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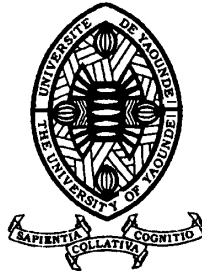
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DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

CAMEROON ENGLISH ACCENT AS THE MODEL
FOR EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES IN CAMEROON:
ATTITUDES, CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of a Doctor
of Philosophy (PhD) in English Language**

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To my loving parents,

Melanie Enama

and

Enama Abena

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigated the attitudes, challenges and prospects of adopting the CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon from the perspectives of three groups of informants: field teachers, student teachers and national pedagogic inspectors of English. The Kachruvian approach of the World Englishes paradigm, the Sridhars' movement of bridging the paradigm gap between SLA and World Englishes (1986; 2018), and the intelligibility principle in pronunciation teaching by Levis (2005) were used as frames of reference. Data was collected through questionnaires answered respectively by 134 teachers and 116 student teachers and interviews conducted with 07 national pedagogic inspectors. The analysis of data on attitudes revealed a positive perception of the CamE accent as a marker of Cameroonian identity, but a preference for SBE and AmE accents over CamE accent by informants for utilitarian and pragmatic reasons related to prestige, quality education and better job opportunities. Three types of challenges to the adoption of the CamE accent were revealed. First, as concerns the beliefs, opinions and practices of participants, the findings showed their lack of trust in CamE accent to carry the weight of the future professional aspirations of their children. Second, concerning pedagogic materials, the results revealed that the CamE accent cannot be adopted as the local model today because no textbooks promote its features. Third, concerning teachers' training and professional development, the findings further exposed the ambivalence of policymakers and teacher training colleges that continue to encourage SBE, even though, in practice, neither teacher trainers nor field teachers speak with this foreign accent. Finally, it was found that the prospects for adopting the CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon are not exceptionally high, yet they seem encouraging. Indeed, only one out of 7 (14.29%) NPIs, 34% of field teachers and 34% of student teachers were optimistic that CamE accent could become the model for the classroom in the future. However, while 57% of student teachers did not believe teaching the CamE accent would cause more harm than good to students, a slim majority of teachers (52%) believed the exact opposite. Also, three (42.86%) NPIs favoured teaching SBE accent features alongside their variants in CamE speech. The study has implications for pronunciation teaching and policy-making for English language education in Cameroon.

RESUME

Ce travail a examiné les attitudes, défis et probabilités d'adoption de l'anglais parlé au Cameroun comme modèle pour l'enseignement de cette langue dans le pays. Les données ont été collectées à travers deux questionnaires administrés respectivement à 134 professeurs de lycées et collèges d'anglais et 116 élèves-professeurs d'anglais, ainsi que des entretiens menés avec 07 inspecteurs pédagogiques nationaux (IPN) d'anglais. L'approche kachruvienne du paradigme des anglais du monde, le mouvement impulsé par les époux Sridhar visant à combler le fossé paradigmatique qui existe entre les disciplines que sont l'acquisition des langues secondes et les anglais du monde, ainsi que le principe d'intelligibilité de Levis ont servi de cadres théoriques à cette étude. Les résultats indiquent, s'agissant des attitudes, une perception positive de l'anglais parlé au Cameroun, mais une préférence de l'anglais britannique pour les salles de classe pour des raisons de prestige, qualité d'éducation et opportunités d'emploi. Trois types de défis à l'adoption de l'anglais parlé au Cameroun ont été ainsi recensés. S'agissant des défis liés aux croyances, pratiques et opinions des participants, les résultats révèlent un manque de confiance de ces derniers envers l'anglais parlé au Cameroun pour adosser sur lui les aspirations futures des jeunes camerounais. Quant aux outils pédagogiques, les résultats montrent que l'anglais parlé au Cameroun ne saurait devenir le modèle pour les salles de classe car les livres au programme ne promeuvent pas ses caractéristiques. S'agissant de la formation initiale et de la formation continue des enseignants, les résultats montrent l'ambivalence des décideurs qui imposent l'anglais britannique comme modèle au Cameroun, alors que ni les formateurs des professeurs d'anglais, ni ces derniers ne parlent cette variété correctement. Enfin, les résultats indiquent que les probabilités d'adoption de l'anglais parlé au Cameroun comme modèle pour l'enseignement de cette langue ne sont pas élevées, quoique quelque peu encourageantes. En effet, seul un (14,29%) IPN sur sept, 34% des enseignants de terrain et 34% d'élèves-professeurs sont optimistes que l'anglais parlé au Cameroun pourrait devenir le modèle pour l'enseignement dans le futur. Alors que 57% d'élèves-professeurs ne sont pas d'avis que l'anglais parlé au Cameroun serait néfaste aux apprenants dans le futur, plus de 52% d'enseignants de terrain pensent plutôt le contraire, et trois (42.86%) IPN sont d'avis qu'il faille désormais enseigner certains aspects de la prononciation anglaise avec leurs variants camerounais. Ces résultats ont des implications pour l'enseignement de la prononciation en anglais et sur les politiques d'éducation ayant l'anglais comme langue d'instruction.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES AND CHARTS

TABLES

CHARTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AmE: General American English

APS: Antepenultimate Stress

ASP: Affix Stress Property

BIL: Bilingual Studies

BS: Base Stress

BWS: Backward Stress

CamE: Cameroon English

CAMELTA: Cameroon English Language and Literature Teachers' Association

CamFE   Cameroon Francophone English

DLS   Donor Language Stress

E.A.   Error Analysis

EFL   English as a Foreign Language

ELF   English as a lingua franca

ELT   English language teaching

ENL   English as a native language

ETS   English Testing Service

GhEPS   Ghanaian English Pronunciation Standard

HTTC   Higher Teacher Training College

HSS   Heavy Syllable Stress

IELTS   International English Language Testing Service

IL   Interlanguage

L1   First language/mother tongue

L2   Second language

LFC   Lingua Franca Core

LMA   English Modern Letters

MINESEC   Ministry of Secondary Education

NigE   Nigerian English

NS   Native speaker

NNS   Non-native speaker

NPI   National Pedagogic Inspector

R.P.   Received Pronunciation

SAKE   Standard Accent of Kenyan English

SBE   Standard British English

SLA   Second language acquisition

TESOL   Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

TOEFL   Test of English as a Foreign Language

U.R.   Underlying Representation

W.E.s   World Englishes

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

All languages invariably change over time and space (Aitchison 1981), and English is not an exception to this rule. Over the centuries, English has taken new shapes to respond to different cultures, worldviews, geographical settings and socio-political realities of the people who came to speak that language. These different types of use and users subsequently correlate more or less with markedly different linguistic productions and alleged identities. For instance, within the group of L1 speakers, subtle differences exist at all linguistic levels between British, American and Australian varieties with the result that there are British English, American English and Australian English dictionaries. The same holds, to a certain extent, for postcolonial Englishes, as there exist local varieties, though in most cases, these are not codified into didactic materials and taught to students officially in place of British or American English norms. For some scholars, it is only a matter of time before this happens. Bright & McGregor (1978: 178), cited in Ragutu (1993), for instance, already claimed many decades ago that

> [S]ooner or later all countries that use English as a first or second language develop (their) varieties of accent. The United States did so long ago with the result that Americans model themselves on (educated) Americans and not on any British-English speakers. The same is true of New Zealanders and Australians. According to Peter Stevens, the same has happened in West Africa.

According to Montgomery (1996: 69), accent is a term "exclusively reserved for the whole patterns of pronunciation typical of a particular region or social group". The existence of a General American English accent, a Standard British English accent and a mainstream Cameroon English accent, among others, illustrate this point. These general denominations can be further divided, as varieties of American English, British English and Cameroonian English exist.

Following Bright & McGregor (ibid), English language users in Cameroon tend to copy the accent of educated Cameroonian English speakers, including teachers and journalists, as models, and not British-English speakers. The apparent consequence here is

that Cameroonians do not speak Standard British English (henceforth SBE), but an accent specific to their context that is recognised worldwide as Cameroon English (henceforth CamE). In fact, several research works, including Masanga (1983); Mbangwana (1987); Simo Bobda (1994, 2010, 2011); Anchimbe (2006); Atechi (2006); Ngefac (2008) and Kouega (2013) have shown that English has undergone significant indigenisation and nativisation in postcolonial multilingual Cameroon. Indeed, English has been shaped in Cameroon by its history, ecology, the existing societal structures, as well as its co-habitation with French, Arabic Shuwa, Cameroon Pidgin English, and the 271 indigenous languages (Ethnologue, 2021) spoken by more than 200 ethnic groups and over 25 million Cameroonians. The results of this complex linguistic situation are that the majority of Cameroonians use two or three languages in daily interactions (Mforteh 2006, 2008, 2014; Njika 2006 cited in Simo Bobda & Njika 2009), and mix and switch codes very often in both formal and informal contexts (Kouega 1998, 2003a, 2004). Also, like other non-native speakers (henceforth NNSs), Cameroonians speak English with accents that betray their ethnicities. The factors mentioned above account for the existence of denominations such as Cameroon Francophone English (CamFE) (see Kouega 2008; Safotso 2012; Amah 2012; Fouda 2013; Simo Bobda 2013 and Atechi 2015), Bafut English, Banso English, Kom English (see Fonyuy 2014; Ngwa 2015).

The extent of this indigenisation is that CamE is now recognised in sociolinguistic studies (see McArthur's 1998 classification and Schneider's 2007 Dynamic Model) as a variety of English on its own. However, Cameroon has generally been considered a French-speaking country, given that "French was and is still regarded as the language to be learnt if one wants to survive and succeed within Cameroon" (Mforteh 2008: 43).

This work investigates the attitudes of teachers of English Language and Literature in English, student teachers of English and national pedagogic inspectors (henceforth NPIs) towards adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in the Cameroonian classroom. It equally examines the challenges to adopting CamE accent as the norm for language teaching and learning in the country and studies the prospects or hopes for adopting this accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon.

Three observations inspire this study. First, as a former British colony, Cameroon adopted at Independence in 1960 English as one of its official languages. SBE — also

referred to as Received Pronunciation (R.P.) in this study— became the model for teaching and learning English. However, six decades later, it is evident that Cameroonians do not speak English with a British accent, even though decision-makers in the domain of English education and English language teaching (henceforth ELT) still prefer and staunchly promote SBE features at all linguistic levels. Second, Cameroonian English teachers, like many teachers worldwide, hardly teach pronunciation for several reasons. Among these are the lack of knowledge and skills in English pronunciation instruction, the lack of didactic materials (Breitkreuz, Derwing & Rossiter 2001; Baker 2011; Murphy 2014) and the inability to speak SBE, which is, very often, the target model in pronunciation teaching and learning. This accounts, at least to some degree, for the emergence and development of autonomous and legitimate varieties of English in several different postcolonial contexts, such as Nigeria, India, Ghana, Sri Lanka, etc.

Nevertheless, accent (pronunciation) remains very important in the acquisition of English as a second or foreign language because it is the aspect of an individual's identity that is revealed first to the world when they engage in conversation, and because of this, may lead to positive or negative attitudes towards that individual. Then, suppose teachers, who are the models in their classrooms and in society, lack the skills to teach pronunciation and cannot approximate SBE accent features. In that case, there is a need for policy makers worldwide to reconsider the goals of English pronunciation instruction and set attainable targets for teachers and learners of English.

