions.

4.1.14 Reinterpretation of [ə]

In the process of borrowing of some English words into ngômbà, the vowel [ϑ] is transformed into [a], [ϵ], [o] and [am]:

Hyb_En-Ng81: father [fa θ ə] \rightarrow fálà [fala]

Hyb_En-Ng82: dinner [dinə] \rightarrow ndìnà [ndina]

Hyb_En-Ng83: order [ódə] \rightarrow ódà [oda]



Hyb_En-Ng84: tractor [traktə]		\rightarrow	tlakte□	[tlaktɛ]
Hyb_En-Ng85: pastor	[pastə]	\rightarrow	pástò [pa	sto]

Hyb_En-Ng86: corner [kónə] \rightarrow kónàm [konam]

Hyb_En-Ng87: answer [ansə] \rightarrow haksam [haksam]

The [ə] sound becomes [a] (81, 82, 83 and 84), [o] (examples 85) and [am] (86 and 87).

4.1.15 Metathesis or permutation of segments

This is a modification whereby a sound occupies a different position in the recipient language from its initial position in the donor language.

Hyb_En-Ng88: foolish [fuli \int] \rightarrow fúsì [flusi]

The [u] sound appears before [l] in the donor language and after [l] in the recipient language.

4.1.16 Consonant – vowel reinterpretation

It is a transformation whereby a vowel occupies the initial place of a consonant.

Hyb_En-Ng89: angle [eind31]	\rightarrow anj $\hat{\epsilon}$ [and 3ϵ]
Hyb_En-Ng90: motorcycle [məʊtəsaIkl]	→ motosáku [motosaku]
Hyb_En-Ng91: question [kwεst∫]	→ khísí [khisi]
Hyb_En-Ng92: last [last]	→ lásí [lasi]
Hyb En-Ng93: satan [seitn]	→ sátà [sata]

[i] is replaced by $[\epsilon]$ (89); [i] is substituted by [u] (90); [n] is replaced by [i] and [a] (91); [t] is substituted by [i] (92).

4.1.17 Harmonization of prosody or tones insertion

ngômbàis a tone language whereas English is a stress language. When some words from English are borrowed in ngômbà, stresses are replaced by tones. Nevertheless, tones do not play the function of stresses. In the following examples, tones do not appear exactly at the same places as stresses from English into ngômbà.

• The high tone [/]

Hyb_En-Ng94: handkerchief	f[`handkət∫if]	\rightarrow wáŋgílsì	[waŋglisi]
Hyb_En-Ng95: cupboard [`	kʌbəd]	\rightarrow kóbhá	[kobha]
Hyb_En-Ng96: motorcycle	[məʊtəsaikl]	→ motosákú	[motosaku]

• The low syllable

Hyb_En-Ng97: bicycle ['baisikl] → mbásəkù [mbasəku]



Hyb_En-Ng98: teacher ['tit∫ə]	→ cícà [t∫it∫a]
Hyb_En-Ng99: to try [to'trai]	→ nə́tlà [nətla]
Hyb_En-Ng100: factory ['faktəri]	→ fátlə́ [fatlə]

The examples above indicate that the low tone occurs almost always at the end of words. It appears on "ù", "à", "à" and "ə" respectively in 97, 98, 99 and 100 respectively.

• The high – low tone [^]

Hyb_En-Ng101: jug [dz^g]	\rightarrow	njôk	[ndʒək]
Hyb_En-Ng102: milk [milk]	\rightarrow	mən	îk [mənik]
Hyb_En-Ng103: shirt [∫3t]	\rightarrow	shə̂t	[∫3t]
Hyb_En-Ng104: town [tavn]	\rightarrow	tốŋ	[təŋ]
Hyb_En-Ng105: christmas [krismə	s] —	→kilisi	mêt [kilismɛt]

• The low-high syllable

Hyb_En-Ng106: flower [flauə]	\rightarrow	flǎwà [flawa]
Hyb_En-Ng107: glass [glas]	\rightarrow	ŋglǎsì [ŋglasi]
Hyb_En-Ng108: stranger ['streind33	ə] →	tlěnjà [tlend3a]
Hyb En-Ng109: saw [so]	\rightarrow	sð [sə]

The examples above show a harmonisation of prosody from the stress to the tone language ngômbà. Some stress syllables in English take the high tone or low-high tone in the borrowed items whereas some unstressed syllables in English take the low, high-low tones in the loanwords. More than modifications at the phonological levels, English loanwords in ngômbà also undergo morphological features.

