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**TOWARDS A TRANSITIONAL MODEL OF BASIC
EDUCATION FOR RURAL WOMEN IN THE NORTH WEST
PROVINCE OF CAMEROON**

vorgelegt von:

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Die vorliegende Arbeit ist von mir selbständig verfaßt und es wurden von mir keine anderen als die angegebenen Quellen benutzt.

Burbach, den -----

If I had to reduce all my educational psychology to just one principle, I would say this: The most important single factor influencing learning is what the learner already knows. Ascertain this and teach him accordingly.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations were used in the tables of sociolinguistic domains

Answ	Answer
D.O.	District Officer
Eng	Cameroon Educated English
Gen	Generation
ID	Identification number
ld	leader
Memb	member
Met	Meta'
Mtnng	meeting
PE	Cameroon Pidgin English
trnsl	translator
Wumnmb	Wumnembug

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0. PREFACE

The adult education project presented in these pages is part of a literacy programme which has grown out of a series of research periods spent in the North West Province of Cameroon between the years 1989 and 1995. In all, almost four years have been spent in the country.

I am indebted to the Ministry of Scientific and Technical Research, Yaounde, for granting the necessary research permits and to the Administration in Mbengwi Central Sub-Division for their friendly support.

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**TOWARDS A TRANSITIONAL MODEL
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Janice O. Spreda

1. INTRODUCTION

Cameroon, a country with more than 248 national languages, has followed an exoglossic language policy since the end of the colonial period. French and English are used jointly as official languages, employed as the languages of government and of education. The many national languages, seen as a whole, have an important function. Some are written, some are in the process of being written and others remain in purely oral use, but almost all of them are the dominant language of their region, used in the home, in everyday affairs, and in some way or another in the church. Only in the towns where a number of different ethnic groups live and work may another language, serving as a lingua franca, take precedence, this varying according to the area. In the North West Province of Cameroon this lingua franca of the towns is Cameroon Pidgin English.

In the North West Province literacy is acquired in the English language in the context of formal school education. Particularly in the rural areas where little Pidgin English is spoken and Educated Cameroon English rarely heard, this is a great challenge. Many are not able to complete elementary schooling. For a rural adult the challenge is even greater. A schoolchild experiences a literate English environment five days a week during the school year. The time restraints in the organisation of adult education do not allow this exposure.

The rural woman plays a central role in development but she is hampered by illiteracy. The percentage of illiterate women is higher than that of men and their social status lower, which means that the priority assigned to their needs is lower. From an official standpoint however, the women of Cameroon are seen as important in bettering the lot of the family, in improving family and community health, and as they are the farmers, in improving agricultural production. Illiteracy is a great hinderance in practical training for development, and literacy is seen as the first step to autonomy, that capacity for self-help which is necessary for the desired progress for personal, family and community well-being.

This presentation describes the sociolinguistic environment in a political sub-division of North West Province and the language use of the women resident there. Against the background of official changes taking place in the use of the national languages in education, aspects of an experimental programme of basic adult education for women are described in which the first skills in reading and writing are acquired in Meta', the national language and mother tongue, before oral and written English are taught.

The question is considered as to how important basic education is for the women and whether some practical demonstration of skills serving local and personal development would not be adequate.

Haarman (1990, 115) notes that the relation of language to the individual speaker or listener is usually ignored in language planning and in sociolinguistic research in general. Social functions are related to the speech community as a whole, not to individual speakers. A more careful inspection of the role of the individual in interaction would be likely to reveal essential pre-conditions for the communication. The aim of the programme presented here has been to ascertain the needs of individual women in the rural setting and to plan a curriculum accordingly within the limits of existing national language policy.

The subject is dealt with from three standpoints. Firstly, the macro-sociolinguistic background of Mbengwi Central Sub-Division is presented. It is in the light of this environment, which is typical for the rural areas of North West Cameroon that programme decisions have to be made. Secondly, a description of the results of an enquiry aimed at ascertaining the linguistic and educational needs of a particular but typical group of women in this setting is given. Ascertaining the function of Cameroon Pidgin English in their lives is seen to be of central importance in deciding which language is the most propitious medium for adult education. Thirdly, the development of a functional basic education programme for rural women, which begins in the national language and proceeds into the official language, English, is outlined. This programme is considered to be suitable for other areas of the North West Province.

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ie description of the programme being developed it is mainly the decisions of
which have had to be made that are in focus. A presentation of all the
details of material production, teacher training and evaluation lies outside the
this present work but is in preparation.

presentation of this case study is descriptive and has persuasive intent.

2. SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

The educated urban West Cameroonian is multilingual, usually speaking at least three languages in the course of each day. As marriages are generally intra-ethnic, the language of the home is usually the language of the ethnic background. With other Cameroonians of the same ethnic background and education he will speak the common indigenous language, often with some code-switching. With anglophone Cameroonians of another ethnic background he will speak either Educated Cameroon English or Cameroon Pidgin English, depending on the situation. Pidgin English will be used with someone with little education but also as a language of intimacy with those of a similar educational background, for example in the teachers' common room in a school. Should he be resident in the francophone area of Cameroon he will usually speak French with those of comparable educational background, and in everyday business in shops and in public transport, French is also necessary. It is also quite usual that one or two other indigenous languages are known and used in addition.

For the illiterate and monolingual Cameroonian of the rural areas the situation is quite different. Monolingualism holds him/her captive in the home area. Travelling is a problem. The monolingual can read no signs, understand no written directions, cannot communicate with taxi drivers (taxis are the usual means of transport), or with fellow travellers. In addition he/she is often regarded with disdain and treated discourteously. It is only the rural area where the ethnic language is spoken that offers security and dignity.

Subsequent to the colonial period, the country of Cameroon judged a language of wider communication to be most suited to its need for a national language. Due to the unification of the previous British and French colonial territories, French and English were jointly adopted.

Fishman speaks of three different directions followed, or clusters of decisions taken, by new or developing nations in language planning. (He qualifies the terms 'new' and 'developing' as objectively inadequate but sees them as serving the purpose in the discussion of differing language planning processes and their concomitant

societal contexts in the nations of Africa and Asia that attained independence subsequent to the Second World War). (FISHMAN 1978, 30)

He quotes Alexandre on Cameroon:

The country is one of the more heterogeneous in West Africa, with a variety of language groups belonging to several families [...] There is no nationwide lingua franca [...] The official languages are English (West Cameroon) and French (E. Cameroon) on an equal level at the federal level [...] Since independence there have been heated discussions among the intelligentsia between cultural nationalists, who favour a wider use of the vernaculars, and unificationists, who fear that this would consolidate tribal consciousness and be detrimental to nation building. The federal government - and its French technical advisors - support the latter view. (ibid,37)

Tadadjeu (1977) is representative of the opinion of the cultural nationalist intelligentsia. His vision is for Africa as a continent and not just for Cameroon. He suggests that every Cameroonian should be trilingual. The languages of importance are firstly his own mother tongue, which is the language of his cultural background and personal initial development. This may amount to just an oral knowledge. Secondly he should speak and write a provincial language. Each provincial area should have a written language, usually the one spoken by the largest segment of the provincial population. This language would no doubt be related to the mother tongue and serve as a language of education for the first three years of primary schooling. During this time, the official language, the third language, would be taught orally and later become the medium of education. The second official language would be taught later.

Within the framework of the Department of Languages and Linguistics at the University of Yaoundé, Professor Tadadjeu and his colleagues, in cooperation with the Société Internationale de Linguistique, Yaoundé, developed the Operational Research Project for Language Education (PROPELCA). A generalisable model for bilingual education in the first three years of primary school was tested, beginning in four of the national languages which have zonal importance, later extending to others. The goals of this programme were cultural and educational. (TADADJEU et al., 1991). In 1994 the National Association of Cameroon Language Committees was formed to support the work being done by small groups of Cameroonians who have

formed committees in their own ethnic areas for the study and development of their languages.

The trend towards the development and use of the national languages was continued when the National Forum of Education held in Yaounde in May 1995 passed the resolution that the national languages should be used in education. Their precise role remains to be further discussed but local authorities are given the freedom to use the resources they already possess to implement the resolution.

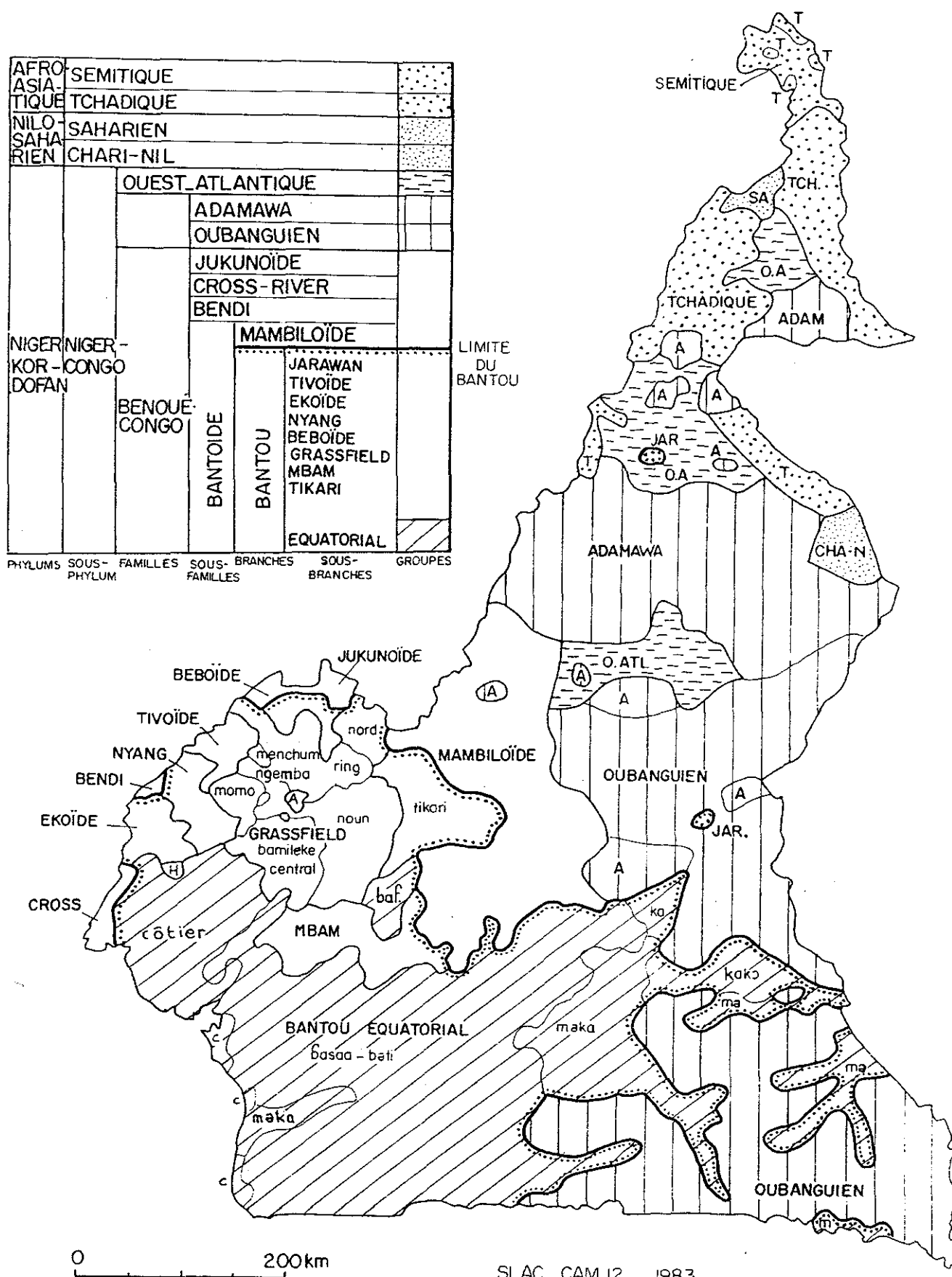
The Atlas Administratif des Langues Nationales du Cameroun (1991) provides an overview of the language families and sub-families spoken in the country. (see Fig.1 next page)

Mbengwi Central Sub-Division, where the present study was undertaken, is the administrative centre of Momo Division, one of the five administrative divisions of the North West Province of Cameroon. Momo lies between 5 degrees 45 minutes and 6 degrees 15 minutes North and between 9 degrees 35 minutes and 10 degrees West.

The Atlas Administratif des Langues Nationales du Cameroun shows a great diversity of languages in North West Province: Grassfield Bantu, narrow Bantu, Tiv, Jukun and Beboid languages. (Fig.2)

Mbengwi Central Sub-Division is the home of the Meta' people. They have been estimated as numbering about 40,000. The Meta', the Moghamo, the Oshie, and the Ngie comprise what is usually described as the Widekum group, that is, people who trace their ancestry to the area of Widekum in Momo Division. Their languages are closely related. The Mundani people of South West Province trace their ancestry to the same group although they are not usually listed in the literature. Meta' and Moghamo must be regarded as dialects of one language as they are mutually intelligible, although their speakers regard themselves as separate units politically.

FAMILLES ET GROUPES LINGUISTIQUES AU CAMEROUN



The various languages of Mbengwi Central Sub-Division are presented in the following account. No attempt is made in this context to describe them exhaustively. The aim is to identify them, describe the type of language, and to present some typical structures. It is the interaction of these languages in a given geographical area and the consequences of this interaction for adult education which are in focus. Bibliographical details of language descriptions are given which enable interested persons to inform themselves in more detail.

2.1 Languages spoken in Mbengwi Central Sub-Division

Momo Division is comprised of Mbengwi Central Sub-Division, Batibo Sub-Division and Njikwa Sub-Division.

The main language spoken in Mbengwi sub-division is Meta'. Other languages are English, which may most often be heard in the central town of Mbengwi, Moghamo, which is mutually intelligible with Meta', and the neighbouring languages of Bali, Bafut, Mankon, Ngie and Oshie, and the Fulani language of the Buroro people who inhabit the highest hill areas.

2.1.1 Meta'

The Meta' language is sometimes referred to as Menemo. It is one of the 248 plus national languages of Cameroon.

It is the language of the home, of the farms and of the small village markets. It is the language of the common traditions expressed in the religious cult. As it is the only language spoken by a large section of the population, it is also spoken in domains in which English is officially used. It is a Bantoid language, part of the Widekum - Tadkon group, a Momo language belonging to the Western Grassfields group. (Stallcup 1978,17).

The term Bantoid was first used by English linguists to describe languages of the northern Bantu borderland which deviated in their form from the classic Bantu languages, but which were clearly related to them. The term is usually described negatively in comparison to classic Bantu, for which reason a brief account of the

characteristics of a Bantu language is given here. Guthrie (1967) posited criteria for languages belonging to the Bantu language family. The language:

1. Possesses a system of grammatical genders, usually at least five, with these features:
 - a) A sign of gender is a prefix, by means of which words may be sorted into a number of classes, varying roughly from ten to twenty.
 - b) There is a regular association of pairs of classes to indicate the singular and the plural of the gender. In addition to these two class genders there are also one class genders [...]
 - c) When a word has an independent prefix as a sign of its class, any other word which is subordinate to it has to agree with it as to class by means of a dependent prefix.
 - d) There is no correlation of sex with gender.
2. A vocabulary, part of which can be related by fixed rules to a set of hypothetical common roots.
3. A set of invariable cores or radicals, from which almost all words are formed by an agglutinative process, these radicals having the following features.
 - a) They are composed of CVC .
 - b) When a grammatical suffix is attached to the radical there is formed 'a base' on which words identifiable as 'verbals' are built.
 - c) When a non-grammatical or lexical suffix is attached to the radical there is formed 'a stem' on which words identifiable as 'nominals' are built. When a nominal belongs to a two class

gender the sounds and tones of the stem are the same in both classes.

- d) A radical may be extended by an element found between it and the suffix.
- e) The only case of a radical occurring without a prefix of any kind occurs in verbals used as interjections.

- 4. A balanced vowel system in the radicals, consisting of one open vowel /a/ with an equal number of back and front vowels.

In his description of the Bantu languages, Guthrie describes two types of languages which differ from the classic picture. The second type is that which he labels 'Bantoid':

A second type of language which obeys only some of the criteria is found in the Cameroons and S.E. Nigeria. These languages obey the first criterion and not the others. That means that while they have a system of grammatical genders and agreements separated by means of prefixes, they show little or no relationship of vocabulary with full Bantu languages. In addition they do not display even the rudiments of the structural features laid down in the third criterion, moreover, their vowel system is frequently complicated [...] We shall therefore adopt the term 'Bantoid' to describe any language that has a system of prefix genders and agreements of this kind without any other Bantu features. (ibid, 18,19)

Richardson (1957) describes Bantoid languages succinctly as languages which have a) an elaborate system of class prefixes showing no regular relationship to the Bantu classes and b) a vocabulary which is at times reminiscent of Bantu but which cannot be related by fixed rules to a set of hypothetical common roots.

Meta' has a system of thirteen noun classes arranged by pairs into genders and five one-class genders:

Two-Class Genders

NCI 1/2	ìsà' wē	'the friend'	mìsà' mbē	'the friends'
NCI 3/6	ìgwì wé	'the fish'	àgwì zé	'the fish (pl.)'
NCI 3/6a	ìnàrì wē	'the boundary'	mìnàrì zē	'the boundaries'
NCI 3/13	ìbì wē	'the liver'	tìbì tē	'the livers'
NCI 7/8	èfòn zē	'the leopard'	ìfòn mbé	'the leopards'
NCI 7/2	tìcwì zē	'the caterpillar'	mbìrìcwì mbē	'the caterpillars'
NCI 9/10	mbēŋ zē	'the farm'	mbēŋ tē	'the farms'
NCI 19/13	fìnàn fē	'the bird'	tìnàn té	'the birds'
NCI 9/2	kàmbà' zē	'the shoulder'	kàmbà' mbē	'the shoulders'

Single-Class Genders

NCI 3	ìfòn wē	'the chieftancy'
NCI 7	àbùrì zē	'the confusion'
NCI 19	fī fē	'the finger'
NCI 10	ngwìŋ tē	'the dirt'
NCI 9	sà zē	'the uproar/shouting'

(Spreda, K. 1983)

There is a corresponding system of pronouns, both personal and possessive, within the noun phrase, and concord with the verb phrase expressed in concord particles preceding the verb.

The Bantoid languages of the Bamenda Grassfields are well known for their tonal complexity. Meta' is no exception. The language has four level tones and seven glide tones. There are 19 consonant phonemes and eight vowel phonemes. (Spreda, K., 1986).

2.1.2 Cameroon English

English is the official language of the North West and the South West Provinces, which were under British trusteeship during the colonial era. Cameroon was a German colony from 1884 until 1919, but the German language has not remained in use. A form of English continued to be used in trading around the coast during the German colonial era, as it had been before Cameroon was colonised.

English in Cameroon has various forms. Bobda (1994) recognises five types. He uses the term *Cameroon English* to contrast with four other main kinds of speech:

- i Cameroon Pidgin English
- ii the speech of uneducated speakers of English
- iii the speech of Francophone Cameroonians
- iv the speech of the few Cameroonians so influenced by RP and American English that they cannot be considered as representatives of the English spoken in Cameroon.

Bobda adopts the term *Cameroon English* to be in accord with other designations of non-native varieties of English, e.g. Liberian English, Nigerian English, Kenyan English, Indian English etc., making the point that these terms are used to refer to the variety of English spoken by the majority of educated users in the country. Bobda himself raises the question of the level of education implicit in the term *educated users*.

From what level of schooling does one qualify to be educated and/or to reflect the language standard in a society? [...] But for minimal guarantee the bar is placed fairly high in the present work, since all the deviations analysed have been collected from informants with university education. (BOBDA 1994,1)

For the purpose of this presentation, the term *Cameroon English* is used to encompass all four of the types of English that Bobda considers to be in contrast to Cameroon English, although I am in sympathy with Bobda's aim to isolate and name a form of English that can serve as a national model in education and be well intelligible internationally.

In Mbengwi Central Sub-Division there is a twofold division of Cameroon English which is of functional importance. There is the temptation to choose the terminology in local use, which is *Pidgin* or *Bush English*, and *Grammar English*, for a description of the local sociolinguistic situation. However, for the present purpose the terms *Cameroon Educated English* and *Cameroon Pidgin English* are adopted, sometimes simply *Educated English* and *Pidgin English*, or even, for the latter, just *Pidgin*. *Cameroon Educated English* refers here to the English spoken by those who have been taught the language in school according to the rules of what is accepted as standard British English Grammar. Its phonology is usually more africanised than the phonology of Bobda's Cameroon English, which reflects the use of university lecturers, mostly of the English department. It contrasts only with Cameroon Pidgin English.

The term Cameroon Educated English has been used in the literature (Massi-Manga 1973 and 1976) in the same manner as the term Cameroon Standard English (Bobda 1983 and 1986), (Masanga 1983), (Mbangwana 1987) to contrast with Pidgin English and other forms. The Cameroon Educated English of this literature is used to refer to the language spoken at the educational level between the secondary school leaver and the university student (Bobda 1984, 30). In this present description the term Cameroon Educated English is used in a wider manner as described above, in order to describe the relevant sociolinguistic dichotomy in Mbengwi Central Sub-Division.

Pidgin English is the creole language described in the literature as Cameroon Pidgin English, Wes Cos or Bush English. It is a form of West African Pidgin English often regarded as a separate language from English. However, Dell Hymes (1971, 78) cites Hancock:

Hancock differs yet again, agreeing with Whinnom and Cassidy in the prior existence of a pidgin, but in effect agreeing with Alleyne in *considering the Pidgin English*. [emphasis mine]

2.1.2.1 Cameroon Educated English

Cameroon educated English is a type of West African English, a non-native variety, by which is meant that it is a form of English spoken in a country where its speakers usually speak another language as mother tongue. Kachru distinguishes between types of English speaking communities, based on the function of the language

in the community. He distinguishes between the Inner, the Outer, the Extended and the Expanded Circles. (Bobda 94,5).

