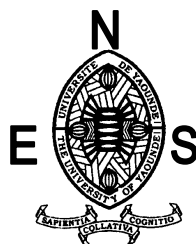


**THE UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I
UNIVERSITE DE YAOUNDE I**

**HIGHER TEACHER TRAINING
COLLEGE
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH**



**ECOLE NORMALE SUPERIEURE
DEPARTEMENT D'ANGLAIS**

**A PRAGMATICO-LINGUISTIC SOCIOLINGUISTIC
STUDY OF MESSAGES WRITTEN ON TAXIS IN THE CITY OF
YAOUNDE**

A Dissertation Submitted to the Higher Teacher Training College (ENS) Yaounde in
Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement for the Award of a Postgraduate Teacher's
Diploma (DIPES II) in Bilingual Studies

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Yaounde, June 2016

DEDICATION

To my daughter, Rosine Oréalle Lissouck Tossom

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CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this work, entitled “A Pragmatico-linguistic and Sociolinguistic Study of Messages Written on taxis in the City of Yaounde”, was carried out and written by Junie Armelle DJADJEU FONTENG, a Level Five student in the Bilingual Studies Unit at the Higher Teacher Training College (ENS) Yaounde.

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ABSTRACT

This work set out to investigate the sociolinguistic, pragmatic, and structural (linguistic) aspects of messages displayed on taxis in the city of Yaounde. It was hypothesized that these messages reveal significant sociolinguistic information about the authors in particular and language users in Yaounde in general, besides revealing the linguistic and pragmatic peculiarities of language use in the city. Through observation, interviews, and photographing, the data needed for the investigation was collected. A total of 250 messages were collected and analyzed according to the three dimensions of the study. The analysis revealed many findings. First, the messages reveal different types of sociolinguistic information about the authors in particular and language users in Yaounde in general. For instance, their religious orientations, sport vision, political orientation, and linguistic background emerge from the analysis of the data. Second, the analysis showed that some of the messages have meanings that are different from their ordinary meanings, considered as pragmatic meaning. Third, many of the messages display noticeable structural or linguistic infelicities, which challenge the norms of English and French.

RESUME

Ce travail est de rechercher les aspects sociolinguistiques, linguistiques et pragmatiques des messages qui sont écrits sur les taxis dans la ville de Yaounde. L'hypothèse qui a été émise est le fait qu'à travers ces messages, on peut avoir beaucoup d'informations sur les différentes personnes qui vivent à Yaounde. C'est – à -dire, leurs origines, leurs religions, leurs niveau de langue et leurs différentes philosophies. En plus, certains messages ont un sens figuré et un sens propre. Par rapport à la collecte des données, 250 messages ont été collectés pour cette recherche. Ces messages ont été collectés en utilisant trois méthodes qui sont : observation, la prise des photos et l'interview. Après avoir analysé les données, il a été découvert que ces messages nous donnent assez d'informations sociolinguistiques de la ville de Yaounde. En plus, la majorité ne respecte pas les règles de grammaire. Encore, certains messages ont une interprétation différente du sens propre.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EA	Error Analysis
CS	Code Switching
(LMLS)	language maintenance and language shift
(ENL)	Users of English as a Native Language
(ESL)	Users of English as a Second Language and
(EFL)	Users of English as a Foreign Language and
(EBL)	Users of English as a Basal Language

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General Introduction

Cameroon is described as a country blessed with a multiplicity of languages with different statuses and functions (Ngefac 2010). It is in this light that Mbangwana and Simo Bobda (1993) describe Cameroon as Africa in miniature, insinuating that the country has a bit of everything found in Africa, especially in terms of the number of languages spoken. Considering the fact that when two or more languages co-exist, different sociolinguistic and linguistic phenomena are likely to prevail, this multiplicity of languages naturally leads to different sociolinguistic and linguistic phenomena like multilingualism, bilingualism and code mixing. Multilingualism is the art or practice of alternately using more than two languages in the same context (Weinreich 1973) and bilingualism refers to one's ability to use two languages (Trudgill 1974). Hoffman (1991:104) defines code mixing as a switch occurring within a sentence.

After colonialism, Cameroon adopted two official languages, English and French. Besides these two languages, there are 285 indigenous languages (Ngefac 2010) and Pidgin English. The two official languages are used in formal situations, including administration, religion, economy, and politics. Even though English and French are the official languages, people do not see them as equal. Most Francophones who learn English simply make an instrumental use of it. This is why Francophones still speak French in English-learning environments. Anchimbe (2007) describes this interest in English as an identity opportunism whereby postcolonial multilingual speakers choose an identity or a language at a given period due to the advantages they see in it. Trudgill (1974:138) says that "language acts as an important symbol of group consciousness and solidarity". Even though Francophones learn English, they speak French in an English environment as a sign of solidarity and identity. Concerning indigenous languages and Pidgin English, they are mostly used in informal situations like family gatherings, markets, death celebrations, birth celebrations, and tribal meetings. Due to this multilingual nature of Cameroon, people use the language they like, write it the way they want, and even mix languages when expressing ideas or thoughts, for different reasons.

It has been observed that the messages displayed on cars in the city of Yaounde reveal significant information about the sociolinguistic realities of Cameroon, including sociolinguistic

phenomena such as multilingualism, bilingualism, and code mixing. The messages also reveal a lot of information about the linguistic peculiarities of the people and their social background (religious beliefs, political orientation, and their interests). Besides, some of the messages reveal denotative or ordinary meanings that are different from what the authors intended to convey, which are considered in this work as pragmatic meanings.

This explains why this work hypothesizes that the messages displayed on cars in the city of Yaounde are windows through which the sociolinguistic realities of Yaounde in particular and Cameroon in general can be seen. They also constitute a good medium through which the distance between semantics and pragmatics can be analyzed, given that in a number of cases, authors' meanings are different from the ordinary meanings the messages suggest. The purpose of the work is, therefore, to provide sociolinguistic, pragmatic and linguistic analyses of these messages.

The investigation was guided by a number of research questions:

- What are the messages displayed on taxis in the city of Yaounde?
- Which sociolinguistic phenomena are revealed through these messages?
- What do the messages reveal about the sociolinguistic background of the authors of the messages in particular and Cameroonians in general, especially their political, religious, and philosophical orientations?
- Is there any difference between the surface meanings of these messages and their contextual or pragmatic meanings?
- What are the linguistic peculiarities of these messages? In other words, do these messages, especially those written in English and French, respect or violate the syntactic norms of the languages in which they are written?

The sociolinguistic and pedagogic significance of this study is multidimensional. Sociolinguistically, the work is significant in many ways. First, it introduces a new perspective of investigating sociolinguistic phenomena in postcolonial multilingual Cameroon. It should be noted that previous studies have reported sociolinguistic phenomena in Cameroon such as multilingualism and bilingualism, by simply stating the number of languages spoken in Cameroon or the languages that are used for official transactions, but

this study investigates the actual manifestation of such sociolinguistic phenomena as multilingualism, bilingualism, and code mixing, through an analysis of the messages displayed on taxis in the city of Yaounde. Second, considering that sociolinguistics investigates how language mirrors society, this study relies on language use to investigate the social background of speakers, a perspective of language study that is significantly lacking in current sociolinguistic literature in Cameroon. Through a sociolinguistic analysis of messages displayed on taxis in the city of Yaounde, the political, religious, and philosophical orientations of the authors of the messages in particular and dwellers of Yaounde in general are investigated. One of the few studies conducted in Cameroon that investigates the sociolinguistic background of the speakers through language use is Ngefac (2008a & 2008b), but his focus was rather on the way phonological variables reveal sociolinguistic information (level of education, social status, age, ethnicity, gender, etc.) about the speakers. He never investigated how language use can reveal the political, religious, philosophical, and multilingual backgrounds of the speakers. Third, this study focuses on the distance between the surface meanings of messages and their intended meanings, which falls within the domains of semantics and pragmatics. It should be noted that this perspective of linguistic inquiry is very lacking in current sociolinguistic literature in Cameroon. Pedagogically, the study is significant in two ways. First, pedagogic efforts can yield greater fruits if the teacher considers the sociolinguistic realities of Yaounde revealed through this investigation. In other words, knowledge of the religious beliefs of people of a given community, their interests, their linguistic background, and their identity can significantly shape the teaching-learning process. In a similar manner, messages displayed in the classroom can be studied to determine sociolinguistic information about the learners that can significantly shape classroom activities.

Second, a linguistic analysis of messages displayed either in the classroom or on taxis can reveal a linguistic behaviour that can be well exploited during the teaching-learning process.

The Sociolinguistic, pragmatic and linguistic scopes of the work are worth defining. Sociolinguistically, the focus is on the different languages that are used on taxis in the city of Yaounde, the sociocultural background of the authors and the different sociolinguistic language contact phenomena like code mixing. Linguistically, the scope is focused on the

peculiar punctuation of these messages. Lastly, the pragmatic aspect is also taken into considerations in order to know the real meaning of some these messages.

Besides the General Introduction and the General Conclusion, the work is divided into three chapters. The General Introduction presents the background, the purpose, the research questions, the significance, and the structure of the study. Chapter One discusses the theoretical frameworks and reviews related literature. In addition, the contribution of the work is highlighted. As concerns the theoretical frameworks, the focus is on the sociolinguistic theory, Grice's theory of implicature, and error analysis. With regard to literature review, a number of issues are addressed. First, such sociolinguistic phenomena as multilingualism, bilingualism, code switching, and code mixing are critically discussed, in an attempt to highlight the difference between this work and previous ones conducted out and within Cameroon. Second, language and identity and language and ideology are reviewed. Third, the sociolinguistic situation of Cameroon is discussed. Besides discussing the theoretical frameworks and reviewing related literature, the contribution of the work is also highlighted in this chapter. Chapter Two presents the methodology used to carry out the investigation. It describes the informants, the instruments used for data collection, the method of data collection, and the method of data analysis. Chapter Three presents the findings of the investigation. Specifically, the sociolinguistic phenomena revealed through the messages, the social background of the authors of the messages, the linguistic peculiarities of the messages, and their different meanings are presented and discussed in this chapter. Chapter Four provides a summary of the findings and highlights their sociolinguistic and pedagogic implications. The General Conclusion gives a brief summary of the work and makes recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER ONE

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

1.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical frameworks and literature review. With regard to the theoretical frameworks that define the perspectives from which this study is carried out, the focus will be on the sociolinguistic theory, error analysis, and Grice's theory of implicature. The sociolinguistic theory, which is concerned with the correlation between language and society, is important for this work because the study investigates how language or the messages displayed on taxis reveal sociolinguistic information about the city of Yaounde. Error analysis is relevant in this study because the messages displayed on taxis in the city of Yaounde are also analyzed in terms of their compliance with standard British English norms. Grice's theory of implicature is relevant in the study because the difference between the surface meanings of the messages and the writers' implied or intended meanings will be another preoccupation of the investigation. As concerns literature review, previous related sociolinguistic studies are reviewed, as an attempt to show the difference between this investigation and previous ones.

1.1 Theoretical Frameworks

As indicated in 1.0 above, three theoretical frameworks define the perspectives from which this investigation was carried out. They include the sociolinguistic theory, error analysis, and Grice's theory of implicature. Each of these theoretical frameworks is discussed in greater details below.

1.1.1 Sociolinguistic Theory

Before 1966, the general assumption was that language and society did not share any predictable relationship. This feeling stemmed from Hubbell's (1950) hasty conclusion that New York was the site for massive free variation and haphazard linguistic behaviour. But Labov (1966) clearly established that language use neatly mirrors society and vice versa. In other words, Labov (1966) proved that there is an unmistakable relationship between language and society, implying that language is a window to the society in which it is used and that the structure of any society is reflected in the language or languages of that society. It is this discovery that led Labov to postulate the famous sociolinguistic theory (also known as the

Labovian theory), which maintains that the structure of society is significantly captured in the structure of language.