Out of Cameroon, several World Englishes (henceforth W.E.s) scholars (Kachru 1985, 1986, 1991, 1992; Kachru & Smith 1985; B. Kachru, Y. Kachru & Nelson 2006; McArthur 1998; Schneider 1997a, 1997b, 2003, 2007, 2011; Kirkpatrick 2007.) have claimed that post-colonial Englishes are legitimate varieties which are distinct from native Englishes and that these varieties are neither deficient nor degenerate as enemies of non-native Englishes have argued in the past. These scholars have also agreed that promoting traditional N.S. accents in non-native settings is a fallacy, as the pronunciation features of NNSs of English continue to deviate systematically from the standards of native Englishes. For more than two decades, some of these scholars and many others have been calling for adopting nativised English pronunciation features as local standards in postcolonial multilingual contexts.

In Cameroon, these issues were equally raised in studies such as Ngefac (2008), Ngefac & Bami (2010), Ngefac (2010) and Ngefac (2011), who have called for the adoption of an endonormative approach to ELT practice. An endonormative approach, according to Schneider (2011: 239), is based on "an attitude that promotes forms of behaviour (e.g. language forms) used within a community as norm". Other studies, including Atechi (2008), Mbibeh (2013) and Belibi (2013), investigated which variety of English should be the model for the Cameroonian classroom. All came up with the conclusion that CamE should be the school target. However, unresolved issues related to standardisation and documentation show that achieving that goal at this stage is unrealistic. The problem, therefore, is that although it is now established that N.S. norms are unrealistic, unattainable and irrelevant in postcolonial multilingual contexts such as Cameroon. Despite calls for the promotion of an endonormative model in ELT, SBE is still prioritised by policymakers. There is no indication that this is going to change soon. A striking fact that illustrates this point is that the English language paper was introduced in the GCE Advanced Level syllabus a few years ago to reinforce students' oral proficiency and other language skills in "correct" English. Policy makers and other scholars continue to believe that despite the existence of CamE, NS norms constitute the standards that we need for personal and professional development, as shown in this quote by Simo Bobda (2002: v):

> While acknowledging the legitimate emergence of an autonomous variety of English in Cameroon, I believe that we are still, in many ways, dependent upon British and American norms. Our educational and professional successes are still dependent on these norms.

The third observation that motivated the researcher to carry out this investigation is that there is a limited number of studies on attitudes towards CamE in general and CamE accent in particular. In fact, apart from studies such as Atechi & Angwah (2016) on CamE in general, Ngefac (2010) and Ngefac & Bami (2010) on CamE accent where primary research has been carried out on the attitudes of Cameroonians towards CamE, the overwhelming majority of works review the literature on attitudes towards native and non-native Englishes carried abroad, and, subsequently, apply those findings to the Cameroonian context.

It can be deduced from the above that this study is mainly concerned with language attitudes, which are "the feelings people have about their own language and the language of others" (Crystal 1997: 215). However, because language attitudes are not strictly limited to language only (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.2), this work has four objectives:

- To reveal the attitudes of the major stakeholders in the ELT industry (teachers, student teachers and NPIs of English) towards CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon,

- To provide an account of the attitudes of teachers, student teachers and NPIs of English towards English pronunciation instruction and CamE accent,

- To reveal and provide an account of the challenges to the adoption of CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon,

- To measure the likelihood of adopting CamE as the local teaching and learning English model.

The present study, therefore, seeks to answer the following research questions:

- What are the attitudes of some of the major stakeholders in the ELT industry in Cameroon (teachers, trainee teachers and national pedagogic inspectors) towards CamE accent?

- What are the challenges to adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon?

- What are the prospects of adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon?

This work is limited to CamE accent. Then, no other non-native variety of English is the focus of this study. Also, only accent (pronunciation) features of CamE are addressed in this work. Therefore, lexical, grammatical, discourse and stylistic perspectives are not the concern of this investigation. Furthermore, the phrase 'educational practices' that appears in the title of this work is limited to teaching and learning English. As such, English as a medium for teaching and learning other school subjects, such as mathematics, history, etc., is not the

concern of this work. Finally, besides language attitudes, this investigation is mainly concerned with three issues of English applied linguistics: the training of English language teachers in pronunciation instruction, teaching English pronunciation in classrooms, and the national policy regarding English pronunciation teaching and teacher training. The above points explain why the investigation is limited to field teachers, student teachers and NPIs of English. Therefore, other professional users of English, such as journalists, lawyers, etc., are not the concern of this study.

This study is significant in many ways. First of all, it contributes to studies on CamE phonology in general as it takes from previous studies on the identification and description of CamE accent features to investigate the attitudes, challenges and prospects related to the adoption of that variety of English as the model for the local English classroom. As the topic of CamE phonology represents a continuum of studies, it is our understanding that the standardisation and official recognition of CamE accent as the local model in ELT requires a priori an in-depth investigation of the attitudes of the major stakeholders in the ELT business towards adopting CamE accent as the model. It equally requires studying the challenges and prospects of such a move. Second, a study on attitudes is likely to reveal the dominant language ideology and the beliefs and values prevalent in ELT in the Cameroonian context. It equally provides insights into ELT practice, teacher training and English language policy and has the potential to influence policy-making in ELT in Cameroon.

This work is of interest to ELT practitioners and policy makers, curriculum developers and course book designers in the sense that it provides them with invaluable information about what the major stakeholders of the ELT industry in Cameroon think about the variety of English they speak and what destiny they want to reserve for that variety of English. It is also of interest to scholars, research students and teachers working in ELT, English teacher education, applied linguistics and language, identity and culture. It provides theoretical and contextual knowledge for practising teachers and teacher educators seeking to understand and explore the realities of teaching and learning English in the Cameroonian classroom, as well as the challenges to and probability of institutionalising CamE accent as the model for educational practices.

From a more pedagogical perspective, this study is significant in that it will create an awareness, if need be, in teachers, trainee teachers, teacher trainers and pedagogic inspectors that the accent we have all been speaking and learning in school is CamE and not SBE, and that it is high time we proudly adopted it as the model in our schools. Also, this study hopes to make ELT professionals aware of the need to rethink English pronunciation instruction and adopt intelligibility as the primary target for pronunciation teaching instead of nativelikeness.

This thesis comprises nine parts. Apart from this general introduction and a general conclusion, it is divided into seven chapters. Chapter One, entitled Background to the Study, covers the essential background information on the rise of English as a world language, variation across different contexts of use, and the implications of this variation. It equally revisits the history of English in Cameroon and CamE accent features. Chapter Two, Theoretical Framework and Review of Literature, discusses the theoretical framework and reviews previous works on attitudes towards varieties of Englishes and teaching English pronunciation both worldwide and in the Cameroonian context. Chapter Three is entitled Research Methodology. It discusses the sampling technique, population of study, selection of informants and the methods of data collection and analysis used in the work. The presentation of findings begins in Chapter Four. There, the investigation results on informants' attitudes towards CamE accent are presented, analysed and interpreted. Chapter Five continues the presentation of findings and focuses more specifically on the challenges to adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. The presentation of findings ends in Chapter Six, as results on the prospects for adopting CamE accent as the local model for the English language classroom are presented, analysed and interpreted. Chapter Seven discusses the major findings of the work. The last section, the General Conclusion, summarises the work, highlights the sociolinguistic and pedagogic implications of findings, and provides suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the background information for this study. It begins with the spread of English worldwide, then emphasises the indigenisation and nativisation processes that English has undergone in postcolonial multilingual settings. Then it discusses types of attitudes towards native and non-native varieties of English, as well as the sociolinguistic, pedagogical and economic implications related to the recognition of those varieties. Finally, it paints a succinct picture of English language teaching and teacher education in Cameroon, highlighting CamE accent features.

1.1. The spread of English around the world

With about two billion speakers today (see Graddol 2006; Crystal 2008a; Jenkins 2015), English is widely spoken worldwide on all continents as a first, second or foreign language. Its spread is unprecedented in history, as it has gone from an insular language to a global language in three centuries. Platt, Weber & Ho (1984: 1) described this impressive spread in the following terms:

> The spread of English to so many parts of the world and the increase in the number of those learning it and using it has been the most striking example of 'language expansion' this century if not in all recorded history. It has far exceeded that other famous case, the spread of Latin during the Roman Empire.

That English has become a global language implies that NNSs represent the bulk of English language users today. Current estimates point between 350 and 380 million N.S.s only, against 1.7 billion NNSs, among whom about 600 million are speakers of English as an L2 (Schneider 2011). Therefore, most English users live in multilingual contexts where English shares space with one or more indigenous languages. In postcolonial contexts, for

instance, English plays essential functions in politics, administration, business, education, the media, tourism, fashion, and many others. Even in countries that do not have a colonial history with Britain, such as Brazil, Germany or Japan, English is present in tourism. People still learn it because they believe it is the gateway to many international job opportunities. English has undergone indigenisation and nativisation in all these countries by acquiring local features. Some of these features are internal to speakers' background languages, including speech production, perception and processing, and elements of the local culture and belief systems. Commenting on the global spread of English, Schneider (2011: 2) holds:

> Wherever you go on this globe, you can get along with English. Either most people speak it anyhow, or there is at least somebody around who can communicate in this language. But then, you realize that mostly there's something you may find odd about the way English is used here.

English has not always been a global language; three centuries ago, it was merely the language of prestige in the British Isles. Then, how did a language spoken by five to seven million people in the early seventeenth century get to be spoken by over two billion people four centuries later? According to Crystal (2003), the current spread of English is a story of three good fortunes. English happened to be at the right place at the right time on three occasions:

- First, English spread worldwide as the result of the expansionist ambitions of the British Empire.

- Second, it was the language of the industrial revolution and technological innovation.

- Third, the status of English was reinforced in the 20th century because of the status and emergence of the United States as the sole superpower and the leading force of globalisation.

1.1.1. The expansion of the British Empire and the rise of English

The present-day global spread of English is, first and foremost, the result of Britain's expansionist ambitions around the world. Jenkins (2015) argues that this global spread results from two dispersals or "diasporas".

The first dispersal, which started in the early 17th century, involved the migration of some 25,000 NSs of English from the British Isles to North America (USA and Canada), Australia, New Zealand and the southern part of South Africa. These migrants transported their different English dialects and accents to their new settlements, and contacts with local languages and cultures resulted in L1 varieties more or less distinct from SBE.

The second dispersal, however, involves the transportation of English in Africa and Asia throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In Africa, English arrived through the slave trade along the western coast, notably in five territories, including Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon. English soon became the lingua franca in the region, as contacts between British traders and the indigenous people, on the one hand, and among indigenous people who spoke different African languages, on the other hand, were done essentially in English. This plural linguistic situation resulted in pidgins and creoles that flourished along the western coast. Notable examples include Sierra Leone's Krio, Nigeria's Pidgin English and Cameroon Pidgin English. These five territories later became British colonies, and English eventually gained official language status at independence.

On the East African coast, however, English made its way through settlements of British explorers in the 19th century in six territories, including Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe. These territories later became British colonies and adopted English as the official language at independence.

English also conquered Asia through the activities of British explorers in the 18th century, notably the expeditions of James Cook and the work of Stamford Raffles, an administrator of the East India Company. In South Asia, for instance, English was introduced to India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan, and is used today widely in these countries' education systems.