4.2 Morphosyntactic processes

Morphology studies words forms. The various morphological processes which affect English loanwords in ngômbàinclude compounding, reduplication, apocopate, syllable elision, derivation and syllable insertion.

4.2.1 Compounding

Yule (1996) defines compounding as "a joining of two separate words to produce a single item". According to Mutaka & Tamanji (2000), it is the process of "bringing together lexical items that exist independently in the lexicon". Three types of compound elements can be distinguished in the English loanwords in ŋgômba:

• Simple compounding by the juxtaposition of two nouns

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Hyb_En-Ng110: pocket knife (noun phrase) \rightarrow panêp [panɛp] (noun]
Hyb_En-Ng111: water road (noun phrase) \rightarrow watalût [watalut] (noun)
Hyb_En-Ng112: burial ground (noun phrase) \rightarrow bənəglôŋ [bənəgloŋ] (noun)
Hyb_En-Ng113: bank master (noun phrase) \rightarrow mbaŋməsà [mbaŋməsa] (noun]
Hyb_En-Ng114: palm tree (noun phrase) \rightarrow pantrê [pantrɛ] (noun)
Hyb_En-Ng115: pepper soup (noun phrase) \rightarrow pepesûp [pepesup] (noun]
• Compounding with the insertion of an "ú" or "ə" between the words
Hyb_En-Ng116: torch lamp (noun phrase) \rightarrow to 'ksúlam [toksúlam] (noun)
Hyb_En-Ng117: Size pot (noun phrase) \rightarrow sasəpôt [sasəpət] (noun)
4.2.2 Adjective + noun sequence
Hyb_En-Ng118: long chair (adjective + noun) lɔ´ŋchyà [lɔŋt∫ia] (noun)
Hyb_En-Ng119: bad luck (adjective + noun) bal5k [bal5k] (noun)
Hyb_En-Ng120: bitter leaf (adjective + noun) mbitalêp [mbitalɛp] (noun)
Hyb_En-Ng121: big day (adjective + noun) mbigdê [mbigde] (noun)
4.2.3 Verbs + noun sequence
cover pot (verb + noun) kobhapôt [kobhapot] (noun)
4.2.4 Article + noun sequence

Hyb_En-Ng123: the same (article + noun) ndisêm [ndisɛn] (noun)

4.3 Reduplication

Chrystal (1987:325) defines reduplication as a repetition whereby the form of a prefix reflects certain phonological characteristics of the root. Reduplicated loanwords in ngômbà are scarce.

Hyb_En-Ng124: sand (noun) \rightarrow sansan (noun)

4.4 Apocopate

It is a process whereby a suffix is reduced in word formation. Apocopate deals with the deletion of the final element in a word

Hyb_En-Ng125: blanket (noun)	\rightarrow	mbəlan [mbəlan] (noun)
Hyb_En-Ng126: cigarette (noun)	\rightarrow	siká [sika] (noun)
Hyb_En-Ng127: photograh (noun)	\rightarrow	futù [futu] (noun)

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The final syllable "ket" is reduced in the first example; "rette" is reduced in the second example and "graph" is reduced in the last one.

Other syllables in donor language words are suppressed in the borrowed lexical item.

Hyb_En-Ng128: frying pan \rightarrow flepà [flepà]Hyb_En-Ng129: pocket knife \rightarrow panêp [panêp]Hyb_En-Ng130: washing pan \rightarrow waspân [waspan]

The syllables "ing" is suppressed in the first and third examples whereas "et" is elided in the second example.

4.5 Derivation

Derivation is the insertion of a derivational affix in a word in order to form a new lexical item. It results in a change of the original grammatical category of a word.

Table 6. Derivation in loanwords

Borrowed words	Category RL	Donor words	Category
nəsɔ́kə `[nəsəkə]	v	Soap	n
nə hanyà [nəhanja]	v	iron	n

In ngômbà, verbs in the infinitive form are preceded by "no", this [no] prefix changes the word class of the borrowed word from noun into verb.

4.6 Syllable insertion

In the process of integration of English loanwords into ñgômbà some syllable is inserted in the borrowed lexical items.

Table7. Syllable insertion in loanwords

Borrowed words	Category RL	Donor words	Category DL
Latrə [latə]	Ν	Light	Ν
DókfaàweÈt	Ν	Duck	N

The syllables "trə" and "fáwyte has been inserted in the examples above. We did not find any explanation to these insertions during our investigations.