As a result of Labov's conclusion, many scholars have embarked on studies that investigate language use in society, especially studies that investigate the correlation between language use and some sociolinguistic phenomena. As concerns the relationship between language and social status, Trudgill (1974), for instance, studied language use in Norway and concluded, like Labov (1966), that Norwegians used either standard and non-standard linguistic forms, depending on their social status. Similar sociolinguistic studies (e.g. Macaulay 1976 and Chambers 1995) tend to conclude, like previous ones, that there is, indeed, a predictable relationship between language and social status. But in Jibril (1992), Ngefac (2006), Ngefac(2008 a), and Ngefac (2008 b), the conclusion seems to be different. It is argued in these works that one cannot claim a universal pattern of correlation between language and social status, considering that each context has its sociocultural and sociolinguistic realities that influence language use.

Sociolinguistic theory does not only capture the correlation between language and sociolinguistic variables, like social status. In fact, it also explains the ideology of the people of a given society embodied in the language they use. In other words, people's likes and dislikes can be deduced from the manner in which they use language in speech and in writing. Language choices, word and syntactic preferences, style, and other linguistic mannerisms can go a long way to reveal the ideology of the people of a given community. This explains why Dabène(1994) opines that speakers choose among their vast and complex linguistic arsenal, depending on who they are, what their vision is, and what their expectations are. In other words, speakers' linguistic behaviour depends on their sociolinguistic, sociocultural and ideological preferences.

The sociolinguistic theory also shows that language use in society unambiguously reveals speakers' identity. In fact, speakers' style of speaking, their choice of words and expressions, their linguistic preferences, and even what they talk about provide a lot of information about their identity. For instance, Bansa speakers of English can easily be identified simply from the way they articulate such words as "go", "flow", and "so". It is reported in Mushing (1989), Dzelambong (1996), and Sala (1999) that such words are likely to be pronounced by Bansa speakers of English as /gu/, /flu/, and /su/, respectively.

The sociolinguistic theory is therefore relevant in this study because it accounts for language use in society and provides one of the perspectives from which the messages displayed on taxis in the city of Yaounde can be analyzed. It is for this reason that these messages are investigated in terms of the sociolinguistic information they reveal about the city of Yaounde and about language users in the place.

1.1.2 The Error Analysis Framework

Besides the sociolinguistic theory, error analysis as a theoretical model provides another perspective from which the investigation was carried out. Considering that some of the messages displayed on taxis in the city of Yaounde (especially those written in English and French) were also analyzed in terms of their conformity with the standard grammatical norms of some selected languages, error analysis was considered an important theoretical framework in this study.

The unpopularity of Lado's (1957) Contrastive Analysis brought about Error Analysis (EA). By 1970s, empirical studies had proven that most of learners' errors were scarcely traceable to their L1, but rather to the target language itself (Corder 1967). As a result, the EA framework was introduced in the literature. Today, errors in L2 are seen as having a system of their own and are also seen to be predictable. Many scholars have come up with different appellations of this linguistic system. Selinker (1972) names it "Inter-language", which is said to be learner-specific, implying that no two learners can have exactly the same interlanguage pattern. Corder (ibid) rather thinks that interlanguage is an "idiosyncratic" tendency, implying that it is neither L1 nor L2. Nemser (1971) refers to interlanguage as an "approximative system", meaning it is close to the target language.

Hedge (2000: 15) points out that error should be seen as reflections of a learner's stage of inter-language development. Corder (1967), quoted in Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005), provides three ways in which learners' errors are significant. First, learners' errors serve a pedagogic purpose, by showing teachers what learners have learnt and have not yet mastered. Second, they serve a research purpose, by providing evidence about how languages are learnt. Third, they serve a learning purpose, by acting as devices by which learners can discover the rules of the target language.

1.1.2.1 Theoretical Underpinning of Error Analysis

Contrastive Analysis arose from behaviorists' accounts of language learning. The behaviorists' view language as habit formation. Brooks (1960), cited in Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005:53), argues that "a single paramount fact about language learning is that it concerns not problem-solving but the formation and performance of habits". This is done through conditioning and a stimulating. Habits entail "over-learning" which makes learners' responses automatic. Thus, Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005:54) summarize all the above-mentioned views as follows:

The challenge facing the L2 learner (and the teacher) is to overcome the interference of L1 habits. To this end, Contrastive Analysis sought to identify the features of L2 that differed from those of the L1, so learners could be helped to form the "new habits" of the L2 by practicing them intensively.

Error Analysis is closely associated with the traditional conception of language learning and the emergence of the theory of interlanguage, which lays special emphasis on the mental processes that occur in the "black box" of the mind, where learning takes place.

This discussion is furthered by Dulay (1982: 138) who says that errors are information. In contrastive linguistics, they are thought to be caused by unconscious transfer of mother tongue structures to the system of the target language and give information about both systems. In the interlanguage hypothesis of second language acquisition, errors are indicative of the different intermediate learning levels and provide useful pedagogical feedback.

1.1.2.2 Pedagogic Relevance of Error Analysis

Error Analysis is a very significant theoretical framework in the teaching-learning process. According to Corder (1981:35), studying the errors of learners of a second language needs no justification. It is something which teachers have always done for purely practical reasons. Along with the results of tests and examinations, the errors that learners make are a major element in the feedback system of the process called language teaching and learning. It is on the basis of this feedback that the teacher employs different strategies to correct the errors. Quite often, teachers address learners' errors through the teaching procedures and materials, the pace of the progress, and the amount of practice, which he or she plans at every stage of the lesson. For this reason, it is important that the teacher should be able not only to detect and

describe errors linguistically, but also to understand the psychological reasons for their occurrences. The diagnosis and treatment of errors is one of the fundamental skills of a teacher.

1.1.2.3 Relevance of error analysis to this study

As indicated at the beginning of this section, the error analysis framework defines one of the perspectives from which this investigation was carried out. The study is not limited to the sociolinguistic information revealed through the messages displayed on taxis in the city of Yaounde. The study also investigates, from an error analysis perspective, the deviations that characterize the messages. In other words, the linguistic processes that characterize the messages are investigated with reference to what obtains in the standard varieties of English and French. This therefore explains why the error analysis framework is important in this study.

1.1.3 Grice's Theory of Implicature

In addition to investigating the sociolinguistic information the messages displayed on taxis in the city of Yaounde reveal and analyzing the grammatical deviations that characterize the messages, this work set out to analyze the pragmatic meaning of the messages. This explains why a suitable pragmatic theory, like Grice's theory of implicature, is unavoidable. Grice (1975) used the word "implicature" to account for what a speaker can imply, suggest or mean, as distinct from what he or she literally says. Speakers often mean more than they literally say. A speaker may say "Today is Wednesday" to imply more than a mere statement about the day of the week. For instance, he or she could mean that they have to go for a meeting or an appointment has passed; it could mean "Pay my debt"; it could mean all sorts of things, depending on the context they share. The theory of implicature accounts for the difference between the implied meaning and the ordinary meaning, which is, in many cases, different from the intended meaning.

Every speech act involves two types of implicatures: conventional and non-conventional implicatures. A conventional implicature refers to the ordinary meaning or conventional meaning of words, phrases or expressions (Choon-Kyo and Dinneen 1979:11). Non-conventional implicatures are non-truth-conditional inferences that are based on the cooperative principle and maxims (Levinson 1983:130). With regard to maxims, four have been identified in the literature. They include quantity, quality, relation and manner.

The maxim of quantity denotes the amount of information required in a conversation. According to Grice, the maxim of quantity requires that the speaker should make his or her contribution as informative as is required for the current purposes of exchange and should not equally make his or her contribution more informative than is required. The maxim of quality demands that the speaker says only what he or she believes to be true. In fact, he or she should not say what he believes to be false and should not say what he or she lacks adequate evidence. The maxim of relation urges the speaker to make his or her contributions relevant and the maxim of manner cautions the speaker to be methodological and to avoid ambiguity, prolixity and obscurity. In effect, one can consider that implicatures are aspects of pragmatic meaning with certain identifiable characteristics which are produced in a specific context shared by the speaker and the hearer or the writer and the reader.

Levinson (1983:97) further states that an “implicature stands as a paradigmatic example of the nature and power of pragmatic explanation of linguistic phenomena... it provides some explicit account of how it is possible to mean (in some general sense) more than what is actually said”. This implies that non-conventional implicatures are not derived from the conventional meaning of words. They stand in contrast to conventional implicatures. They cover all the ranges of pragmatic inferences that are not derived from the conventional meanings of lexical items. They are basically distinguished by what is being said because they are only indirectly associated with the linguistic contents of an utterance. It can be said that implicatures are inherently indeterminate. It is the listener or reader’s interpretation of what the speaker or writer has said on a particular occasion of language use.

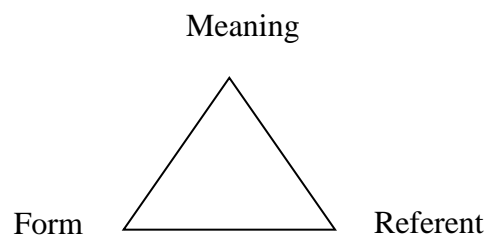
1.1.3.1 Presupposition

Deirdre (1975:321) holds that “presupposition is what is taken by the speaker to be the common ground of the participants in a conversation”. The speaker presupposes the hearer knows what he intends to say. Aspects of presupposition in a given conversation give an assumption that underlies the discussion. There is that common ground between the speaker and the hearer. Therefore, every communication is based on some presuppositions. The presupposition aspects of any speech act are those conditions which must be fulfilled in order for the pragmatic meaning of utterances to be effectively unveiled.

The hearer or listener relies on inference for the interpretation of the meaning of an utterance. Inferences are, therefore, made by readers and hearers to arrive at an interpretation of what they read and hear. The hearer relates the literal meaning of the words to the intended interpretation. Yule (1996) distinguishes two types of inference: deductive inference, which is a kind of inference derived from a specific premise and loose inference, which indicates that an interpretation is from a series of statements that have been provided. Thorndike (1976:32) believes that loose inference refers to signals/ideas which lead the reader or the hearer to infer certain meanings from utterances, such as the place where the speech act takes place, the participants involved, and the context of the discourse.

1.1.3.2 Reference

Lyons (1968:404) states that the relationship that exists between words and their meaning is that of reference. He proposes the triangle below for the understanding this relationship.



The words that are used to refer to an object or a concept are considered as the form; the object or the concept referred to is the referent and the meaning is the mental representation of the relationship between the form and the referent.

1.1.3.3 Importance of Implicature to this Study

Besides investigating the sociolinguistic information revealed through the messages displayed on taxis in the city of Yaounde and analyzing the grammatical deviations that characterize some of the messages, this study set out to investigate the difference between the surface or ordinary meanings of the messages and their pragmatic or contextual meanings and this explains why Grice's theory of implicature has a place in this work. The theory, in effect, explains one of the perspectives from which the investigation was carried out, mainly, analyzing the pragmatic meanings of some of the messages displayed on taxis in the city of Yaounde.

1.2 Review of previous related literature

This section reviews previous related literature and highlights the differences between this work and previous ones. The focus is actually on “bilingualism and multilingualism”, the sociolinguistic situation of Cameroon, the approximation of SBE and Standard French in Cameroon, language and meaning, and the contribution of the work.