In Southeast Asia, East Asia and the South Pacific, English was introduced in Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, the Philippines and Papua New Guinea. In those countries and territories, British- American influence is still strong in domains such as education, the media, politics and tourism. In recent years, the growth of English in China, Korea and Japan has considerably reinforced the role of English as the lingua franca among Asian countries and between Asia and the rest of the world.

From the above, the arrival of English in Africa, Asia and the South Pacific resulted from British expansion worldwide. Contact with indigenous languages and cultures considerably influenced the shape of English in these new settings, as the people adopted the language as a marker of identity and a symbol of resistance to SBE. Crystal (2000: 5) highlights this point as follows:

> English has come to be used in several of these countries, as the expression of a socio-political identity, and it has received a new character as a consequence, conventionally labelled Nigerian English, Singaporean English, and so on.

1.1.2. English as the language of the industrial revolution and technological innovation

The English language acquired many new words from the 19th century, mainly because of the industrial and scientific revolution and technological innovation. At the time, most of the innovations occurred in Britain. Therefore, new words used to designate new materials and new techniques in domains such as transport, manufacturing, machinery, weapons, liquors, and many others, were added to the language.

After slavery was abolished, a new trade essentially based on the sale of British technology developed between Britain and its former slave trade partners in West Africa in the second half of the 19th century. As the need to expand markets arose with the surplus of industrial production, British merchants travelled with the products of their industry to sell them in coastal towns and kingdoms around the world and hardly ventured into the interior of continents. However, in the late 19th century, the British government became more involved in the trade, expanding the existing trading posts and establishing large plantations in the hinterland. Then British missionaries took over, carrying the language further into the interior. This spread of English gradually resulted in the development and establishment indigenized language varieties coloured by the ecological realities of the different contexts of use.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, America took over Britain as the world's leading economic power and extended English language dominance on technological innovation and the trade of inventions such as the telephone, the telegraph, electricity, the sewing machine and the phonograph. In the late part of the 20th century, the invention of the computer and the internet reinforced the position of English as the language of technological

innovation. In fact, more than 50 per cent of scientific publications worldwide are in English. New words were coined to designate innovations in medicine, computer science, engineering, etc.

However, this Anglo-American dominance on scientific and technological innovation is not without drawbacks, as innovation occurring in other parts of the world is not given the same attention by the dominant English language media. Consequently, only English-speaking territories are considered to have strong innovation capabilities. In the context of Europe, Vanderbeeken (2012: np) laments this situation in the following terms:

> The dominance of English language carries with it an accompanying perspective of Europe, both in terms of stereotypes and in terms of relevance (or lack of) to the Anglo-Saxon world. This often puts European businesses and countries at a serious disadvantage that they are too little aware of, and are hardly addressing. But it also disadvantages businesses in the English-speaking world, which are perhaps not aware that they are receiving an abbreviated picture of innovation in Europe.

From the above, English is today, without a doubt, the language of scientific discovery and technological innovation. Researchers cannot avoid it; from all indications, it will continue to dominate scientific research and technological innovation worldwide for a long time. The situation mentioned above is further consolidated by the role of the USA as the sole superpower at the close of the 20th century and the leading force of globalisation.

1.1.3. English, the American superpower and globalisation

While acknowledging Britain's role in the spread of English worldwide, this work equally takes cognizance of the role of the USA in the expansion of English in the 20th century. Kirkpatrick (2007b: 55) summarises the development of American English in the following terms:

> American English is, without doubt, the most influential and powerful variety of English in the world today. There are many reasons for this. First, the United States is, at present, the most powerful nation on earth and such power always brings with it influence. […] second, America's political influence is extended through American popular culture, in particular through the international reach of American films (…) and music. […] Third, the international prominence of American English is closely associated with the extraordinary quick development of communications technology. […] In

short, the increased influence of American English is caused by political power and the resultant diffusion of American culture and media, technological advance and the rapid development of communications technology.

Globalisation, according to Garrett (2010: 448), "can be considered in terms of economic, political and cultural domains". From an economic perspective, globalisation, which is essentially synonymous with "Americanization" or "westernization" (see Schneider 2011) or soft power, further reinforced the status of English as the dominant language in the world. In fact, Anglo-American multinational brands such as Coca-Cola, McDonald, Nike, Rolls Royce, Google, Apple, and many others conquered the world over a few decades. For most countries around the world, the USA became a "desirable business partner" (Schneider, op. cit.: 52) and proficiency in English became an indication that a country was open for business and that an individual could get better job opportunities.

In the early 20th century, the USA increased its economic and political status on the world stage; first, it gained territories outside the American continent, notably after the Spanish-American War of 1898, where it received authority over Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines. Second, it became the world's leading economy. Unlike Europe, which was severely affected by the two world wars, the USA emerged even stronger as an economic and military giant, as she proposed economic reconstruction plans for Europe and Japan after World War II. By the end of the 1970s, the U.S. Dollar had become the leading currency in international business transactions. These developments helped forge the status of English as the leading language in international cooperation and trade.

The role of the U.S. military was also crucial in expanding the dominance of English worldwide. First, the USA played a decisive role in the two world wars, as she helped her allies emerge victorious in both wars. Second, between the end of World War II and the turn of the 20th century, the U.S. army participated in both short and long-term military operations on all continents. For instance, the USA has stationed large troops in countries such as Japan, South Korea, and Germany. It has participated in military operations in Panama, Colombia and Peru in the Americas, Sudan and Somalia in Eastern Africa, Kosovo in Eastern Europe,

etc. In the first decade of the 21st century, invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq equally impacted the spread of English.

Last but not least, the expansion of the Northern Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in Eastern Europe and Turkey further reinforced the status of English in the world, especially in countries with no colonial history with Britain or the USA. The collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1980s led to the hegemony of the Anglo-American world and the dominance of English in all world affairs. More than ever before, the world was becoming a global village, and one language— English— was its lingua franca.

In popular culture, American music, Hollywood movies, and T.V. shows became popular among the youths of all continents. In the eyes of many people around the world, America became the place to be. This situation led to an increase in English language learners around the world.

Still, in the domain of culture, CNN emerged as a direct rival to the already popular BBC. This omnipresence of American speech patterns in the news and movies in English conferred some covert prestige to AmE, especially among youths worldwide. The demand for this variety of English grew in places like China, South Korea, Japan, Brazil, the Middle East and even in former British colonies. Some of these countries even exported native-speaker teachers to teach English to their students, as they understood that fluency in English was a gateway to economic development and increased business opportunities worldwide. Tsuda (1997: 23-24), cited in Proshina (2007), captures the critical role of the USA in the global spread of English as follows:

> The impact of the hegemony of English is not limited only to languages and communication, but its influence extends to cultural domains. As symbolized by expressions such as 'Coca Colanization' and 'McDonaldization, Americanization of global culture is happening today. There is no doubt that the United States is in a position to create, change, and control culture, information, and communication of the world to their own liking, because they are the exporter of American-made cultural commodities, such as Hollywood movies, rock and roll music, videos, McDonald's hamburgers, Coca Cola and so on and so forth, all of which are increasingly becoming the major components of contemporary everyday life, especially of the young generation.

Globalisation, however, presents a dual side; it tends to shrink and homogenise the world while simultaneously expanding it and making it more heterogeneous as people become more conscious of their differences. First, English as a global language threatens minority languages and cultures. Crystal (1997), for instance, argues that 80% of the world's 6,000 or so living languages are likely to disappear by the end of the 21st century. Second, Tsuda (op. cit.: 23) argues that the dominance of English engenders three types of inequality between English language users and speakers of other languages: "communicative inequality in international communication", "cultural domination", and "the colonization of the mind". She explains the concept of communicative inequality as that voices in languages other than English do not matter on the international stage unless the stories they carry are translated into English. Cultural domination, however, refers to the Americanisation of many cultures worldwide, which is reflected by changes in terms of taste, ways of life, etc. Finally, colonization of the mind refers to the process through which NNSs come to identify themselves more with English and Anglo-Saxon culture to the detriment of their own languages and cultures.

Most often than not, the businesses, cultures, ideologies, discourses, languages, and language varieties from more powerful social groups or countries seek continued dominance over those of weaker groups or nations. This is the case with English, and Phillipson (1997) refers to its dominance over other languages as linguistic imperialism. This situation results from a localisation process that affects norms and identities. Bauman (1998: 2) captures this point in the following terms:

> Globalization divides as much as it unites; it divides as it unites – the causes of division being identical with those which promote the uniformity of the globe. Alongside the emerging planetary dimensions of business, finance, trade and information flow, a 'localizing', space - fixing process is set in motion.

As the world becomes a global village, communication at the international level increases, and so does the demand for a lingua franca. English has filled out that position for many years, perhaps because "it is widely spoken, lacks the grammatical complications of the romance languages, and has a simple alphabet that lends itself easily to use on the internet" (Vanderbeeken 2012: np). However, communication at the international level is equally characterised by the tension between the need to connect with the world and the need to

project localised identities and cultures. Warschauer, El Said & Zohry (2002: np) summarise this point in the quote below.

> Economic and social globalization, pushed along by the rapid diffusion of the Internet, creates a strong demand for an international lingua franca, thus furthering English's presence as a global language… On the other hand, the same dynamics that gave rise to globalization, and global English, also give rise to a backlash against both, and that gets expressed, in one form, through a strengthened attachment to local dialects and languages.

In the domain of English language teaching and learning, "[t]he impact of globalization brought a widespread acknowledgement that English had achieved a genuine world presence, receiving special status in the usage or educational system of every country" Crystal (2008b: 394). As AmE gained prestige globally as a logical consequence of globalisation, a battle for standards between SBE and AmE emerged, as linguists and other language users developed preferences for one variety or the other. Today, even though SBE remains the prestige variety in most places around the world, AmE is highly rated among learners. In contrast, nativised varieties of English are gradually receiving positive views by non-native speakers. Warschauer, El Said and Zohry (op. cit.: np) illustrate this point as follows:

> This tension between Internet-led globalization and an increased need for local culture and language—has pushed Singaporeans to cling closely to their own highly colloquial dialect (Singlish) even as the government pushes them to adopt standard English in order to market their goods more effectively. . . It has also given a push to movements in defense of other languages, such as French.

From the above, British and U.S. colonisation, the industrial revolution, technological innovation, and globalisation have all contributed to the expansion of English around the world, with the result that about 2 billion people speak the language today.

1.1.4. Other factors that account for the global spread of English

Among other factors that account for the global spread of English are economic opportunities and the ease of learning the language. Looking at economic opportunities, English benefits both the individual proficient in this language and the country where it is learned. At the individual level, parents around the world today "assume that as the world-

wide market value of English continues to rise, every young person anywhere will need it, at least as a lingua franca, and the more fluent ones will have a competitive edge over their peers" (Mufwene 2010: 57). In other words, today's consideration of quality education involves, among other things, proficiency in English. Many countries worldwide have understood this point and have subsequently invested large sums of money to finance English education programmes. Mufwene (loc. cit.) highlights this point when he says:

> To ensure that their students are competitive, economically affluent countries have invested lots of money in the latest audio-visual technology while also recruiting the most competent teachers of English as a second or foreign language.