It is worth pointing out that English loanwords in ñgômbà pertain to the grammatical class of



noun, adjective, verb, and adverb and can play the functions of subject, object and complement.

4.7 Grammatical loanwords

4.7.1 Subject

Hyb_En-Ng131: Káwù' nkú

[kawu'nkú]

caw runs

"The cow ran away"

4.7.2 Object

Hyb_En-Ng132: tálà jú mətúà

[tala jú mətúà]

father-my bought car

"My father bought a car"

4.7.3 Complement

Hyb_En-Ng133: mətúà tálà

[mətua tala]

Car father-my

"The car of my father"

In sentences (131), (132) and (133) above, the words "káwù", "mətúa" and "mətúà" play the role of subject, object and complement respectively.

Apart from phonological and morpho-syntactic processes, English loanwords in ñgômbà are also affected by semantic processes.

5. Semantic processes

These processes include narrowing, broadening, semantic shift and loan- translations.

Narrowing or specialization is when a general term refers to a more specific thing than the original referent. It is a restriction of meaning in the recipient language in the process of borrowing.



5.1 Narrowing

Table 8. Narrowing in loanwords

Borrowed words	Donor words	Meaning in RL
shúsì [susi]	Shoes	Sandals
mitin [mitin]	Meeting	political rendez-vous
njalé [ndzale]	Jewelry	earing
jwân [jwan]	wine	red wine
Fiĭsi [fisi]	Fish	fresh fish
Hép [hɛp]	Help	financial aid in associations

5.2 Broadening or extension of meaning

Broadening is a semantic process whereby words of a donor language extend their meaning(s) in the recipient language. It is a generalization of the referent of certain terms to a wider range of things.

Table 9. Broadening of meaning

Borrowed words	Donor words	Meanings
nglísì [ŋglisi]	English	The language, a native speaker, the people of the North-West and South-west regions of Cameroon
Côsì [t∫æsi]	Church	Church, mass, religion
ndóktà [ndokta]	Doctor	hospital, nurse any employee of a hospital
Tôŋ[təŋ]	Town	town, district, area
ŋjakásì [ŋdʒakasi]	Jackass	donkey, slave, convict
ŋgômna [ŋgômna]	Governor	Governor, government, chief of police



5.3 Semantic Shift

The meaning of some words change completely into others so that the original word and the loanword do not have any relation in meaning anymore. This change of meaning is known as semantic shift.

Table 10. Semantic shift

Borrowed words	Donor words	Meanings
səlpási [səlpasi]	slippers	sandals
wákà [waka]	walk	journey
káku [kákù]	cargo	Luggage, property
ndùla [ndula]	dollar	money, coin
fasim [fasim]	fashion	behavior
mbigdê [mbigdé]	Big day	public holiday

5.4 Loan translation

Words are translated so that they can express new realities. The translated loan only takes into consideration the structure of the recipient language as well as the message to transfer as it is proved in the examples below.

Table 11. Loan translations

Borrowed word	Donor words	Meanings
panêp [panɛp]	pocket knife	jack knife
bənəgl <i>î</i> ŋ	Burial ground	grave
watalût [watalut]	Water road	gutter
wasnêt [wasnɛt]	Watch night	watchman



Fibhaŋglási	fever grass	a green plant used in the
[fibhaŋglasi]		treatment of fever

6. Conclusion

This paper has discussed cultural and linguistic hybridizations in Cameroon with a focus on English loanwords in the Bamileke language ngômbà. The study shows that as a result of contacts between English and ngômbà, many lexical items borrowed from English are transformed so as to suit the linguistic structure in ngômbà and used to pertain to various domains of life such as administration and religion, commerce and technology, culture and artifacts. The phonological processes that these loanwords have undergone include cluster simplification, consonant vowel reinterpretation and harmonization of prosody or tones insertion. As regards morphology, the findings show that the loanwords have undergone the processes of compounding, reduplication, apocopate, syllable elision, derivation and syllable insertion. The results suggest that ngômbà borrowed English words from different grammatical classes and modified the donor words so that they can play the syntactic functions of subject, object and complement in the borrowing language. With regard to semantic processes, it is found that English loanwords in ngômbà are affected by narrowing, broadening, semantic shift and loan translations. As a path forwards into linguistic processes undergone by colonial languages in former colonial countries, this study suggests that further research may be done concerning language maintenance and language shift in Bantu languages within the context of the promotion of bilingualism with Western languages in Cameroon.

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