1.2.1 Bilingualism and Multilingualism

Considering that this investigation is conducted in a bilingual/multilingual context, it is worthwhile to, first of all, review what previous scholars have said about the notions of bilingualism and multilingualism. The coexistence of many languages in such contexts brings about different categories of speakers: bilinguals and multilinguals. Hamers and Blanc (2000) used the term ‘bilinguality’ to refer to the language repertoire of an individual, reserving the term ‘bilingualism’ for the societal use of two or more languages. Different scholars have suggested various definitions for the term “bilingualism”. These scholars are categorized into two groups. One group considers bilingualism as the tendency of having equal proficiency in two languages. This is referred to as “balanced” bilingualism. Bloomfield (1933) is the leader of this group, since most authors recognize him as the main architect behind this type of bilingualism. The second group, spearheaded by Dabène (1988) holds that an individual is considered bilingual if he or she can use both linguistic systems like a native speaker. He considers bilingualism as a “native-like control” of two languages.

Weinreich (1974), contrary to Bloomfield (1933), emphasizes the idea of use. According to him, the use of two languages can be considered bilingualism. Similar opinions come from authors such as McNamara (1967). These authors consider bilingualism an alternate use of two languages, irrespective of the speaker’s competence. Due to the different interpretations of this term, Hoffman (1991:4) asserts that:

The most salient feature of bilingualism is that it is a multifaceted phenomenon. [...] one has to accept that there can be no clear cut-off points languages. As bilingualism defies delimitation, it is open to a variety of descriptions, interpretations and definitions.

From its multifaceted nature, it can be maintained that different kinds of bilingualism exist. Haugen (1972) outlines three kinds of bilingualism - child bilingualism, pupil bilingualism,

and adult bilingualism. He asserts that child bilingualism refers to a child who acquires two languages in the same way and without any difficulty. Among these two languages, one of them is usually the mother tongue. In this situation, an adolescent learns a language without any problem. The learning is spontaneous.

As concerns adult bilingualism, when an individual already has a good mastery of the systems of his or her first language, they have an effect on the way he or she learns the second language. This effect is usually negative because the person will not master the systems of the second language very well, which may lead to poor bilingualism.

Bell (1976) has proposed another classification of bilingualism, namely: subordinate bilingualism, coordinate bilingualism and compound bilingualism. He sees subordinate bilingualism as a situation where an individual learns a language voluntarily for personal reasons. This is seen in the case where people look for private teachers to teach them certain languages for different purposes. As concerns coordinate bilingualism, it occurs when an individual learns a language in order to integrate into a given community. For this to take place, he or she also studies some basic aspects of that language community. Finally, compound bilingualism refers to a situation where someone who acquires two languages at the same time. This situation is very complex because it is not easy to handle the two languages; this is why it usually leads to unintelligibility.

However, due to the large number of languages that exist, many people tend to be multilinguals. Multilingualism is “a person’s ability to use several languages” (Ngefac 2010). Multilingualism involves the use of three or more languages. Cameroon is a multilingual country because of the presence of many languages. Gemo (1992) outlines two types of multilingualism: individual and societal multilingualism. Individual multilingualism refers to an individual who expresses himself or herself fluently in writing and in speech in more than two languages. This individual must have a first language, added to what he or she learns later. This second language is mostly learnt in an informal situation.

Gemo (ibid) considers societal multilingualism as what is found in countries that have many languages, like Cameroon. Cameroon has two official languages (English and French), about 280 indigenous languages, and traces of many foreign languages, such as German,

Spanish, and Latin, which are taught as foreign languages in the Francophone subsystem of education. As a result of the multilingual nature of Cameroon, there is language contact, resulting in such sociolinguistic phenomena as code switching, code mixing, language birth, and language death (Crystal 1997).

The coexistence of many languages in the same context leads to different language contact phenomena such as code mixing and code switching, which characterize the written and spoken output of most multilingual speakers, especially those in Cameroon. In such multilingual contexts as Cameroon, the alternate use of formal and informal styles of the language is combined with another sociolinguistic phenomenon which Trudgill (1978:124) terms “language switching.” This involves related languages and varieties. According to Trudgill (*ibid*), “language switching takes place like style or dialect-switching and can be broadly defined as the said languages are alternately used.” Other scholars, such as Hoffman (1991:109), are of the opinion that “potentially, it is the most creative aspect of bilingual speech”. For others, it is a sign that bilinguals are not capable of mastering the two languages adequately or keeping them apart. Code switching constitutes a habitual and often necessary part of social interaction among bilinguals. This mostly happens when multilinguals alternatively use many languages in the same utterance. It is in this light that Trudgill (1978:124) defines it as follows: “by code switching, we mean switching from one language to another, when the situation demands.” Code switching frequently occurs in situations where people are familiar with each other and share the same educational, social, and economic backgrounds. According to Hoffman (1991:110), “it is the alternate use of two languages or linguistic varieties within the same conversation.” This can be English and French, French and Spanish, English and German, etc.

Different types of code switching have been identified in the literature. Hoffman (1991) distinguishes three types. First, there is the intra-sentential switching. This type of code switching is illustrated in the following sentence: “Give me that “stylo” in your bag and also that bread.” It actually involves drawing linguistic items from more than one code to build a single sentence. Second, there is the inter-sentential switching which occurs when switching takes place in a simple utterance. According to Myer-Scotten (1993), inter-sentential code switching (henceforth CS) “involves switches from one language to another. A whole sentence or more than one sentence is produced entirely in one language before there is a switch to the other

language or languages. It is switching that takes place from sentence to sentence or from clause to clause. In this case, no language is considered superior to the other. This phenomenon is common among students who are perfectly bilingual. The following example vividly illustrates this type of code switching:

Whatisyourname? (English) Je veux connaitre ton nom. (French)

The above example demonstrates a switch from English to French. Finally, Emblematic or tag switches which involve an exclamation, a tag or a parenthetical element in another language, as illustrated in the following: “banaloba, listen.” Appel and Muysken (1987) point out that the foreign element is the emblem of a bilingual character of the otherwise monolingual utterance.

Code mixing, on the other hand, refers to all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence (Muysken 2000:1). Previous research has followed three main trends: first, the search for universal constraints, typified by the seminal work of Poplack (1980); second, the assumption of an asymmetry initiated by Joshi (1985) and developed by Myers-Scotton (1993) and finally, the typological or structural approach, advocated by Muysken (2000). Muysken suggests that instead of one code-mixing model serving for all language pairs, there are three main types of code-mixing: insertional, alternational and congruent lexicalisation. As concerns insertional code mixing, lexical items from one language are incorporated into another. It can be illustrated in the following Swahili-English example, from Myers-Scotton (1993:86).

A- na-Ku -l- a-plate m-biliz-a murram.

“He eats two plates of maize.”

In this example, the word-order is the same in Swahili, including the phrase “m- biliz” (“two plates”) and all the inflections from Swahili. The asymmetry between the two languages, involved in the insertional pattern, is captured in the labeling of the main language as “the matrix” language and the other as “the embedded language.”

Alternation mixing occurs when both languages occur alternately, each with its own structure. This type of code-mixing is observed by Poplack (1980) and is well captured in the following example:

“Why make Carol sentarseatràs pa’ que everybody has to move for her to get out?”

In this example, each language stretch, whether English or Spanish has its own language-specific syntax and morphology, with neither language providing an overall structure frame for the utterance.

The last type of code mixing, as stipulated by Muysken (2000), is the congruent lexicalization, seen as occurring in a pair of languages where the grammar is largely shared but the vocabulary is different. He proposes this type with reference, mainly, to the mixing of the standard and nonstandard codes. The following example, involving Standard Dutch and the Ottersum dialect, is provided in Muysken (2000) to illustrate:

Ja maar bifou we, mensenkomtdatgauwer tot stilstandalsbifjongemensewa.

(Yes but with/older people/comes that/more quickly to a halt than /with younger people eh.)

In this example the fragments from each variety apparently have no internal grammatical cohesion as is expected in this type of mixing. Gumperz (1982) suggests that code switching has important discourse functions for bilinguals. According to him, bilinguals constantly make choices on what language to use during interactions. Bilingual speakers jointly construct social meaning, situated in the interactions.

In a multilingual context, speakers make different language choices, depending on the communicative circumstances at hand. If we assume that the individual is indeed at the focus of language contact, we can easily understand why, very often, there is the need to select appropriate languages in certain circumstances. If a speaker has to select a language among many others, it is because many factors influence him or her to do so during a concrete speech act situation. In fact, an individual’s verbal repertoire, though it may be highly complex, is nevertheless organized in such a way that every linguistic system is assigned a definite role. Dabène (1994) asserts that meanings speakers wish to convey are often chosen among their vast and complex arsenal. It is in this light that Ngefac (2010) asserts that speakers often use

languages of their choice, based on their sociolinguistics, sociocultural, and ideological preferences.

In a speech act, personal motivations play a vital role in an individual's choice of languages. Myers (1993) differentiates two kinds of choice: the unmarked and the marked choice. First, the unmarked choice expresses the speaker's acceptance of the norms of the society, that is, the speaker uses the code or language used by others to achieve intelligibility, social integration, and intimacy. Second, the marked choice refers to the refusal of societal norms. The speaker, therefore, constantly switches purposely from one language to the other to show hostility, exclusion or ignorance (Kamdem, 2003:16).

This binary opposition of "marked" and "unmarked" choices have also been studied by Durant (1994:70). He indicates that "where language choice is the norm, it is perceived as fluid unmarked and eventful, and where it is the exception, it will be perceived as marked, purposeful, emphasis-oriented, and strange." This quotation highlights the fact that speakers choose particular codes of communication at given points in time because they want to achieve certain personal goals.

Language Loyalty is one of the hallmarks of multilingualism. The term "loyalty" is derived from the word 'loyal'. To be loyal means to be faithful to something or to somebody. Language loyalty is therefore observed when users of a particular language show a strong attachment to their language no matter the number of languages that co-exist. Because of this phenomenon, people may consider their languages more prestigious than others. The users manifest a positive attitude towards their languages and this can enhance their promotion and protection against competitive languages.

When there is the coexistence of many languages, hybrid languages come into existence. This process is called language birth. This is often the case with pidgins that came into existence through a contact of two or more independent languages or a slang such as camfranglais, which is the combination of different languages spoken in Cameroon. Camfranglais can be considered a typical example of language birth, considering that its users borrow linguistic resources from the linguistic complexity of Cameroon in order to build another code of communication.

However, when these languages coexist, there is competition and some languages tend to disappear. This explains why Ngefac (2008) asserts as follows:

Today, English is in competition with a multitude of Languages in Cameroon. The competition from French is very obvious, given that English shares most of its official functions with French. Besides the challenge from French and Pidgin English; English also significantly competes with 280 local languages.

Multilingual speech communities often experience the tendency of language maintenance and language shift (LMLS). According to Kamdem (2003), we owe the dichotomy of “language maintenance” and “language shift” to Joshua Fishman. She says Fishman introduced the dual notion of LMLS in the curriculum in 1964, to explain the situation characterized by minor languages or small national language(s) facing the load and the pressure of much more bigger national, international languages. Both are seen as the result of a collective language use. Most often, the adopted language, which may be regarded as prestigious, fulfills the group’s communicative and environmental needs. In other words demographic, industrial, and cultural factors may promote language shift. It is worth mentioning that if the situation of shift and maintenance lasts for long, it may lead to language death.

In this work, instead of investigating bilingualism or multilingualism in terms of the linguistic processes that are likely to prevail in bilingual and multilingual contexts, messages displayed on taxis in the city of Yaounde are investigated in terms of the sociolinguistic information revealed through the messages, the pragmatic meanings of the messages, and the linguistic peculiarities of the messages.