Proficiency in English is a gateway for better economic opportunities at the individual level and can potentially drive a country's economic transformation. For instance, it increases international communication and collaboration and facilitates access to information and research (Coleman 2010).

However, one of the main critiques against Crystal's (2000b, 2004) claim that English is taking over as the global language has been formulated by Mufwene (2010). In this paper, Mufwene argues that English has become a global language from a geographical perspective but is not becoming a universal language, as it is spoken only by 20 to 30% of the population in each non-native country in the world. He also claims that the usefulness of English education is still limited to urban areas and white collar jobs, which constitute a tiny proportion of the local job markets. In the same vein, Williams (2011) claims that in rural areas of developing African and Asian countries where English has an official language status, using the English language can instead harm literacy and economic growth as a whole, especially when introduced as a medium of instruction in primary education.

From the above, the expansion of the British empire through colonisation, the industrial revolution, technological innovation and the emergence of the USA as the world's superpower in the second half of the 20th century have all contributed to the status of English as a global language spoken today on all continents. That spread has resulted in new users and different language use patterns in new ecological settings, with postcolonial contexts witnessing the most salient forms of Englishization.

Concerning the ease of learning the language, it has been argued by both native and non-native speakers of English that English is relatively an easy language to learn. Many reasons could be given to illustrate this fact: English is gender-neutral, verb conjugation is relatively simple as there are fewer affixes in English compared to many other languages, many English words are found in other languages, especially in the field of technology, business and social sciences, and many nouns can also be used as verbs. Although English pronunciation can be frustrating for NNSs because of stress placement, tolerance towards the deviations found in non-native speech is relatively high in international communication. Studies such as Jenkins et al. (2011) and Barancicova & Zerzova (2015) have shown, for instance, that what matters most during international meetings and business communication between speakers of different background languages is getting the message across and not speaking with an SBE accent or using correct grammar.

1.2 Identification of varieties of English spoken worldwide

One of the immediate consequences of the global spread of English was the realisation that there were noticeable differences across countries and regions over the two dispersals in how the language was spoken. In fact, it was soon noticed that the English spoken in North America differed from that spoken in Britain, Australia and New Zealand. In the same way, the English spoken in Hong Kong was different from that introduced by the British, and from that spoken in neighbouring Singapore as well, and even more from varieties spoken in South Asian territories such as India, Sri Lanka and Pakistan. The same holds for Africa, where differences were noticed between the English spoken in West Africa and East Africa. This is how varieties of English worldwide came to exist.

Three models have been used in the literature to discuss the emergence and identification of the varieties of English spoken worldwide. They are the ENL/ESL/EFL model, the three circles model and the socio-geographic model.

The ENL/ESL/EFL model categorises the countries where English is used in three types depending on how the language came to be spoken in those territories. Then ENL, or English as a Native Language, refers to countries in which the language has traditionally been used as the mother tongue of the majority of the population. Notable examples include the United Kingdom, the USA, Australia and New Zealand.

ESL, or English as a Second Language, refers to postcolonial settings where English was brought to the local people through colonisation. Today, the language serves essential functions within the country in various domains, including politics, education, the media, administration and the legal system. Examples of ESL countries include India, Nigeria, Kenya and Cameroon.

EFL, or English as a Foreign Language, is the English used in territories such as China, Germany, Senegal or Brazil, where the language plays no internal function. However, the language is used in advertising because of its attractiveness and in education, mainly for its international usefulness.

The "Three Circles" model developed by Kachru (1985, 1992) differentiates among varieties of English based on language users, the context in which it is spoken, and the functions English serves in those contexts. This model is discussed in detail in the next chapter under the theoretical framework.

The third model, the socio-geographic model, distinguishes among varieties of English from three perspectives: geography, ethnicity and level of education. Concerning geography, categorisation can range from the nation to the region. Then, denominations such as Cameroon English, Sri Lankan English, Ghanaian English, etc., are used alongside larger groupings such as West African English, South Asian English on the one hand, and African English or Asian English on the other.

Ethnicity has been used to single out localised varieties from national and regional varieties. In the literature, documented varieties include Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa Englishes in Nigeria, Tamil and Malay varieties in Sri Lanka and Anglophone vs Francophone varieties in Cameroon.

Finally, the level of education is used to distinguish between educated and uneducated varieties, particularly in ESL contexts. Then, educated Cameroon English is distinguished from uneducated Cameroon English, even though it is not always clear, following Simo Bobda (1994), how much education is required before labelling the speech of a Cameroonian user of English as educated. For Masanga (1983), the GCE Ordinary level is a valid landmark to separate educated language users from the uneducated ones, though attending that

education level does not automatically mean that one speaks mainstream Cameroon English accent.

1.3 Typology of attitudes towards varieties of English

Attitudes towards varieties of English are of central importance in English-medium education as they have sociolinguistic, economic and pedagogical implications (see Section 1.4) and implications for ELT policy. Kachru & Nelson (1996: 79), for instance, argue that the ENL, ESL and EFL differentiation applied to users of English leads to current attitudes towards native and non-native varieties of English:

> When we say "English as a second (or even third or fourth) language", we must do so with reference to something, and that standard of measure must, given the nature of the label, be English as someone's first language. This automatically creates attitudinal problems, for it is almost unavoidable that anyone would take "second" as less worthy, in the sense, for example, that coming in second in a race is not as good as coming in first.

From the above quote, it is no secret that there are more positive attitudes towards Inner Circle Englishes than towards varieties spoken by NNSs of the Outer Circle and Expanding Circle. Indeed, several studies (Holliday 2005; Jenkins 2007, 2009; McKenzie 2008; Zhang 2009; Kaur 2014; Chien 2014) have shown that N.S. norms are highly prioritised, even by NNSs themselves. In other words, non-native varieties of English are hardly recognised as legitimate varieties representing their different users, although these varieties have been nativised in their contexts of use (Kachru 1986; Mufwene 2001; Schneider 2007), and NNSs now significantly outnumber NSs (Smith 1992; Crystal 2003; Park & Wee 2012). In general, the main focus of studies in the area of attitudes towards varieties of English is on the perception of non-native varieties by both N.S.s and NNSs. This explains our decision not to dwell here on attitudes towards native varieties of English. Then, this section will discuss background information on native and non-native speakers' attitudes towards nativised varieties of English, as these issues get greater importance when attention is called upon the possible adoption of these Englishes as local standards. Over the years, attitudes towards nativised Englishes have evolved, ranging from rejection to acceptance and neutral stances.

1.3.1. Rejection of nativised varieties of English

The prominent scholars who oppose non-native varieties of English are NSs of English. Examples include Prator (1968), Quirk (1990) and Görlach (2002), just to name a few. Also called purists, these scholars consider non-native varieties of English as deficient or degenerate and argue that their features should not be adopted as local standards. Prator (1968: 459), for instance, contends:

> The heretical tenet I feel I must take exception to is the idea that it is best, in a country where English is not spoken natively but is widely used as a medium of instruction to set up the local variety of English as the ultimate model to be imitated by those learning the language.

Quirk (1990) agrees, arguing that it is dangerous to have NNS teachers settle for low English standards (non-native varieties of English) when they know too well that proficiency in SBE would increase their students' career opportunities and freedom. He further questions whether the so-called non-native varieties of English are simply not the result of failures of the educational systems of the countries in which these varieties are widely in use. To solve this problem, Quirk (op. cit.: 19) recommends "the need for native teacher support and the need for non-native teachers to be in constant touch with the native language". In his opinion, using a non-native variety of English as a local standard equates to disrespecting what the English language represents. He concludes that "the mass of ordinary native-English speakers have never lost their respect for Standard English, and it needs to be understood abroad too … that Standard English is alive and well, its existence and its value alike clearly recognized" (Quirk op. cit.: 24).

Prator and Quirk base their rejection of nativised varieties of English on the assumption that English might undergo the same fate as Old Latin, i.e. break into several mutually unintelligible dialects if its use in and outside the classroom remains unchecked. They equally believe that non-native varieties of English could be purified if learners keep in touch with N.S. teachers.

Görlach (2002) equally contends that nativised varieties of English should not be used as local standards but differs from the two previously-mentioned scholars in that he does not

believe that the existence of non-native varieties constitutes a threat to Standard English. The quote below illustrates his viewpoint:

> The demand for English will continue and possibly increase, which means that more and more people will acquire broken, deficient forms of English which are adequate to the extent that they permit the communicational functions they were learned for….
>
> However, the incomplete acquisition reflected in such instances will never become the basis for a linguistic norm, which is, and has always been, based on the consent of the learned and guided by the accepted written norm, which has remained surprisingly homogenous around the globe … there is no danger of such deviant uses "polluting" the standards of native speakers even if they become a minority in the global Anglophone community. Int[ernational] E[nglish] will not be corrupted by such uses (Görlach op. cit.: 12-13).

From the above, purists view native (British) English as standard and consider it the only model to be taught in schools worldwide. They oppose the use of non-native varieties of English as local standards because they consider those varieties as inferior or sub-standard. Most scholars today do not share this position, especially those coming from postcolonial English contexts.

1.3.2. Acceptance of nativised varieties of English

The acceptance of nativised varieties of English is the attitude championed by Indian-born professor of linguistics Braj Kachru and his followers, who mostly come from former British colonies. These scholars have proposed a movement known today in English sociolinguistics and applied linguistics as World Englishes. Kachru and his followers argue that the different ecologies in which English has come to be used significantly affect its shape, leading to "the two faces of English: nativization and Englishization" (Kachru 1992). Nativization refers to the process of a language variety developing features of a local context, whereas Englishization is the process by which local languages acquire features of the English language. Therefore, scholars who advocate the acceptance of W.E.s understand, among other things, the following six points:

- That English is owned by all who use it (Gilsdorf 2002). Crystal (2000: 5) elaborates more on the issue in the following terms:

It is a point often forgotten, especially by monolingual native speakers of English, that a language which has come to be spoken by so many people has ceased to be the exclusive property of any of its constituent communities. Nobody 'owns' English now, not the British, with whom the language began some 1500 years ago, nor the Americans, who now comprise its largest mother-tongue community. Everyone has a share in English, first-, second-, and foreign-language speakers alike.

- That English has multicultural identities. It was not simply transplanted in non-native settings resulting in a uniform use (Kachru 1985).

- That it is unrealistic or simply impossible to impose NS norms in non-native settings (Kirkpatrick 2007; Ngefac 2011), sometimes, NS norms are simply irrelevant and inappropriate in non-native contexts.

- Teaching and learning English should consider the sociopolitical and historical factors related to language spread and use (Kachru 1988).

- NSs have lost the exclusive prerogative to control the standardisation of English in non-native settings (Kachru 1985).

The WEs framework propounded by Kachru, one of the frameworks of reference for this study, is discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

1.3.3 "Neutral" stances: EIL/ELF

Neutrality is the attitude of scholars who recognise the pluricentric nature of English yet tend to reject Kachru's liberal tendencies in ELT to promote an international variety of English that is intelligible to all. This attitude has given birth to a different perspective known today as English as a lingua franca (ELF) or English as an international language (EIL). ELF refers to communication in English between speakers of different L1s (Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2011). Proponents of this in-between approach include Jenkins (2000; 2007; 2015b), Kirkpatrick (2007), and Seidlhofer (2001, 2011), to name a few. ELF owes its existence to the early works of Jenkins (1998, 2000) and Seidlhofer (2001) on the pronunciation and lexico-grammatical features of English when used by people from different linguistic backgrounds. The new approach, at the time, was a fresh perspective to ELT theory, which had moved from a monolithic approach to the success and dominance of

the pluricentric approach, passing through fierce debates between proponents of both approaches. Referring back to the origins of ELF, Cook (2012: 244) described it as "the disobedient child of two rather reactionary academic parents, variationist sociolinguistics . . . and EFL pedagogic theory".