The Inner Circle is composed of countries where English is the mother tongue, e.g. Britain, the United States, English Canada, Australia, New Zealand, a large part of the white population of South Africa, the Cook Islands, the Bahamas, Jamaica, Belize, Trinidad and Tobago, Nauru, Fiji. Some communities within the Inner Circle have a marginal status, e.g. most Black Americans are born into a distinct variety of English but they are speakers of a social dialect and are clearly members of the Inner Circle. In other communities such as Jamaica, Creole is acquired before or simultaneously with Standard English, but this does not alter the classification as long as Creole is assumed to be a variety of English.

The Outer Circle comprises countries where English was bequeathed as a colonial language and remains in use as a medium of instruction as well as the language of administration. Countries in Africa such as Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Anglophone Cameroon, Zambia, Kenya, Uganda, Namibia, Lesotho, Black South Africa are examples of such countries.

The Extended Circle is composed of such countries as use English as a second language in interaction with an important population of expatriates and for international communication, e.g. Austria, Finland, Island, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland.

The Expanded Circle includes virtually the rest of the world, all those other countries where English has become the dominant language of business, diplomacy and of science.

Cameroon English belongs to the Outer Circle. It is acquired as a second language and is a transplanted variety which has been nativised. The motivation to learn it is mainly instrumental. Functionally it may be regarded as a 'link' language in a multilingual state.

Bobda's analysis of aspects of Cameroon phonology (1994) is with reference to the speech of university professors, especially of the English department at Yaounde university and television journalists. It is the speech with the highest prestige in the

country and the nearest to RP pronunciation although RP pronunciation itself is not regarded by most speakers and educationists in the country as the ideal to be attained: a clearly African form of English is preferred. Bobda expresses the need to have a national English language standard as a teaching model, which is clearly understood within the country and internationally. These two needs are often in contradiction to each other.

Typical Cameroon Educated English Language Structures

Bobda cites previous descriptions of Cameroon English,

Significant statements on the phonology of Cameroon English include Masanga 1983, the Teachers and English Language Advisers for the North West and South West Provinces n.d., Bobda 1986, Mbangwana 1987 and Kouega 1991. (ibid,34)

Extracts from the above are accessible through Bobda (1994).

Many of the features presented in these works are shared by most non-native Englishes. The vowel analysis of Masanga 1983 (ibid,35) is identical with that of Hancock/Angogo for West African Vernacular English. Their analysis is depicted in a contrast with RP in the following chart.

West African Vernacular English			
[bid]		bead	[bi:d]
		bid	[bɪd]
[bed]		bade	[beɪd]
[bed]		bed	[bed]
[baɪ]		bad	[bæd]
		bard	[bɑ:d]
[bɔɪ]		bird	[bɜ:ɪd]
		bud	[bʌd]
		bod	[bɒd]
		board	[bɔ:ɪd]
[bɔɪ]		bode	[boʊd]
[pʊl]		pool	[pu:l]
		pull	[pʊl]

The Vowel System of West African Vernacular English. (Hancock/Angogo 1982,314)
(Schmied 1985,225)

Masanga's analysis shows a consonant system that is similar to that of RP but lacks the dental fricatives and may contain imploded forms of the plosives.

The pressure of the West African language word patterns which avoid consonant clusters other than those involving nasals, modifies the pronunciation of native English words. The phenomena of deletion, substitution and insertion are frequently described although the deviations from the native English may vary from place to place and with the degree of nativisation of a so-called transplanted variety.

Examples of these processes in Masanga's Cameroon Educated English are given below.

Deletion of consonants:

[akaun]	account
[tol]	told
[ɔɾɛdi]	already

Insertion of vowels:

[kwikili]	quickly
[ɔdinari]	ordinary

(Bobda 94,35)

There is word final devoicing which is often illustrated by pupils' spelling mistakes as reported by the Teachers and English Language Advisors:

Example	Spelling Mistake
food	foot
send	sent
paid	pet
shed	shet

The regular phenomenon of substitution is illustrated by the following mistakes:

Example	Spelling Mistake
nothing	noting
other	oder
brother	broder

(ibid, 36)

There are also deviations in stress forms which are typical of West African English.

	RP	Cameroon English
annex	['æneks]	[a'neks]
colleague	['kɒlig]	[kɔ'lik]
comment	['kɒment]	[kɔ'ment]

It is of interest to note that the phonological deviations are similar to those taking place in Cameroon Pidgin English.

2.1.2.2 Cameroon Pidgin English

Cameroon Pidgin English is a creole language of the Atlantic Coast of West Africa. Other names are 'Wes Cos' and 'Bush English'.

Creole and Pidgin languages excited much interest in the 1950s and 1960s as linguists tried to ascertain whether they were dealing with an African language with a European lexicon or with a European language with African syntax. The pidgins and creoles were described as English, French, Portuguese or Dutch based.

A pidgin is described by Todd as:

a marginal language which arises to fulfil certain restricted communication needs among people who have no common language. In the initial stages of contact the communication is often limited to transactions where a detailed exchange of ideas is not required and where a small vocabulary, drawn almost exclusively from one language, suffices. The syntactic structure of the pidgin is less complex and less flexible than the structures of the languages which were in contact, and although many pidgin features clearly reflect usages in the contact languages, others are unique to the pidgin. (Todd 1974, 1f)

Pidgins reduce redundancies in the standard languages from which they have adopted their vocabulary. Plural forms of nouns are usually absent, plurality being marked by number and by reduplication. The verbal form is usually invariable. The classic definition of a creole is that it is a pidgin which has become the mother tongue of a speech community. The pidgin structures are then expanded and a more elaborate syntactic system evolves. Todd further points out that there are two ways to creolisation. Firstly speakers of a pidgin may be in a position of not being able to use their mother tongue, as occurred during the course of the slave trade, especially in the Caribbean. Secondly, a Pidgin may become so useful and widely used as a community lingua franca that it may extend its use so that it is employed even between speakers of the same language and in the family. In this way it may be used by children as one of their first languages.

Todd also differentiates between 'restricted' and 'extended' pidgins. A restricted pidgin is one which arises for use in minimal trading, serves only this purpose and dies out when the purpose for which it gave rise is withdrawn. An extended pidgin is one which, although it may not become a mother tongue proves to be vitally important in a multilingual area and because of its usefulness is extended beyond the use which called it into being. (ibid, 5)

Various theories of the genesis of these languages have been extended. The main theories were those of monogenesis, descent from a common trade language and polygenesis, which appealed to universal theories of pidginisation in one way or another.

Todd (1974) presents the baby talk theory, the independent parallel development theory, the nautical jargon theory, the monogenetic/relexification theory and offers a synthesis of these as a further alternative.

The baby talk theory emphasises that the initial processes of pidginisation run parallel to first language acquisition. The nautical theory of Reinecke suggested that a nautical jargon could have been the basis for many pidgins and creoles. This basis could have been expanded according to the model of the learners' mother tongue. The parallel development theory supports the belief that the similarities between pidgins and creoles worldwide can best be accounted for by acknowledging that all these

languages derive from Indo-European stock and that the majority of languages shared a common West African substratum. Todd criticises this theory firstly on the grounds that Atlantic and Pacific Pidgins share features which do not occur in standard English, and secondly, that the African slaves came from widely separate areas of West Africa. To stress the similarity of their linguistic background is to oversimplify the situation.

Alleyne (1971,175f) however, stresses the basic cultural uniformity of West Africa and the fact that similarities go back to very generalised items and are not directly referable to a specific tribe or area. It is here felt that Alleyne's opinion is of importance.

According to the monogenetic/relexification theory all European-based pidgins and creoles derive from a fifteenth century Portuguese pidgin which was probably derived from the medieval *Lingua Franca*, Sabir. Both Atlantic and Pacific pidgins are accounted for in this way through the process of relexification. The theory is comprehensive, but not comprehensive enough, is Todd's opinion. Other pidgins and creoles exist which are not European language based. Sango, Hausa and Ewondo in Africa, share some of the characteristics of the European based pidgins and creoles.

A synthesis of all these factors within a biological programming view is offered as an alternative to the above theories. There are universal patterns of behaviour appropriate to contact situations says Todd:

one could express this view more positively by suggesting that pidgins and creoles are alike because fundamentally, languages are alike and simplification processes are alike [...] This is a very large claim, but one which has the merit of encompassing all the other theories.
(TODD 1974,42)

Cameroon Pidgin English belongs to the Atlantic Creoles, those spoken along the coast of West Africa, from Sierra Leone to Angola, and those spoken in the Caribbean.

The early English pidgin spoken along the West African coast, possibly being the language developed in the forts and in the families around the forts, (families of European traders with African wives) as Hancock surmises, continued to be the language of the plantations in the south of Cameroon during the German colonial

period. (Hymes 1971,78). Missionary work in the nineteenth century in Fernando Po and Doula was carried out by English speaking Baptists, a large proportion of whom were Krio from Liberia.

Relevant to the development and spread of Cameroon Pidgin to the North West of Cameroon was the policy of sending workers from there to the plantations in the south of the country at the end of the last century and the beginning of the twentieth century. The local population in the south was disinclined to work on the plantations and the trading companies were forced to bring a work force from Sierra Leone. When Graf Zintgraff, representing the German colonial administration, made an agreement of cooperation with the Fon of Bali Nyonga, (the dominant ethnic group of the Grassfields at that time) one of the terms of the agreement was that men from the various ethnic groups of the Grassfields of Cameroon should be sent to work on the plantations. (Zintgraff, 1895). This set up a pattern which has continued to the present day. The lingua franca of the plantations was in this way brought to the Grassfields and used in contact situations among the various ethnic groups although the language of the Bali Nyonga was written, taught and instituted as a church lingua franca by the early German missionaries working in the area after 1904. (The influence of the Bali language in the church has declined since the policy of using English or French as the only languages of education was adopted after independence.)

Todd reports that by the late nineteenth century Pidgin English had become the lingua franca of the Bamenda area and that H. Rudin (1938, 358) claimed that the people of the area clung to this language in preference to German (Todd 1984,92). When Eugen Zintgraff, the German adventurer, reached the Bamenda Grassfields in 1889 he was the first white man to be seen in the region. Not only so, but according to Nyamndi, (199? n.d.) the news was brought to the powerful Fon of Bali that there was a strange creature, perhaps a spirit, in the region. The Fon sent a group of his influential men to ascertain whether it was a man and if this were the case to bring him to Bali. The Fon's men observed Zintgraff, watched him eat some local food and decided he was probably a man. He was then led to the Fon who treated him hospitably, invited him to stay, and persuaded him not to visit the other chiefdoms in the Grassfields.

The question arises as to the language of communication. If, as Nyamndi reports, a white man was unknown even as a report, to the Fon of Bali, is it likely that Pidgin English was known? The trading route to the coast of those times was by means of the Cross River to Calabar. Efik was used as a trade language on the Cross River at that time, although Calabar on the coast was controlled by the British and a Pidgin English was spoken there. One of Zintgraff's aims was to develop a new trading route from Bali to German controlled Douala on the coast and to send men from the Grassfields to work on the plantations in the south. When Zintgraff returned to the Bamenda Grassfields in 1891, this time as a representative of the German Colonial Office, he came prepared to make a treaty with the Fon of Bali. Nyamndi reports on the tortuous translation involved in the treaty, from English into Vai and then into Mungaka in which the treaty was explained. Vai was the written indigenous language employed in Sierre Leone in the last century. It was largely used for financial records (Goody 1987). Nyamndi suggests that the details of the treaty were lost on Galega the Fon because of the difficulties of communication of the terms. This was the reason for the Fon's agreement to a treaty which was in the long term disadvantageous to him (ibid, 100). The situation does not sound like one in which there was an adequate lingua franca. However, a Bavarian military officer Huttar joined Zintgraff in 1891 and took over the task of training a group of 200 Bali soldiers in firing in a rifle range close to the German station and another German soldier is said to have drilled the 100 strong, musket-armed bodyguard of the Fon. Hutter (1902) is said to have been satisfied beyond his expectations by the results. In the years between 1891 and 1902 there had obviously been progress with a lingua franca between the Bali and the German fort or one group or the other was learning the other's language. If the latter is the case, then the language of the more powerful, those controlling the situation, would seem the more likely. The sociolinguistic situation remains to be further clarified.

Workers were sent to the coastal plantations from the Grassfields after the treaty of 1891 and those who returned (many died of malaria in the south (Kaberry and Chilvers, 1969) will certainly have brought their knowledge of Pidgin English with them.

The pattern of employment of men from the Grassfields on the southern plantations has continued. Those working in the South of the country remain in contact with the extended family in the ethnic area and very frequently visit the ethnic home. The workers normally take their wives from their home area or from the ethnic group as represented in the south. In this way the indigenous language continues to be used in the families. In the case of a mixed marriage it may well be that one of the languages represented, more usually that of the mother, is used with the children. Strong contacts with grandparents in the traditional home areas strengthen the use of the indigenous language as do cultural groups formed for mutual help and the furthering of the traditional culture. The younger generation brought up away from the ethnic area have peer pressure to use English, usually in the form of Pidgin English but this is not necessarily a tendency which will continue throughout life. Those working in the south gain a knowledge of Pidgin English and bring it back to the Grassfields but rarely lose their own language. It is quite normal to build a house in the home village to which the worker and his family return at the end of his working life. Relatives of the worker in the south often visit their family member in the south, thus learning some Pidgin English themselves.

In this way the use of Cameroon Pidgin English has been extended in the rural North West but mostly subsidiary to the use of the mother tongue.

It has already been stated that for the purpose of this paper, Pidgin English is regarded as a variety of English. Pidgin English is taught in no educational institution in the country and has little on-going literature production. The language lacks prestige from the official standpoint. A translation of the Bible into Cameroon Pidgin English is in progress. It remains to be seen whether this will prove to be a factor in standardising this language form. There is a continuum of use of forms of Pidgin English with the various other forms of Cameroon English and it is very difficult to say where Pidgin English stops and an 'educated' English begins. Phonologically there is a continuum of deviations from English RP pronunciation in the country, starting at a point where the sound system is almost completely Africanised and ending at an RP pronunciation of a few who have been educated in Britain. Pidgin English has its own grammar but again there are performance varieties of this.

Wardough cites the dialects of the German/Dutch border. They are generally mutually intelligible, but on the basis of the political border, some are considered as dialects of German and others as dialects of Dutch. The decision about the language they belong to bases on a political decision, not on an internal linguistic one. (Wardough, 1986, 27f). No political decision has been taken with regard to Pidgin English which would give it the political status of a language in its own right. There is not an officially recognised standard form. It is here felt that a view which sees Pidgin English at one end of a scale of Cameroon English and Educated Cameroon English at the other end with a number of varieties between the two, presents a clearer view of the sociolinguistic picture.

For the monolingual rural Cameroonian, fluency in Pidgin English is a socio-economic step upwards, it is a language of prestige. The well-educated regard it as an imperfect language used for communication with the little or non - formally educated. They would not use it in formal situations, although it may also function for them as the language of intimacy in an inter-ethnic situation.

Some structural features of Cameroon Pidgin English.

A descriptive linguistic analysis of Cameroon Pidgin English was undertaken by G.B. Schneider in 1966. He specified the language type he was analysing as 'broad pidgin' which he describes as a 'centre of the road' form which excludes the areas of interference from English at one extreme and the area of interference from the indigenous languages at the other. Within this scope he recognised variations in use, but found these variations to be covered by his phonemic and grammatical description.

The following structures reflect some typical aspects of the language as presented in his work:

Devoicing of final consonant:

/bét/	'bed'
/bák/	'bag'
/rówt/	'road'

Reduction of consonant clusters:

/kám/ 'camp'

/plán/ 'plant'

/báng/ 'bank'

/hán/ 'hand'

/hól/ 'hold'

/blás/ 'blast'

replacement of final /l/ with a vowel

/tébu/ 'table'

/bóndu/ 'bundle'

/bángu/ 'bangle'

Replacement of final schwa with /a/

/róba/ 'robber'

/díga/ 'digger'

Replacement of central with back vowel

/rón/ 'run'

/róp/ 'rub'

Reduplication:

/I di wáka sófli sófli/

'He goes very quietly'

Compounds:

Verb + Noun /wasrúm/ 'washroom'

Noun + Noun /mówtufút/ 'tyre'

Noun + Noun + Noun /pikin-wuman-shipgowt/ 'female lamb'

Adverbs:

/wántam/ 'immediately'

/simoltám/ 'soon'

Cross reference markers:

/misís witi pikín, dem dón kóm/

‘the lady with the child has come’

/í na yú, wuna nów go lúk chóp fo máket

‘you and he will not find food at the market’

Time and aspect is expressed by auxiliaries:

/bin/ ‘past’

/gow/ ‘future’

/don/ ‘perfective’

/di/ imperfective/continuous.

/i bin sén i másínja/ ‘he sent his messenger’

/i gow kás í/ ‘he will catch him’

/kíng, i hét don nyán ‘ga bát/ ‘The king’s head was very handsome ‘

/i di sówsów krai krái/ ‘he’s continually crying’

(ibid p.96)

Todd presents a similar phonological analysis to Schneider, with the addition of four diphthongs to the inventory of seven monophthonic vowels and two additional consonant phonemes. Schneider states that diphthong glides are not common in the Pidgin English of non-English speakers. He does not include them in his analysis although there are some examples in his text samples. e.g.

/tai-feys/ ‘frown’ Sentence 62

/dai/ ‘die’ Sentence 64

/boi/ ‘boy’ (ibid, 1966,181)

Todd’s samples come from the speech of fluent, articulate, literate young anglophones, speaking the variety of Pidgin English which has the greatest prestige, and will be nearest to Educated English. Todd (1984,99). This may also account for the two extra consonant phonemes, the voiced dental and palatal fricatives which she says have very light loads.

2.1.3 Other Languages in Use in Mbengwi Central Sub-Division

Apart from Meta' and various forms of English, many other language may be heard in Mbengwi sub-division. French, Mungaka, the Buroro language, Moghamo, and neighbouring languages such as Oshie, Ngie, Bafut and Mankon are those most frequently used.

French

Senior civil servants from the francophone area of Cameroon who are engaged in government administration speak French among themselves although English is generally used with the local population. It has the features of the language as it is used in West Africa.

Buroro

This is a form of Ful. The Buroro (Fulani) people who live in the hills tending their animals speak their own language among themselves and may be heard on market days. Their life is usually separate from that of the valley peoples. They were settled in the hills by the British administration. The Buroro live on the mountain tops in the sub-division. They are keepers of animals, cows and sheep. There is little close contact with the Meta' people although some come down to the markets on the day of the central market. They are largely illiterate, but an Arabic/English school has been opened in one of the Meta' villages.

Mungaka

Bali or Mungaka is a neighbouring Chamba language spoken by an ethnic group which migrated from North East Nigeria in the middle of the nineteenth century. Following the negotiations with Zintgraff missionaries were sent to the area. The first arrived in 1904, sent by the Basel Mission. In 1908 a school was begun, using the Mungaka (Bali) language. Mungaka became the language of the church, used in its spread to the neighbouring areas. It became the language of school and church in the Meta' area. The Bali hymn book is still used by members of the older generation in the Meta' churches and in some Meta' churches the Scriptures are read in Bali in the Sunday services, but its influence has waned since the change of educational language policy in education in post colonial times.

Moghamo

As has already been said, the Moghamo language and Meta' are mutually intelligible. They must be considered as dialects of one language although the two groups regard themselves as politically separate. The Moghamo people live in the neighbouring Batibo sub-division of Momo Division.

Oshie and Ngie, Bafut and Mankon

Oshie and Ngie are neighbouring Momo languages and a number of speakers are usually employed in the administration in Mbengwi or are in teaching posts. As with the neighbouring Mezam languages Bafut and Mankon, these languages may be heard among a group of mother tongue speakers.

To sum up, the main languages in use in the sub-division are Meta' and Cameroon English, the latter in the two locally significant forms of Cameroon Educated English and Cameroon Pidgin English. In the following charts, showing the sociolinguistic domains of the sub-division, not only the two forms of English cited above are listed, but also written Educated English. Written Educated English is often necessary where the oral form is not.

2.2 Sociolinguistic Domains

Social Domains and Language Use in Mbengwi Central Sub-Division

Social domains	Meta'	Written English	Oral Cam.Ed. English	Cam.P. English	Munga-ka
Home	x			x	
Village market	x				
Farm	x			x	
Central market	x			x	
Indigenous Religion	x				
Church	x	x	x	x	x
Hospital	x	x	x	x	
Government offices	x	x	x	x	
Radio	x		x		
Indigenous medicine	x				

The above chart indicates most of the main social domains in the indigenous life of the sub-division and the languages which typically function within them. The relationship between the languages in use, and the degree of dominance are not indicated on the chart although this of importance to an understanding of the language functions.

The following description of the social domains and the language use in them, including degree of dominance, is based on observation over a number of years and on discussion about language use with various members of the local population.

2.2.1 The Home Compound

This is the house or small group of houses in which the nucleus family and some members of the extended family live. The compound of a neighbouring family is usually a good stone's throw distant. The language of the home or compound is almost always Meta'.

Pidgin English may play a role if the family has previously lived in a town or another part of the country as is frequent for a teacher or a civil servant. School

children may use with each other the English they have learnt at school, generally in the form of Pidgin English although the scope of the conversation of younger children is usually limited. A mother who has had school education herself may possibly decide to use some Pidgin English with the children in order to prepare them better for school.