1.2.2 The Sociolinguistic landscape of Cameroon

The sociolinguistic situation of Cameroon is very complex, as acknowledged in many sociolinguistic studies, and this complexity leads speakers to make linguistic choices, based on their sociolinguistic ideologies (Ngefac 2010). The exact number of the languages spoken in Cameroon is not known, even though different sociolinguistic research works show that these languages are more than 250 in number (Ngefac 2010, Echu 1999). Some Scholars such as Kouega (1999), on the one hand, argue that the exact number of languages in Cameroon is unknown. On the other hand, some scholars have come up with the approximate number of

languages spoken in Cameroon. Ngefac (2008) talks of 280, while Echu (1999) talks of 245. Looking at these different numbers, it is clear that the exact number of languages in Cameroon is subject to serious doubt. One can therefore guess that there are approximately 250 languages in Cameroon.

Different types of languages are, in fact, spoken in Cameroon. First, English and French are used for all official transactions (i.e. in administration, politics, parliament, judiciary, education, etc.). This official bilingual status makes Cameroon a unique country in Africa. This situation is a consequence of the complex colonial history of the country. After the First World War, the Germans had to leave, following the victory of the British and the French. Thereafter, the country was put under British and French mandate. Cameroon was, thus, divided into two parts: the British and French Cameroons; in both parts, English and French gradually replaced German respectively. These languages came to be used as official languages in 1961. Following the plebiscite of October 1961, the two parts of Cameroon opted for unity and gave birth to the Federal Republic of Cameroon. The Federal Constitution adopted English as the language of administration and education in southern Cameroons, which today is made-up of the two Anglophone regions: North West and South West. Temjoh-Okwen (1974:5,6) confirms this fact as he explains that the 1961 Cameroon Constitution that gave birth to the Federal Republic of Cameroon chose English and French as the nation's two official tongues; the former for the Federal State of West Cameroon (former British Southern Cameroon) and the latter for East Cameroon (former French Cameroon). Furthermore, both languages were to be used by the Federal Government's ministerial services, justice, secondary schools, the Federal University of Cameroon, and other institutions of Higher Education. The Federal Republic of Cameroon became the United Republic of Cameroon in 1972. Since language was seen as the best way to strengthen unity, the government saw it relevant to intensify the process of bilingualism, and even introduced it in schools. Today, English and French serve as the only two official languages of Cameroon.

Second, there are traces of other foreign languages like German, Spanish, and Latin. These languages are taught as foreign languages in the Francophone sub-system of education. These languages, unlike English and French, are heard only in the mouths of a few

Cameroonians who have either learned them in the French sub-system of education or who have lived in countries where they are spoken.

Third, some lingua francas can be identified. Alobwede (1999:176) defines a lingua franca as “a language of consensus”. The number of lingua francas in Cameroon varies. Jikong (2001) says there are four in number, which include the Fang, Beti, Ffulde, French and Pidgin English. Even though French is a colonial language, he counts it as a lingua franca. But Kouega (op.cit:39) rather identifies the following as the lingua francas spoken in Cameroon: Ffulde in the North, Arab Choa in the Far North, and Pidgin English in the Littoral, North West and Western Regions. Wolf (2001:168) links these lingua francas to the areas in which they are widely spoken. Ffulde zone is northern Cameroon; the Pidgin zone is the West and parts of the South; and the French zone is the rest of Cameroon. Koenig (1983:55) seems to share this point of view, because she identifies the same number of lingua francas and the same areas where they are being used. Alobwede (1999), on his part, identifies just two lingua francas in Cameroon: Pidgin English, which he calls “a semi indigenous lingua franca”, and Hausa, which is used in the northern part of Cameroon. Tiomajou (1991) recognizes just Pidgin English as a lingua franca which he considers to be very powerful and widely spoken. Looking at the different points of view, one can easily notice that there is the absence of unanimity on the languages that actually serve as lingua francas in Cameroon.

With regard to Pidgin English, it is worth mentioning that it has witnessed the attention of many scholars. It is generally seen as a language which does not have any specific native speakers (Mbangwana 1983, Ayafor 2004, Kouega 2001, Ngefac 2010 and Ngefac 2014), besides the fact that it is considered a major lingua franca in Cameroon (Kouega 2003). It is reported that it began at the coastal regions and gradually moved into the hinterland (Kouega 2001). Alobwede (1998:54) considers Pidgin English as “the only language in Cameroon which expresses Cameroonian realities without provoking vertical or horizontal hostilities”. According to him, Pidgin English is a language, which is acquired freely by a great number of Cameroonians. This lingua franca is also used on the media and in advertisement, on taxis, in music production with stars such as Nico Barga, John Menang, a Bamenda-based musician in “Bottle- dance” (Mbangwana 1983). Quoting Crsytal (1990:234), Tiomajou (1991: 9) describes Pidgin English as: a “language with markedly reduced grammatical, structural, Lexical, and

stylistic range, which is the native language of no one”. Pidgins are formed by two speech communities attempting to communicate, each successively approximating to the most obvious feature of the other language. From the above definition, one sees the twisted and awkward structure of Pidgin English. This language has become the language for out-group communication among people who speak different indigenous languages. It is one of the few lingua francas that are spoken across regional boundaries.

Fourth, there is Camfranglais, which is a slang spoken in urban cities of Cameroon, such as Yaounde, Douala, and Bafoussam. It is often spoken by young people on the streets, markets, and play grounds. The term “Camfranglais” was coined by Ze Amvela (1989) to differentiate between a new form that was developing in Cameroon and what was then known as “Franglais.” Many researchers have carried out studies on Camfranglais. Chia (1990:112), for instance, is of the opinion that:

Le Camfranglais constitue une distraction consciente des langues qui le constituent. A l’origine, le but avoué du Camfranglais était de pouvoir communiquer librement aux yeux des autres sans que les non-initiés puissent décoder le message. Par la suite, il est devenu une langue d’amusement ou des comiques aussi bien pour les locuteurs que les non-locuteurs.

According to Kouega (2003:23), it is “a composite language, consciously developed by secondary school pupils who have in common a number of linguistic codes”. This language is lexically made up of terms borrowed from English and French, Pidgin English, and the indigenous languages. Biloa et al. (2004:4) define Camfranglais as a cohabitation of languages in Cameroon that gave birth to a sort of language, which obeys the French structure or distorts it. This point of view is shared by MendoZe (1990:86-87). It is important to note that this new code of communication is gaining ground in Cameroon.

Fifth, there are 250, or more, indigenous languages spoken in Cameroon Masanga (1983). Bissa (1988:9-10) says “the home languages are naturally assigned the function of in-group communication within more or less restricted speech communities, even though some of them serve the purpose of wider communication.” During colonization, the missionaries used these different languages to promote Christianity and education through the British policy of Indirect Rule. People use these languages in their homes and sometimes for intimacy. The extent to

which each language is used greatly depends on the number of native speakers. For instance, the Ewondo, Bulu, and Duala languages serve the purpose of wider communication relative to a language like the *EblamEbkou* (languages spoken by the Oku community). Indigenous languages such as Ewondo, Bulu, and Eton, are spoken in Yaounde in areas such as administration, offices, markets, and bars. Meanwhile, languages such as Lamnso and Kenyang are spoken more in Anglophone areas, even though a considerable number of speakers can also be found in Francophone towns like Yaounde and Douala.

1.2.3 Approximation of standard British English

English language is used by millions of people around the world. (Sala and Ubanako 2008:90). The use of English in various communities around the world has given way to distinctive patterns of use, with respect to different contextual ecologies. This has led to new varieties of English which Platt (1984) refers to as “The New Englishes”. In an effort to classify the new Englishes, Moag (1982) proposes four types of English-using societies – Users of English as a Native Language (ENL), users of English as a Second Language (ESL), and users of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and users of English as a Basal Language (EBL).

Today, most countries in Africa, especially former British colonies, use English as a second language. Due to the various cultures in Africa, the English language tends to reflect some of the characteristics of African languages (Bokambo 1982, Platt 1984; Mbangwana, 1987; Kouega, 1991; Bobda, 1994; Ngefac, 2008). Platt (ibid) carried his investigation on former British colonies like Kenya, Nigeria, and Zambia, and discovered, among other things, that the cultures of the people greatly influence the English spoken in their areas, and this makes The Englishes different from Standard British English. Moag (1982) asserts that some words are adapted in the English language in these former English colonies because they have no equivalence in English. For example, “daruka” (a local vegetable) and “vesi” (a local hardwood) which do not have equivalents in the English language. So, these words are used in Fijian English to suit the context.

In Cameroon, there have been some efforts to understand the degree of approximation of SBE features (SimoBobda 1994, Ngefac 2008). These studies sustain the argument that Cameroon English phonology has some predictable patterns that can be described. SimoBobda (1994) demonstrated that Cameroon English has developed into a quasi-autonomous system. He

further finds that “deviation reach, or approximate to 100% among the groups considered as norm setters in all speech communities”. This may account for Mbassi-Manga’s (1972-369) claim that English language use in Cameroon is mixed with French, due to the colonial status of Cameroon.

As a result of the existence of various codes in the country, *Franglais* – a slang (Kouega 2007) – has also surfaced. Mbangwana (1989:328) argues that it is uncertain whether the slang is a mixture of British English, American English and French. The belief that what is good for Africa should necessarily have a western orientation is certainly the underlying motivation behind the election and promotion of Standard British English in Cameroon (Ngefac2010). But the variety of English spoken in Cameroon has indigenous language accents (Mbangwana1987; Bobda 1994; Kouega 1991; Ngefac, 2008a, b). Also, English now has new native speakers implies that the issue of norm in the language should be context-specific and should not be the responsibility of a few English –speaking countries to determine acceptable features for world-wide consumption of the language (Ngefac 2010). Language is the carrier of culture and identity, and the English language in Cameroon needs to project these fundamental aspects (Ngefac *ibid*). If English language in Cameroon projects these aspects, it is obvious that promoting Standard British English in Cameroon may really be impossible. This justifies why previous studies in Cameroon English pronunciation (Mbangwana, 1987; Kouega, 1991; Bobda, 1994; Ngefac, 2008) have shown that no matter the level of education, the phonological level is characterized by a reduction of long sounds to short ones and devoicing of final patterns. This point of view is further shared by Ngefac (2010), who says if teachers who try to promote Standard British English do not master it; it is evident that SBE will hardly be assimilated in our classrooms, since it does not tie with the sociocultural background.

1.2.4 Language and meaning

Palmer (1981:1) considers meaning to cover a variety of aspects of language, with no general agreement about the nature of meaning, what aspects of it may properly be included in semantics, or the way in which it should be described. Analyzing word meaning according to Graddol (1994:19) is useful, but more is involved in communication than simply adding together the meaning of individual words. Linguistic context can be all important in determining which of a number of meanings of a word is intended: Compare, for example, the two phrases “Here is a

mug of coffee” and “He’s an ugly mug!” The linguistic context alone is still not adequate, however. The phrase “Here is a mug of coffee” can have many different meanings, depending on such factors as the way in which it is uttered, what has been said before, and the general situational context. It could be a straight forward piece of information, mentioned by a speaker as they pass across a steaming mug; but at the end of a party it could be a polite hint that it is time the guests were living, or it could be a not very polite way of telling someone they have had more than enough to drink and that they ought to sober up/ Many other interpretations are possible in different contexts.

According to Mbangwana (2002) who indicates that the importance of intention and attitude should not underestimate the significance of plain sense in language use. The point to bear in mind is not to undermine plain sense but also to stress that intention and attitude are important in meaning. Mbangwana (opcit) further says that though English has a common vocabulary stock with some languages, some of the shared words are assigned different meanings. This justifies why previous work on American and British English vocabulary (SimoBobda 2001; Kouega 2001; Mbangwana 2002) have shown that though they share the same vocabulary, there are some words in British English which do not have the same meaning in American English.