Since ELF derives from both the monolithic view developed by purists and the WEs movement, it shares similarities with the latter framework but differs from it in the same way that the monolithic framework differs from the WEs movement. Pakir (2009: 228) highlights the similarities and differences between Kachru's WEs approach and ELF in the following terms:

> W[orld] E[nglishes] and ELF are similar in that they have four common working axioms: emphasizing the pluricentricity of English, seeking variety recognition, accepting that language changes and adapts itself to new environments, and observing the discourse strategies of English knowing bilinguals. WE and ELF differ in that while WE includes all users of English in the three circles, ELF does not, choosing instead to focus on E[xpanding] C[ircle] E[nglish] users, who have no language in common because of their first other languages and thus choose English as the default language.

From the above, ELF is part of WEs, and just like WEs, it embraces pluricentrism and understands that a NS model cannot be a valid option for language teaching and learning in Outer Circle contexts. However, it differs from WEs in that it places more emphasis on interactions in the Expanding Circle, which has been a neglected domain of study in WEs scholarship. Many scholars, including Rubdy & Saraceni (2006: 8), welcomed this new perspective and claimed that the ELF model "liberates L2 speakers from the imposition of native speaker norms as well as the cultural baggage of World Englishes models". Kirkpatrick (2007b: 79) believes that the ELF model is preferable to both centrist and pluralist models in that it becomes

> the property of all, and it will be flexible enough to reflect the cultural norms of those who use it. In this it differs markedly from both native and nativized varieties of English, as native and nativized varieties must, by definition, reflect the cultural norms of their speakers.

While the ELF model appears as an exciting alternative to both Quirk's monolithic and Kachru's pluricentric perspectives, it suffers from criticisms from both WEs and SLA scholars.

First, according to O'Regan (2016), ELF is an illusion, a fallacy of misplaced concreteness, in short, a "reification" or a "hypostatization". He joins previous scholars, including Saraceni (2008), to oppose Jenkins' claim that ELF is "an emerging English that exists in its own right and which is being described in its own terms" (Jenkins 2007: 2), because, in his opinion, accepting such a claim implies that ELF is "something fixed and stable – having the property of concreteness" (O'Regan op. cit.: 205), which it is not. Two years earlier, he had already described the elusiveness of ELF in the following terms:

> 'ELF', like the commodity, is that mysterious thing, on this occasion here and yet not here, fluid and yet congealed, normative and yet hybrid – appearing to exist in some reified and yet simultaneously liminal space in the circulation of Englishes in the world. (O'Regan 2014: 539).

To that unflattering critique, he added:

> 'ELF' has no physical presence: you cannot point to it or pick it up, neither can you exchange it; nor for that matter is 'ELF' strictly speaking a product of labour (unless you count the labour expended by speakers of different L1s to acquire and speak English). The hypostatization and fetishism of 'ELF' as a thing-in-itself thus constitutes the irreal mystification, or projection, of a real content which is obscured, and so in a classical Marxist sense may be said to designate a 'false consciousness' or 'abstract objectivism' (…) in relation to the circulation of Englishes in the world… (O'Regan op. cit.: 539).

In other words, ELF is not tangible and, therefore, could not be considered a variety of English in its own right. Then, when people from different linguistic backgrounds meet and communicate in English, they certainly do not use some uniform or centripetal type of English resembling an existing standard. Instead, it would be more appropriate to say that they use centrifugal Englishes, regardless of whether these are closer to native or nativised Englishes (O'Regan 2016).

Second, the ELF position suffers from a lack of clarification of its position. On the one hand, it appears as a "reduced" and "simplified" version of English, in other words, "a case of 'anything goes'…" that "constitutes linguistic anarchy" (Jenkins 2012: 491). As such, ELF—which criticises the Kachruvian approach for being out of touch with ELT practice because NS norms dominate it— appears as a laisser-faire approach to English language teaching and use in intercultural communication contexts and, therefore, might be, in the end, more liberal and pluricentric than the WEs framework it criticises.

On the other hand, studies such as Rubdi & Saraceni (2006) and Saraceni (2008) have expressed concerns over the possibility that ELF's focus on norms for speakers of different background languages might be, in fact, another form of prescriptivism. Saraceni (2008: 22), for example, highlights this point in the quote below:

> What did not convince us about the ELF approach was, crucially, that it seemed to want to replace one model with another. If a British or American ENL model was deemed exonormative for most learners of English around the world, so would be, we suspected, any other model that was intended to be suitable for users of English around the globe, from Argentina to Vietnam, passing through Vienna, Cairo and Beijing. We saw ELF as an attempt to describe a one-size-fits-all model of English and it was in this sense that, to us at least, ELF did not seem, in the substance, very different from Quirk's International English.

Just like Saraceni (ibid), Park & Wee (2014: 57), cited in Jenkins (2015b), are also concerned with the prescriptive tendencies of ELF when they contend:

> Here, we refer to the project centred on the work of Jennifer Jenkins (2000) and Barbara Seidlhofer (2004), which aims to identify core linguistic features that facilitate intelligibility in ELF communication so that a counterhegemonic curriculum of English language teaching may be developed. While the ELF research project has been highly influential, its tenets have also triggered much debate. Critics are concerned that such efforts to establish an ELF core has the danger of reintroducing a monolithic model of English that the notion of ELF is meant to contest.

Proponents of the ELF movement reject this critique. Jenkins (2007), for instance, argues that her work on pronunciation mainly targets intelligibility in international communication and does not aim at imposing a unique pronunciation model on NNSs of English. In the same way, Seidlhofer (2006) contends that her works follow a descriptive approach that considers the pluricentric nature of English. She further points out that the ELF

model does not seek to replace the WEs framework, as both models can coexist: "Identification with a primary culture on the one hand and communication across cultures on the other are equally worthwhile endeavours, and there is no reason why they should not happily co-exist and enrich each other" (Seidlhofer op. cit.: 48).

While this sounds more interesting in perspective, ELF still struggles to eliminate the criticism that continuously defines its development as a field in ELT theory and practice. As Rubdy & Saraceni (2006: 13) have opined,

> In the end, the validity of the EIL/ELF proposal will probably depend upon whether or not it chooses to embrace a polymodel approach to the teaching of English or a monolithic one, whether it leads to the establishing and promoting of a single (or a limited form of) Lingua Franca Core for common use among speakers in the Outer and Expanding Circles, possibly stripped of any cultural influences, or whether it will be flexible enough to manifest the cultural norms of all those who use it along with the rich tapestry of linguistic variation in which they are embedded.

Once again, the above criticism put proponents of the ELF model on the defensive. To the above quote, Jenkins (2006a: 37-38) responded:

> By embracing the sociolinguistic facts of regional variation (e.g. they are the rule, not the exception), the core approach thus recognizes the rights of NNSs of the Expanding Circle to their own 'legitimate' regional accents rather than regarding any deviation for NS pronunciation norms as an error (as is the case in English as a Foreign Language approaches). In other words, it is an attempt to extend to Expanding Circle members the rights that have always been enjoyed in the Inner Circle and to increasing extent in the Outer.

Because ELF tends to use prescriptive methods, SLA researchers have criticised it because it fails to consider the multilingual contexts in which English is spoken worldwide and the ensuing multi-competence of English language users. On this point, Cook (2013: 37-38) holds that

> Oddly enough, ELF speakers are never apparently seen as multilingual individuals in multilingual communities. From the multi-competence perspective, ELF exists alongside the L1 in the mind, forming a complex supersystem. ELF seems to be treated in isolation, perpetuating the traditional monolingual conception of bilinguals as being two monolinguals rather than different people from monolinguals in L1. Nor do ELF researchers engage with the multi-competence of the community … it is only their role as ELF

monolinguals (to coin a phrase!) that matters not the relationship of ELF to the
other languages in their community.

Jenkins (2015b) dismisses the above critique, arguing that the ELF approach has
always acknowledged the creative and hybrid attributes of multilingual users of English.
However, she recognises the need to re-conceptualise ELF to address the multilingual aspect
of English language users at the international level.

From the above, there are three attitudes towards non-native varieties of English:
rejection, acceptance and neutral stances. These attitudes have primarily evolved over the
years; while rejection has become a less common attitude, ELF has been gradually adopted
by NS scholars who have understood that SBE and AmE norms are not appropriate and
relevant in postcolonial multilingual contexts. The attitudes described above have important
implications for the ELT industry.

1.4. Implications of the acceptance of nativised Englishes

There are sociolinguistic, pedagogical and economic implications related to the acceptance of
nativised Englishes, even though the first type of implication has consequences on the other
two. These implications are discussed in this section.

1.4.1 Sociolinguistic implications

The recognition of non-native Englishes implies, first of all, the acknowledgement by
NSs of the existence of different socio-political and cultural contexts, as well as different
identities that have a non-negligible impact on the oral and written productions in English of
NNSs. It also implies that NSs accept that NNSs now constitute the overwhelming majority
of English language users worldwide and, as such, have gained ideological influence on how
the language should be used. In this wise, Widdowson (1994: 377) argues that "communities
[...] should be granted the rights of ownership and allowed to fashion the language of their
needs", and Mufwene (2001) adds that "it is those who speak a language on a regular basis –
and in a manner normal to themselves – who develop the norms for their communities".
Then, a significant expectation of this recognition is the possible standardisation of localised
varieties of English soon. Another implication is that the perception of varieties of English no

longer follows the prestigious native varieties vs sub-standard non-native varieties divide but has come to depend on other factors such as familiarity with the accent, social prestige, nationality of the speaker and status of English in a particular context. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

While the negative perception of nativised Englishes was fueled in the 1990s partly as a result of Quirk's concerns and partly as a result of the booming of the accent reduction industry in Western countries, the positive perception of these Englishes grew out of the work of pluralist scholars led by Kachru. The acceptance of nativised Englishes has strong implications for ELT pedagogy in non-native contexts worldwide.

1.4.2 Pedagogical implications

The above sociolinguistic implications of recognising nativised varieties have equally raised pedagogical issues. Among these pedagogical issues is the question of norms or standards. While ministries of education around the world and the majority of students and teachers tend to prefer exocentric NS (mostly SBE) norms, standards continue to divide applied linguists and English language teachers, especially in postcolonial multilingual settings.

Proponents of the WEs movement are concerned about the feasibility of teaching SBE or AmE to multilingual NNSs. Seidlhofer (2005) argues, for instance, that Standard English is not easy to define, and therefore, it is not realistic to teach it. She adds that "in terms of numbers of speakers and domains of use, an insistence on Standard English as the only option for all purposes is… difficult to justify" (Seidlhofer op. cit.: 159). She adds, six years later, that "it would be interactionally counter-productive, even patently absurd in most cases, for speakers (to strive) to adhere to ENL linguacultural norms when no ENL speakers may even be present (Seidlhofer 2011: 18). In other words, given that NNSs vastly outnumber NSs and that there are more interactions in English among NNSs, teaching NS norms may be irrelevant in several non-native contexts. Also, given that there are both maturational (see Critical Period Hypothesis) and multilingual constraints on L2 learners' acquisition of native-like proficiency, it is challenging to claim that teaching SBE or AmE features will result in learners' reproduction of those same features.