2.2.2 The Farm

The farm is the local term for the large plot of ground cultivated by a Meta' woman to provide the family with food. She is usually aided by her children on Saturdays and during school holidays. If she has several plots of ground she may pay another woman to help her. The language spoken is Meta'.

In recent years the development of agriculture has become an important national issue and international aid has been invested to improve on the production of foodstuffs. Agricultural education locally will be conducted in Meta' if the teaching representative of the agricultural ministry is Meta'. Otherwise Pidgin English is used. All training conducted in central seminars at a provincial level is in Pidgin English. All literature used is in Educated English.

2.2.3 The Market

The largest market in Mbengwi sub-division is held every eight days in the village of Nyen. Traders come from outside the sub-division, from the neighbouring sub-divisions of Batibo and Njikwa, and from the provincial capital, Bamenda. Palm oil was traditionally a main trading product brought from the Ngie region to be sold to traders from the towns. Palm oil, goats, pigs, some sheep, some staple foods such as yams cassava and beans, and locally woven baskets and bags are the products of the area. The contact with non-Meta' traders means that Pidgin English is the language of choice. A great deal of Meta' is also spoken. The women who have carried their cans and calabashes of palm oil on their backs from 25 km. distant Ngie are more likely to be able to use some Meta' than Pidgin English and the Meta' people among themselves, are more likely to use Meta' than Pidgin English.

Smaller markets are held in the various villages of Mbengwi sub-division. Each market has its special day of the eight day indigenous week. Visitors to the market are usually Meta' speakers, with the exception perhaps, of a teacher and his family who come from another ethnic group. A little Pidgin English will also be used. A market on the borders of the Meta' area may have visitors from a neighbouring ethnic group, such as the market in the village of Bessi Fomukong on the borders of the Bafut area. Pidgin English may well be used as a contact language, but Bafut visitors may also use some Meta' for the basic necessities of trading.

2.2.4 The Church

The Church plays an important role in the life of the community. The *main church* denomination in Mbengwi sub-division is the Presbyterian Church of Cameroon. One large village is Roman Catholic. There are small congregations of four other denominations represented. In all of these churches English is the official language although the extent to which it is actually used, varies. The Scripture readings which are a part of the church service in each denomination are in English. Following the English reading a translator gives a rendering in Meta'. The liturgy of the Presbyterian Church is in English. The liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church has been translated into Meta'. The pastors of the churches are seldom Meta' speakers and the sermon is held in English. In the two main churches of the Presbyterian church in Mbengwi town which has a mixed ethnic population, this may be educated Cameroonian English but Pidgin English is used in most villages. A sentence by sentence translation into Meta' is usual. Where the pastor is a Meta' speaker the sermon may be in Meta'. In the small town of Mbengwi with a mixed ethnic congregation the church notices must be given in English and then translated into Meta'. In the other villages, church notices are given in Meta'. All written church business, minutes of meetings and correspondence, local or regional, must, in the absence of an alternative, be in written Educated English.

Church business meetings are conducted in a mixture of English and Meta', depending on the people present. Discussion may be in Meta' if all present are Meta' speakers. If other ethnic groups are represented, it will be in educated Cameroonian

English or Pidgin English, depending upon the educational standard of those present and the importance of the meeting.

Church Fellowship meetings, such as the Church Women's Fellowship and the Church Men's Fellowship of the Presbyterian Church and their counterparts in the Roman Catholic Church are conducted officially in English. This means that the training of the leaders is in English, often in Pidgin English. All files and notes are in written Educated English. In the meetings themselves there is an attempt to lead the meeting in Pidgin English with the help of explanations in Meta'. All informal discussion is in Meta'. In the two Mbengwi Presbyterian Church congregations where there is some ethnic diversity more English is used.

The churches experience pressure from two directions. Meta' and the other indigenous languages are necessary for good local communication but communication and worship on a regional or national level must overcome ethnic boundaries and language barriers and be in English. In practice, the route judged most expedient in a particular situation is used. The lack of written material in most national languages is in itself a determining factor.

2.2.5 Hospital

There are two hospitals in Mbengwi sub-division. One is a small government hospital in Mbengwi town itself, the other is an institution of the Swiss/German Basel Mission higher in the hills, near the borders of other ethnic areas. A francophone Cameroonian is at present in charge of the government hospital. The Basel Mission hospital is run by a Meta' doctor trained by the mission, aided by two or three frequently changing Swiss, German or Dutch doctors. In the hospitals there is less an official language than a language or languages of expediency. Both hospitals serve an area in which Meta', Moghamo, Ngie, Oshie, Ngwo and Ful are the main languages of the population. All written hospital business is conducted in English, all records, all reports and all prescription cards. The main oral language of both hospitals is Pidgin English. In Mbengwi there is a secondary school and the government offices, so the proportion of Cameroon Educated English speakers among the patients is higher than in the villages surrounding the mission hospital. Consultations take place in Pidgin English. The Meta' doctor of the Basel Mission hospital is the only doctor of the area

who speaks one of the indigenous languages. Consultations are in Pidgin English, often conducted with the help of a translator.

Meta' is the predominant indigenous language in the hospitals, often spoken to some degree by the Ngie and the Oshie. It is often used between patients who are unable to speak Pidgin English. The staff of the hospital usually speaks Pidgin English to the patients. There is usually someone who can translate in case of difficulty.

2.2.6 Government Offices

Both English and French may be spoken in the government offices in Mbengwi although English predominates. Cameroonian Educated English will be spoken by the well educated but Pidgin English is in more general use and any other form of English between Pidgin and Educated Cameroonian English. Meta' officials will speak their own language with members of the population who cannot communicate well in Pidgin.

2.2.7 Radio

There is an English language radio broadcasting station in the provincial capital of Bamenda. The languages of radio are French and English. Some hours a week are devoted to the use of the main national languages including Meta'. This time is largely used for the transmission of personal messages. Radios are usually possessed by men. They are usually the educated and those with an income which enables them to buy the necessary batteries.

2.2.8 Indigenous Religion and Medicine

In both these areas which overlap each other, Meta' is the language used.

2.3 Summary

This description of the languages of Mbengwi Central Sub-Division is very brief but much more would not have served the present purpose.

There are two languages mainly used in the area, Meta' and Cameroon English in its several varieties, including Cameroon Pidgin English. One of these languages is often dominant over the other in a particular domain. In other domains they are in competition.

No comparison of the structures of these languages, phonological, grammatical or semantic has been attempted and yet this provides a fruitful area for future research. Meta' oral literature is being committed to writing although much remains to be done to achieve this end and to make it an on-going process. Indigenous literature, apart from fulfilling valuable functions within its own community may be expected to throw light on the typical structures of Cameroon Pidgin English in all its varieties, phonologically, grammatically and semantically. The influence of the substratum in Pidgin English is often discussed, sometimes viewed historically, sometimes with a view to present performance. A fuller picture of the indigenous African languages and cultures as reflected in their own literature in their own languages would serve to throw more light on the discussion. Non-native Englishes are a type of interface between the native variety and the mother tongues of an area, subject to the universal rules of language acquisition.

Having made these generalisations concerning language functions in different domains in the sub-division and suggestions for further research, it is time to look at the situation from a different viewpoint, from the point of view of the individuals existentially involved.

It is sometimes asserted that Cameroon Pidgin English is an adequate medium for adult education, but at the same time trainers complain of the language difficulties they encounter. There is often a lack of comprehension of the subject matter on the part of the learner. For this reason an enquiry was held among women resident in the area to ascertain the adequacy of Cameroon Pidgin English as a vehicle of adult education.

3. A LANGUAGE ENQUIRY

A sociolinguistic enquiry was held among the participants in the adult education classes currently taking place in Medig zone of Mbengwi Central Sub-Division. A questionnaire was drawn up with the following aims:

1. to ascertain to what extent the rural Meta' woman is able to cope with the linguistic demands of her environment.
2. To ascertain to what degree she is likely to be able to avail herself of the training and further education offered her by some government ministries and by the local church.

The questionnaire is ment to be descriptive.

In judging the degree of versatility in the use of English the often used procedure of asking persons questioned to give answers on a scale such as 1 - 5 or 1 - 7 was not followed. It was felt that more helpful answers would be obtained by allowing a spontaneous expression of personl assessment of ability

It will be sen that entries are somtimes PE / Met or Met / PE or PE + Met or Met + PE. This recording has endeavoured to retain all the details given. It is felt that if a person answers that she is addressed in Meta' or Pidgin English it is quite likely that the frequency of occurrence is expressed in this order, although this is not necessarily so. In order not to lose this recording it remains in the way given in the table although both Met / PE and PE / Met are counting as one in the assessment. PE + Met and Met + PE have the significance that the two languages are both spoken as part of the communication.

The brief summary charts of the various domains do not always give all finer details.

The people questioned were members of the reading classes taking place at present through the cooperation of the Ministry of Social and Women's Affairs, the

Church and the Société Internationale de Linguistique in Yaoundé. (The Church Denominations involved were the two main denominations in Mbengwi Central Sub-Division, the Presbyterian Church of Cameroon and the Roman Catholic Church). There are about one hundred people involved in these reading classes, mainly women. The questionnaire may be regarded as an informal enquiry, but care was taken to produce a true random sample. The questioning was done carefully and in the mother tongue of those concerned. It was possible for the enquirer to follow most of the questioning and the answers given. The random sample is, of course, of the reading groups only, and an enquiry in a control group outside the reading groups is necessary to confirm the findings. It is expected that such a control group would by and large confirm the present findings with a tendency to less versatility in the use of Pidgin English. The women who take part in the reading classes will no doubt be found to be among the most go-ahead in the villages. The villages concerned in this enquiry lie within a distance of seven or eight kilometers from Mbengwi town. A comparable enquiry conducted within the two other zones of Mbengwi Central Sub-Division, Bome and Nja Itu would certainly also show less versatility in the use of Pidgin English. These further enquiries lay outside the scope of the present work.

As a random sample, the first seven women on the register of the seven reading classes were chosen for the enquiry. Due to circumstances beyond the control of the enquirer, in three of the seven villages the full number of seven questionnaires could not be obtained. In the villages of Njindom and Barakwe six questionnaires were completed and in the village of Wumnembug, five.

The sociolinguistic domains of the the rural Meta' woman are the Home and Farm, which are here treated as one unit as the people concerned are identical, Hospital, Government Offices, Church, Church Fellowship Group, the Central Market and the Provincial Town (30 km away). 'Church' stands for formal church services and differs socio-linguistically from the Church Fellowship Group. This last domain is particularly important as much adult education is carried out within it. The Church is an important factor in the life of the women, playing a significant social and educational role.

3.1 The Questionnaire

The questionnaire contains ten questions each with several subsidiary questions.

Questions one and two give basic linguistic information about the person questioned. The questions concerning English are summarised in the 'The participants knowledge of English'.

Questions three to nine are concerned with language behaviour in the main sociolinguistic domains of the women's lives. The questions are so put that the answers reflect the participants' linguistic response to the linguistic demands made upon them, e.g. Q. 5, not "what language do you speak in the market?" but "in what languages do certain people speak to you in the market?" and "in what language do you reply?" It is not at all certain that people will reply in the language in which they are addressed. The answers to the questions were spontaneous and may be taken as reflecting general use and experience rather than special circumstances. In question 5 the participants are asked about their conversation with nursing staff and with the doctor. The conversation with the doctor is expected to demand more language fluency, (with the need to speak about the symptoms of their illness and to understand the questions put by the doctor) than the routine daily exchanges with the nursing staff. In question 6 the participants are asked about a possible language exchange with the District Officer, the direct representative of the President in the division. A conversation with him will demand greater fluency than the routine questions to be answered in applying for a renewal of an identity card. The reason for consulting the District Officer was also asked, in order to give an indication of the necessary vocabulary for functional English lessons.

Question ten is concerned with motivation to learn to read and write, and it is here that important indications of the limitations of the present knowledge of Cameroon Pidgin English or Cameroon Educated English were encountered. In the spoken sphere, which mostly concerned Pidgin English, travelling outside the Meta' area and selling in the market were important motivational factors to learn more. In reading and writing, the reading and writing of a letter were important. A relatively

high number gave reasons of church use and reading the Bible as motivational factors. This accords with Jack Goody (1987) who cites the two main areas of motivation for literacy as the economic and the religious.

Two completed questionnaires are presented here. Two participants are chosen who are neither of the oldest nor the youngest group. Both are about forty years of age.

Example 1

Name:	<i>Questionnaire identity number 33. (Name recorded but withheld)</i>
Year of birth:	<i>1953</i>
Village:	<i>Barakwe</i>

Q.1

What languages do you speak?

Meta'	<i>Yes</i>
Pidgin English	<i>very little</i>
Educated English (Grammar English)	<i>very very little</i>
Name any other languages you speak:	<i>none</i>

Q.2

Where did you learn to speak:

Meta'	<i>In home compound in Meta' area</i>
Pidgin English	<i>In school (2 years)</i>
Educated English	<i>In school</i>
Other languages ?	<i>-----</i>

Q.3

In what language do people speak to you at home?

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| a) | The older generation | <i>Meta'</i> |
| | In what language do you answer them? | <i>Meta'</i> |
| b) | Your own generation | <i>Meta'</i> |
| | In what language do you answer them? | <i>Meta'</i> |
| c) | The children and young people? | <i>Meta'</i> |
| | In what language do you answer them? | <i>Meta'</i> |

Q.4

In what languages do people speak to you in the central market?

- | | | |
|----|--|-----------------------|
| a) | The older generation of Meta' people? | <i>Meta'</i> |
| | In what language do you answer them? | <i>Meta'</i> |
| b) | our own generation (brothers, sisters, friends?) | <i>Meta'</i> |
| | In what language do you answer them? | <i>Meta'</i> |
| c) | Children and young people? | <i>Meta'</i> |
| | In what language do you answer them? | <i>Meta'</i> |
| d) | Non-Meta' strangers and traders? | <i>Pidgin English</i> |
| | In what language do you answer them? | <i>Pidgin English</i> |

Q.5

In what languages do people speak to you in hospital?

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| a) | Meta' patients? | <i>Meta'</i> |
| | In what language do you answer them? | <i>Meta'</i> |
| b) | Non-Meta' patients? | <i>Pidgin English</i> |

- In what language do you answer them? *Pidgin English*
- c) Nursing staff and cashier? *Pidgin English*
- In what language do you answer them? *Pidgin English*
- d) The doctor? *Pidgin English*
- In what language do you answer him? *Pidgin English*
- Do you need translation help? *yes*

Q. 6

In what language do people speak to you in government offices?

- a) Meta' staff? *Pidgin English*
- In what language do you answer ? *Pidgin English*
- b) Non-Meta' staff? *Pidgin English*
- In what language do you answer? *Pidgin English*
- c) District Officer or Assistant District Officer? *She has never consulted him.*
- In what language do you answer? *-----*
- For what reason do you consult him? *-----*

Q. 7

In what languages do people address you in Bamenda (main provincial town)

- a) Older Meta' people? *Meta'*
- In what language do you answer? *Meta'*
- b) Younger Meta' people? *Meta'*
- In what language do you answer them? *Meta'*
- c) Traders? *Pidgin English*

In what language do you answer?

Pidgin English

Q. 8

In what language do people speak to you in your church fellowship group?

a) The leaders?

In the meeting?

*Pidgin English and
Meta'*

In what language do you answer them.?

*Pidgin English if she
has understood the
question and is able
to answer in P.E.,
otherwise Meta'.*

After the meeting?

Meta'

In what language do you answer?

Meta'

b) The other group members?

During the meeting?

Meta'

In what language do you answer them?

Meta'

After the meeting?

Meta'

In what language do you answer them?

Meta'

Q. 9

In what language do people address you in church?

a) The pastor or church leader?

In the service?

English

After the service

Meta'

In what language do you answer?

Meta'

b) Other churchgoers?

Meta' people?

Meta'

In what language do you answer them?

Meta'

Non-Meta' people?

Pidgin English

In what language do you answer them?

Pidgin English

Q. 10

a) Do you want to learn more Pidgin English? Yes

For what purposes?

for the Church Women's Fellowship meeting, for her own development, to sell her wares better in the market.

b) Do you want to learn to speak, read and write Educated English? Yes.

For what purposes?

To be able to read as others are able to.

c) Why do you want to learn to read and write Meta'?

It is her own tongue. They have always spoken Meta' but have never known how to read and write it. It will help her in the end to learn English as she is already able to write and is able to recognise things written in Meta'

Example 2

Name:

*Questionnaire identity number 37
(name recorded but withheld)*

Year of birth:

Estimated as around 1956

Village: *Barakwe*

Q.1

What languages do you speak?

Meta'	<i>Yes</i>
Pidgin English	<i>No</i>
Educated English (Grammar English)	<i>No</i>
Name any other languages you speak:	<i>None</i>

Q.2

Where did you learn to speak:

Meta'	<i>Home compound in Meta' area</i>
Pidgin English	-----
Educated English	-----
Other languages ?	-----

Q.3

In what language do people speak to you at home?

a) The older generation	<i>Meta'</i>
In what language do you answer them?	<i>Meta'</i>
b) Your own generation	<i>Meta'</i>
In what language do you answer them?	<i>Meta'</i>
c) The children and young people?	<i>Meta'. Sometimes Pidgin English</i>
In what language do you answer them?	<i>Meta'. Does not understand the Pidgin English</i>

Q.4

In what languages do people speak to you in the central market?

- | | | |
|----|---|-----------------------|
| a) | The older generation of Meta' people? | <i>Meta'</i> |
| | In what language do you answer them? | <i>Meta'</i> |
| b) | Your own generation (brothers, sisters, friends?) | <i>Meta'</i> |
| | In what language do you answer them? | <i>Meta'</i> |
| c) | Children and young people? | <i>Meta'</i> |
| | In what language do you answer them? | <i>Meta'</i> |
| d) | Non-Meta' strangers and traders? | <i>Pidgin English</i> |
| | In what language do you answer them? Needs a helper to translate. | |

Q.5

In what languages do people speak to you in hospital?

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a) | Meta' patients? | <i>Meta'</i> |
| | In what language do you answer them? | <i>Meta'</i> |
| b) | Non-Meta' patients? | <i>Pidgin English</i> |
| | In what language do you answer them? | <i>Needs someone to translate</i> |
| c) | Nursing staff and cashier? | <i>Pidgin English</i> |
| | In what language do you answer them? | <i>Needs a translator</i> |
| d) | The doctor? | <i>Pidgin English</i> |
| | In what language do you answer him? | <i>She cannot answer.</i> |
| | Do you need translation help? | <i>Yes</i> |

Q. 6

In what language do people speak to you in government offices?

- | | | |
|----|---|------------------------------------|
| a) | Meta' staff? | <i>Pidgin English</i> |
| | In what language do you answer ? | <i>Meta'</i> |
| b) | Non-Meta' staff? | <i>Pidgin English</i> |
| | In what language do you answer? | <i>Needs a helper to translate</i> |
| c) | District Officer or Assistant District Officer? | <i>Has never consulted him.</i> |
| | In what language do you answer? | ----- |
| | For what reason do you consult him? | ----- |

Q. 7

In what languages do people address you in Bamenda (main provincial town)

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| a) | Older Meta' people? | <i>Does not go to Bamenda</i> |
| | In what language do you answer? | ----- |
| b) | Younger Meta' people? | ----- |
| | In what language do you answer them? | ----- |
| c) | Traders? | ----- |
| | In what language do you answer? | ----- |

Q. 8

In what language do people speak to you in your church fellowship group?

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|---------------------------|
| a) | The leaders? | |
| | In the meeting? | <i>Pidgin English and</i> |

	<i>Meta'</i>
In what language do you answer them?	<i>Meta'</i>
After the meeting?	<i>Meta'</i>
In what language do you answer?	<i>Meta'</i>
b) The other group members?	<i>Meta'</i>
During the meeting?	<i>Meta'</i>
In what language do you answer them?	<i>Meta'</i>
After the meeting?	<i>Meta'</i>
In what language do you answer them?	<i>Meta'</i>
Q. 9	
In what language do people address you in church?	
a) The pastor or church leader?	
In the service?	<i>Pidgin English and Meta'</i>
After the service?	<i>Meta'</i>
In what language do you answer them?	<i>Meta'</i>
b) Other churchgoers?	
Meta' people?	<i>Meta'</i>
In what language do you answer them?	<i>Meta'</i>
Non-Meta' people?	<i>Pidgin English</i>
In what language do you answer them?	<i>Unable to answer</i>

Q. 10

- a) Do you want to learn more Pidgin English?

Yes

For what purposes?

She feels it badly, not being able to understand when people speak Pidgin English. She is not able to communicate with someone who does not speak Meta' and when she has a helper that person does not say all she wants them to. She also wants to be able to sell her goods in the market.

- b) Do you want to learn to speak, read and write Educated English?

Yes

For what purposes?

So that she can read and write a letter or read in the church.

- c) Why do you want to learn to read and write Meta'?

It will help her as a person. It will build up her own knowledge. It will help her towards understanding English.

3.2 Results of the Questionnaire

3.2.1 Home Domain

The main variable in this domain is the generation of those addressing the participant. Eleven of those questioned belong to the older generation themselves, so the question as to mode of address by their own generation is entered in 'older generation'.

Older generation:

Two women said they might be addressed in Pidgin or in Meta' by the older generation. Otherwise all reported that the older generation always addressed them in Meta' and that they answered them accordingly.

Their own generation:

One reported that she would be addressed in Pidgin.

Eleven would be addressed in Pidgin or Meta'.