1.3 Contribution of the Work

This chapter has focused on literature review, as an attempt to expose the field chosen for investigation, make an appraisal of previous studies, and highlighted the contribution of the work. The review shows that previous studies have described the sociolinguistic landscape of Cameroon(kouega 2003 and Jikong 2001), investigated linguistic choices in postcolonial multilingual Cameroon(e.g Ngefac 2010), examined the correlation between language and sociolinguistic variables(Ngefac 2006a, Ngefac 2008a and Ngefac 2008b), and studied the approximation of ex-colonial languages in Cameroon(e.g Simo Bobda 1994).

In fact, previous studies in Cameroon have been concerned with such sociolinguistic phenomena as multilingualism and bilingualism, the number of languages spoken in Cameroon (Kouega 2003 and Jikong 2001),the relationship between language and sociolinguistic variables (Ngefac 2006, 2008a,2008b), the approximation of ex-colonial languages (see Mbangwana 1987, SimoBobda 1994, Sala 2005, Anchimbe 2006, Ngefac 2008), etc. Unlike previous studies, this

work focuses on messages displayed on taxis in the city of Yaounde, as an attempt to investigate sociolinguistic information revealed through these messages, the implied or pragmatic meanings behind some of these messages, and the linguistic peculiarities of these messages. It should be noted that existing literature does not show any previous work that investigates messages displayed on taxis, let alone investigating the messages from these perspectives. The findings of the investigation can reveal important information about the city of Yaounde and the language users of the place, which teachers can positively exploit in the classroom. A research work of this nature is also likely to spur similar investigations on messages displayed on desks in, and walls of, the classroom. Such messages can reveal important sociolinguistic, linguistic, and pedagogic information about the students teachers are called upon to teach.

CHAPTER TWO METHODOLOGY

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a description of the methodology used in carrying out the investigation. The focus is actually on the informants, the choice of the research area, the instruments used for data collection, the method of data collection, and the method of data analysis.

2.1 The Informants

The informants of this study were taxi drivers who displayed messages on their cars. These informants can be categorized into two types. First, there are those who served as informants without being aware and were qualified as informants of this study simply by virtue of the fact that they displayed messages on their taxis. The number of such informants was determined by the number of messages collected. Second, there are those who consciously served as informants because messages were displayed on their taxis and, in addition, they were interviewed by the investigator, in order to investigate the intended meanings of some of the messages. The table below presents the informants of the study.

Table 1: The Informants of the Study

Variables	Number	Percentage
Informants interviewed	100	40%
Passive informants	150	60%
Total	250	100%

As the table above indicates, there were a total of 250 messages; 40% were active informants; 60% were passive informants.

2.2 Research Area

The investigation was carried out in Yaounde because of a number of reasons. First, it is a cosmopolitan city made up of a significant number of people from the two main linguistic backgrounds (Anglophones and Francophones). Second, it is a heavily multilingual city where

people from different substratal or ethnic backgrounds can be found. Third, it is the city where taxis displaying different types of messages can easily be found. Fourth, it is the place of residence of the investigator and, as a result, the cost of carrying out the investigation was significantly reduced.

2.3 The Instruments and Method of Data Collection

The raw data needed for this investigation were collected with the help of some instruments and strategies, which will be discussed in the subsequent sub-sections.

2.3.1 Observation and Camera

The whole research endeavour was motivated by the observation that important linguistic data are often displayed on taxis in the city of Yaounde. After this general observation, the investigator started making a keen observation to identify taxis that actually display messages. The messages were either photographed with the help of a camera or copied in the investigator’s notepad (See Appendix ... or Appendices ...). The table below presents the number of messages which were either photographed or copied in the note pad.

Table 2: Messages based on Observation and Camera

Variables	Frequency	percentage
Observation	227	84.7%
Snap shot	23	15.3%
Total	250	100%

As the table indicates, there were a total of 250 messages from observation and snap shot; 84.7% from observation; and 15.3% from snap shot.

2.3.2 Interview

There was the need to interview some of the drivers who displayed messages on their taxis. Considering that one of the aims of the study was to investigate the pragmatic or intended meaning of the messages (determined by contextual circumstances that led the authors to the coinage of the messages) and the ordinary meaning (determined by the wording of the messages), it was necessary to interview some of the drivers. A total of 100 drivers were

interviewed in order to investigate what the authors actually meant by some of the messages and how such pragmatic meanings actually differ from the linguistic meaning. To add, the interview was necessary in order to have information about their sociolinguistic background, linguistic background, and reasons for writing the messages. The table below shows the number of messages that were collected through interview.

Table 3: Messages through Interview

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Interview	100	100%

As observed from the table, 100 messages were got through interview, in order to know the implied meaning of some of the messages.

2.3.3. Procedure of Data Collection

As pointed out in 2.3.1 above, much of the data for this study were collected through a keen observation of the messages displayed on taxis, as the investigator went about normal activities in the city of Yaounde. But it is worth reporting that there were equally special data collection outings that aimed principally at collecting the data needed for the study. With the help of a digital camera, notepads, and a pen, the investigator visited such places as car parks, washing points, fuel stations, and markets, as an attempt to identify taxis with messages, collect the messages, and interview some of the drivers. With regard to the interview, the drivers of some of the taxis displaying the messages were asked to indicate what they implied by the messages, the reasons for writing the messages, and the circumstances that motivated them to write the messages.

2.4 Method of Data Analysis

The data collected during fieldwork were analyzed according to the three dimensions of the study. As concerns the sociolinguistic dimension, the messages were analyzed to investigate the sociolinguistic information (religion, politics, sports, ethnicity, music, etc.) revealed through the messages. These sociolinguistic data were quantified according to their frequency and percentages. With regard to religion, for instance, the frequency and percentages of messages

that addressed Christianity and Islam were calculated and the results vividly revealed the religious orientation of these drivers in particular and the inhabitants of Yaounde in general.

Concerning the linguistic dimension of the study, the messages were analyzed in terms of their grammatical correctness. In other words, the messages were analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively in terms of how they respect English and French linguistic norms. Such linguistic aspects as punctuation, subject-verb agreement, sentence structure, spelling, and mechanics (use of the upper and lower cases) were investigated.

With regard to the pragmatic dimension, the ordinary meanings of the messages were analyzed with reference to the linguistic information provided in the messages and the pragmatic or implied meanings of the messages were determined with reference to the results of the interview. In other words, the information provided during the interview by some of the authors of the messages was analyzed in terms of whether there was any significant difference between the ordinary meanings of the messages and what the authors intended to convey.

2.5 Difficulties Encountered

Many difficulties were encountered during this investigation, especially during data collection. First, it was not very easy to trek to different parts of Yaounde where the data for this study were collected. In many cases, the investigator walked for several hours per day and under a very hot weather. Second, the nonchalant attitude of some informants significantly delayed the process for data collection. Many informants refused to be interviewed by the informant either because they wanted to be tipped or because they were suspicious of the investigator. As concerns those who wanted tips, the investigator in many instances sacrificed money to motivate them, in spite of her limited financial means. Concerning those who were suspicious of the whole process, the investigator took time to explain that the exercise was strictly an academic exercise. As a result of the tips and the extra explanations from the investigator, such informants with nonchalant attitude finally complied and provided the data needed for the investigation. Third, the digital camera that was used for data collection had a breakdown at a certain point during the process of data collection. Even though this resulted in significant waste of time, it was finally repaired and the data collection process continued without any major hitch.

CHAPTER THREE
DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION, AND
INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

3.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses the data, presents and discusses the findings of the study. These findings are discussed with respect to the research questions that were evoked in the earlier section of the work. The analysis comprises several stages. First, the various messages collected are categorized into different types.

Second, the different sociolinguistic language contact-phenomena that exist in these messages, such as multilingualism and code mixing, are identified and presented. Third, the social background of the authors of the messages is presented. Fourth, the pragmatic aspects of these messages are determined. Fifth, the linguistic aspects of the messages are investigated. It is worth mentioning that the linguistic aspects of the messages are analyzed with respect to the grammatical norms of English and French.

3.1 Messages Written on Taxis in the City of Yaounde

The messages collected are related to different domains of life. They concern religion, sports, politics, music, cinema, etc. The frequency table below shows the distribution of different types of messages randomly collected for this study.

Table 4: Domains of messages

Domain of messages	Frequency	Percentage
Religion	150	60%
Sport	33	13.2 %
Politics	4	1.6%
Music	31	12.4 %
TV Channels	22	8.8%
Films	10	4 %
Total	250	100%

Looking at the frequencies of the different categories of messages written on taxis in the city of Yaounde, it is clear that the majority of the messages are religious ones. The domains of Sport, music, channels and film, respectively, also come into play.

3.1.1 Domains of Religious Messages

Religion-oriented messages reveal the two types of religions that are practiced in Cameroon: Christianity and Islam. Some of the messages that illustrate Christianity include the following ones:

Thanks to God

Jesus is Lord

thanks to God

trust in JeSuS.

Believe in God

Jesus the son of Jehovah.

Believe in Christ

He died for our sins

Christ died for US

YES U R LORD

DO NOT TRY THE LORD

LORD HAS DONE IT AGAIN

Gods driver

Papa God na God

GOD LOVES ME.

God loves us.

Repent to the lord.

DO YOU BELIEVE IN JESUS?

This car is covered with the miracles of Jesus Christ.

As concerns Islam, it is revealed through messages such as the followings:

Allah is great

all thanks to Allah

ALLAH NA ALLAH

U BI ALLAH.

inshah Allah.

Inchah Allah.

rend grace a Allah.

Allah est dans cette voiture.

ALLAH

OUI ALLAH.

All thanks NA FO Allah

A love Allah

A believe in Allah

A really love Allah

Allah u good

GIV DE GRACE FO ALLAH.

JE YA MO ALLAH

Allah DEY me.

Allah!

Je t'aime mon ALLAH.

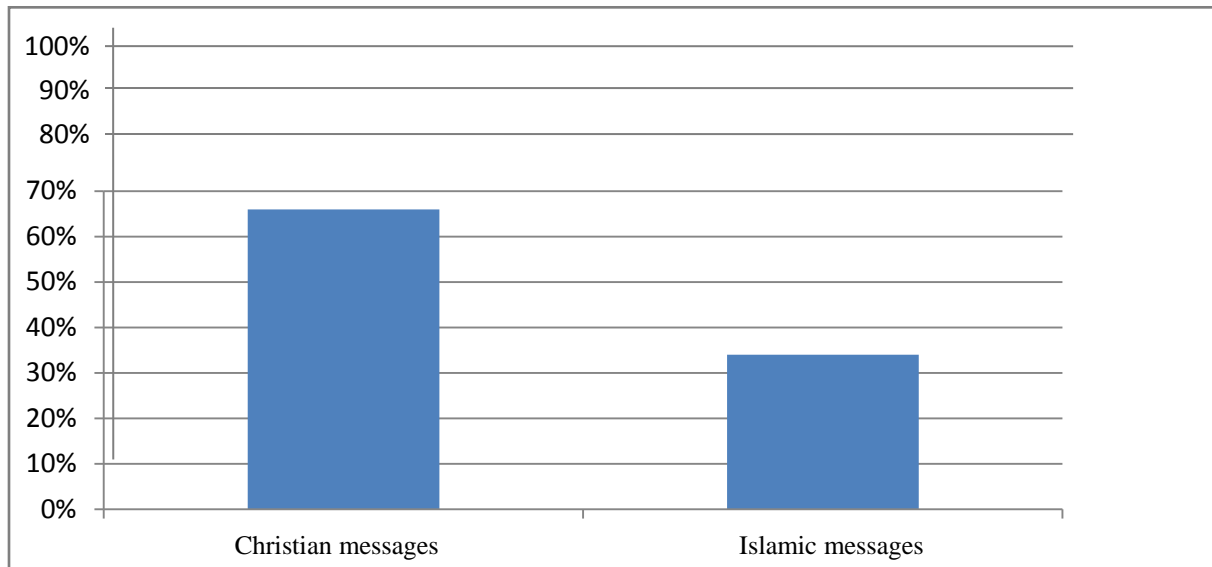
Qui peut allah ?