Another pedagogical issue related to the recognition of nativised Englishes concerns choosing models of teaching as well as pedagogical materials that address the pluricentric nature of English in non-native contexts. Because these contexts are essentially multilingual, there is, very often, a bi-directional influence between English on one side and the other languages present in the multilingual repertoire of speakers in that context on the other side. This bi-directional influence has led to two linguistic phenomena—namely, Englishization (the effect of English on other languages) and nativization (the effect of local languages on English) that must be represented in teaching models. On this issue, Bhatt (2001: 543) claims that "models of teaching and learning need, therefore, to reflect the sociocultural ethos of the context of teaching/learning". Kachru (1992: 11) goes even further to propose a complete overhaul of ELT policies regarding teaching methods, classroom practices, research, etc. as illustrated in the quote below.

> First, a paradigm shift in research, teaching, and application of sociolinguistic realities to the functions of English. Second, a shift from frameworks and theories which are essentially appropriate only to monolingual countries. It is indeed essential to recognize that World Englishes represent certain linguistic, cultural and pragmatic realities, and that pluralism is now an integral part of World Englishes and literatures written in Englishes. The pluralism of English must be reflected in the approaches, both theoretical and applied, we adopt for understanding this unprecedented linguistic phenomenon.

Another important implication of recognising nativised Englishes relates to choosing ELT materials in non-native contexts. ELT practice so far is still characterised by a preference for and dominance of NS norms. This situation is even more pronounced in assessment, where standardised English language tests such as IELTS and TOEFL are exclusively derived from British or American linguistic norms and socio-cultural contexts. On the issue, Davidson (2006: 709) holds:

> There is a well-established and legitimate concern that large, powerful English language tests are fundamentally disconnected from the insights in analysis of English in the world contexts. These exams set forth linguistic norms that do not necessarily represent the rich body of English varieties spoken and used in contact situations all over the world.

The dominance of NS norms in standardised tests has had an ineluctable consequence in non-native settings, especially in Expanding Circle contexts: the import of ELT materials

and English teachers from NS countries. In fact, there is a preference for ELT materials from these NS contexts because they expose learners to 'standard' or 'correct' English. However, such materials may pose problems to learners and teachers from different ecological realities. Cunningsworth (1985: 19), for instance, contends that "cultural gaps pose problems to learners of English, particularly where the social, political or religious differences are great". In the same line of thought, Adaskou, Britten & Fahsi (1990) argue that Moroccan English teachers are often embarrassed when dealing with content on 'dating', for instance, in their classrooms, because it is socially and religiously inappropriate behaviour in Morocco. They claim that "many Moroccan teachers of English are uncomfortable in the role of presenters of alien cultures with which they may not identify and which they perhaps have not themselves experienced" (Adaskou, Britten & Fahsi op. cit.: 8). These studies carried out 25 to 30 years ago have had an impact on the ELT industry, as course books and other pedagogical materials designed today tend to reflect as much as possible the ecological realities of the ELT context as well as learners' interests (see Simo Bobda 1997).

Most often, the import of pedagogic materials goes along with the import of instructors who can 'better' teach the content of those materials. Such practice has been justified on the one hand by the need to increase the competitiveness of learners in the job market, and on the other hand, by research works (Medgyes 1992; Árva & Medgyes 2000; Lasagabaster & Sierra 2002; Jenkins 2005; Callahan 2006; Ali 2009; Ma 2012) which have shown that EFL learners in different non-native contexts prefer NS teachers over NNS teachers. Such attitudes and linguistic choices have significant economic implications.

1.4.3 Economic implications

The pedagogical issues raised by the emergence and recognition of non-native varieties of English have strong economic implications. In fact, that non-native learners prefer native varieties of English and consider them prestigious implies a preference for NS teachers by the same learners. This preference probably stems from the belief that NS teachers are familiar with the best methods of teaching their L1s to those who want to learn them. A consequence of this situation is the massive recruitment of NS teachers to teach English in economically advanced non-native contexts such as China, South Korea, Japan and Western Europe. An illustration of this economic advantage for NS countries is that

China, for instance, recruits around 100,000 NS 'experts' every year to teach English as a second or foreign language (Qiang & Wolff 2007). Sung (2012: 24), in an interview with George Braine, underscores this discrimination against NNS teachers in Asian contexts in the following words:

> NNS English teachers face discriminations in finding English teaching positions, especially in more affluent Asian countries. Being a Caucasian is considered the main qualification to teach English, and some who obtain employment as English teachers have no teaching qualifications at all.

Often, when programs with NS teachers fail to develop learners' language skills as expected, students are told that learning English through immersion programmes in NS settings is all they need for faster acquisition. As a result, these students often travel to England or the U.S. to improve their English. A 2015 report produced by Capital Economics for English UK illustrates this economic advantage for the UK. It contends, for instance, that about 650,000 people travel to the UK every year to study English, creating about 26,500 jobs and generating about £1.2 billion for the UK economy.

Also, in the United States, Australia, Canada, Great Britain and even in some countries where English is not an L1, there are still teaching and editing jobs reserved for NS teachers only, even when they are less qualified for those jobs than potential NNS candidates. This economic discrimination of NNSs in both Western and non-Western contexts was either discussed or investigated by many scholars. Selvi (2010), for instance, found that 74.4% of ELT job advertisements in EFL contexts had the "native or native-like/near-native proficiency" qualification requirement. In the same vein, a study conducted by Clark & Paran (2007) which investigated the importance of the NS status in hiring decisions at English language institutions in the UK, showed that 73.2% of respondents found the "nativeness" criterion as either "very important" or "moderately important". Mahboob et al. (2004) underscore the influence of "native-speakerism" in the hiring preferences in higher education in the USA. Their study shows, for example, that out of a sample of 1425 teachers working in 118 college-level ESL programmes, only 112 were NNS teachers. Also, it was found that at least 59.8% of ESL program administrators at these colleges considered the "native English speaker" criterion attached to their job vacancy announcements as "somewhat important".

As said above, the main reasons behind this discrimination are the fallacious arguments that students prefer NS teachers (see Cook 2000) and that NSs are better teachers than NNSs. On the second point, Kumaravadivelu (2003) argues that knowledge of teaching methods is more often than not the argument that ESL programme administrators use in several contexts to justify their discriminatory practices. He argues that

> What continues to fuel the TESOL economic engine is method as a construct of marginality with its monolingual tenet and native speaker tenet. These tenets make sure that the fountainhead of global employment opportunities for native speakers of English does not dry up any time soon (Kumaravadivelu op. cit.: 543).

The selection of course materials is another area that has substantial economic implications. In fact, most of the recommended ELT materials around the world are produced in NS countries, making ELT industries in those countries highly competitive. Littlejohn (1992) and Pennycook (1994), cited in Gray (2002), illustrate well the profitability of the British ELT industry. In fact, while the former scholar shows that a great course book could sell over a hundred thousand copies a year, the latter posits that British ELT course books could generate up to £170 million a year. That was almost 25 years ago. The annual sales for those course books could be up to 1.2 billion pounds today. In China, for instance, TESOL materials such as books and DVDs represent a 10-billion Yuan market annually (Qiang & Wolff 2007).

Another area of major economic importance in ELT is high-stakes testing. A global commercial testing industry has emerged over the last 50 years to sell standardised English language testing services (textbooks, CDs and preparatory classes) to NNS students all over the world who dream of having a privileged education in one of the native English-speaking countries. The point with these tests is that their pricing is excessive, and millions of non-native learners of English cannot afford them. In fact, the average cost of the TOEFL exam in 2017 was $180, which is about 100,000 CFA Francs. In 2003, it was at least $130, or 72,500 CFA Francs. Meanwhile, the IELTS test cost £160 in 2017, a whopping 117,000 CFA Francs.

Interestingly, neither the British Council (that administers the IELTS test) nor ETS (that designs and administers the TOEFL test) is willing to explain how the pricing is done

(Templer 2004). The truth is that many students from lower-income economies in Africa and South Asia who want to study in the US, Britain or Australia cannot afford the costs of these tests. This English language testing industry remains solely in the hands of institutions such as the British Council, Cambridge ESOL Examinations, and ETS (Roa 2013). Discussing the unfairness and inequality in ELT, Templer (2004: 191) holds that "never before in the planet's history have so many of the poor spent so much to learn the language of the rich".

From the above, the debate around the acceptance of non-native varieties of English and their use as local models for learning and teaching English boils down to money. Native speakers who have so far jealously held the reins of the international ELT industry are wary of opening up the industry to NNS teachers and accepting features specific to non-native English accents for apparent reasons: they would no longer make as much money as before. So, they have no interest in the promotion of WEs. Schneider (2011: 224-225) illustrates this point when he writes:

> Teaching and learning English is (…) big business nowadays. It is a hugely profitable battleground for dictionary producers and other publishing houses, for language schools and trainers, and for institutions like the British Council. Of course, many of the companies offering such teaching materials, tools and services are based in Inner Circle countries, notably England, so upholding the old myth that only British English is the best and the only "correct" form of the language is in their immediate interest.

Then, it is up to policymakers in non-native contexts to take decisions that matter to give credit to local varieties of English that best represent the realities and identities of their respective contexts of use. In Cameroon, the sociolinguistic context of this investigation, CamE has gradually emerged as the variety used by the educated Anglophone elite. The next section of this chapter provides an overview of the main features of this variety of English.

1.5 English in Cameroon

Like other European languages in Africa, English arrived in Cameroon through colonisation before becoming, after Independence, one of the country's two official languages. This section discusses, among other things, how English arrived in Cameroon, how it is taught in secondary schools, and how varieties of English are portrayed in English teacher training as well.

1.5.1 A brief history of English in Cameroon

Early traces of English in Cameroon date back to the 15th century during trade between coastal Cameroonians and merchants on Portuguese boats (Mbassi Manga 1973). More specifically, it is reported that contacts between English privateers on the Portuguese boats and Cameroonians led to some type of Pidgin English and Portuguese-based Pidgin. It should be recalled here that these Portuguese merchants found lots of shrimps in the river Wouri and called it Rio dos Camaroes, which means "river of shrimps". That is how Cameroon came to be known to the world. However, in the late 19th century, the Germans outpaced the British to become the sole administrators of Cameroon for 32 years, from 1884 to 1916, when they left the country. The use of Pidgin-based English continued, even during German rule (Wolf 2001). After Cameroon was partitioned into two and administered by France in the East and Britain in the West, Pidgin English expanded under British administration of Southern Cameroons, as it was used alongside Standard English, the new language of the administration in that part of the country (see Ze Amvela 1983). Meanwhile, in Eastern Cameroon, administered by the French, Pidgin English became the primary language of trade in marketplaces in major cities such as Douala, Nkongsamba and Bafoussam.