33 said they would be addressed in Meta'

All expected to be able to answer as they were addressed.

The younger generation:

18 of those questioned said they might be addressed in Pidgin or Meta'.

16 of these said they replied in the language in they were addressed.

The remaining two said they always replied in Meta'.

27 said they were addressed in Meta' and that they replied accordingly.

The older generation uses Meta' almost exclusively, their own generation has more of a tendency towards Pidgin English. All were able to answer as addressed. The younger generation uses more Pidgin English and two women are unable to reply in the same language.

There were no difficulties of communication.

Home Domain Summary

Variable	Met	Answ	PE	Answ	PE/Met	Answ	Comments
Older gen	32	Met			2	PE/Met	11 answ irrel.
Own gen	33	Met	1	PE	11	PE/Met	
Younger gen	27	Met			18	2 Met 16 PE/Met	

(For the full chart please see next page.)

HOME DOMAIN

ID	VILLAGE	OLDER GEN	OLDER GEN ANSW	OWN GEN	OWN GEN ANSW	YOUNGER GEN	YOUNGER GEN ANSW
1	Nyen	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met / PE
2	Nyen	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
3	Nyen	Met	Met	PE	PE	Met	Met
4	Nyen	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
5	Nyen	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
6	Nyen	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met / PE
7	Nyen	Met	Met	Met s.t. PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE
8	Mbemi	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE
9	Mbemi	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met s.t. PE	Met
10	Mbemi	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
11	Mbemi	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE
12	Mbemi	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE
13	Mbemi	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met / PE
14	Mbemi	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
15	Wumnb.	...	...	Met	Met	Met	Met
16	Wumnb.	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE
17	Wumnb.	...	...	Met	Met	Met	Met
18	Wumnb.	...	...	Met	Met	Met	Met
19	Wumnb.	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
20	Njindom	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE
21	Njindom	...	...	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met / PE
22	Njindom	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met	Met
23	Njindom	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE
24	Njindom	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
25	Njindom	...	...	Met	Met	Met	Met
26	Njinibi	...	...	Met	Met	Met	Met
27	Njinibi	...	...	Met	Met	Met	Met
28	Njinibi	...	...	Met	Met	Met	Met
29	Njinibi	...	...	Met	Met	Met	Met
30	Njinibi	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE
31	Njinibi	Met	Met	Met s.t. PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE
32	Njinibi	...	...	Met	Met	Met	Met
33	Barakwe	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
34	Barakwe	...	...	Met	Met	Met	Met
35	Barakwe	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met / PE
36	Barakwe	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met
37	Barakwe	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met s.t. PE	Met
38	Barakwe	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE
39	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
40	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
41	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
42	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
43	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
44	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
45	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met

3.2.2 Market Domain

The central Meta' market which takes place weekly, serves a wide region in Momo Division and many traders come from the main provincial town, Bamenda, to

sell and to buy. Many ethnic groups are represented in the crowds. Pidgin English is widely used as a means of communication between the ethnic groups. Seen from the standpoint of the Meta' woman, the parameters Meta', non - Meta' and older and younger generation are relevant in language use in the market. There is high prestige locally in the use of Pidgin and particularly young people like to show that they are able to use it. In the market situation there is a tendency to speak Pidgin even among friends with whom one would otherwise speak Meta'.

The older generation:

With four exceptions, all said the older generation addressed them in Meta' in the market. The four said they could be addressed either in Pidgin or Meta'. All answer in the language in which they are addressed.

Their own generation:

Ten women reported that they might be addressed either in Meta' or in Pidgin. The remainder said they would be addressed in Meta'. All answered in the language in which they were addressed.

The younger generation:

3 said the younger generation would address them in Pidgin and they would answer in the same language.

29 said they would be addressed in Meta' and would answer in the same language.

13 said they might be addressed either in Meta' or Pidgin English. Of these 11 said they would answer as they were addressed. Two answer in Meta'.

Non - Meta' traders and visitors:

43 expected to be addressed in Pidgin.

One person who comes from a mixed Meta'/Oshie family said she would expect to be addressed either in Pidgin or Oshie.

One person expected to be addressed either in Pidgin or Meta'.

Another woman said she would expect to be addressed in Pidgin if the person speaking to her were able to speak it, which is an indication of the situation in which monolingual speakers from different ethnic groups meet each other and have no common language at all.

26 persons gave Pidgin as the language in which they answer. Ten said they would answer in Pidgin if they were able. Two reported that they would answer either in Pidgin or Meta'. Six women said they needed a translator, spoke in Meta' or relied on gesticulations, sometimes in combination with Pidgin, in order to make themselves understood.

Some difficulties of communication arise in the market when speaking with traders and strangers although the necessary speech acts in this context are limited. Only 26 felt confident enough to say they were able to answer in Pidgin.

The domain summary charts following the verbal report on the domain are sometimes simplified in the interest of clarity.

Market Domain Summary

Variable	Met	Answ	PE	Answ	Met/ PE	Answ	Comments
Old gen	41	Met			4	Met/PE	all part included
Own gen	35	Met			10	Met/PE	
Young gen	29	Met	3	PE	13	11 Met/PE 2 Met	
Non -Met			43	26 PE 9 PE if able 2 Met/PE 6 trslt	1	Met/PE	1 addr, ans PE/Osh

(For the full chart please see next page.)

MARKET DOMAIN

ID	Village	Older Gen	Answ Old Gen	Own Gen	Answ Own Gen	Young Gen	Answ Young Gen	Non Met	Answ Non Met
1	Nyen	Met	Met	Meta	Met	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE	PE
2	Nyen	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE	PE
3	Nyen	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE	PE
4	Nyen	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE / Oshie	PE / Oshie
5	Nyen	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE	PE	PE
6	Nyen	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE	PE	PE/Met
7	Nyen	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
8	Mbemi	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE / Met	PE/Met	PE/Met	PE	PE
9	Mbemi	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
10	Mbemi	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	Met/trsl
11	Mbemi	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE	PE if able / gest
12	Mbemi	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE	PE
13	Mbemi	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
14	Mbemi	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
15	Wumnb.	---	---	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	gest / trsl
16	Wumnb.	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met / PE	Meta/PE	Met / PE	PE	PE if able
17	Wumnb.	---	---	Met / PE	Met / PE if able	Met	Met	PE	PE if able / trsl
18	Wumnb.	---	---	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE / gest
19	Wumnb.	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE if able / gest.
20	Njindom	Met	Met	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE	PE
21	Njindom	---	---	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
22	Njindom	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met	Met	PE	PE
23	Njindom	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
24	Njindom	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
25	Njindom	---	---	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE if able	PE / Met
26	Njinibi	---	---	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met	PE	PE if able / gest.
27	Njinibi	---	---	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE	PE
28	Njinibi	---	---	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	Met / trsl
29	Njinibi	---	---	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
30	Njinibi	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE	PE	PE	PE
31	Njinibi	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE	PE
32	Njinibi	---	---	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met	PE / Met	Met / trsl
33	Barakwe	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
34	Barakwe	---	---	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	Met
35	Barakwe	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
36	Barakwe	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	Met / PE if able
37	Barakwe	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	Met trsl
38	Barakwe	Met	Met	PE	PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE	PE
39	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
40	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
41	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE if able/Met
42	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE if able/Met
43	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE if able/Met
44	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
45	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE

3.2.3 Government Office Domain

In questioning the women about their language experience in government offices, three situations were differentiated:

1. An encounter with Meta' personnel when visiting the offices.
2. An encounter with non- Meta' personnel.
3. A conversation with the highest official present, the District Officer.

These three situations are in ascending order of speech difficulty. With the non-Meta' personnel the visitor is forced to speak Pidgin, rely on his or her wits or find some sort of help. If it is necessary to renew an identity card, this can be effected with a minimum of language use. It is necessary to greet the civil servant, to show the present identity card, to understand when told to wait or to go to another room. If an identity card has been lost, more details must be given. If permission is being sought to sell in the market, enough must be understood to enable the employee to fill in the necessary form. The occasions when it is necessary to speak to the District Officer make it necessary to have some degree of fluency in Pidgin. There will be some difficulty to discuss, such as destruction of the farm by roving animals or a land dispute. The district officer, usually francophone and belonging to a distant language group, will speak in Pidgin English unless his conversation partner is able to use Educated English.

Meta' personnel:

Eight of those questioned said they were spoken to in Meta' and gave their answers in Meta'.

Eighteen said they were spoken to in Pidgin of whom twelve said they answered in Pidgin. Two said they answered in Pidgin or Meta' as able. Four report that they answer in Meta'.

Nineteen said they were spoken to either in Pidgin or Meta'. Of these nineteen, sixteen reported that they would answer either in Pidgin or Meta', three said they would answer only in Meta'. (Seven of the eight who said they were addressed in Meta' were from one village. This might possibly indicate that an employee was from their village so that they were personally known)

Non- Meta' Personnel:

All except two women said they are spoken to in Pidgin. 33 said they reply in Pidgin. Two women say they reply in Pidgin if they are able, otherwise use Meta'.

Eight persons indicate that they answer in Meta', use gesticulations or need a translator. Often someone from the family who can speak Pidgin accompanies such a person.

One person asked has a command of two neighbouring languages, Bali and Bafut. If there are officials from these areas who know her, they speak to her in these languages. She answers in the same language.

One person said she had always been dealt with by a Meta' official.

Thirty four persons were able to interact independently and adequately in this situation. The remainder were in some manner dependent upon others.

District Officer:

Ten women said they had had occasion to consult the district officer who spoke in Pidgin. Eight replied in Pidgin and two required a translator.

Government Office Domain Summary

Variable	Met	Answ	PE	Answ	Met/ PE	Answ	Comments
Met pers	8	Met	18	12 PE 4 Met 2 Met/PE	19	16 Met/P E 3 Met	
Non-Met pers	1	Met	43	33 PE 2 PE if able 8 Met / trsl / gest			1 participant multilingual
District Officer			10 PE	8 PE 2 trsl			other participants never consult DO

(For the full chart please see next page.)

GOVERNMENT OFFICES DOMAIN

ID	VILLAGE	META' PERSONNEL	ANSW META' PERSONNEL	NON META' PERSONNEL	ANSW NON META' PERSONNEL	DISTR OFFICER	ANSW DISTR OFFICER
1	Nyen	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE	PE	PE	PE
2	Nyen	PE	PE	PE	PE	PE	PE
3	Nyen	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE	PE	---	---
4	Nyen	PE	PE	PE	PE	---	---
5	Nyen	PE	PE	PE	PE	PE	PE
6	Nyen	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE	PE	---	---
7	Nyen	PE	PE	PE	PE	---	---
8	Mbemi	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE	PE	---	---
9	Mbemi	PE	PE	PE	PE	---	---
10	Mbemi	PE	PE if able / Met	PE	PE / trsl	---	---
11	Mbemi	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE	PE	---	---
12	Mbemi	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE	PE	---	---
13	Mbemi	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE / Bali / Bafut	PE / Bali / Bafut	PE	PE
14	Mbemi	PE	PE	PE	PE	---	---
15	Wumnb.	PE	Met	PE	gest / Met	---	---
16	Wumnb.	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE	PE	---	---
17	Wumnb.	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE	PE	---	---
18	Wumnb.	PE / Met	Met	PE	Met trsl	---	---
19	Wumnb.	PE / Met	Met / PE	PE	PE	---	---
20	Njindom	PE	PE	PE	PE	---	---
21	Njindom	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE	PE	PE	PE
22	Njindom	PE	PE	PE	PE	---	---
23	Njindom	PE	PE	PE	PE	---	---
24	Njindom	PE	PE	PE	PE	---	---
25	Njindom	PE	PE	PE	PE	---	---
26	Njinibi	PE	Met	PE	Met	---	---
27	Njinibi	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE	PE	PE	PE
28	Njinibi	PE	Met	PE	Met / gest	---	---
29	Njinibi	PE / Met	Met	PE	PE	---	---
30	Njinibi	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE	PE	---	---
31	Njinibi	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE	PE	---	---
32	Njinibi	PE	PE if able / Met	PE	PE if able / Met	---	---
33	Barakwe	PE	PE	PE	PE	---	---
34	Barakwe	Met	Met	PE	trsl	PE	trsl
35	Barakwe	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE	PE	---	---
36	Barakwe	PE / Met	Met	PE	trsl	PE	trsl
37	Barakwe	PE	Met	PE	trsl	---	---
38	Barakwe	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE	PE	PE	PE
39	Njikob	Met	Met	PE	PE	---	---
40	Njikob	Met	Met	PE	PE	PE	PE
41	Njikob	Met	Met	PE	PE	---	---
42	Njikob	Met	Met	PE	PE	---	---
43	Njikob	Met	Met	PE	PE	---	---
44	Njikob	Met	Met	---	---	---	---
45	Njikob	Met	Met	PE	PE if able / Met	---	---

3.2.4 Hospital Domain

The relevant parameters for our present purpose are the language exchange with Meta' patients, with non - Meta' patients, with the nursing staff and with the doctor. These situations offer an ascending order of difficulty in communication. Conversation with non-Meta' patients is usually in Pidgin English and demands a reasonably high standard of fluency if taken beyond polite greetings. This is however optional. Communication with the nursing staff is more formal, almost always in Pidgin English. The situations in which it occurs however are more stereotyped and it is easier to learn the necessary illocutionary acts. To communicate with the doctor, to recount one's symptoms and understand what he says demand a higher level of expertise and it is often here that the limitations of fluency in Pidgin English become evident.

One person questioned said she had never been to hospital. She always took native treatment.

Meta' Patients:

37 of those questioned said they were addressed in Meta' by other Meta' patients. All of them answered in Meta'.

Six said they might be addressed in Meta' or Pidgin and of these, five said they would answer in either language, as addressed. One woman said she would answer in Pidgin if she were able, otherwise in Meta'.

1 person expects to be addressed in Pidgin and answers in Meta'.

Non - Meta' Patients:

41 of the women questioned said they were addressed in Pidgin by the non - Meta' patients. (18 of these added, if the person is able to speak Pidgin).

17 of these reported that they answer in Pidgin. Four said that they would answer in Pidgin if able. Two said they would answer in Pidgin or Meta'.

Two answer in Meta'. The remaining 17 try Pidgin English aided by Meta' or a translator.

3 gave deviant answers which are of no importance here.

Nursing staff:

39 women said they were addressed in Pidgin and 21 of these said they answered in Pidgin. Another 12 said they replied in either Pidgin or Meta'. Two replied in Meta' or found a translator. Three said they needed a translator. One said she replied in Meta' or in Pidgin English if able.

Five women said they were addressed either in Pidgin or Meta'. Two of these were able to answer in Pidgin or Meta'. Three answered in Meta' or found a translator.

Communication difficulties with the nursing staff may often be overcome by using Meta'. Even if the nurse is not Meta', living in a Meta' speaking area often brings a certain comprehension and speaking skills in the language with it. 21 women might be considered to be linguistically independent and adequate.

The Doctor:

All reported that the doctor addressed them in Pidgin English. One adds the possibility of Educated English. 15 are able to reply in Pidgin English. All others, whether they try to speak in Pidgin English or in Meta', need a translator.

Fifteen of the forty five women felt able to conduct the necessary conversation with the doctor.

Hospital Domain Summary

Variable	Met	Answ	PE	Answ	Met/PE	Answ	Comments
Met patients	37	MET	1	Met	6	5 Met/PE 1 PE if able/Met	1 never in hospital
Non-Met patients			41 (18 if able)	17 PE 4 PE if able 2 Met/PE 2 Met 17 trsl			3 deviant 1 never in hospital
Nurses			39	21 PE 13 Met/PE 2 Met/trsl 3 trsl	5	2 Met/PE 3 Met/trsl	1 never in hospital
Doctors			44	15 PE 29 trsl			1 never in hospital

(For the full chart please see next page.)

HOSPITAL DOMAIN

ID	VILLAGE	MET PAT	ANSW MET PAT	NON MET PAT	ANSW NON MET PAT	NURS	ANSW NURS	DOCTOR	ANSW DOCTOR
1	Nyen	Met	Met	PE	PE	PE	PE	PE	trsl
2	Nyen	Met	Met	PE	PE	PE	PE	PE	trsl
3	Nyen	Met	Met	PE	PE	PE	PE	PE	trsl
4	Nyen	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE / Oshie	PE / Oshie	PE	PE	PE	trsl
5	Nyen	Met	Met	PE	PE	PE	PE	PE	PE
6	Nyen	Met	Met	PE / own lang	PE / Met	PE	PE	PE	trsl nec.
7	Nyen	Met	Met	PE	PE	PE	PE	PE	PE
8	Mbemi	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE if able	PE / trsl nec	PE	PE	PE	PE
9	Mbemi	Met	Met	PE if able	PE / trsl nec	PE	PE	PE	trsl
10	Mbemi	Met	Met	PE if able	PE if able / trans	PE / Met	Met / trsl	PE	trsl
11	Mbemi	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE if able	PE / trsl	PE	PE	PE	PE
12	Mbemi	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE if able	PE / trsl	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE	PE
13	Mbemi	Met	Met	PE / Bali / Bafut	PE / Bali / Bafut	PE	PE	PE	PE
14	Mbemi	Met	Met	PE if able	PE	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE / Engl	PE
15	Wumnb.	Met	Met	PE	PE if able / gest.	PE / Met if able	Met / trsl	PE	trsl
16	Wumnb.	Met	Met	PE if able	PE / gest	PE	PE	PE	PE
17	Wumnb.	Met / PE	Met/PE if able	PE	PE if able	PE	PE if able / Met	PE	PE trsl
18	Wumnb.	Met	Met	PE	Met	PE	trsl nec.	PE	trsl
19	Wumnb.	Met	Meta	PE if able	PE / trsl	PE	PE / Met	PE	PE trsl
20	Njindom	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE	PE	PE	PE	PE	PE
21	Njindom	Met	Met	PE if able	PE / trsl	PE	PE	PE	PE trsl
22	Njindom	Met	Met	PE if able	PE / trsl	PE	PE	PE	PE
23	Njindom	Met	Met	PE if able	PE / trsl	PE	PE	PE	PE
24	Njindom	Met	Met	PE if able	PE / trsl	PE	PE	PE	PE trsl
25	Njindom	Met	Met	PE if able	PE / trsl	PE	PE / Met	PE	PE trsl
26	Njinibi	Met	Met	PE	gest / trsl	PE	PE / Met	PE	Met trsl
27	Njinibi	Met	Met	PE if able	PE / trsl	PE	PE / Met	PE	PE / trsl
28	Njinibi	Met	Met	PE	Met / gest	PE	Met / trsl	PE	Met trsl
29	Njinibi	Met	Met	PE if able	PE / trsl	PE	PE / Met	PE	PE trsl
30	Njinibi	Met	Met	PE if able	PE	PE	PE / Met	PE	PE trsl
31	Njinibi	Met	Met	PE	PE	PE	PE / Met	PE	PE trsl
32	Njinibi	PE	Met	PE	PE / Met / trsl	PE	Met / trsl	PE	PE trsl
33	Barakwe	Met	Met	PE	PE	PE	PE	PE	PE trsl
34	Barakwe					Met			
35	Barakwe	Met	Meta	PE if able	PE / Met	PE	PE	PE	PE
36	Barakwe	Met	Met	PE if able	trsl	PE	trsl	PE	trsl
37	Barakwe	Met	Met	PE	trsl	PE	trsl	PE	trsl
38	Barakwe	Met	Met	PE	PE	PE	PE	PE	PE
39	Njikob	Met	Met	PE	PE	PE	Met / PE	PE	PE trsl
40	Njikob	Met	Met	PE	PE	PE	Met / PE	PE	PE
41	Njikob	Met	Met	PE	PE if able	PE	Met / PE if able	PE	trsl
42	Njikob	Met	Met	PE	PE	PE	Met / PE	PE	PE trsl
43	Njikob	Met	Met	PE	PE	PE	Met / PE	PE	PE trsl
44	Njikob	Met	Met	PE	PE	PE	Met / PE	PE	PE
45	Njikob	Met	Met	PE	PE / Met	PE / Met if able	Met / trsl	PE	trsl

3.2.5 Church Domain

The most formal part of church life is the church service itself. The liturgy and Scripture readings are in Educated English. The sermon may be in Educated English, Pidgin English or Meta', depending on the congregational members and the pastor. Notices are usually given in Educated English or Pidgin English and are then usually translated into Meta'. In some congregations where Pastor and congregational members are all Meta', the Meta' language may be used. There are different patterns of language use during and following the service, between the pastor and the church members and between the church members themselves. There are occasional non-Meta' visitors. In one or two villages there may be a very small non-Meta' community. In Mbengwi town there are more non-Meta' church members. Patterns of language use were given as follows:

Pastor during service:

Communication with the pastor during the service is mostly (but not exclusively) one - way. There is therefore no record of answers. It is worth recording the pattern of language use which allows one to draw some conclusions as to the degree of comprehension possible.

16 women said the pastor addressed them in Pidgin during the service.

Seven said they were addressed in Educated English.

Two named just English, not distinguishing one type from another.

Eight said they were addressed in Educated English and Pidgin English.

One reported being addressed in Educated English, Pidgin English and Meta'.

Nine said they were addressed in Pidgin and Meta'.

Two said they were addressed in Meta'.

These answers are not recorded on the summary chart.

Pastor after the church service:

29 reported that the pastor spoke to them after the church service in Pidgin.

22 said that they answered in Pidgin, three said in Pidgin if they were able.

One said she answered in Pidgin or Meta', two answered in Meta' and one said she needed a translator.

Twelve of those questioned said they were addressed in Meta' and answered in the same language.