Gloire à Allah

Allah est le seigneur.

The following chart displays the frequency of both Christian and Islam-oriented messages.

Figure 1: Domains of religious messages



From the Figure above, it can be observed that out of all the religious messages collected, 66% were Christian-related while the 34% were Islamic-related. The fact that no message pertaining to other religious sects was identified is an indication that Christianity and Islam are the two dominant religions in Yaounde.

3.1.2 Sport Messages

Sport messages were of two categories. Some were names of players (e.g. Samuel Eto'o and Nadal) and others were names of teams (e.g. Barcelona and Chelsea). The table below shows the frequency and the percentages of these two categories.

Table 5: Domains of sport messages

Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Names of stars	9	28%
Names of football teams	24	72%
Total	33	100%

From this table, it can be observed that 24 (72%) of sport messages were or contained names of teams. Some of the messages which reveal names of teams are “Barcelona fc”, “Real Madrid” and “Athletico Madrid” 9 (28%) were or had names of stars. The high percentage of names of teams may be due to the fact that inhabitants of Yaounde in particular and Cameroonians in general have a passionate liking for European football clubs. This is a sign that football is very popular among the inhabitants of Yaounde than any other sport discipline

3.1.3 Music-related Messages

Music messages were classified into three categories, which include typical Cameroonian music (e.g. “palapla”, “padonner” and “coler la petite”), African music beyond Cameroon e.g. “yorobo” and “parle moi”) and Western music (“love turns around”, “umbrella” and “unbreakable”). These categories of music messages are presented in the table below.

Table 6: Music-related messages

Categories of music-related messages	Frequency	Percentage
Typical Cameroonian music	10	32%
African music	11	36%
Western music	10	32%
Total	31	100%

The table shows that the authors of these messages tend to prefer foreign music to Cameroonian music. This is because up to 68 % of the music-related messages collected are foreign titles. But only 32 % of these messages concern Cameroonian music.

3.2 Sociolinguistic Contact Phenomena

The different language contact phenomena that exist in these messages are multilingualism and code mixing. As far as multilingualism is concerned, the number of languages used on taxis in the city of Yaounde was taken into consideration. With regard to code mixing, the interest was on messages in which more than one language could be identified. The

table below shows the statistics with regard to the different language contact phenomena. A total of seven languages were identified from the various messages considered, as can be observed in the table below.

Table 7: The languages used on taxis in Yaounde

Language	Frequency	Percentage
French	85	34%
English	60	24%
Pidgin English	44	17.7%
Camfranglais	43	17.2%
Lamnso	9	3.7%
Arab	3	1.2%
German	1	0.4%
Total	250	100%

The table above shows that French and English are the dominant languages used on taxis in Yaounde. It is observed that up to 34% and 24% of the messages were written in French and English, respectively. This is quite normal, given that French and English are the official languages of Cameroon. The fact that French has the highest percentage is surely due to the geographic situation of the town where the investigation was conducted. In fact, Yaounde is found in a French-speaking region of the country (Centre Region). Even though the city is cosmopolitan, the number of Yaounde inhabitants with a Francophone background is a lot higher than the number of their counterparts with an Anglophone background. 17.7% of the messages considered for the study were written in Cameroon Pidgin English. This is not surprising, given the fact that Cameroonians are very used to it. The next language highly used on taxis is Camfranglais (17.2%), which has been identified in the literature as a language of phatic communion among the youths, especially in Francophone regions of Cameroon. Lamnso, a language from the North West of Cameroon, precisely from the Bui Division, was identified on 3.7% of the taxis considered for this study. A minute proportion of these messages were written in Arabic (1.2 %) and German (0.4 %). The diversity of languages displayed on taxis simply portrays the linguistic landscape of the whole Cameroon, a country with hundreds of languages.

3.2.1 Code Mixing

Many of the messages involved a mixing or two or more languages. Out of the 250 messages collected, 43 were written in two languages. The following language combinations were found: English and French, (e.g. “Work l’ argent petit”), French and pidgin (“Cent franc na moni”) and Lamnso and English (e.g. Berinyuy very much). This can be seen in the table below.

Table 8: Languages used in code mixing

Combination of languages	Frequency	Percentage
English and French	20	46.6%
Lamnso and English	18	41.8%
Pidgin and French	5	11.6%
Total	43	100%

Looking at the statistics, it is seen that the majority of messages which displayed code mixing contained French and English (46.6%). This is an indication that taxi drivers are more attached to the country’s official languages than to any other languages. Next were the messages in Lamnso and English (41.8%) and Pidgin and French (11.6%). This result shows that most English-speaking taxi drivers are speakers of Lamnso. Below are some of the Camfranglais messages which portray the phenomenon of code mixing.

-Ma vie va change

Here, the word “change” has been inserted in this construction which is dominantly French.

-Give all thanks to Nyuy

In this case, the Bansa word “Nyuy” has been used in English.

-Work l’ argent petit.

Here, “work” as an English word has been used in French.

-Jaloux. So what?

“Jaloux”, a French expression, mixed with English.

-Cent franc na money

The phrase “na money” is a combination of Pidgin English and French.

-Who trompé who?

“trompé” here is a French word which has been inserted in an English expression.

-Berinyuy very much.

“Berinyuy”, a Lamnso word, has been mixed with English. The expression “berinyuy” means “Thank God”.

-Je t’aime so much.

“So much” has been mixed with the French expression, “je t’aime”.

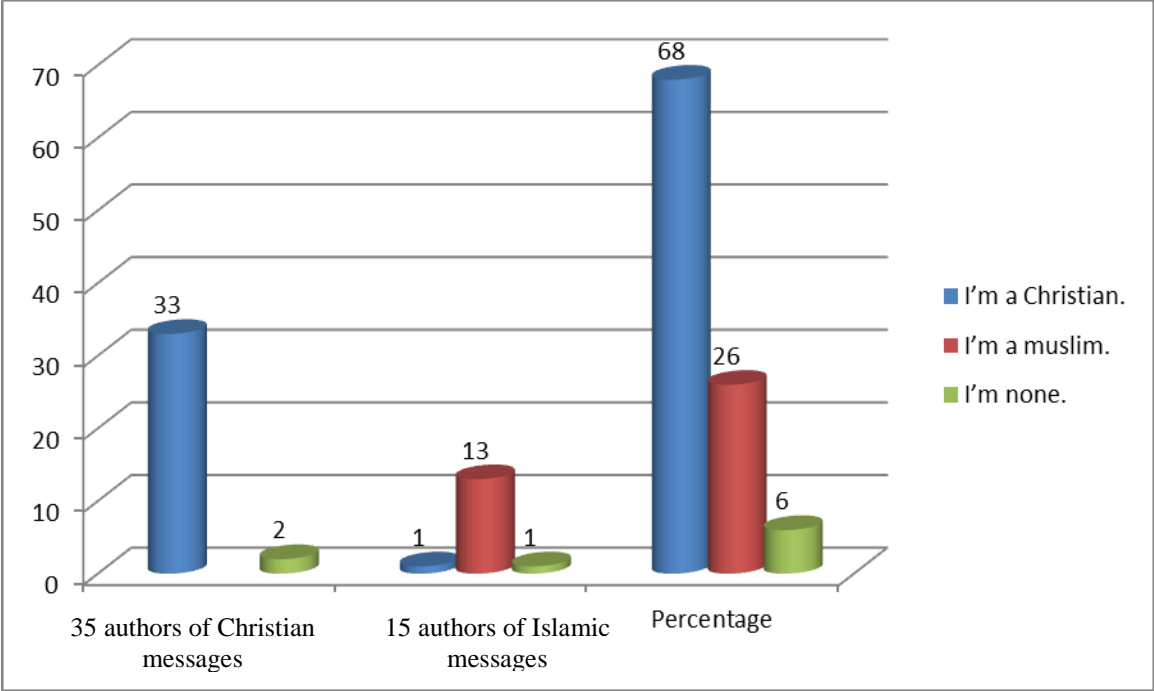
3.3 The Socio-political and Philosophical Implications of the Messages

From these messages, the social backgrounds of the drivers can be easily known. The interview, conducted by the investigator, also facilitated an understanding of the social backgrounds of the drivers. Their religious status and their political and philosophical orientations are known through these messages.

3.3.1 Religious Background of the Authors

Of the 150 religious messages collected, 99 of them were Christian-related messages and 51 were Islam-related. 50 drivers were interviewed on these religious messages with regard to whether they were Christians or Muslims. The figure below presents their responses and the percentages.

Figure 2: Religious Background of the Authors



The above figure shows that most of these messages reflect the real religious background of the authors. This explains why out of the 35 authors of Christian messages, 33 said they are Christians. 2 of them said they are neither Muslims nor Christians. This is also the case with the authors of Islamic messages. Out of the 15 authors interviewed, just two were not Muslims. One indicated that he is a Christian and the other said he is a non-muslim and a non-christian. From these responses, it appears that there are more Christian drivers than Muslim drivers in the city of Yaounde.

Table 9: Ratio between Islamic and Christian messages

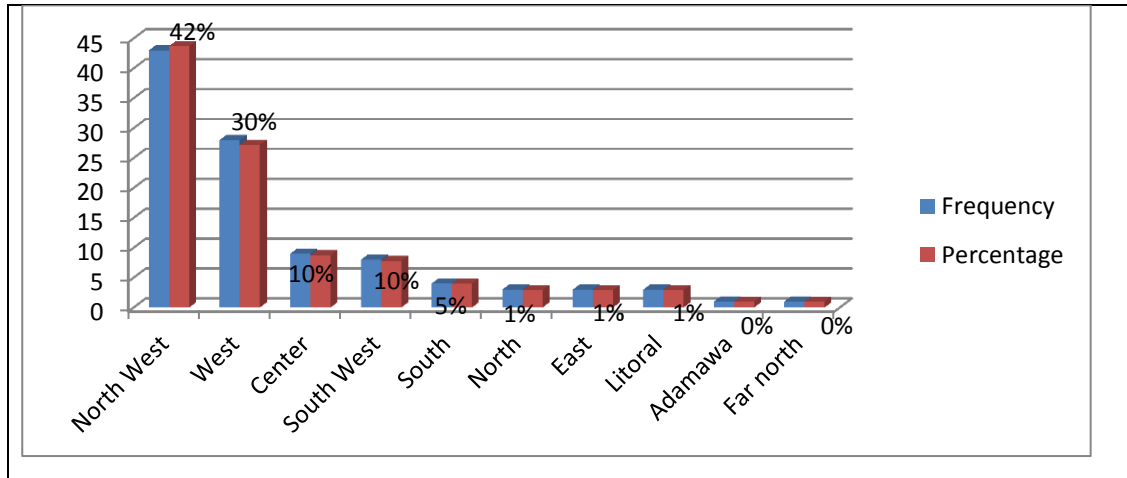
Religion	Frequency	Percentage
Christianity	99	66%
Islam	51	34%
Total	150	100%

Out of the 250 messages collected, it was observed that 99 of them were Christian messages, while 51 of them were Islam-related messages. These data reveal that the city of Yaounde is dominantly Christian. T

3.3.2. Origin of the Authors of Messages

It was also important to consider the authors' regions of origin in order to find out if it correlates with the nature of the messages. The figure below presents the various regions of the authors.

Figure 3: Origin of the authors of messages



The above diagram shows that the majority of drivers in Yaounde are from the North West region of Cameroon (42%), followed by people from the West (30%). Statistics of other regions include the South West (10%), North (1%), East (1%), Center (10%), Littoral (1%), Far North (0%), Adamawa (0%) and the South region (5%). Even though this research was carried out in the Center Region of Cameroon, there are not many drivers from this region in Yaounde. The drivers from the center region are of the same proportion as those from the South West Region. This suggests that the majority of drivers are people who come from different regions, mostly from the North West and West regions of Cameroon.