At independence in 1960, the country adopted a system of education—which is still in place today— based on French and English official bilingualism, with the result that two sub-systems of education were implemented: the Anglo-Saxon model and the French-oriented model. In the Anglo-Saxon model, English is the primary language of instruction, while French is a mandatory subject. Meanwhile, in the French-oriented model, French is the primary language of instruction, while English is a mandatory subject. Anglophone Cameroonians, who come from former British Cameroon, learn English as a second language (L2) while Francophone Cameroonians, born and cultured in former French-occupied Cameroon, learn English as a foreign language.

The choice of English as one of the official languages and medium of instruction in Cameroon was certainly motivated, like it was the case in other former British colonies in Africa, by fairly obvious reasons. First, leaders of the newly independent country feared that choosing one or two indigenous languages as media of instruction in a country where close to three hundred languages were spoken might lead to conflict among ethnic groups and cause

disunity. Two main measures were then taken to foster unity through colonial languages at the expense of indigenous languages. These include closing the Department of indigenous languages on September 27, 1958. Second, government officials and the early elite schooled in colonial languages believed that English and French would guarantee an excellent education to their children and lead to self-advancement. The consequence of this official language policy was that English and French were conferred prestige to the detriment of indigenous languages.

1.5.2 English language teaching in Cameroon: ideologies, policy and planning

Language policy is generally influenced by various factors, including education policy, historical, political, global and financial issues (Baldauff 2012; Vodopija-Krstanoviæ & Brala-Vukanoviæ 2012; Baldauf & Kaplan 2004). For Spolsky (2005: 2153), it "deals not just with named languages and varieties but also with parts of language, so that it includes efforts to constrain what is considered bad language and to encourage what is considered good language". In other words, language policy is prescriptive mainly, and is systematically in the hands of powerful groups in society, including the educated elite. The author adds that it "includes not just the regular patterns of choice, but also beliefs about choices and the values of varieties and variants, and also, most saliently, the efforts made by some to change the choices and beliefs of others" (Spolsky *ibid*: 2152). Therefore, ELT policy and planning in Cameroon, like in other multilingual polities worldwide, is informed by language ideologies grounded in the socio-political and historical realities of the local context. Some of these ideologies, according to Baldauf & Kaplan (ibid), include:

i. There is one and only 'correct solution' to the choice of language in education, including in multilingual polities;

ii. Speaking a given language confers the ability to teach it or use it to teach content subjects;

iii. Pidgins (and creoles) are not real languages: they cannot be used as mediums of instruction;

iv. For learners to attain the highest levels of proficiency and content mastery in a language of broader communication, they need to be taught via that language for the maximum number of years possible;

v. Indigenous languages are not capable of handling modern issues; only international languages such as English or French can do that;

vi. International languages such as English and French are necessary for nation-building in multilingual polities, as they help reduce tribalism and group conflict;

vii. International languages help to boost the economy and increase opportunities for better jobs.

With many of the above language ideologies in mind, English language education policymakers in the late 1950s preferred SBE— the variety used in the administration, educational system and the media in Britain— as the model for the Cameroonian classroom for obvious reasons. Cameroon was still a British colony, and SBE was then the only variety of English recognised worldwide and desired by policymakers in most countries around the world. At the time, there were no debates on which English accent was more appropriate for the classroom in a non-native setting. Despite the choice of SBE as the model for the local classroom in the early 1960s, English was taught by Cameroonian teachers, who, just like other NNS teachers worldwide at the time, barely had a level of education above the First School Leaving Certificate. Their language errors and their imperfect renditions of English sounds were transferred to their students over the years, leading to the systematisation of indigenised speech features in the English of Cameroonians.

Furthermore, English and French, the media of instruction in Cameroon, had to co-habit with over 270 indigenous languages spoken in the country. The contact of English with all these languages, coupled with the fact that the British did not do enough to encourage formal instruction in Standard English—a situation that Simo Bobda (2004) calls "linguistic apartheid"— resulted in the processes of indigenisation and nativisation, as English was shaped considerably over the years by the sociolinguistic realities of the country. Kachru (1983: 78) describes the process of nativisation of English in a non-native context in the following terms:

The degrees of nativization of a variety of English are related to two factors: the range and depth of the functions of English in a non-native context, and the period for which the society has been exposed to bilingualism in English. The greater the number of functions and the longer the period, the more nativized is the variety. The nativization has two manifestations, cultural and linguistic, with 'cultural' here referring to the acculturation of English. The result is that, both culturally and formally, the English language comes closer to the sociocultural context of what may be termed the adopted 'context of situation'. This new, changed 'context of situation' contributes to the deviations from what originally might have been a linguistic 'norm' or 'model'.

Then, nativisation in the context of Cameroon occurred in two ways; first, it occurred via phonological interference as the background languages of Cameroonians came to influence their speech considerably, sometimes leading to the emergence of ethnolects such as Nso English, Bafut English, Wimbum English, CamFE, etc. It equally occurred via lexico-semantics, discourse and pragmatics through hundreds of innovations that are specific to CamE only, and the emergence of new lects such as Camfranglais that is mainly spoken by the youth in Cameroon. Then, despite the change in teaching approaches and methods from the 1960s until today, Cameroonians continue to speak a variety of English that is coloured by the realities of their context.

Yet the Cameroon Ministry of Secondary Education (MINESEC) has relentlessly continued to promote NS norms in our schools. This is evident in the new CBA syllabuses, which place more emphasis on pronunciation than the previous ones, and teaching, learning and testing activities are based, more than ever before, on NS norms. MINESEC justified this interest in "correct" pronunciation teaching in the following terms:

Although, English and French are the two official languages in Cameroon, they are non-native and are spoken against a background of about 260 mother tongues and Pidgin English. Consequently, these mother tongues cause interference in the learning of English nationwide. This diversity is found even among teachers who come from the ten Regions of Cameroon, and who speak different "Englishes" to their learners. The importance of introducing English phonology systematically in language teaching/learning cannot, therefore, be ignored (MINESEC, Programme of Study: English to Francophones General Secondary Education 6e, 2014: 18).

From the above quote, educational authorities are aware that Cameroonian teachers speak "Englishes", that are quite different from SBE, the variety that is promoted officially. Also, these authorities believe that the deviations from SBE found in the speech of Cameroonians are the result of interference from background languages, including mother tongues, and that teaching English phonology can help fix the problem. Yet there is no evidence, five years after the arrival of CBA, that Cameroonian teachers and students speak SBE. Instead, Cameroonians continue to speak CamE, an accent specific to the Cameroonian territory that represents their identity.

This attitude of policymakers, however, is nothing new. Atechi (2008), following Simo Bobda (1994), already questioned ELT policy in Cameroon regarding English pronunciation teaching, notably the fact that the officially recommended teaching materials in use in secondary and high schools in Cameroon essentially followed and promoted NS pronunciation models, mainly RP, even though both teachers and learners were speakers of CamE accent. In the same light, Gupta (2001: 365) highlights the existing gap between what is real and what is imagined in ELT in the following terms:

> In the imagination of those establishing language policies, especially educational ones, English can be ordered and controlled. Intentions about the type of English to be taught may be expressed, and curriculum requirements may specify the variety of English required of learners. However, the imagined learner, the imagined teacher, and the imagined setting of use are often at odds with the reality of the learner's exposure to English, and the learner's plausible occasions of use. This is one of the main areas in which there is a failure to come to grips with the impact of globalization of English.

The preceding discussion tends to indicate that the discrepancy between English language teaching policy on one side, and everyday use of the language and classroom practice on the other side, will likely continue to exist for many years. The above description certainly dooms the hopes of ELT scholars and practitioners who stand for the adoption of CamE as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon.

For other Cameroonian scholars in English education, the problem is somewhere else. In fact, studies such as Ntonifor (1992), Ayafor (1996) and Ndongmanji (2005) have argued that the English proficiency of Cameroonians is on a steady decline because of falling standards of English language education in the country. Then, because teachers are the

primary guarantors of the standards of English in Cameroon, it becomes necessary to find out how the need to maintain NS norms, on the one hand, and expose student teachers to varieties of English, on the other hand, are reflected in teacher training.

1.5.3 English teacher education in Cameroon

English teacher education in NNS settings— including postcolonial multilingual contexts— has been largely influenced by the "ideal native speaker" ideology. This is not surprising, as language policy, language teaching, and teacher training are usually interdependent. In other words, a country's English language policy recommends or suggests which variety or varieties to teach, to whom and how to do it (Vodopija-Krstanoviæ & Brala-Vukanoviæ 2012).

In Cameroon, there are currently four teacher colleges that train English language teachers, and all of them mainly promote SBE features. Indeed, a study of the courses offered in Bilingual Studies and English Modern Letters specialisations shows that SBE is the only variety of English promoted at all levels of these colleges' two-year, three-year or five-year training programmes. As far as pronunciation is concerned, the course "English Speech and Usage" is offered at all levels of study, though under different appellations, among which "Introduction to English Speech and Usage" and "Advanced English Speech and Usage". Then student teachers are drilled into mastering and teaching SBE pronunciation and usage features every year. In the graduate and undergraduate study programmes, exposure to other English accents occurs only through the course "Varieties of English", offered only once or twice during the training programme. The aim of the course is certainly to ensure that future teachers receive solid training in the variety of English they are going to teach on the field while being aware of the fact that Cameroonians speak English differently from traditional NSs, and that there exist differences between English language use in NS and NNS contexts. Yet scholars such as Fontem & Oyetade (2005), Fontem (2012), cited in Achiri-Taboh & Lando (2017), have argued that English teachers have contributed to the declining standards of the language in Cameroon. Achiri-Taboh & Lando (ibid), for instance, cast doubts about the language proficiency of ESL teachers. Data was collected via questionnaires and interviews. Qualitative content analysis and Error Analysis were used as methods of data analysis. The findings revealed that of the 40 teachers who participated in the study, 36 had

difficulties spelling words correctly. In contrast, 33 had problems with punctuation, 30 with pronunciation, 28 with capitalisation, 27 with sentence construction and 05 with agreement. These findings further indicate that English teachers do not always have the appropriate proficiency in teaching the language.

1.6 Cameroon English

The variety of English spoken in Cameroon has been abundantly described in the literature (see Masanga 1983; Mbangwana 1987; Simo Bobda 1994; Simo Bobda 2010; Simo Bobda 2011; Anchimbe 2006; Ngefac 2008; Kouega 2013) and has earned recognition worldwide (see McArthur's 1998 Circle of World English, and Schneider 2007). However, what is referred to as CamE is by no means easy to define, even by Cameroonian scholars. This section discusses CamE accent, the variety of English under study in this work. It starts with a working definition of CamE before focusing on the phonological features of that variety of English. Finally, previous works on CamE accent are reviewed.

1.6.1 Cameroon English: what it is

As is the case with other non-native varieties of English in the world, there exist several issues related to CamE on which scholars so far do not always agree. One of these issues is its definition. Fongang (2015) elaborates on this point. He argues that "the problem here is at four different levels: how [CamE] should be referred to, what can be considered Cameroon English, who speaks it, what has been said on standardisation and intelligibility issues, and what are peoples' attitudes towards it" (Fongang op. cit.: 16).

At the level of terminology, he says, the term "Cameroon English" is not appropriate, as it refers to the English spoken in Cameroon, which includes spoken English by the Chinese, British, Americans, Turks or Indians who live in the country temporarily. Instead, he suggests "Cameroonian English" would be a more appropriate appellation, as it refers directly to the English spoken by Cameroonians. As far as this work is concerned, no emphasis will be laid on which appellation, between Cameroon and Cameroonian, is more correct. We shall keep Cameroon English because it is the appellation recognised in the literature on non-native Englishes to refer to the variety of English spoken by Cameroonians.