Four people said the pastor would speak to them in Pidgin or Meta'. Three said they would answer in either language as spoken to. One said she would answer in Meta'.

Other Churchgoers:

All except three said they would be addressed in Meta' by other churchgoers and would reply in the same language. The remaining three might be addressed in Pidgin or Meta' and would reply in the way they were addressed.

Non - Meta' Churchgoers:

All said non - Meta' churchgoers would address them in Pidgin. Six women said they replied in Meta' or found a translator, one would reply in Pidgin or Meta' as able and one would reply in Meta'. Three said they needed a translator, one of these saying she would use gesticulations.

The church domain offers the greatest linguistic diversity and presents the greatest difficulties of comprehension, although during the service little individual interaction is required. After the service the main language used is Meta' although Pidgin English is necessary for exchange with a non-Meta' pastor.

Church Domain Summary

Variable	Met	Answ	PE	Answ	Met/PE	Answ
Pastor after service	12	12 Met	29	22 PE 3 PE if able 1 Met/PE 2 Met 1 trsl	4	3 Met/PE 1 Met
Other Met Churchgoers	42	42 Met			3	3 Met/PE
Non-Met			45	32 PE 6 Met/trsl 1 Met/PE 1 PE if able 2 Met 3 trsl		

CHURCH DOMAIN

ID	VILLAGE	PASTOR IN SERVICE	PASTOR AFTER SERVICE	ANSW. PASTOR	OTHER CHURCH-GOERS	ANSW. OTHERS	NON META'	ANSW. NON META'
1	Nyen	Engl	PE	PE	Met	Met	PE	PE
2	Nyen	Engl	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
3	Nyen	Engl + PE	PE	PE	Met	Met	PE	PE
4	Nyen	Engl + PE	PE	PE	Met	Met	PE	PE
5	Nyen	Engl + PE	PE	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
6	Nyen	Engl	PE	PE	Met	Met	PE	PE
7	Nyen	Engl + PE	PE	PE	Met	Met	PE	PE
8	Mbemi	Met + PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met	Met	PE	PE
9	Mbemi	PE	PE / Met	PE / Met	Met	Met	PE	PE if able
10	Mbemi	PE + Met	PE / Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	trslt
11	Mbemi	PE	PE	PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE	PE
12	Mbemi	PE + Met	PE	PE / Met	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE	PE
13	Mbemi	Engl	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
14	Mbemi	Eng + PE	PE	PE	Met	Met	PE	PE
15	Wumnab.	Engl	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	gest / trslt
16	Wumnab.	PE	PE	PE	Met	Met	PE	PE
17	Wumnab.	PE + Met	PE / Met	PE / Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
18	Wumnab.	PE + Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	trslt
19	Wumnab.	PE + Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	Met
20	Njindom	PE	PE	PE	Met	Met	PE	Met + PE
21	Njindom	PE	PE	PE	Met	Met	PE	PE
22	Njindom	PE	PE	PE	Met	Met	PE	PE
23	Njindom	PE	PE	PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE	PE
24	Njindom	Eng + PE	PE	PE	Met	Met	PE	PE
25	Njindom	Eng + PE	PE	PE	Met	Met	PE	PE
26	Njinibi	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	Met / trslt
27	Njinibi	PE	PE	PE	Met	Met	PE	PE
28	Njinibi	PE	PE	Met	Met	Met	PE	Met
29	Njinibi	Engl	PE	PE	Met	Met	PE	PE
30	Njinibi	Engl	PE	PE	Met	Met	PE	PE
31	Njinibi	Engl	PE	PE	Met	Met	PE	PE
32	Njinibi	Eng / PE	PE	trslt	Met	Met	PE	Met trslt
33	Barakwe	Engl	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
34	Barakwe	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
35	Barakwe	Engl+PE+Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
36	Barakwe	PE +Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	Met trslt
37	Barakwe	PE + Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	Met trslt
38	Barakwe	PE +Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
39	Njikob	PE	PE	PE	Met	Met	PE	PE
40	Njikob	PE	PE	PE	Met	Met	PE	PE
41	Njikob	PE	PE	PE	Met	Met	PE	PE
42	Njikob	PE	PE	PE if able	Met	Met	PE	PE
43	Njikob	PE	PE	PE if able	Met	Met		Met trslt
44	Njikob	PE	PE	PE	Met	Met	PE	PE
45	Njikob	PE	PE	PE if able	Met	Met	PE	Met trslt

3.2.6 Church Fellowship Domain

Within the Church Fellowship groups, both of the Presbyterian and Roman Catholic churches there is a difference in the choice of language in the formal and non-formal parts of the programme. The formal part of the programme is a church service and a lesson on a theme chosen for six months at a time. It is usually on such subjects as health and nutrition, on self awareness as women, how to choose one's leaders, or childcare. Most of the vocabulary involves their day to day world, but food values for example, such as vitamins and proteins, or bacteria or viruses causing disease create a need for the use of the English terms, even when they are in some manner explained in Pidgin or Meta'.

Leaders during the meeting

Four persons report that the leader speaks to them in Pidgin. Three of these answer in Pidgin. The fourth says she answers in Meta' if she has understood.

24 of those questioned said they were addressed in Meta' and Pidgin.

Three said they were addressed in Meta', Pidgin and Educated English.

Of these 27 persons 18 are able to reply in Pidgin or Meta', 9 in Meta'.

Eight persons are addressed in Meta' and reply in the same.

Three reported being spoken to in English and Meta', not differentiating between types of English. 2 answered in Meta' and 1 in Meta' or Pidgin.

One person is a leader herself and one belonged to no church group (although to the church).

Of the 45 persons questioned, only four mentioned the use of Educated English (grammar English) in the formal meeting by the group leaders. This is somewhat surprising as the file of lessons used by the leaders is in Educated English. It has been the experience of the enquirer that the leader will partly read directly from the lesson file. She has, however, attended only meetings in Mbengwi and Nyen. Those who reported the use of Educated English have all been to school.

Leaders after the meeting

In the more informal atmosphere after the meeting 37 of these leaders are reported as speaking Meta' to those here questioned. Four women say they will be spoken to in Pidgin or Meta'. Three are able to reply as spoken to. One replies in Meta'.

One of those questioned has a mother from Oshie and grew up in the Oshie borderland. One of the group leaders who is from Oshie herself may address her in Oshie.

The group members during the meeting

There is some difference in the choice of language between the group members themselves during and after the meeting.

37 women said they would be addressed in Meta' and would answer in the same. Six said they may be spoken to in Meta' or Pidgin during the meeting and would then reply as spoken to.

Group members after the meeting

After the meeting only four felt they might be addressed either in Meta' or Pidgin and would then answer in the same language. Otherwise the language of address and reply is Meta'.

The Church's language of choice is Educated English but it is spoken only by a small educated minority. Pidgin English is more comprehensible even for those who have received primary school education. In the rural areas Pidgin itself is incomprehensible for many, depending upon the level of communication required.

Church Fellowship Domain Summary

Variable	Met	Answ	PE	Answ	Met/PE	Answ	Met/PE /Eng	Answ
Leader in meeting	8	8 Met	4	3 PE 1 Met	24	15 Met/PE 9 Met	3	3 Met/P E
Leader after meeting	37	37 Met			4	3 Met/PE 1 Met		
Other group members in meeting	37	37 Met			6	6 Met/PE		
Members after the meeting	39	39 Met			4	4Met/P E		

(One participant belongs to no group. The record of one participant is not available. One participant is herself a group leader. There is one deviant entry in rows one and two)

CHURCH FELLOWSHIP DOMAIN

ID	VILLAGE	LD IN MTNG	ANSW LD IN MTNG	LD AFTER MTNG	ANSW LD AFTER MTNG	OTHER MEMB IN MTNG	ANSW MEMB IN MTNG	MEMB AFTER MTNG	ANSW MEMB AFTER MTNG
1	Nyen	Met + PE	Met + PE	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
2	Nyen	Met + PE	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
3	Nyen	Met + PE	Met + PE	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
4	Nyen	Met + PE + Engl	Met / PE	Met / Oshie	Met / Oshie	Met	Met	Met	Met
5	Nyen	Met + PE + Engl	Met / PE	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
6	Nyen	Met + PE	Met / PE	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
7	Nyen	Met + PE	Met / PE	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
8	Mbemi	PE + Met	PE	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
9	Mbemi	PE + Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
10	Mbemi	PE + Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
11	Mbemi	PE + Met	PE / Met	Met	Met	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE / Met
12	Mbemi	PE + Met	PE / Met	PE / Met	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE
13	Mbemi	Engl + Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
14	Mbemi	Engl + PE + Met	PE / Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
15	Wumn.	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
16	Wumn.	PE + Met	PE / Met	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met	Met
17	Wumn.	PE + Met	PE + Met	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met	Met
18	Wumn.	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
19	Wumn.	Met / PE	Met / PE if able	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
20	Njindom	PE + Met	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE / Met
21	Njindom	PE	PE	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
22	Njindom	PE + Met	PE / Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
23	Njindom	PE	PE	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE / Met	PE / Met
24	Njindom	PE / Met	PE / Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
25	Njindom	PE	PE	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
26	Njinibi	PE	Met if she underst	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
27	Njinibi	is a leader	---	---	---	Met	Met	Met	Met
28	Njinibi	PE + Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
29	Njinibi	Engl + Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
30	Njinibi	Met + PE	Met / PE	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
31	Njinibi	Met + PE	Met / PE	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
32	Njinibi	Met + PE	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
33	Barakwe	Engl + Met	PE + Met	PE / Met if able	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
34	Barakwe	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
35	Barakwe	Met + PE	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
36	Barakwe	PE + Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
37	Barakwe	PE + Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
38	Barakwe	PE + Met	PE / Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
39	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
40	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
41	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
42	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
43	Njikob	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
44	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met
45	Njikob	belongs to no group	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Provincial Town Domain

Provincial town domain concerns language use in the town of Bamenda. It is administrative centre of North West Province. The variables in language use in these women when visiting relatives are those of generation and of Meta' or . Those questioned travel to a Meta' family and have contact with this their friends. If they want to buy in the market they must be prepared to pidgin with members of other language groups.

generation:

said they are addressed in Meta'. Five women said they would be addressed by the older generation in Meta' or Pidgin. All answer in the language in which they were addressed. The remaining three said they never to Bamenda.

older generation:

say they are addressed in Meta' and answer in the same language.

say they were addressed in Pidgin and answer in Pidgin.

might report being addressed either in Meta' or Pidgin. Five answer as spoken, the remaining three always in Meta'.

others:

Of the 38 who buy in Bamenda all expected to be addressed in Pidgin English. indicated they were able to respond in Pidgin English, three needed a translator and one just spoke Meta'.

These women may be said, on the basis of their answers to the questions put to them, to be linguistically independent in this situation.

AIN

ANSW YOUNG. META'	TRADERS	ANSW TRADERS
	PE	PE
	PE	PE
	PE	PE
	PE	PE
	PE	PE
	PE	PE
	PE	PE
/PE	PE	PE
	PE	PE
	PE	trsl
/PE	PE	PE
/PE	PE	PE
	PE	PE
	PE	PE
	—	—
	PE	PE
/PE	PE	PE
	—	—
	PE	PE
/PE	PE	PE
	PE	PE
	PE	PE
	PE	PE
	PE	PE
	PE	Met / trsl
	PE	PE
	PE	Met
	PE	PE
	PE	PE
	PE	PE
	PE	PE / trsl
	PE	PE
	—	—
	PE	PE
	PE	PE
	—	—
	PE	PE
	PE	PE
	PE	PE
	—	—
	PE	PE
	—	—
	PE	PE
	—	—

Provincial Town Domain Summary

Variable	Met	Answ	PE	Answ	Met/PE	Answ	Comments
Met old gen	36	36 Met			5	5 Met/PE	4 never go to Bamenda
Meta' young gen	27	27 Met	6	6 PE	8	5 Met/PE 3 Met	
Traders (non-Met)			38	34 PE 1 Met 3 trsl			3 participants do not buy in Bamenda

(Four participants never go to Bamenda)

PROVINCIAL TOWN DOMAIN

ID	VILLAGE	OLDER META'	ANSW OLDER META'	YOUNGER META'	ANSW YOUNG. META'	TRADERS	ANSW TRADERS
1	Nyen	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
2	Nyen	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
3	Nyen	Met	Met	PE	PE	PE	PE
4	Nyen	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
5	Nyen	Met	Met	PE	PE	PE	PE
6	Nyen	Met	Met	PE	PE	PE	PE
7	Nyen	Met	Met	PE	PE	PE	PE
8	Mbemi	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE	PE
9	Mbemi	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
10	Mbemi	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	trsl
11	Mbemi	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE	PE
12	Mbemi	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE	PE
13	Mbemi	Met	Met	PE / Met	Met	PE	PE
14	Mbemi	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
15	Wumnb.	Met	Met	Met	Met	—	—
16	Wumnb.	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE	PE	PE	PE
17	Wumnb.	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE	PE
18	Wumnb.	Met	Met	Met	Met	—	—
19	Wumnb.	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
20	Njindom	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met / PE	PE	PE
21	Njindom	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
22	Njindom	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
23	Njindom	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
24	Njindom	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
25	Njindom	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
26	Njinibi	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	Met / trsl
27	Njinibi	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
28	Njinibi	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	Met
29	Njinibi	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
30	Njinibi	Met	Met	PE	PE	PE	PE
31	Njinibi	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met	PE	PE
32	Njinibi	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE / trsl
33	Barakwe	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
34	Barakwe	never goes	—	—	—	—	—
35	Barakwe	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
36	Barakwe	Met	Met	Met / PE	Met	PE	PE
37	Barakwe	never goes	—	—	—	—	—
38	Barakwe	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
39	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
40	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
41	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	—	—
42	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
43	Njikob	—	—	—	—	—	—
44	Njikob	Met	Met	Met	Met	PE	PE
45	Njikob	—	—	—	—	—	—

3.2.8 The Role of Pidgin English in the Life of the Rural Meta' Woman

3.2.8.1 Comprehension and Source of Pidgin English

Of the 45 women questioned:

Sixteen said they spoke Pidgin English. Fourteen of them had learnt it at school, one of these at an adult literacy class. One woman said she had learnt it from her children and another from frequent visits to the coast.

Ten said they spoke 'a little' Pidgin English. Four of them had learnt it at school, three in the market, two in the South West of Cameroon as children, and one in the Roman Catholic church.

Ten said they spoke 'very little' Pidgin English. Six of these had learnt the language in the market, three at school and one from her own children.

Three gave the answer 'hardly at all' or 'hear a little'. One said 'just to buy and sell'. The answer 'just to buy and sell' could perhaps be considered one with the answer 'very little' as six of that group said they had learnt what they know in the market.

Five said they spoke no Pidgin English.

From the above it may be assumed that sixteen felt adequate in speaking Pidgin English, that they managed to cope, more or less, with the situations demanding a knowledge of Pidgin English. Five who cannot speak Pidgin English are dependent upon others for help. For the twenty nine remaining, the degree of independence depends upon the situation.

3.2.8.2 Motivation to Learn More Pidgin English

Of the sixteen who felt adequate enough to answer that they spoke Pidgin English, there are eight who on closer examination felt less adequate. The eight said they would like to learn more of the language. Of the reasons given, the need to communicate better in the market was mentioned twice, 'for all purposes', or 'general communication' was mentioned three times. The need to understand and be understood outside the Meta' speaking area was given three times. One woman mentioned the need as part of her own development.

The motives to learn to speak more Pidgin English were given as follows:

Travel

Eleven women mentioned the need of more Pidgin English in order to be more adequate when travelling out of the Meta' area.

Market

Seven saw increased proficiency in Pidgin English as a help in buying and selling in the market.

Personal Development

Three women felt that an increased proficiency in Pidgin English would further their own personal development.

Church

Two women mentioned their need for more Pidgin English in the church or in their church fellowship group.

Wider Communication

Eleven of the questioned saw a need for more Pidgin English for an improved level of general communication. Three said they needed more Pidgin English for 'all purposes'.

All those who had been to school gave the school years as the source of their Pidgin English. Although Educated English and not Pidgin English is taught in school, everyone who has had a little schooling quickly learns to speak Pidgin. The children speak it among themselves as far as they are able. It appears that the English lessons supply the necessary lexicon.

3.2.9 The Role of Educated English in the Life of the Rural Meta' Woman

3.2.9.1 Comprehension of Educated English

Thirteen of the women questioned said they could understand and speak some Educated English. They had all received some formal schooling. Two spent five and

six years respectively in school and said they were able to speak and understand the language. Four spent five years in school and said they understood and spoke a little. Five had spent three or four years in school and said they understood and spoke very little. Two who had spent four years and two years respectively in school said they spoke and understood very very little, hardly at all. School was the only source given where they had learnt it.

3.2.9.2 The Functions of Educated English in the Life of the Meta' Woman

Apart from school, the Meta' rural woman hears Educated English in the reading of the scriptures in church services. In the central town of Mbengwi the sermon may also be given in Educated English. The lesson which is given each week in the Women's Church Fellowship is usually translated into Pidgin English and Meta' by the leaders, but occasionally parts are read in the original Educated English form.

Written Educated English is used for family letters which play an important part in their lives. Most women have children who live in another part of Cameroon. These letters are read by a person literate in English and translated orally into Meta'. A return letter is dictated in Meta' and written in English. The loss of privacy involved in this procedure is felt acutely. It is interesting that even those who said they were able to read and write Educated English did not feel able to write a letter.

The radio which uses Educated English usually plays little part in their lives. It is typically used by the educated male in the rural areas.

Educated English plays a role in the basic bookkeeping necessary in the cooperative farming process which is so necessary for an economic step forward for the women. This is usually a challenge for the leader of the cooperative group, sometimes impossible. Cooperatives usually flounder sooner or later through lack of trust, founded or unfounded, in the financial management. There is a need for basic bookkeeping, not only on the part of the leaders of cooperatives, but also among the members so that they are able to follow the financial management for themselves. Basic bookkeeping may be taught through the medium of Meta' and is easier,

especially to begin with, but the ultimate use of English is preferable where other ethnic groups are locally represented and where the process is overseen by another authority such as the local delegation of a government ministry or a development organisation.

Most church denominations have programmes aimed at helping women and the women are quick to take advantage of this. The church plays an important part in their lives. The wish to understand better in this domain is an important aspect of the motivation to learn more Educated English for those who have had a measure of basic education at primary school level, but feel themselves to be functionally illiterate. Most of the motivation to learn Educated English has to do with reading and writing rather than with oral skills. Only two participants, women who have a higher standard of fluency in Pidgin English, wanted to learn to speak Educated English for particular situations.

3.2.9.3 Motivation to Learn more Educated English

Letter writing

High value is placed on good communication with those of the family who live and work in the towns. Extended family decisions are made by those in the towns and those remaining in the rural areas together. Letter writing is important and the main written medium for the population of the North West Province is English (There has been some development of the indigenous languages in the last fifteen years. Bafut, Lamnso, Kom, Limbum, and Yamba have developed writing systems. The Mungaka language has been written since the beginning of the century.)

Nine women mention the felt need to be able to read and write a letter.

Travel

Educated English is felt to be important while travelling. Six of the group felt the need to be able to read signboards when out of the Meta' area.

Literacy

The felt need to be able to read and write was mentioned six times.

Church

The wish to be able to understand and read the English Bible was mentioned six times. Four of those who mentioned this motivation had received primary school education, two for five years, one for four years and one for two years. The wish to be able to use the Church Women's Fellowship file of lessons and to be able to read the Church Women's Fellowship Song Book were each mentioned once.

Other

Other needs which were expressed were the need to look at the childrens' school books when they came home, to see what they were doing (participant 40 years old, four years' school), in order to relieve the feeling of depression over not being able to read and write, to understand things that are written, to be able to check on things that are told her for herself, to be able to sign her name, and to be able to recognise her own name on a letter. A group participant with five years' schooling mentioned being able to fill in government forms and wanted to be able to cope better linguistically than at present. Another participant wanted to be able to speak well at a gathering.

3.2.9.4 Source of Educated English

Government and Church schools provide access to Educated English. It is the medium and a main subject of instruction during the seven years of primary education. It is hardly heard outside school. It may be heard in church during the reading of the scriptures and perhaps in the sermon. At formal occasions among higher officials Educated English will be used, but in speeches which are meant for the general population, Pidgin English is usually spoken. People of higher education who return to their home area usually speak Meta' to their families as they do together. It is then the language of intimacy.

Written Educated English may be seen in the school books of the children, in the Church Hymnary, in the minutes of official church meetings and other meetings such as of the Meta' Cultural and Development Association. All official government business is in written Educated English. A newspaper is unusual in the rural situation although sold in the main towns. All hospital reports are written in Educated English. There are no books to be seen in the rural household. A Bible and a church hymnary may be present in a household where a parent is literate. These books however will be

well protected against dirt and insects, packed in some container. A well educated local official will also have books in his possession well packed in the same manner. Posters may be seen in hospital or in clinics, warning or teaching. Some of these sources may provide help to further the knowledge of Educated English in those who have learnt some reading and writing. For those who have never learnt the techniques of reading and writing, this hurdle, combined with the hurdle of a foreign language, is too great. It is surprising to note that an intelligent and active forty year old woman who has received four years' schooling feels unable to look at the children's school books to see (and understand) what they are doing in school.

In answer to the question in the questionnaire, only one person said she could understand, read and write Educated English. (She would like to learn more so that she can write a letter.) This person had received six years' primary schooling. Three persons who had attended school for five years admitted to 'a little' Educated English. Seven who had attended school for between two and four years said they spoke and understood 'very little' or 'very very little' Educated English. All gave the source of their knowledge as their school years.