3.3.2.1 The Correlation between the Number of Messages and Drivers' Origins

Among the 40 drivers from the North West Region, 30 of the drivers are from Bui Division. In the West, out of the thirty, 19 of the drivers said they were from the Noun Division. The table below presents this information.

Table 10: The dominant division in the North and West Regions

Region	Division	Frequency	Percentage
North West	Bui	30	75%

West	Noun	19	63.33%
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This above table shows that, among the drivers in Yaounde, the people from the Bui Division are 30 in number, with a percentage of 75, followed by those from the Noun Division. This explains why on most taxis with messages written in Cameroonian languages, we mostly found the lamnso language written on them. So, one can say that these messages, written on taxis, greatly reveal the identity of the authors of the messages and the drivers. Also, it reveals the different categories of people found in the city of Yaounde.

3.4 Reasons for Writing Messages on Taxis

100 authors of the messages, including the 50 messages in 3.3.1, were asked to say why they write the messages. The table below presents the different answers given.

Table 11: Reasons for writing messages on taxis

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
I write for pleasure	1	1%
I write to express the love I have for something or for someone.	89	89%
To thank somebody for something	10	10%
Total	100	100%

Out of the 100 drivers interviewed, 89% said that they write these messages on their vehicles to express love for somebody or something. Therefore, the messages displayed on taxis, in most cases, capture the passions of the owner. 10% of the drivers mentioned that writing messages on their vehicles is a way for them to thank someone for something he/she has done. Messages on taxis thus represent a way of expressing gratitude to somebody. It is interesting to note that only one driver (1%) declared that he writes messages on his taxi simply for pleasure. Table 9 below shows examples of messages used to show love for someone or something.

Table 12: Some messages expressing love

Examples of messages expressing love, expressing gratitude and writing for pleasure			
for somebody	for something	For gratitude	For pleasure
-Samuel Eto'o -Nadal -Arafat -Fallylpupa -Samuel Eto'o -Messi -Nadal - I Luv u Jesus -switJesus -beri TATA - Praise GOD - BLOOD OF JESUS. - Jesus 4life - All for God - Praise GOD -the GOD OF TB Joshua. - Lord u r grt. - BEYONCE -WEST LIFE - RIHANA. - MADONA. - J AY Z -BEYONCE -Tata nyuy - NICKY MINACH. - ALICIA KEYS. - BRIK AND LACE. -LORD -Glory be to Allah -THANKS TO ALLAH -BERI NYUY AGAIN. -NYUY DZE HERE -SEIGNEUR Djokovich -A. song -Clinton J. -ADEBAYOR -ETOO LE PICHICHI.	-Prison Break -BBC -Titanic - France 24 -Paloma -Prison Break -France 24 -BBC -Manchester United fc -Liverpool fc - Arsenal fc. -Chelsea. - Everton fc. - Leicester city fc. - Real Madrid FC. - Fc BARCA. - vAlence fc - SeVille Fc. - ATHLETICO Madrid FC - MALAGA FC - Juventus fc for life -MILAN FC NA MY CLUB. -Inter M AC NA mi. - I love A S Roma. -FIORENTINA Fc.beri -Bamboutos de Mbouda. - Paris SAINT germain Fc. - JOSEY DIPLOME - PSQUARE.CHOP MONEY. - DOROBUCHII.	-M6 Maman -Merci COUSIN - THANKS TO ALLAH - Thanks to God	-Thanks to God

From the table above, it is observed that the majority of these messages are written to show the love vehicles owners have for particular individuals (e.g. Samuel Eto'o), channels (e.g. Emmanuel TV), music (e.g. 2 kitue) or films (e.g. Prison Break).

3.5 Linguistic Analysis of the Messages

This section is concerned with the grammatical aspects of the various messages considered in the study. These aspects concern capitalization, contracted forms, and punctuation. They are discussed in the paragraphs below.

3.5.1 The Use of Capital Letters

A capital letter is normally used to begin the first word in a sentence and for proper nouns. From the messages collected, it was realized that 80.4% did not respect the use of capitalization. In some of the messages, the capital letters were wrongly used in the middle or at the end of the sentence. At times, they were not used at all. The following messages capture the various infelicities related to capitalization.

1- takam Easy boy.

2- i LOVE u

3- who di vex?

4- moneyna film.

5- don'T touch.

From the above messages, it is observed that capitalization does not follow any rule. In the second message (i LOVE u), the first word in the sentence does not begin with a capital letter. It is instead a simple word which is capitalized in the middle of the sentence. This can be interpreted as the authors' wish to emphasize the intensity of the love he has for the addressee. However, it is grammatically wrong. The same problem is observed with the fifth message (don'T touch.), where the author capitalized not the first letter of the word "don't" as should normally be, but the last one. This is a clear sign that the authors of such messages do not pay attention to the mechanics of writing.

Out of the 250 messages collected, only 19.6% respected the use of capitalization. Some of these messages are presented below.

1- Thanks be to God.

2 - Glory be to God.

3 –Fomonyuy Beri.

In the above messages, the capitalization of letters is properly done. It is seen that each of the sentences starts with a capital letter. Besides, all proper nouns start with capital letters.

3.5.2 The Use of Contracted Forms

Contracted forms are short forms of words. The apostrophe is used to indicate that certain words or letters are missing. When it is not used, the meaning of the sentence is completely distorted. In most of the messages, the use of the apostrophe was greatly neglected, as can be seen in the examples below.

-DONT WORRY

-I m proud of myself

-That s lyf.

-A lazy man is the devil s work shop.

Looking at the examples above, it is realized that these authors write the way they like. They care less about the norms of the language they use.

3.5.3 Punctuation Marks

In addition to the poor use of capitalization discussed above, the messages were characterized by punctuation problems. These problems involved such punctuation marks as the full stop, the comma, and the question marks. To begin with, full stops can be used for abbreviations. They are equally used to indicate the end of declarative sentences. In many cases, the full stops were absent in the messages. In other cases, they were wrongly used. The messages which did not use or which wrongly used the full stop include the following:

-Dieu est grand

- Time is money
- Life is. a game
- ALL THANKS NA FO ALLAH
- A love Allah
- A believe in Allah
- A really love Allah
- BELIEVE IN CHRIST
- He died for our sins
- Christ died for US
- YES U R LORD
- DO NOT TRY THE LORD
- LORD HAS DONE IT AGAIN
- .MA VIE VA CHANGE.
- Allah is great
- Give all thanks to Nyuy
- Work l' argent chop petit
- Jaloux. So what?
- Cent franc na money.
- Whotrompé who?
- Berinyuy very much
- Je t'aime so much
- Don't Force A journey
- put am fo zero zero
- Money na film

These messages are indications that the authors showed little or no sensitivity to the norms of correctness. A few messages made an appropriate use of the full stop, as illustrated below.

Thanks be to God.

The Lord is great.

BERI NYUY AGAIN.

Berinyuy very much.

Tata nyuy tav feyi.

The lord is very good.

Give all thanks to God.

The lord is very powerful. Have trust in him.

I BELIEVE IN HIS POWERS.

Furthermore, the wrong use of commas greatly distort the meanings of these messages. In some cases, it was completely left out. For instance, in phrases like “Chère maman merci”, a comma is supposed to be after “maman”. Unfortunately, it is not. Thus, distorting the grammaticality of the message. Again, a comma is wrongly used in a sentence like “ma, cherie merci pour ton soutien.” In this case, the comma is instead supposed to be after “cherie” and not after “ma”.

The use of question marks in the messages was also a serious problem. In some cases, the question mark was missing. In other cases, instead of the question mark, the exclamation mark was used. This is seen in the examples below.

-Who di jealous

-Why u di vex!

In the first message, a question mark had to follow the last word. In the second message, a question mark was supposed to replace the exclamation mark.

The table below presents the percentages of messages which did not respect the punctuation rules.

Table 11: Non-respect of punctuations

Punctuations	Frequency	Percentages
Full stop	189	94.02%
Commas	10	4.8%
Question marks	2	1%
Total	201	100%

From the table above, it is observed that 201 messages (out of 250 collected) failed to be punctuated appropriately.

3.5.4 Wrong Spelling

5.2 % of the messages on taxis were wrongly written. The sentences that follow show examples of wrongly spelt words in English and in French, with their correct spellings in the second column.

Table 12: Wrongly spelt words

Wrongly spelt words	Correct spelling
LYF	Life
La vie est une bartaille	La vie est une bataille
I luv you	I love you.
Une vie simple est mieux	Est mieux, une simple vie.

These wrong spellings may either be conscious or unconscious. If they are unconscious, it implies that the writers do not have a good mastery of the languages concern. But if they are conscious, it implies that the writers use the wrong spelling to achieve certain desired effects or they use the wrong spellings for emphasis.

3.5 .5 The Use of Short Forms and Abbreviations

Short forms and abbreviations are some of the characteristics of the messages on taxis in the city of Yaounde. 8.4% of these messages were written either in short forms or as abbreviations. Examples in English and French are shown in the table below.

Table 13: Short Forms and Abbreviations

Short forms and abbreviations	Full forms
5yn boy	Fine boy.
M6 maman	Merci Maman.
JTM	Je t'aime.

The table above presents short forms as well as an abbreviation, which is attested neither in English nor in French. Such forms can only be associated with the author's personal style.

3.6 Pragmatic Meaning of some of the Messages

Some of these messages have denotative and connotative meanings. These messages are meant for a particular audience. That is why, in most cases, one interprets the message differently from what the author means. This is illustrated in the few examples below.

Table 13: Pragmatic meaning of some messages

Messages	The researcher's interpretation	Author's interpretation
Don't Force A Journey	Don't travel under controversial circumstances	When you are tired or when the car has problems, don't drive
-put am fo zero zero	In a Football Match, try to score a goal like your counterpart in order to have the same score	Insert the penis into a woman's vagina.
-Money na film	Money is a game	Money has an end.
The lord	God	The car is strong like the lord.
A bi Bamenda boy	I'm from Bamenda.	I'm hard-working and I know my rights.
The truth	Don't lie.	This car is mine.
Man pass man.	Men are not equal	I have succeeded.

Looking at these messages from this table, we tend to conclude that, we can not only rely on the linguistic meaning to decipher what the author wants to convey. We also have to take into considerations, the author's meaning, and the context, in order to have a full grasp of the meaning.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS AND THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC AND PEDAGOGIC RELEVANCE

4.0 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the findings of the study. It also examines the pedagogic and sociolinguistic relevance of the findings, makes recommendations, and suggestions for further research.

4.1 Summary of the Findings

This work reveals a number of findings. First, it shows the different categories of messages displayed on taxis in the city of Yaounde (messages related to religion, sports, music, films, and TV channels). Religious messages are the dominant messages and fall under Christianity and Islam. Christian messages are more than Islamic messages. Among the 150 religious messages, 66% were Christian messages. The dominance of Christian messages can be accounted for by the fact that Yaounde is a Christian town. The majority of people in the town are Christians. So, it justifies the fact that there are more Christian messages.

Second, the study reveals the different language contacts that characterize the messages displayed on taxis in the city of Yaounde. Third, the study analyses the pragmatic meanings of some of the messages. Fourth, the work investigates the linguistic peculiarities of the messages.

Also, sociolinguistic contact phenomena like multilingualism and code mixing are some of the aspects that are revealed through these messages. English, French, Pidgin English, Camfranglais, Lamso, Arabic and German are languages used on taxis in Yaounde. These multiplicities of languages bring about the phenomenon of multilingualism. This confirms Ngefacs (2010), which describes Cameroon as a country blessed with a multiplicity of languages.

In addition,, some messages are written in two languages. That is, a single message includes two languages. This brings about code mixing. Considering that Cameroon is a French/English bilingual country, it is not surprising that most of the messages were written in French and English. When languages are contact, such linguistic phenomena as code mixing and code switching are inevitable.

In this case, we cannot talk of code switching because it is mostly found in oral expressions. Code mixing is what is revealed in these messages. This can also be due to the fact that when some people are not really apt in a particular language, they tend to use other language to transmit an idea that they started transmitting using a different language.

Furthermore, the authors of these messages are mostly Anglophones. Out of the 100 authors interviewed, 42% are from the North West Region and 30% from the West Region of Cameroon. This reveals that people from the North West and West constitute the highest population among these authors of messages written on taxis in Yaounde. Also, the people from the Bui division (from the North West region) make the highest population in taxi driving in Yaounde, followed by the Bamoun people (from the West region). The Lamnso language is the most used indigenous language on taxis in Yaounde. This explains why people from Bui have the highest percentage among writers of these messages written on taxis in the city of Yaounde. These messages also reveal a lot about the identity, taste, belief, and philosophical orientation of the writers.

It was also discovered that the surface meanings of some of these messages are very different from the meanings the writers intended to convey. This is because the messages were meant for a particular audience. So, if one is not part of that audience, he/she is likely to misinterpret the message. For example, by “Putam fo zero zero”, the author of the message means “inserting a penis into a woman’s Vagina. He preferred displaying a coded message as an attempt to reduce its vulgarity.

Again, the peculiar linguistic features of these messages are part of this analysis. A majority of these messages do not respect punctuations like the full stop and question mark. This is repeated in most of the messages. This implies that the writers of the messages are either ignorant of the rules that language in the languages concerned or they consciously violated the rules in order to create a special impact through their messages. An example is the use of the full stop. More than half of these messages did not respect the fact that a full stop must always be at the end of a sentence.

4.2 The Sociolinguistic Implications of the Findings

The findings of this study have many sociolinguistic implications. First, the different ethnic and regional backgrounds of the writers of these messages are reminiscent of the geographical diversity that characterizes a cosmopolitan city like Yaounde.

Second, the various languages that are used on these cars reveal the multilingual situation of Cameroon. Also, through this, the dominant language is known. On these taxis, French is the most used language, followed by English. These statistics simply depict the sociolinguistic situation of Cameroon. It is also discovered that even some Anglophones write in French. This is indicative of the bilingual nature of the country.

Third, the messages reveal the social and cultural backgrounds of the writers of the messages in particular and those of the inhabitants of Yaounde in general.

Fourth, the multilingualism that characterises Cameroon and language contact phenomena like code mixing that characterise language use in the country clearly emerge in the messages that are displayed on taxis in Yaounde. This implies that the messages serve as a window to the sociolinguistic situation of Yaounde in particular and Cameroon in general.

Fifth, the fact that writers' meanings of some of the messages significantly differ from the surface meanings of the messages imply that we cannot rely only on linguistic meaning (semantics) to decipher what the author or speaker intends to convey ; we have to rely also on contextual meaning or connotative meaning to have a full grasp of meaning.

Sixth, the different sociolinguistic information revealed through the messages implies that tourists can rely on this work to know the identity of taxi drivers (on whom they will rely) and that of the inhabitants of Yaounde with whom they will be interacting.

4.3 Pedagogic Relevance

Pedagogically, the study is significant in three ways. First, an effective lesson planning must consider sociolinguistic peculiarities of a place (e.g. the cultural values, interests, tastes, and identity of the inhabitants of the community where teaching and learning are taking place. This implies that the sociolinguistic information revealed through these messages about taxi drivers in particular and the inhabitants of Yaounde in general can be well exploited for an effective language teaching and learning in a given community. Second, if a similar study is

carried out on messages displayed in the classroom, language teacher will be nourished with significant sociolinguistic information about the learners that can enhance the teaching and learning process. Third, the linguistic peculiarities of either the messages displayed on taxis or in the classroom can reveal the strengths and weaknesses of the learners and reveal areas that need special emphasis during the teaching-learning process.

4.4 Suggestions for Further Research

This work was concerned with the pragmatico-linguistic and sociolinguistic study of messages written on taxis in the city of Yaounde. It is suggested that further research be carried out to investigate the pragmatico-linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of messages written on taxis in other areas of Cameroon. Another study can be carried on the messages displayed in the classroom, especially on desks and walls.

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APPENDIX

- 1.Ma vie va change.
2. Allah is great
3. Give all thanks to Nyuy.
4. Work l' argent chop petit.
- 5.Jaloux. So what?
- 6.Cent franc na money.
- 7.Whotrompé who?
- 8.Berinyuy very much.
- 9.Je t'aime so much
- 10.Don't Force A Journey
- 11.put am fo zero zero
- 12.Money na film
- 13.The lord.
- 14.A bi Bamenda boy
- 15.The truth
- 16.Man pass man.
- 17.Syn boy
- 18.M6 maman
- 19.JTM
- 20.La vie est une bataille
- 21.I luv you
- 22.Fally ipupa
- 23.DJ Arafat
- 24.Leyorobo
- 25.2ki tue
26. palapalawoman
27. koffi
- 28.Wiz Khalifa
- 29.2face

30. Rabba Rabbi
- 31.SamuelEto'o
- 32.Chelsea 4 life
- 33.Arsenal
34. Le 9

- 35.Messi
- 36.Nadal
- 37.Paloma
- 38.Prison Break
- 39.osofia in London
- 40.Titanic
- 41.France 24
- 42.BBC
- 43.TV5

126. ASK GOD WHY
127. Who pass JEHOVAH?
128. GOD why
129. GODS MIRACLE
130. yes Jesus.
- 131.Jesus is God.
132. Jesus is the lord
132. ALLAH IS HERE
- 133.ALLAH NA ALL
- 134 JEHOVAH
- 135.ELSHADAI
136. NYUY DON T SLEEP
- 137.Nyuy HAS DONE IT
138. Glory to Jesus
- 139.Glory TO GOD.
140. GOD IS ALL
- 141.OMNIPRESENT GOD
142. thanks to God
- 143.trust in JeSuS.
- 144.Believe in God
- 145.Jesus the son of Jehovah.
- 146.believe in Christ
147. He died for our sins
- 148.Christ died for US
- 149.YES U R LORD
150. DO NOT TRY THE LORD
151. LORD HAS DONE IT AGAIN
152. Gods driver
- 153.Papa God na GOD

- 154.GOD LOVES ME.
155. God loves us.
- 156.Repent to the lord.
- 157.DO YOU BELIEVE IN JESUS?
158. This car is covered with the miracles of Jesus Christ.
159. ALLAH
160. ALLAH EST FORT
- 161.ALLAH IS GRT
162. all Thanks to ALLAH
- 163.allah NA God.
164. ALLAH EST GRAND.
165. ALLAH LE TOUT PUISSANT.
166. PAPA GOD
167. Allah le createur du ciel et de la terre.

- 44.TV6
- 45.Emmanuel Tv
- 46.Une vie simple est mieux
- 47.-takamEasy boy
- 48.i LOVE u
- 49.who di vex?
- 50.money man
- 51.don'T touch
- 52.Thanks to God
- 52.LORD
- 53.Glory be to Allah
- 54.THANKS TO ALLAH
- 55.BERI NYUY AGAIN.
- 56.NYUY DZE HERE
- 57.SEIGNEUR
58. I Thank You Jesus
- 59.God's Time is the Best
- 60.Give your life to God
- 61.PSALM 91
- 62.Psalm 93
- 63.Psalm 23
64. Psalm 21
- 65.I believe in GOD
- 67.Lord u r my life
- 68.Jesus is Lord
- 69.Cover me God
70. I'm covered with the blood of Jesus.
- 71.JEHOVAH
72. Elshadai
73. Jesus
74. Dieu est grand
- 75.Nous rendons gracea DIEU
76. DONNE TA VIE A DIEU
- 77 .Cette voiture est couverte avec le sang de Jesus
- 78.Jehovaheternel.
- 79.yavhé
- 80.Crois en Jehovah
- 81.LA GRACE DIVINE
82. Sang de Jesus.
83. Allah FINE PLENTY.
- 84.All thanks to Allah .
85. Avec Dieu, je ne manquerai de rien.
- 86.Dieu ne dort
- 87.Dieu ne court pas
88. Thrust in God
- 89THRUST IN GOD
90. Allah u r so good
168. Rendons grace à Allah.
169. Bismilai.
170. lady ponce bon feyi
171. palapaladze la ?
172. x maleya.
173. MERCI COUSIN
- 174.pApA MeRcl
175. je suis bamoun et puis quoi ?
176. Sautes calle en l'air
177. C'est moi
178. ALLAH
179. OUI ALLAH.
180. all thanks NA FO Allah.
181. A love Allah.
182. A believe in Allah.
183. A really love Allah.
184. Allah u good
185. GIV DE GRACE FO ALLAH.
186. JE YA MO ALLAH
187. Allah DEY me.
188. Allah!
189. Je t'aime mon ALLAH.
190. qui peut allah ?
191. gloire a Allah
192. Allah est le seigneur.
193. ALLAH NA ALLAH
194. U BI ALLAH.
195. inshah Allah.
196. inchah Allah.
197. rend grace a Allah.
198. Allah est dans cette voiture.
199. Djokovich
200. A. song
201. Clinton J.
202. ADEBAYOR
203. ETOO LE PICHICHI.
204. Manchester United fc
205. Liverpool fc
206. Arsenal fc.
207. Chelsea.
208. Everton fc.
209. Leicester city fc.
210. Real Madrid FC.
211. Fc BARCA.
212. vAlence fc
213. SeVille Fc.
214. ATHLETICO Madrid FC

91. I BELIEVE IN GOD
92. DIEU EST TOUJOURS BON
93. Yahve est le tout puissant
94. almighty God
95. Faith in God
96. i love Christ
97. I believe in Christ.
98. ELSHADAI
99. PAPA God!
100. Na Godwin
101. GODWIN
102. Na God Di Win
103. thanks to Allah.
104. GOD IS GRT
105. I Luv u Jesus
106. switJesus
107. beri TATA
108. Praise GOD
109. BLOOD OF JESUS.
110. Jesus 4life
110. All for God
111 *Praise GOD*
112. the GOD OF TB Joshua.
113. Lord u r grt.
114. This CAR IS COVERED IN JESUS' name
115. JESUS IS EVERYWHERE
116. tatanyuy PLEASE
117. vernyuy IN YAOUNDE
118. ALLELUIA
119. Jesus is great.
120. The lord is good
121. The lord is my shepherd
123. U r soogud Jesus
124. Ask and it shall be given to you.
125. U R JEHOVAH
215. MALAGA FC
216. Juventus fc for life
217. MILAN FC NA MY CLUB.
218. Inter M AC NA mi.
219. I love A S Roma.
220. FIORENTINA Fc.beri
221. Bamboutos de Mbouda.
223. Paris SAINT germain Fc.
224. saint Etienne Fc.
225. AntalyaSport 4 life. Dze team yem
226. Kumbo Striker DZE IN YAOUNDE
227. VEN BURI Richard Kings.
228. mani bella.
229. petit pays DZE MY FATHER FEN.
230. COLE LA PETITE
231. ca sort comme ca sort fe ?
232. debordolikunfa
233. les veilles personnes quittez.
234. N enfant gateh
235. JOSEY DIPLOME
236. PSQUARE. CHOP MONEY.
237. DOROBUCHII.
238. BEYONCE
239. WEST LIFE
240. RIHANA.
241. MADONA.
242. J AY Z
243. BEYONCE
244. Tata nyuy
245. NICKY MINACH.
246. ALICIA KEYS.
247. BRIK AND LACE.
248. Chop
249. moni n a weti?
250. tuya qi?