Of those who had not attended school there was no one who said they understood or spoke any Educated English at all.

PARTICIPANTS' KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH

ID	VILLAGE	PE	PE SOURCE	ENGL	ENGL SOURCE
1	Nyen	yes	freq. visits to coast	no	
2	Nyen	v. little	local market		
3	Nyen	yes	school 3 yrs.	v. little	school 3 yrs.
4	Nyen	yes	school 4 yrs. husb.	v. little	school 4 yrs.
5	Nyen	yes	Class 4, 20yr. sth.	v. little	school 4 yrs.
6	Nyen	yes	school 3 yrs.	no	
7	Nyen	v. little	school 4 yrs.	no	
8	Mbemi	yes	school 4 yrs.	v. little	school 4 yrs.
9	Mbemi	v. little	market	no	
10	Mbemi	v. little	market	no	
11	Mbemi	yes	school 2 yrs.	no	
12	Mbemi	yes	school 2 yrs.	no	
13	Mbemi	yes	school 6 yrs.	yes	school 6 yrs.
14	Mbemi	yes	school 6 yrs.	no	
15	Wumnb.	no		no	
16	Wumnb.	yes	school 1 yr. market	no	
17	Wumnb.	a little	market	no	
18	Wumnb.	just to buy and sell	market	no	
19	Wumnb.	v. little	market	no	
20	Njindom	a little	school 5 yrs.	a little	school 5 yrs.
21	Njindom	a little	R.C.church	no	
22	Njindom	a little	school 5 years	a little	school 5 years.
23	Njindom	yes	school 5 yrs.	a little	school
24	Njindom	yes	school 4 yrs.	yes	school
25	Njindom	a little	in S.W. as child	no	
26	Njinibi	hears a little	market	no	
27	Njinibi	a little	market	no	
28	Njinibi	a little	market	no	
29	Njinibi	a little	at coast as child	no	
30	Njinibi	a little	school 4 yrs.	a little	school 4 yrs.
31	Njinibi	a little	school 2 yrs.	v. little	school 2 yrs.
32	Njinibi	v. little	her own children	no	
33	Barakwe	v. little	school 2 yrs.	v.v. little	school 2 yrs.
34	Barakwe	no		no	
35	Barakwe	v. little	school 4 yrs.	v.v. little	school 4 yrs.
36	Barakwe	no		no	
37	Barakwe	no		no	
38	Barakwe	yes	adult lit.class 2 mths.	no	
39	Njikob	no		no	
40	Njikob	yes	her own children	no	
41	Njikob	hears a little	market	no	
42	Njikob	v. little	market	no	
43	Njikob	hardly at all	market	no	
44	Njikob	yes	school 5 yrs. father	no	
45	Njikob	v. little	market	no	

MOTIVATION

ID	PE	ENGL	LEARN MORE PIDGIN?	LEARN TO SPEAK, READ, WRITE ED. ENGLISH?	WHY LEARN TO READ, WRITE META'?
1	yes	no	yes, for her own personal development and for use in a vehicle when travelling outside the home area	yes, to read and write letters	in order to read the Bible and story books in Meta'
2	very little	no	Yes. When travelling to coast she would be able to communicate with non- Meta' people esp. when at a place where she knows no one.	Yes. If people talk about s.th. she wants to be able to read about it for herself (check on their account)	To be able to read the Bible. To see for herself what is written.
3	yes	very little	Yes. For better communication in the market and for travelling outside Meta' area	Yes. To be able to read + write letters	To be able to read the Bible and any story books written in Meta'
4	yes	very little	Yes. For all purposes	Yes. to be able to use the CWF file, to read the English Bible, to read + write letters, to look at the childrens' books after school to see what they are doing.	Meta' is her native language. To teach the children, to translate passages of the Engl. Bible.
5	yes	very little	No	Yes. To read + write letters. She feels depressed that she cannot read + write. 'Her skin feels heavy'	To be able to read the Bible and any Meta' stories.
6	yes	no	Yes. Other people speak more English than she. She wants to speak more, to be at ease speaking to such people.	Yes. To read + write letters. To understand road signs.	It is her own language. It will help her in learning English.
7	a little	no	Yes. To travel out of Meta' area and be understood.	Yes. To develop her own mind and in order to understand better outside home area.	To read anything written in Meta'
8	yes	very little	no	No. She prefers to learn to read + write Meta'. The time for her to learn to read + write English is gone.	It is her own language.
9	very little	no	no	No. The little pidgin she has will suffice her	It is her own language. People could write songs in Meta' + she could read and sing them. To read Bible in Meta'.
10	very little	no	No. She will make do with what she has.	no	She would like to read Bible and songs in her own language.
11	yes	no	Yes. For travelling in S.W. Prov. to understand people better.	Yes. To read the Bible and understand when it is read.	To read songs and the Bible.
12	yes	no	no	Yes. To be able to understand things that are written.	To be able to send written messages
13	yes	yes	no	Yes. To be able to write a letter	To read the Bible in Meta'
14	yes	no	no	no	To be able to write Meta' and read Meta' Bible.
15	no	no	No. Too late for her to learn	no	To read the translated parts of the Meta' Bible. Is Meta' choir member. Songs often difficult to learn. It would help to write them down. To develop her own person. 'why should she stand still and do nothing?'

(Continued on next page)

Motivation (Continued)

ID	PE	ENGL	LEARN MORE PIDGIN	LEARN TO SPEAK, READ, WRITE ED ENGLISH?	WHY LEARN TO READ, WRITE META'?
16	yes	no	no	Yes. She wants to read the Bible and be able to answer letters from friends.	It is her language and it is nec. for her to learn it better. She grew up 'Outside'. First step to reading and writing English.
17	a little	no	Yes. For travelling out of the Meta' area.	To be able to write English letters. To read the song book in the CWF	As a help to reading and writing in English.
18	just to buy and sell	very little	no	no	To be able to read the Bible in Meta'
19	very little	no	Yes. To be able to understand more. Someone may be talking about her or opposing her + she cannot understand.	no	It is her own language and she should be able to read and write it. To write letters in Meta'
20	a little	a little	no	Yes. To be able to understand the Bible well.	To be able to translate the Bible readings in church.
21	a little	no	Yes. For all purposes	No. It is too late. She wants to concentrate on reading and writing Meta'	To build up her knowledge. To be able to write her name and other necessary things. Be able to read. Reading and writing will help her as farming helps her. She will be able to avoid being cheated.
22	a little	a little	No need	Yes. To progress. She can write a letter 'a bit' but not well. Cannot read or understand written English spontaneously.	In order to learn to read and better her knowledge of Meta'
23	yes	a little	No. She knows enough	Yes. To read the Bible	She wants to start learning in Meta' and continue on to English
24	yes	yes	No. Not necessary.	Yes. To read the Bible	She wants to start learning in Meta' and then continue on with English.
25	a little	no	No. She does not want to learn more now. She will not change her life any more. She will not travel any more.	No. Her eyes are failing.	It is her own language and she lives and will die with it. The classes help her in the market (arithmetic). She can also read her own identity card and recognise her name on a letter. Wants to be able to write a Meta' letter.
26	understands a little	no	Yes. For all purposes.	No	It is her own language. She feels she can learn in Meta'.
27	a little	no	Yes. To understand and speak better.	Yes. To be able to read signposts when travelling and letters from the children.	To know more about her own language.
28	a little	no	Yes. For all purposes.	Yes. To be able to sign her name esp. as she works as a midwife at the health post and after the birth signs with a thumbprint. To read sign boards.	It is her own language
29	a little	no	Yes. A sa help to understanding what people are talking about.	Yes. To be able to read and write a letter.	As a start to reading and writing. To be able to read books in Meta'.

(Continuation on the next page)

Motivation (continuation)

ID	PE	ENGL	LEARN MORE PIDGIN?	LEARN TO SPEAK, READ, WRITE ED. ENGLISH?	WHY LEARN TO READ, WRITE META'?
30	a little	a little	Yes. To develop her own mind. To be able to preach in church as others do.	Yes. To read signboards when travelling.	To develop her own mind. It is her own native tongue
31	a little	very little	Yes. So that she can get into a taxi and understand and be understood.	Yes. To be able to read a letter sent to her.	It is her native tongue and she wants to be able to read and write it as a help towards learning English.
32	very little	no	Yes, so that she can travel out of the Meta' area and be understood.	Yes. To be able to read letters from her children.	She did not go to school and this is a chance to better herself - to 'catch up'
33	very little	very very little	Yes. for the CWF meetings. For her own development. To be able to sell her wares better in the market.	Yes. She wants to be able to read as others are able to.	It is her own tongue. It will help her to learn to read and write English. She can already write and recognise things written in Meta'.
36	no	no	Yes. To be able to understand when spoken to. To sell more adequately in the market.	No. Her eyes are already troubling her. If she had spectacles she would continue.	It is her own native language. She wants to read any written materials.
37	no	no	Yes. She feels it badly when unable to understand when people speak Pidgin. She cannot communicate in Pidgin and when she has a helper that person does not say all she wants them to.	Yes. So that she can write a letter and read in church.	It will help her as a person, help her to build up her knowledge and helps her towards learning English.
38	yes	no	No need	To help her when she travels out of the Meta' area. To be able to read signboards.	To read the Bible in Meta'
39	no	no	Yes. To understand better when selling in the market and when travelling to non-Meta' areas	Yes. To be able read letters from the children and to write to them	To be independent in reading and writing a letter
40	yes	no	Yes. To be able to hold a longer conversation	To be able to read signposts. To read a letter from her children and reply. PE is not sufficient. She would like to be able to speak Ed. English for example in govt. offices.	
41	Unders tands a little	no	Yes. To be able to speak to strangers better when selling in the market	Yes, so that she can speak well in a gathering. To be able to read signboards.	To be able to write to her children and receive a letter without any one else reading it
42	very little	no	Yes. For selling in the market	Yes. She likes to learn everything. To be able to read a letter without giving it to another.	So that she can teach others. to read the Bible in Meta'
43	hardly at all	no	Yes, so that she can communicate where no Meta' is spoken.	Yes. To read signboards and letters from her children	To be able to read the Bible in Meta'.
44	yes	no	Yes. To feel more adequate than at present	Yes. To cope better linguistically than at present. To fill in govt. office forms. To be able to write a letter. Although she has been to school she feels she cannot read or write.	So that she can read the Bible in Meta'. She has great difficulty in reading the English Bible.
45	very little	no	Yes. To understand better. To sell her wares well. To speak PE with friends and acquaintances who are able to do so.	Yes	So that when the scriptures are read in church she can look in the Bible and understand.

3.2.10 The Role of Meta' and Motivation for Literacy in Meta'

Meta' is the language of the family, the farm and of oral literature. It is the language of fullest communication among the rural Meta' women, the language in which each is able to express needs and feelings.

When asked about their motivation in learning to read and write in Meta', the answers fell into the following groups:

Meta' Literature

The wish to be able to read Meta' literature was given eighteen times as a motivation in learning to read and write Meta'. The Meta' Bible which is being produced by Meta' pastors was mentioned specifically sixteen times.

Native language

Fourteen times it was stated that a reason for learning to read and write Meta' was that it was their native language. One participant said that it was her native language and she felt she could learn in it.

Literacy

There were ten references to becoming literate, writing a letter, sending messages, learning helpful skills such as simple arithmetic as a motivation.

English literacy

Seven said they believed literacy in Meta' was a step towards literacy in English.

Autonomy

Seven persons named reasons of personal autonomy and development as a motivation.

Other

To be able to teach the children and to be able to translate Bible readings in church were two further reasons for learning to read and write Meta'.

3.2.11 A Summary of the Results of the Enquiry

From the enquiry it would seem that the women concerned cope best with the linguistic demands of their life in its various social domains of their life in the following order: Home, Provincial Town, Government Offices, Market, Church and Hospital domains.

The home is the domain of the mother tongue. Pidgin English has made some inroads into this domain in the speech of the younger generation. This is a reflection of their life in school.

The provincial town is also less demanding than would have been expected but it is explained by the circumstances of such a visit. While in the town they are at home with family members, brothers and sisters or children. They are in a Meta' home. Some Pidgin is brought into the home by the children. Encounters with traders are brief and restricted in scope. It is easy to manage with a minimum of Pidgin English. In the home market only 25 feel able to answer non-Meta' traders in Pidgin English. In the provincial town 34 report that they are able to do this.

Government offices have mixed Meta' and non-Meta' personnel. A visit here is rare. A personal identity card for example must be renewed only every ten years. The necessary language is restricted and some are able to manage with Meta' and gesticulations.

An interview with the Divisional Officer requires another level of fluency. Only ten participants had consulted him and of these two needed a translator. This may be interpreted as meaning that most of the participants manage well under these circumstances or that only those who speak Pidgin English well will consult with him voluntarily. My opinion is the second. Those who have spoken with him may be those designated to do so by a particular group because they are the most fluent in Pidgin.. One of the monolingual participants who had met with the D.O was summoned to him after she had been bodily attacked in the market and accused of theft. The complete church congregation of her village accompanied her to testify to her and translate for her. A visit to the D.O has importance.

The Church Fellowship is an interesting domain. As an organ of the church it has a clear official policy of using educated English modified by the practice of using Pidgin English for better communication. The formal weekly meetings are the place of adult education, Biblical and other. The lesson files used by the leaders are in Educated English and the lessons are taught as far as possible in Pidgin English. 25 of the participants say that they are addressed in Meta' and Pidgin. Only 15 of these say they are able to answer as they are spoken to. Almost all informal interpersonal exchange is in Meta'. As far as the teaching is concerned it must be said that the communication is inadequate for at least fifteen. The level of comprehension needed is at least as high as that required by a conversation with the hospital doctor or with the D.O.

The market is familiar ground for the participants in this enquiry but only 25 were able to say that they reply to the non-Meta' traders in Pidgin English, a little more than half of the group.

The Church offers a linguistic challenge with its policy of Educated English. Only one of the enquiry group professed to speak this adequately. Despite the use of Pidgin English only 22 expected to be able to respond to the past or in Pidgin English in the informal atmosphere following the service. In contrast, 32 persons reported that they would answer the speech of non-Meta' strangers in the church in Pidgin English. The difference will lie in the necessary fluency.

In **hospital** 28 felt able to speak Pidgin English with other patients and 21 with nursing staff and fifteen with the doctor. One third only are able to lead a conversation with some depth.

Overall it might be said that between one third and a half of the participants are coping adequately with the restricted Pidgin English demands.

3.2.12 Conclusion

The knowledge of Pidgin English is very restricted. Only eight of the participants could be regarded with any certainty as having a fluent knowledge of the language. If Pidgin English is to be used as a medium of adult education it will have to be taught as a foreign language.

There is a need for more oral Pidgin English for both the domains of the subdivision and for travelling.

The motivation to read Meta' literature to be able to read in one's mother tongue as a step in personal development and the wish read and write in Educated English are both important to the female population. They need both languages orally and in writing.

4. ADULT EDUCATION AMONG WOMEN

4.1 Method and Language Choice: General Principles:

4.1.1 Present Methods of Adult Education

Local delegations of government ministries and the churches are in some way or another engaged in practical, task oriented adult education. This is related to the improvement of agricultural production, the health of the family and income generating schemes for men and women. Women play a central role in development as they are the farmers producing the family food, those who prepare it and those who market their surplus foodstuffs in the local market. Money gained in this manner is used for the family, for school books and school uniform for the children, for health care received at health posts, and if the husband and father of the children is not in employment as is quite usual in rural areas, especially in the present times of economic stricture, then also the school fees of the children. If she is not able to meet these demands there is family distress. She is also central in maintaining the health of the family. The woman is therefore at the centre of most practical education efforts and is encouraged to join others in groups so that she may more readily be helped.

There are two methods of teaching employed, the direct and the indirect. In the direct method, personnel of local delegations of government ministries such as the Ministry of Social and Women's Affairs, the Ministry of Community Development and the Ministry of Agriculture visit local groups on a regular basis and teach by demonstration. They also help to form cooperative farming groups, giving on-going advice and help. The leaders of such groups usually need the help of an advisor when they visit the veterinary department for advice or when they have financial transactions to carry out at the post office. Even younger women who have had several years of schooling are dependent upon such help.

The indirect method is that of teaching delegates from groups at seminars at provincial level. These usually last a week and mean a week away from the family and farm. These seminars are devoted to a particular subject such as the production and

the experimenter's action.

self poured.

of thinking with
of such reasoning
have been in school
to promote the self-
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legates return to teach their groups that which they have learned. The groups

ally responsible for the costs of sending their delegates although international

as often made a subsidy of the seminars possible. This method of teaching is

by the church, which in addition to biblical teaching is actively engaged in

to preserve the health of the family, preserve the environment and to aid the

her personal development.

the above methods experience limitations due to the illiteracy of group

. A cooperative needs at least one leader who can keep a work attendance

do simple book keeping and manage a post office savings account. All

ives have a limited time span and usually fall apart over misunderstandings

ncial management (personal communication of a social worker from the local

on of the Ministry of Social and Women's Affairs, Mbengwi). Even if there is

leader, the remainder of the group is unable to exercise the control or

nding of the management that is necessary to preserve trust. Central seminars

rticipants who are literate enough to work with leaflets and files. A

ping seminar can only help the truly literate.

en we hold a seminar we find the delegates are illiterate and we are unable to

We need to start by teaching them to read and write, but they cannot speak

or English and so our hands are tied" (personal communication of member of

of Social and Women's Affairs, Yaounde, in charge of women's education).

only is illiteracy a problem, but it is associated with monolingualism.

igualism, or at least lack of bilingualism in a written language, compounds the

ies of adult education. A written language and the associated literacy skills

y be learnt in formal schooling.

are is a general awareness that the lack of basic education hampers

ment and this is often commented upon in literature dealing with development

ut generally nobody feels able to give a precise reason for this, preferring

o comment on the observation that this is so.

4.1.2 Education and Development

Bruner however (1971) offers an answer in his article dealing with culture and cognitive growth. Here he pursues the question of cognitive differences between cultures and the effect of schooling upon the non-technical, traditional culture. He believes there are two kinds of cultural constraints operating in development: value orientation and language.

He first pursues the question of what it means intellectually to grow up in one cultural milieu and not in another, while examining the difficulties associated with producing a 'culture free' intelligence test.

The point of view animating the present discussion is that intelligence is to a great extent the internalisation of 'tools' provided by a given culture. Thus 'culture free' means 'intelligence free'. Such a view of cognitive development has been put forth elsewhere. (Bruner, 1964). Here we shall examine it by comparing intellectual development in cultures with radically different technologies. (ibid,22)

He notes that one of the oldest lines of cross cultural work in cognition is through the study of sensation and perception, and that intelligence testers have remarked that performance tests often seemed to put foreigners at as much of a disadvantage as verbal tests, forcing them to conclude that perceptual as well as verbal habits could vary radically from culture to culture. If this is correct, says Bruner, then the study of perception could be fundamental in understanding any psychological process involving a response to the outside world.

He quotes as an example a study which was carried out among the Todas of India, who were unaccustomed to inferring three dimensions from a two dimension display. As soon as three dimensional stimulus materials were used, the cultural differences disappeared (Bonte 1962). This work, he says, suggesting the effect of *particular* cultural conditions such as the absence of pictures, has been confirmed by further studies.

The effects obtained seem to depend upon perceptual *inference*; numbers of different cultures differ in the inferences they draw from perceptual cues, not in the cues they are *able* to distinguish. Such an interpretation suggests the value of studying more directly the way in

which the cues are assimilated to different schemata in different cultures with the effect of producing large cultural differences [....]

[...] Our own cross-cultural work has followed [...] lines of more recent historical development. We have asked first the naive question 'where in a culture should one find differences in the process of thought? The anthropological linguists (for example, Whorf, 1956) suggested a concrete answer; where there are language differences there may (or should?) be cognitive differences [....] (Bruner 1971,23)

He continues that his own work has led away from the parallelism of Whorf towards an instrumentalism more typical of Vygotsky (1961) or Luria (1961). He sees Language as a tool and constraint on cognitive development. The focus of what he presents is on two kinds of constraints operating in development, value orientation and language.

4.1.2.1 Value Complexes and Cognitive Growth

In order to be specific he limits the discussion of value orientations to the cognitive implications of one particular value contrast: collective versus individualistic orientation. He presents a series of studies carried out by himself and others in Senegal in 1963-1964. Two main areas of cognitive development were explored: concept formation and conservation in the classic Piagetian sense. He feels the two areas complement each other well as much of intellectual growth may be summarised as the development of equivalence or conservation, the equivalence rule of concepts being more "internal" and that of conservation more "external" in orientation. Nine groups of Wolof children were selected for the experiment, three age groups and three degrees of urbanisation and schooling being represented.

The question of collective and individualistic orientation showed cognitive manifestation in the process of carrying out the experiments. The children were asked to give reasons for their answers. In a conservation problem a child might be asked "Why do you say this container has more water than this one?" This type of question met with uncomprehending silence when addressed to the unschooled children. On the other hand, when the form of the question was changed to "Why *is* thus and such true" it could often be answered quite easily. It appears that the unschooled Wolof children lacked Western self-consciousness: they did not distinguish between their

own thought about something and the thing itself. Thought and the object of thought seem to be one. He notes that there Wolof *schoolchildren* (his emphasis) do not differ essentially from American and European children in this respect. It appears that school gives them something like an American or European self-consciousness, for they were able to answer questions which implied a distinction between their own psychological reactions and external events.

Bruner builds his hypothesis upon one of Piaget in which the latter proposed that intellectual growth begins with an egocentric stage, based on the inability to make a distinction between internal and external. This stage gives way to one in which egocentricism is more developed, but in which inner and outer although distinguished are still confused. When inner psychological phenomena are attributed to inanimate features of the external environment we have "animism", when psychological processes are given characteristics of the inanimate external world, we speak of "realism". According to Piaget these two tendencies are complementary and universal forms of childish thought, their mutual presence indicating a primary distinction between inner and outer. Bruner proposes in contrast to this formulation that in traditional, collectively-oriented societies this distinction never gets made, that the world stays on one level of reality, and that this level is realistic rather than animistic, although animism has often been thought of as a characteristic of thought in traditional societies. Bruner makes the claim that animism does not develop where there is no support given for individualistic orientation. In the place of the cultivation of individual subjectivity, there is instead a reinforcing of the idea of "reality", "people-in-a-world-as-a-unity".

Bruner gives the example of a conservation experiment in which water was poured from a beaker into a longer thinner container causing the water level to rise. Unschooled children were asked if the amount of water in the second container was the same as was in the first container. Some children judged that there was more water in the second container and gave the reason "its not the same because you poured it". Bruner calls this the 'magical' action reason. The shift from equality to

'inequality' was being resolved and justified by recourse to the experimenter's action. This 'magical-action' reason disappeared when the child himself poured.

Note well, that school suppresses this mode of thinking with astonishing absoluteness. There is not one instance of such reasoning among either bush or city Senegalese children who have been in school seven months or longer. Once again, school seems to promote the self-consciousness born of a distinction between human processes and physical phenomena. (Bruner 1971,29)

He concludes that mastery over the physical world and an individualistic self-consciousness appear together in a culture in contrast to a collective orientation in a culture with a realistic world view in which people's attitudes and actions are not conceptually separated from physical events. (ibid,31).

He asks the question as to whether there is a developmental reason for the dichotomy between individual mastery and collective or social value orientation, and if there is a point in child-rearing at which the choice is made. He quotes the work of Rabain-Zempleni (1965) who studied the fundamental ways in which the Wolof child in his traditional bush setting relates to the world of animate and inanimate things around him between the ages of two and four years. She says that in a general way, the motor manifestations of the child's development are treated as productions existing for themselves in their capacity of exercising nascent functions but are already interpreted as the child's desire in relation to some person.

In this way, says Bruner, adult members of a family evaluate and interpret the child's emergent motor activity in terms of the relation of this activity to the people around him or in terms of the motor activity per se, depending on the culture to which they belong.

Adult interpretation of the child's first actions would appear to be paradigmatic for the choice between an individualistic or collective orientation. [...] Rabain Zemplini's naturalistic observations confirm the hypothesis that [...] the Wolof child's self image does not have to rest in the same way as in Europe on the powers which he has over objects, but rather on that which he has over other bodies. (ibid 1971,32).

Bruner draws the conclusion that a collective orientation is the result of its being systematically encouraged as a socialisation progresses.

4.1.2.2 Language and Cognitive Power

In examining the relationship between language and cognitive growth, Bruner asks two questions. "What does it mean intellectually to speak one language rather than another?" and "What does it mean intellectually to write a language as well as to speak it?" (ibid 1971,34).

Bruner says that at the highest level of generality, language can be divided into two components, the semantic and the syntactic. In relating language to thought most experiments have emphasised the semantic component. The linguistic variable is the richness of the lexicon of a language to represent a given domain. These experiments have dealt with the vocabulary at a single level of generality, the words themselves rather than any relationship between them. There is however a second type of semantic linguistic variable, dealing with the number of levels of generality that can be encoded by the lexicon of a language for a particular domain. Syntactical properties of language also relate to the logical structure of thought although there has been little in the way of cross-cultural studies in this area. Bruner quotes D. McNeil (1965) as suggesting that there is reason to believe that the lexical encoding of events is but a special example of grammatical encoding and perhaps a not very important one at that.

He begins with an examination of experiments that relate to cognitive growth and the lexicon at a single level of generality, the comparison of richness of vocabulary within a domain. He examines the suggestion that when a given language symbolises a phenomenon in a single word, it is readily available as a classifying principle to speakers of that language. Although any familiar concept can be coded in any language by means of a paraphrase, an experience that must of necessity be encoded in this manner is supposed to be less readily available to speakers of that language.

He asks the question as to what conditions, if any, must prevail for a relatively rich or poor lexicon in a particular domain to affect cognitive activity. Hypotheses about the effect of numerical richness can be based on a comparison of different languages with respect to the same domain or a comparison of different areas within a single language. While research has confirmed the hypothesis in the second area, experiments related to the first area have yielded ambiguous or negative results. He points out that the experiments in the two areas varied in other ways than just their results. The intra-lingual studies used some memory task, while the cross-cultural studies dealt with judgment of similarity among several stimuli rather than with the identity of a single stimulus over time.

In order to clarify the effect of the lexicon of colour on cognition an experiment was carried out among Wolof children in Senegal. Nine groups of children were involved in the experiment, three age groups and three degrees of urbanisation being represented. The children were given sets of three pictures. Of the triads, two pictures were similar in colour, two in form and two in function. It is impossible to express the three colour groupings without the help of French words. It was possible to group the pictures according to colour, form or function. On lexical grounds it was expected that Wolof monolinguals would be less colour and more function oriented than bilinguals or French monolingual children. This was not so. The Wolof monolinguals could use nothing but colour to as a grouping principle. The other groups used colour less and less with age. The lack of colour words did not prevent the Wolof from grouping according to colour.

Bruner's next question was whether the Wolof colour groupings were less accurate. If errors of discrimination are due lexical coding, then the Wolof monolinguals should make mistakes most frequently. The results were as expected, the bilinguals making fewer errors of this kind than Wolof monolinguals and French children making no such error at all. The errors however were very infrequent, even in the groups where they occur most often. Bruner concludes that the relatively rare mistakes are not a major conceptual feature in the total context and asks the question

as whether the lexical features should be assigned as great a role in thought as has been claimed by Whorf.

These generalisations about the conditions under which linguistic encoding will affect other cognitive operations must be further qualified. They hold only if a linguistic representation is available to the person in question and has been activated. Whether or not the linguistic effect will be positive or negative depends on the fit between linguistic representation and situation. If linguistic encoding is inappropriate for the task at hand, either because the labels do not encode all the necessary information or because the labels cut the domain in places other than those the task demands, organisation can have an adverse effect on task performance.....a given label becomes ineffective in distinguishing a given stimulus if it must be discriminated from others to which the names could also apply. (ibid, 41 f)

Of further interest was the fact that age brought increasingly accurate perception, even where the culture hindered rather than facilitated such a discrimination.

Bruner then turns to the consideration of the hierarchic ordering of labels, the role of lexical richness defined in structural terms and reports on results of experiments which were aimed at determining whether a Wolof monolingual and bilingual child were able to contrast superordinate words such as colour, shape and function. The child who was only able to compare attributes such as round or yellow was clearly operating at a lower level of hierarchical structure. All the experimentation was carried out in Wolof which has no word for 'colour'. The experiment was also carried out with French children and it was this group which had the greatest success ratings.

So we must conclude that access to the pure conceptual hierarchy [...] is indicated by the use of abstract terms only if the linguistic terms have been thoroughly mastered in all their semantic implications. The results indicate that such is the case under normal conditions of spontaneous use in the context of one's native language. But when Wolof children are interrogated in French, their use of superordinate language seems to have a forced character and indicates little about hierarchical structure and where they are in that structure [...] everybody is more or less limited in the range of classificatory bases available to him. It is not that one person uses colour and the other shape. Rather, one can use colour and the other can use shape *and* colour. It is the structure of the lexicon and not simply its list of terms that is crucial. (ibid 1971, 44)

He then turns to the question of a connection between conceptual organisation and grammatical rules in a language.

He posits three stages of symbolic reference. The first is the ostensive mode, mere pointing, the second is the labelling mode which is the use of a verbal tag which may or may not be accompanied by pointing. The third mode is sentential, the use of a complete sentence to express an attribute. It was found that pointing occupies a definite position in the reasoning of the younger Wolof groups, especially of the unschooled, when giving an answer, but it disappears in all groups with age. In the unschooled, the use of labelling increases with age but the use of the sentential mode does not. This remains at a constantly low level. In all the school groups, both Wolof-French bilingual and French monolingual, the ostensive mode gives way to sentential placement with age and increased schooling. He notes that there is no difference on any criterion between the oldest French monolinguals and the oldest Wolof-French bilinguals when the experiment is run in French. The superiority is slightly on the side of the French when the experiment is run in the native language of each group.

The most dramatic contrast was found to be between Wolof children in school speaking French and those not in school speaking Wolof. Some 97 per cent of the eleven-to thirteen-year-old Wolof monolinguals (the unschooled Wolof children) use the labelling mode. 90 per cent of the Wolof sixth graders doing the experiment in French use the sentential mode.

He then establishes a direct relationship between grammatical and conceptual structure for both schooled and unschooled Wolof children. When a school child frames a reason in the sentential mode, the probability that he will form a superordinate structure is on an average almost three times as great as when he uses simple labeling. For an unschooled child this probability is almost six times as great when he expresses his reason in a sentence rather than with a label.

We are led to the hypothesis that school is operating on grouping operations through the training embodied in the written language. (ibid 1971,47). He quotes Vygotsky (1961) as expressing the fact that the written language provides an occasion

on which language may be used out of its immediate context of reference. Writing forces a remoteness of reference on the language user. He notes again that it is always the schooling variable that makes qualitative differences in directions of growth.

4.1.2.3 School, Language and Individualism

Finally, Bruner makes an assessment of the connection between school, language and individualism in the context of cognitive growth

Having emphasised the role of school in establishing context-independent modes of thinking through separating the written word from the thing it stands for, Bruner now asks how exactly this process relates to a decline of a 'realistic world view' and the correlative rise of self-consciousness already discussed.

The psychological attitude of nominal or verbal realism is that of considering a word to be as 'real' as the object for which it stands. In separating word and thing, school destroys verbal realism. A situation in which words are continually 'there' with their referents is established. The sequence object-name is no longer invariant. The separation of word and thing demands a notion that words are in people's heads and not in their referents.

Implicit in this notion is the distinctness of oneself and one's own point of view. Thus, the individual must conceptually separate himself from the group; he must become self-conscious, aware of having a particular slant on things, a certain individuality [...] so school and the written language may have a privileged position in the shift from a collective to an individualistic orientation. (ibid 1971,49)

He concludes the study with the assessment that some cultures 'push' cognitive growth more, earlier and longer than others. What does not seem to happen is that other cultures produce completely divergent and unrelated modes of thought, due he feels, to the constraints of our biological heritage.

4.1.3 Basic Education and the Language Medium

In view of the difficulties encountered in practical adult education in the areas of agriculture, health, home economics and marketing, and in view of Bruner's findings

linking cognitive development with personal autonomy in one's environment and with education in a written language, a more general approach of basic education for rural women would seem to be relevant. It is also consonant with the expressed wishes of the participants in the enquiry whose motivation to learn to read and write is associated with skills which mean a greater measure of personal freedom. To be able to write a letter means lack of dependence upon others and the preservation of personal privacy, to be able to travel out of the local area alone and to be able to read for oneself what is written and to be able to make one's own judgment both mean a greater measure of personal freedom. It is also interesting to note how often the question of their own personal development was raised.

The question of the language to be used as a medium of education arises. There are three forms of language which may be considered: Meta', Cameroon Pidgin English and Cameroon Educated English.

Bruner has demonstrated that ease of access to a conceptual hierarchy through abstract terms is only possible if the linguistic terms have been thoroughly mastered in all their semantic implications which is the case in the context of one's native language. UNESCO experiments in the Philippines (1953) demonstrated the greater effectiveness of education in the native language and since that time it has been generally accepted that education in one's native language or at least one very near to it in language type is desirable. Despite this understanding, measures have generally not been undertaken to implement this in national education policy. This has been the case on the African continent where the need to establish national unity and national identity rather than individual diversity has been given priority. Ethiopia has proved an exception to this in recent years and Swahili in Tanzania is certainly easier to learn than English as a medium for basic education.

Cobarrubias takes the question out of the area of pragmatics and presents access to basic education in one's own language as belonging to human rights, as an ethical question which should follow certain ethical criteria such as Kant's criteria of universalisability and its complementary criterion of reversibility.

Decisions are ethical if the rules by which we arrive at such decisions are universalisable. No one is to take oneself as an exception. The application if the rule is equal for all: it is universal.... right decisions are not only those that are universalisable but those that all agents would choose to universalise regardless of whether they are at the giving or the receiving end of the action or decision'. (Cobarrubias 1983,78)

Cobarrubias' final assessment is that language policy has always been decided by the dominant ideology in a nation and in his opinion this will continue to be so.

An international meeting entitled Audience Africa was held in Paris under the auspices of UNESCO from 6 to 10 February 1995. Its main objective was to provide Africans with the opportunity to examine the question of development priorities in their continent. The final report was in the form of 98 articles. Articles 29 and 30 are concerned with formal and non-formal education.

Article 29 proposes guaranteeing 4 years uninterrupted elementary study education to every pupil entering the formal system, as far as possible in the mother tongue, given in such a way as to ensure bilingual education in a more widely used language.

Article 30:

As non-formal education offers more flexibility for the introduction of concepts such as nutrition, health education, environmental education and the use of the national languages, it must be developed and adapted to the needs of young people not at school and of adults, particularly women in rural areas. It must not however be a second-rate education, downgraded both by society and by comparison with the formal system. (Audience Africa 1995,5)

The Forum of Education held in Yaounde, Cameroon in May 1995, called to review the national education system passed the resolution among others, that the national languages of Cameroon should be used in Education. Details of the way in which this should be done were to be further discussed. Implementation at the present was to be dependent upon the resources available at the local level.

Meta' is in the process of standardisation, an alphabet has been approved by the government, pedagogical literature has been produced and is being extended, oral

literature is being written, stories have been written and are being published. Literature directly related to development is planned and a beginning has been made. The church is engaged in producing a Bible translation which is a source of motivation to literacy in itself. As the mother tongue and a written language it is supremely suited to be used as a medium of basic education.

Pidgin English has been used in the last years as a means of communication in adult education. It has been written in various ways over the years and a Bible translation has been made. Standardisation would have to be effected on a national level and teaching materials produced. The cultural heritage of Pidgin English covers a short span of time and does not have the cultural depth and oral literature of the national languages except as it has taken these over. It is generally used as a Pidgin, as a trade language, in particular circumstances, and has become the language of the home for a small minority. In the local situation it is used in specific domains and by the majority of the adults who are looking for further education, very inadequately at that. It is best used by those who have received some formal education in English as the questionnaire shows. Pidgin English does not have the status of a language of education on a national level. It appears unsuitable as a written medium of education in the context of Mbengwi Central Sub-Division.

Cameroon Educated English remains to be considered. This has been the language of education in the schools up to the present. Only those who have spent a longer period in school feel they can speak it. The double challenge of learning a foreign language and learning basic skills of reading and writing and numeracy is great. The only source of English is the school. The child attends school five days a week for most of the year over a number of years. In this way he/she is exposed to the language continually through the teaching staff and the books used. Such an exposure to the language is not possible for adults who have to learn while continuing with their daily lives with its responsibilities of family and farm. Adult education must be fitted into this routine. It can be less concentrated but can be on-going and related to the everyday tasks. Meta' is more suited in this respect. However, adult education must eventually be in English in order for the learner to have contact with the world outside

the direct ethnic area. To reach this goal English may be taught as a foreign language, beginning in the third year of instruction. Once a person is literate it is possible to employ these skills for the learning of a foreign language. Initial learning of English should also be functional, relating firstly to those tasks necessary to be fulfilled in this language at the local level.

4.2 Adult Education in Meta'

4.2.1 Development of the Language

In planning to use Meta' in education it must be considered whether the status and the corpus of the language are suited to the task. The distinction between status planning and corpus planning was first introduced by H.Kloss to differentiate two aspects of language planning. The former refers to changes in structure, vocabulary morphology, spelling or even a new script. The latter is concerned with the standing of the language with respect to other languages or to the language needs of a national government (Cobarrubias 1983a,42).

In the decision to utilise the national languages in education, they receive another status in the sense of Kloss, presented by Cobarrubias (1983,43f). Kloss distinguishes six types of language which are relevant in assigning language status. They are summarised in the following:

1. A fully modernised, mature, standard language, through which modern scientific and technical knowledge can be imparted.
2. A small group standard language with limited scope of interaction.
3. An archaic standard language which flourished prior to industrial development.
4. A young standard language, recently standardised for some specific purpose such as religious training, political indoctrination or for the early years in elementary education
5. An unstandardised alphabetised language in which a writing system has recently been developed but no standardisation has taken place.
6. A preliterate language.

Fishman describes standardisation in the following manner:

One of the best known societal behaviours towards languages is standardisation, i.e. 'the codification and acceptance within a community of users of a formal set of norms defining 'correct usage' (Stewart 1968). Codification is presented to all or part of the speech community via such means as grammars, dictionaries, spellers, style manuals and exemplary texts. (Fishman 1970,24)

Taking this definition as a basis, Meta' does not fit clearly into the above definitions of the six types of language relevant to a discussion of language status. It might be said to be in the process of standardisation. The language is codified, has been accepted within the community and by the government. There is a lexicon in pre-publication manuscript, descriptions of aspects of the grammar have been completed. Books are being produced, including pedagogical materials. It has emerged out of group 5. It would seem to be in the process of becoming a group 4 language. Meta' is already the language in informal use in the church. The Roman Catholic Church uses a Meta' liturgy. Written materials are being produced to strengthen this function of Meta' within the church, especially to aid instruction. Plans are being made to use written Meta' in elementary education. Oral and written Meta' are being used in adult education. However, all the prospective users of this language being standardised are mother tongue speakers. The written language is not being employed just as a tool for special purposes. It would seem preferable to see the present development as being in the process of transferring the language into Kloss's group 2.

With regard to juridical status, Kloss judges that a language may belong to one of 6 categories. They are summarised in the following:

(1) the only national official language such as French in France, (2) a joint official language, co-equal with at least one other in terms of use for governmental functions, e.g. French and English in Cameroon. The situation in this group depends upon whether both languages are imported, both indigenous or one indigenous and one imported, (3) a regional official language, e.g. Ibo in Nigeria, (4) a promoted language, lacking official status but promoted at some specific level for a specific purpose. e.g. West African Pidgin English in Cameroon, which is used by the government for specific communication purposes, (5) a tolerated language, i.e. it is neither promoted by public agencies or the government nor is its use or cultivation

restricted, e.g. the languages of migrants in the United Kingdom, (6) a proscribed language whose speakers are not permitted to use it in communal activities e.g. the banning of Basque in the first years of the Franco regime. (Cobarrubias 1983 b,44)

Meta' would here be categorised in group (4). Its development has been encouraged by its own mother tongue speakers especially represented in a language committee within the framework of the Meta' Cultural and Development Association and by the church in the context of a translation of the Bible.

Cobarrubias stresses that the use of the language in education is also an important criterion in assigning or estimating language status. The level of instruction for which a language is being used bears upon language status in a significant manner. The role of the language in public worship is also important (Cobarrubias 1983b,46). Both of these roles have already been commented upon for Meta'. The sponsoring of the language for educational purposes by the public authorities at the municipal level brings the language into Group (4).

In the context of corpus development the following stages may be commented upon in the frame of Haugen's four aspects of language development, later seen as a fourfold model of language planning. (Cobarrubias 1983a,3) These four aspects are norm selection, codification, implementation and elaboration.

Norm selection in the context of the Meta' language offers no great problem. Prior to the existence of a writing system there was no sense of distinct dialects in the Meta' ethnic area. People were aware of some lexical differences in different parts of the home area but these were, and still are, considered to be of no great importance.

The help of a linguist was requested from the government by the Meta' language committee as early as 1973. An alphabet was proposed and accepted by the language committee and the government. It is in accord with the guidelines of the government with regard to Cameroon languages.(1979). A Meta' lexicon is in pre-publication copy, aspects of the phonology and grammar have been described and pedagogical materials are being produced.

Implementation, or acceptance as Haugen calls it, involves the activities of government agencies and writers in using the norm. In the Meta' ethnic area the local delegation of the Ministry of Social and Women's Affairs, the Church and subsequent to the Forum of Education in Yaounde, May 1995, the local delegation of the Ministry of Education have accepted and used the norm. Books are in production.

Elaboration involves the expansion of language functions and the assignment of new codes for scientific and technical development. This has not been considered as a major issue as the use of Meta' is seen as being in direct relation to the indigenous culture. English is the language of science and technology. Foreign concepts which it is necessary to translate are usually dealt with in paraphrase. The local authorities of the ministry of education are considering the role written and oral Meta' will play in the school system. This consideration however does not lie within the scope of this work. It is adult education which is in focus.

4.2.2 Development of a Method

The central question occupying the organiser of an adult literacy programme is how to develop a system which will be flexible and adapted to the needs of an adult working population and at the same time have a stability of structure and organisation that will ensure its being on-going.

It is evident that no programme in adult literacy can be institutionalised; in fact there can be no one programme in adult literacy. Flexibility in terms of goals and learning activities and diversities of strategies and methods characterise the various adult literacy programmes. (UNESCO 1981,23).

The learner is the pivot round whom all the components of a programme are built. (ibid,24)

The persons for whom the present programme is being developed are women farmers with a structured eight day indigenous week. Of these eight days, one day is declared by the traditional ruler of a village to be a day of rest from farm work. Community work may be organised on this day. One day a week is given to the large central market to which almost everyone goes to buy and/or sell. It may mean many kilometers to be covered on foot, often carrying heavy loads. It is an occupation for

the whole day and has high social value. The day before the market is usually busy with harvesting foodstuffs from the farm and preparing them for the market. One morning a week is usually occupied with a group farming project or some other practical educational group such teaching in home economics. The seven day European week runs parallel to the indigenous week and brings its demands such as the church Sunday which is very important in the culture. The cultural day on which it falls varies each week, demanding an adjustment in the weekly programme. The evening is an unfavourable time for classes. When the women return from their farms they are tired and there is food to prepare for the family. Around six thirty in the evening it is dark and all want to be home by that time. Those who are to be taught are usually monolingual with a little Pidgin English for special purposes. Most have had no schooling and have to learn basic skills such as holding and using a pencil and recognising differences in abstract shapes. Almost all have families about whom they are first and foremost concerned. Sick children and also sick husbands mean absence from classes. These are some of the considerations concerning the learner that have to be born in mind by the organiser. They have to be accommodated in the planning. One consequence of this factor in the present programme has been to arrange the learning units in a circular manner in preference to a logical construction of information blocks built one upon the other. In this last method two or three lessons missed can mean that the learner never catches up with the lessons again, whereas a circular arrangement of lessons means that one always returns again to a particular point, revising it and building it up further. The process is similar to a construction of concentric spirals.

4.2.3 Teacher Training

Almost as important as the learner is the teacher. Who will teach? Who is available? The answers to these question decide many aspects of the programme.

In the North West Province of Cameroon the system of adult education already in use for practical teaching lends itself to the teaching of reading, writing and numeracy. A group wanting to be taught, usually already a cooperative farming group or dry

season vegetable gardening group sends two its number who have completed elementary schooling to a central seminar to learn how to teach their group members to read and write. The costs of the seminar may be met by the group for their member or a seminar may be subsidised by the organising body. It has been found necessary in such adult teaching to have two teaching group members who share the work. Those who are chosen are people with whom the group feels at ease, people from whom they are ready to learn. These leaders have received training in teaching adults through the various agencies which are initiating the individual projects. The church groups have leaders who have been trained in adult leadership and the same is true for leaders of projects of the Ministry of Social and Women's Affairs. They have learned to organise their teaching and to treat the learners with respect. The authoritarian method of teaching which has been learnt by school teachers and which is unsuited to adult instruction does not occur. The seminars emphasise this manner of teaching and endeavour to exemplify it in their own teaching. Such leaders teach their groups in an honorary capacity as is usual in this tradition. Particularly against this background it is important that these teachers have personal gain through their training. All their costs and materials are paid and the training process is made as pleasant as possible. They must have the knowledge that what they are learning is furthering them personally.

The question must be considered as to whether group leaders who have completed elementary schooling are adequate for the task of teaching. In the context of this experimental study it may be said that they are, although obviously some are better than others. 10 day seminars are held twice a year, a seminar for each course which consists of sixteen lessons. The group leaders are themselves evaluated during the seminars, for their reading, their written work, their production of teaching material and their teaching demonstrations. In addition to this they are evaluated in the course of their practical teaching of their groups. A supervisor who was a group leader herself and has received formal teacher training travels around the village groups encouraging and helping.

In order to meet the needs of these group leaders the lessons are developed according to a set pattern. This simplifies the teaching and keeping to a pattern makes

the lesson easier to assimilate on the part of the learners. The problem of boredom does not seem to arise. Motivated adults do not need entertaining but need to see results for their efforts. Teachers' Handbooks are developed as an accompaniment to each course. These handbooks support the teaching in the seminars and at the same time lay down what is to be taught and is useful in the training of trainers.

Apart from the teacher's grasp of the subject matter and the skill and clarity with which she is able to present the knowledge there is the question of her personality. Ausubel et al. (1978,498) comment on this aspect of a teacher's abilities which are directly related to teaching success:

Certain key aspects of the teacher's personality would also seem, on logical grounds, to have an important bearing on learning outcomes in the classroom. Theoretical considerations suggest that chief among these would be his or her degree of commitment to, or ego involvement in, the intellectual development of pupils [....]

The training these group leaders have received in caring for the members of their groups as people, the way they identify their own success with the learner's success, has been an important element in the success of the programme.

A consequence of this method of organisation is that a group can meet only once a week but this restriction is at the same time a strength as the classes are built into an on-going workable structure. To meet for teaching more than once a week places a very heavy load on voluntary teachers, but on occasions where it has been possible to arrange for a second teaching session it has been found that attendance on the part of the group becomes spasmodic. Once a week for a special purpose is part of the local cultural method. More than this puts the working routine under stress. 'Homework' which is often done by a few members together and which is as far as possible integrated with the daily needs, such as writing a list of items that must be bought, practising writing their names, learning to write figures, practising reading in their primers, has made the content of the classes a living issue during the week.

As a result of this method of organisation, monolingual women are successfully learning to read although the basic courses are not yet completed. Each course is

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As a result of this method of organisation, monolingual women are successfully learning to read although the basic courses are not yet completed. Each course is

evaluated for each student. A test is held and various aspects of the goals for the course examined. Statistics of results for all participants for all courses are recorded and will be presented elsewhere when they are complete.

4.2.4 Materials

Materials must be suited to the learner, the teacher, the organisational method and the economic situation.

What sort of pedagogical materials are suited to this situation? It was above all clear that materials must have functional relevance. A functional wholistic approach which fits in with the experience and motivation of the adult learner appeared suitable. The materials were consequently in keeping with the local culture and relevant to the daily lives, responsibilities and needs of the learners.

In the choice of reading approach a whole word approach was considered appropriate, interacting with phonic teaching. This choice was made as it fits in with a general wholistic approach and against the background of psychological reading theory which regards the direct whole word grapheme representation as having direct access to the mental lexicon, but not as working alone in word recognition. The two processes are cited by Henderson (1982,143) quoting Baron (1977a,213f):

representations of letters as visual features may be connected with representations of sounds or articulations either through direct, word specific pathways or through pathways based on smaller units, that is, spelling sound correspondences. Or for another example, meaning may be connected with print directly or through phonemic representations.

Henderson emphasises the plausibility of lexical pooling models of reading theory in which routes combine and support each other in the translation process as he calls it. He summarises:

All theories that that give an account of orthographic translation start from a distinction between two or more separate sources of information. One of these is agreed to be lexical, consisting in a word specific association between spelling and sound. Concerning the other there is less agreement. Some hold it to consist of analogies, involving larger graphemic clusters and lacking the systematization implied by the concept of an abstract rule. The GPC source is invariably defined

as non-lexical, but the analogy source can be regarded either as lexical or non-lexical. (ibid 1982,162)

Commenting upon reading methods, Henderson notes that the debate between proponents of the look-say and the phonic methods has tended to emphasise the difference between vision-meaning association and vision-sound association. He considers however that the actual differences between the methods are more important than these conceptual abstractions. He quotes Gough and Hiller (1980) for example, as criticising the paired-associate method, pointing out that what is likely to take place is that the child attempts to weld the association to an isolated feature of the stimulus.

He emphasises that what is required by the lexical pooling model and perhaps also in certain versions of the direct route in dual process theories, is the construction of a well-defined orthographic entry in the lexicon. He makes the point that grapheme-phoneme correspondences are used in some alternative phonic methods to draw attention to the visual constituents of words and that this may be important regardless of letter-sound associations.

Furthermore there is general difficulty in seeing how exercise of the GPC route would lead to the construction of visual entries in the lexicon to mediate direct access for familiar words. Once again it is the assumed independence of the routes that creates theoretical problems. (ibid 1982,168)

Finally, the combination of a word approach supported by phonic teaching is chosen in the frame of the present programme in order to provide a smooth transition to learning English. This word and phonics method is used in the teaching of English in the schools of North West Cameroon. Teachers have been trained to use this method and pupils who have passed through the schools are familiar with it. Trainers of trainers will no doubt at first be trained school teachers who have hopefully been able, in the process of further training, to adopt their classroom methods to the demands of adult teaching. Over time however, it should be possible to continually up-grade the teaching of the group leaders, selecting the best for formal training in adult education. For the learners, the strategies learnt in one language will be employable in the next.

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must be found and put in a
may be used in teaching.

culture with non-literate traditions, adequate pre-literacy materials are
many adults struggle with holding a pencil for the first time. This is one
programme that benefits from a slow start. Space between lessons gives
develop these skills, practising without time pressure at home. Pre-reading
such as a matching game which gives practice in letter shape distinction
extensively in the present programme. The primers, first reading books and
book in Meta' are partly already existent, partly still in production.

from the need to teach the illiterate to read and write in Meta', the literate
who are to be the teachers must also learn to read their own language.

term 'literate in English' I refer to those who are able to read and write
with understanding. In Mbengwi Central Sub-Division I consider this
equivalent to a class seven primary school leaving certificate. In my own
young people of class five are not yet able to write a letter.

rate have the following reasons for wanting to write their own language.

Pride in their own traditions

The wish to write down their own traditions and oral literature.

A sense of the need for written communication in the mother tongue if
the home area is to be developed in the areas of agriculture, health, and
economics.

Many people within the churches feel the need to train their people in
literacy in the interests of church teaching and for the personal
development of its members.

gh literate, there is no automatic reading proficiency in Meta'. Bridging
re necessary. There is a tradition of producing a book which serves as an
n to reading the indigenous language. The alphabet is explained and
if words are given to illustrate the sounds. Such a book gives an overview
abet and orthography rules and is of value for the highly educated. For the
educated the primers prove a better starting point. They can then proceed

on to other reading books and ultimately take a part if they are interested, in the production of further literature.

On a national level, an association of Cameroon language committees has been formed which aims to unify and support the efforts of local language committees working within their ethnic areas. It aims to help them produce indigenous language reading materials, promote adult literacy and to use the indigenous language in the elementary and secondary school programmes.

4.3 Education in English

This part of the present experimental programme is in the planning stage. The organisation of classes and training of group leaders is expected to continue as at present. It is not a new programme: it is growth and expansion of the present programme. The approach continues to be functional. The learners will acquire the necessary language in the context of skills they need. Among these are:

1. The reading, filling in and signing of a government form.

At present, in the context of education in Meta' the new readers learn to sign their name. This is an outer sign of the literate over against the illiterate who place a thumbprint on a document, and is therefore in itself a highly prized skill. Without being able to read and understand what one is signing however, it is of very restricted value. The reading of government forms with understanding becomes an area of immediate importance. It will not be mastered completely at once. The first stages of instruction will deal with the basic necessities such as name, address, profession, date and identity card registration number. This is enough for an application for a new identity card and a permit to sell in the market. When it comes to understanding whether one or one's daughter is signing a 'monogamous' or a 'polygamous' marriage certificate, however, more is required. Government forms can be a continually recurring element in instruction. Once one has learnt to sign one's name, it is a skill which needs to be practised with discretion.

2. Simple bookkeeping:

This is of first importance in being able to manage personal and group affairs. In time this can be built up into management of a gardening or trading cooperative.

3. Recipes:

New recipes need writing down in order to be read again when the memory fails. Some of the food preparation procedures such as making soya bean milk need to be committed to writing. A soya bean recipe book may also be translated into the national language as has been done for Meta', but being able to read in English gives access to the new.

4. Reading directions:

This is necessary for directions for the use of medicines, for the use of agricultural products such as fertiliser and pesticides and to read signs which serve as orientation in travelling.

5. Reading and writing letters.

In this sphere there is great motivation for the learner. A great deal of language can be imparted in the use of this medium.

6. Reading Biblical materials:

There is great motivation to read the christian scriptures. Biblical stories produced in a simple but good form of English would serve as a good language model to follow and be popular.

4.3.1 Cameroon English Texts:

Good texts which exemplify the above text types must be found and put in a reading collection or in several collections so that they may be used in teaching.

At present texts which are in use in the immediate environment of the women are being collected. The aim is to analyse them for vocabulary frequency and frequency of grammatical structures so that they may be given priority in teaching. A small selection of such texts and excerpts from such texts is presented below. It will be immediately apparent to the reader that the Educated English in use is largely English for Special Purposes, and sometimes suffers from cultural distance.

A corpus of English texts is being assembled which reflects the actual use of written English in the sub-division.

Text 1: Government application form for an identity card

REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN

REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON

DECLARATION D'IDENTITE
STATEMENT OF IDENTITY

(Loi N° 64-LF-22 — Law No. 64-LF-22)

Je soussigné déclare que mon identité est la suivante :
I, undersigned, state as follows my identity :

Nom Name		44
Prénoms et surnoms Surnames		45
Né le born on		46
A Ville, Village At Town, Village		47
Arrondissement District		48
Département Division		49
Fils/Fille de Son/Daughter of	Nom et prénom du père Father's name and surname	50
	Nom et prénom de la mère Mother's name and surname	51
Profession Occupation		52
Domicile Residence		53

Certifié exact :
Certified true statement :

A _____ le _____
At _____ on the _____
Signature

Text 2: Transcription of a lecture by a nurse in context of teaching of Ministry of Social and Women's Affairs. (no date)

The Kitchen, Some Kitchen Equipment and Kitchen Rules

What is a kitchen?:

The kitchen or 'domestic workshop' is the centre of all food preparation and cooking. The activities are of such importance to the health of the household and requires such a tremendous amount of work that it should be well planned to save time and labour, increase efficiency and promote hygiene. The types of kitchen commonly found are of two kinds, namely the 'African Kitchen' or firewood and the European or modern kitchen.

The African or firewood kitchen: This type of kitchen is found in all our villages. The common fuel used is the firewood. The fireplaces are:

- 1. 'Three stone' fire places*
- 2. The cone-shaped 'mudblock' fireplace*
- 3. Charcoal fire coal pot*
- 4 'Sawdust' fireplace*

This kitchen is built behind the main house.

The European or modern kitchen: This type of kitchen is found in all our towns, cities and modern houses. the common fuel used is:

- 1. The gas cooker*
- 2. The electric cooker*
- 3. The kerosene cooker*

This kitchen is in the main part of the house.

Classification of Kitchen Equipment: In this section more consideration will be given to the classification of kitchen equipment found in a modern kitchen although some of the equipment found in a traditional kitchen can also be found in a modern kitchen.

In selecting equipment the number of people, size of income of the family, e.g. money in hand, as well as the size of the kitchen should be considered. The kitchen can never be equipped in one day.

Advised buying over cheap equipment as later it may turn out to be more expensive because it will have to be replaced sooner than expected. This does not mean that one should buy unnecessary expensive articles which you don't even know how to use it. It is more economical to make some of these articles yourself at home than buy them. e.g. baskets for vegetable drainage, graters made of oil gallons or empty tins. In some parts of Cameroon a bride is sent to her new home with a lot of kitchen utensils with which to begin her new home. Even her husband also buys some and keeps for her. This alone indicates the importance attached to well-planned and equipped kitchen from the initial stage of a new home.

The kitchen equipment themselves are classified into two main groups, namely: the fixed equipment and the small or moveable equipment.

Fixed equipment:

freezers, refrigerators, sinks, cookers, cupboards, shelves, working surfaces.

Small or moveable equipment:

pots, plates, dishes, spoons, pans, graters, knives, wooden spoons, chopping boards, glasses, grinding stones and machine storage tins of all kinds, trays, mortar and pestle, baskets for vegetable and dish racks etc.

Kitchen rules

When the kitchen is not part of the main house or building as in the case in many houses there should be no stairs or steps between the kitchen and the dining room as these steps or stairs may be dangerous to the cook or house wife when handling delicate items like hot food, breakable equipment like plates or glasses etc. In constructing a modern kitchen consideration should be given to the following: a) good ventilation b) good lighting, c) decorations in the kitchen d) type of floor

Text 3. Notes on Milk Soya Beans (Teaching Programme of Ministry of Social and Womens' Affairs no date)

Ingredients:

2 kilos soya beans

17 litres of water

sugar to taste

Method:

soak soya beans for 24 hours

peel with hands or a machine

boil for 15 minutes

grind in a machine

add 10 litres of water in a clean container to 2 kilos of soya beans

pass through a sieve

add in 7 litres of water and sieve it using a clean cloth or white cloth

boil for the last time for about 30 minutes to 45 minutes

add sugar to taste

remove and sieve, hot or cold.

Text 4. Water and Health Course, Momo

(The course to which delegates from the village water maintenance committees were invited, was held in Mbengwi in January 1996. The proceedings and discussion were in Pidgin English interspersed with technical English termini. The following 'text' was that which was written on the blackboard for orientation during the discussion. Two women delegates were present. One could understand a little, one none at all.)

strong points:

economy of water

some basic knowledge exists

Weak points:

grazing cattle in catchment area

farming in catchment area/burning

few washbasins

domestic animals (pigs not controlled)

poor organisation (of meetings etc.)

encourage women for WHS meetings

poor handwashing practices

Water maintenance committees

poor organisation

poor maintenance

poor education

caretaker

user

sanitation

some basic knowledge

hygiene education

recalcitrant people.

Text 5. Exerpt from 'Infectious Disease Control' (A handbook.1993 'an up-to-date presentation for health and social workers alike')

Measles has been the number one killer among infants in Cameroon for many years. With a highly effective, safe measles vaccine now available, the degree of measles control has depended largely on the effectiveness of the continuing efforts to vaccinate all susceptible persons who can safely be vaccinated [...]

All infants of nine months in this country require the measles vaccine. Persons can be considered immune to measles only if they have documentation of correctly diagnosed measles (by qualified personnel), adequate immunisation with live vaccine on or after the first birthday, or laboratory evidence of measles immunity. In some countries, all children, adolescents, and adults are considered susceptible to measles and are vaccinated, if there are no contra-indications.

Text 6. (Women's Service n.d.) Home and Market Gardening Techniques

What is a Home and Market Garden?

This is an area usually near the house where vegetables are grown for the family diet or to supplement family income. Market gardens are grown for the family diet or

to supplement family income. Market gardens are grown for commercial purposes usually near the market.

Why do we practice home or market gardening?

- a) to increase our food supply
- b) to have the basic nutrients necessary for a balanced diet as proteins, vitamins etc.
- c) to sell and have extra revenue
- d) to use your leisure time valuably (as a hobby) and to utilise waste
- e) to have them as fresh as wanted (avoid evaporation)

Vegetables are grown for:

- a) their leaves and stems e.g. lettuce, cabbages, spinach, leeks
- b) their fruits e.g. pepper, beans, okro, garden eggs, etc.
- c) their bulbs e.g. onions

In order to grow vegetables, you must first of all choose a site: in choosing a site, we must take the following points into consideration

- a) Your garden should be near the house. This is because it will be easy for you to harvest vegetables for home use even late in the evenings. It will also be easy for you to look after your crops better.
- b) It must be near a source of water. Vegetables need a lot of water for growth.
- c) There should be a shade to protect against rain, winds and heavy sun rays.
- d) Your garden must be fenced to protect it from straying animals.
- e) It should not be situated behind latrines or on refuse heaps.

Text 7. The Gospel of Mark Chapter 4. (Used in Church Fellowship Group n.d.)

Once again Jesus began to teach beside Lake Galilee. The crowd that gathered round him was so large that he got into a boat and sat in it. The boat was out in the water, and the crowd stood on the shore at the water's edge. He used parables to teach them many things, saying to them:

Listen! Once there was a man who went out to sow corn. As he scattered the seed in the field, some of it fell along the path, and the birds came and ate it up. Some of it fell on rocky ground where there was little soil. The seeds soon sprouted because the soil wasn't deep. Then, when the sun came up, it burnt the young plants; and because the roots had not grown deep enough, the plants soon dried up. Some of the seed fell among thorn bushes, which grew up and choked the plants and they didn't produce any corn. But some fell in good soil, and the plants sprouted, grew and produced corn

Text 8.Exposition of Agricultural Products by MEWOCUDA. (an excerpt n.d.)

Background of Project:

The problem of the rural women in Meta' is made more critical by the fact that even after labouring, the crops do not fetch their fair share of take home price by virtue of remoteness, bad roads, no adequate facilities for preservation and storage or even processing to conserve. Because of no market transparency the Meta' communities are grossly exploited by the middleman merchants from the towns.

5. CONCLUSION

(1) A programme of basic education related to issues of development is judged to be suited to the needs and motivation of rural women in the North West Province of Cameroon. In this manner their personal development is furthered to the advantage also of their family and the community.

(2) A transitional model of education for adults in which basic literacy skills are acquired in the mother tongue before proceeding to education in English, is considered to be suited to the sociolinguistic situation prevailing in the rural areas of North West Province. The present programme can be extended to neighbouring areas using the traditional method of community involvement in its own projects.

(3) An enquiry showed that rural women have a very limited knowledge of Pidgin English. Bilingualism could only be spoken of for those who have a number of years of schooling and have lived in inter-ethnic circumstances. (This could be said for just one member of the questioned group.) Pidgin is for use in special circumstances and the width of language use required is very limited. Even within these limits only about half of the women questioned could be considered to be able to cope with the linguistic demands of their situation. It is typical that those who speak the most feel their limitations most. The extent of versatility in Pidgin English demonstrated by the enquiry showed that adult education should be conducted in this language it would first need to be taught as a foreign language.

(4) Some in-depth comparisons of Pidgin English with the national languages of the area could serve to clarify some of the issues regarding the substratum of Pidgin English.

(5) A functional approach to the teaching of Educated English to adults in the North West Province needs to take into account that it is a language for special purposes for them. For the rural monolingual woman the written form is of great importance. She needs access to it in order to fill in government forms, read a letter, read instructions on bought goods or on agricultural products such as pesticides and

fertilisers and on medicines. The English taught must be directed towards these needs. A data base of texts which are encountered in the province needs to be developed and the lexicon, and most frequent syntactic features analysed in preparation for the creation of relevant teaching materials.

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