Looking at what can be considered as CamE, Fongang (ibid) cites Sala (2003), who believes that CamE is the spontaneous and natural English speech of Anglophone Cameroonians. For Ubanako (2008), CamE is a "macrocosm of microcosms" as it contains regional and ethnic varieties. Simo Bobda & Mbangwana (2008: 199) provide a more detailed description of CamE in the following terms:

> The term Cameroon English (or Cameroon Standard English used by previous authors) is meant to contrast with four main kinds of speech. First, it stands in contrast to Pidgin English, widely used in Cameroon. Second, it contrasts with the speech of the uneducated speakers of English… CamE further contrasts with the speech of Francophone Cameroonians; some of these speakers may have a high command of English, but they are regarded as users of a performance variety and can hardly serve as a reference. Finally, the term Cameroon English excludes the speech of a handful of Cameroonians who have been so influenced by other varieties (RP, American English, etc.) that they can no longer be considered representative of the English spoken in Cameroon.

The above definitions clearly indicate that mainstream spoken CamE is not a monolith; like other varieties of English (native and non-native), it is composed of many ethnic or regional accents. Also, the above definitions underscore that defining CamE leads to discrimination against most Cameroonian English language users. In fact, if Pidgin-based English speakers, uneducated speakers, Francophone users and Cameroonians of the diaspora, as well as those who once lived abroad and have acquired British-like or American-like accents, are all excluded from what is referred to as CamE, then the variety of English called CamE is not representative enough, as it is based on the speech features of a handful of English language users in the country. Critics of this line of thought may argue here that what is referred to as SBE as far as pronunciation is concerned is RP, an accent spoken by about five per cent of the population living in the British Isles, and therefore, limiting CamE to the speech of educated Anglophone Cameroonians living in Cameroon is equally legitimate. However, comparing RP and CamE in these lenses is very inadequate. RP is a class-based accent, which means that both social class and level of education are strong indicators of the prestige conferred on it. However, RP today, unlike CamE, is not limited to ethnicity, as it is spoken even by black African, Indian and Arab immigrants living from London to Yorkshire. In contrast, CamE scholars tend to exclude all Francophone speakers, even those who have studied in English-medium schools or have lived and studied in the English-speaking regions

because of their ethnicity. Can we still say that Francophones who attended English-medium schools speak a performance variety of English? Why can we not consider an educated Francophone user of English as a reference for another Francophone or even a Cameroonian English language learner in general? There is fear that such intra-national discrimination against a sizable population of Cameroonian English speakers tends to de-legitimise NNSs' fight for the recognition of their localised varieties and the importance of local teachers as well. If all English language users have rights to the language, then educated Francophone users of English in Cameroon equally have rights and, therefore, should be recognised as speakers of CamE.

Still, on the definition of CamE, Kouega (1999) claims that CamE is a continuum of four components: Pidgin English, Pidginised English, General Cameroon English and Educated Cameroon English. This description, however, was criticised by Atechi (2006) on the grounds that it tends to dismiss both the English of Francophones and the English of Cameroonians who have lived abroad for so long that they sound near native. In this work, however, we shall consider Simo Bobda & Mbangwana's (2008) conceptualisation of CamE, even after highlighting some of its shortcomings.

Concerning standardisation, there is no Standard CamE accent yet, even after Ngefac's (2011: 43) recommendation that "instead of fruitlessly spending time and energy promoting SBE accent in Cameroon, the resources can be invested on the codification, standardisation and promotion of educated CamE". The same author has argued that promoting SBE features in Cameroon is synonymous with beating a dead horse since educated Cameroonians (teachers and journalists) do not speak it.

With regards to intelligibility, Atechi (2006) showed that CamE accent is intelligible to speakers of traditional native varieties, namely SBE and AmE, almost in the same manner as these native varieties are intelligible to Cameroonians. Safotso (2015) shows, instead, that CamE and Indian English speakers have great difficulties understanding one another in free speech, despite the traditionally held belief that NNS accents are mutually intelligible.

From the above, what is called CamE accent is the English of educated Anglophone Cameroonians. However, this variety of English has not been standardised yet, and may not

be intelligible to speakers of other non-native Englishes worldwide. In the next section, the features of CamE accent are described and discussed against what obtains in RP.

1.6.2 CamE Pronunciation features

Early research on CamE, according to Atechi (2006), focused on sociolinguistics (Mbassi Manga 1973, 1976; Koenig et al. 1983) and Pidgin English (Menang 1979 and Ngome 1982). Literature on CamE phonology, the primary concern of this investigation, however, was quasi-inexistent before the mid-1990s; unlike other new Englishes, such as Indian, Nigerian or Ghanaian Englishes that had already been documented and made known to an international audience, CamE came to be known to the world only at the turn of the 20th century.

Atechi (ibid) claims that the evolution of research on CamE phonology can be divided into two phases. Phase 1 involves works such as Masanga (1983), Todd (1984), Todd & Hancock (1986), Simo Bobda (1986), Mbangwana (1987), and Kouega (1991), as well as several postgraduate dissertations that used the same traditional method of analysis which focused on the study of surface forms as done in the work of Masanga.

Phase 2 involves works that used Chomsky's Generative Phonology to describe features of CamE phonology based on those of RP. These include Simo Bobda (1992, 1994), Simo Bobda & Mbangwana (1993), and Simo Bobda & Chumbow (1999), to name a few. These works became the first significant resource materials on the study of CamE phonology and contributed largely to making the variety of English spoken in Cameroon to be known worldwide.

This section describes features of CamE phonology using the framework outlined by Simo Bobda & Mbangwana (1993, 2008). In other words, the features described here are those found in the speech of educated Anglophone Cameroonians, i.e. those Cameroonians who have obtained at least the GCE Ordinary level. In other words, features of Pidgin English, CamFE, the English of uneducated Cameroonians, and those of the English spoken by Cameroonians who sound near native because their accent contains features of RP or AmE are excluded from the description. We describe these features in order to remind ourselves, if

needs be, of how different CamE accent is from RP, the officially recommended accent for the English classroom.

1.6.2.1. Segmental features of CamE

In this sub-section, both vocalic and consonantal features of CamE are discussed. The aim here is not only to provide an inventory of the existing sound segments found in the English speech of Cameroonians, but also to discuss the phonological processes leading to the innovations that characterise the phonology of CamE.

1.6.2.1.a. Vocalic features

RP has a vowel system that comprises 12 monophthongs, 08 diphthongs and 05 triphthongs. CamE, on the contrary, has fewer monophthongs (08) (obtained by process of reduction of the existing RP diphthongs and the restructuring of RP monophthongs), and more diphthongs (12) due to the reduction of triphthongs, spelling pronunciations and other factors. Also, it has no triphthongs because the existing RP triphthongs are restructured in CamE, with the medial element systematically changing into a glide, leading to two syllables (see Simo Bobda 1994).

The 08 monophthongs of CamE, which include [a, i, e, ə, ɔ, ɛ, o, u], are distributed as follows:

[a] cat, cart   [i] hit, heat

[e] lake, medical   [ə] able

[ɔ] cot, court   [ɛ] pen, rest

[o] so, show   [u] pool, pull

Meanwhile, the 12 diphthongs of CamE include [ie, iɛ, ia, iɔ, iu, ua, ue, uɔ, ea, eu, eɛ, eɔ]. Following Atechi (2006: 82), these sounds are distributed as follows:

[ie] nearly   [ue] influence

[iɛ] near, dear   [uɔ] arduous

[ia] India   [ea] Korea

[iɔ] warrior   [eu] Thaddeus

[iu] Julius   [eɛ] were, there

[ua] usual   [eɔ] neophyte

The sounds listed above are the result of restructuring processes of the existing RP monophthongs and diphthongs. Below, I discuss how these processes occur in monophthongs and diphthongs.

- **Restructuring of RP monophthongs**

RP [ə] is pronounced [e, ɛ, a, o, u, ɔ, i, ia, aja] in CamE, as shown in the examples below:

Word	RP	CamE
[ə] → [o] police	[pəlɪs]	[polis]
[ə] → [a] human	[hjumən]	[juman]
[ə] → [e] again	[əgɛn]	[egen]
[ə] → [i] flexible	[fleksəbl]	[flegzibel]
[ə] → [ɔ] common	[kɔmən]	[kɔmɔn]
[ə] → [u] today	[tədeɪ]	[tude]
[ə] → [ɛ] parent	[pɛərənt]	[pɛrɛn(t)]
[ə] → [ia] socialist	[səʊʃəlɪst]	[sɔʃialist]
[ə] → [aja] martyr	[mɑtə]	[mataja]

(Source: Atechi 2006: 85)

Just like in other non-native Englishes, RP vowels [ɪ] and [i] are pronounced invariably as [i] in CamE, making the words *seat* and *sit*, *heat* and *hit* become homophonous. However, RP [ɪ] is also pronounced as [e, ɛ, ai] in CamE, as shown below.

Word	RP	CamE
Market	[mɑkɪt]	[makɛt]
Favourite	[feɪvrɪt]	[fevɔrait]
Television	[tɛlɪvɪʒn]	[televiʃɔn]

In the same way, RP sounds [ɔ] and [ɒ] are pronounced interchangeably as [ɔ] in CamE, making the pairs *court* and *cot*, *port* and *pot* become homophonous.

Another RP vowel restructured in CamE is the central vowel [ʌ]. This vowel is pronounced as [ɔ, a, ɛ, au] in CamE, as shown below.

Word	RP	CamE
[ʌ] → [ɔ] young	[jʌŋ]	[jɔŋ]
Bus	[bʌs]	[bɔs]
Number	[nʌmbə]	[nɔmba]
[ʌ] → [a] come	[kʌm]	[kam]
One	[wʌn]	[wan]
[ʌ] → [ɛ] but	[bʌt]	[bɛt]
[ʌ] → [au] country	[kʌntrɪ]	[kauntri]
Southern	[sʌðən]	[saudɛn]

Simo Bobda (1994) recognises that the RP monophthong [ɜ] is one of the most important and heavily restructured vowels in CamE. Simo Bobda et al. (1999) highlight the

importance of this sound in the study of African Englishes by showing how it can help identify the ethnicity, nationality or region of origin of speakers of English. The NURSE vowel, as it is also called, is rendered as [a, i, ɛ, ɔ] in CamE.

The RP vowel [ɜ] is rendered as [a] in basilectal or mesolectal renditions of the following words:

Word	RP	CamE
Sir	[sɜ]	[sa]
Her	[hɜ]	[ha]
Maternity	[mətɜnitɪ]	[mataniti]
Transfer	[trænsfɜ]	[transfa]

(Source: Simo Bobda 2000)

RP [ɜ] is replaced by CamE [i] in some words with the grapheme –ir, such as *circuit.* Meanwhile, RP [ɜ] is pronounced as [ɛ] in CamE in several words containing the graphemes *–ir, -er, -ur, -ear,* as shown below.

Word	RP	CamE
Serve	[sɜv]	[sɛf]
Heard	[hɜd]	[hɛd]
Learn	[lɜn]	[lɛn]
Bird	[bɜd]	[bɛd]
Burn	[bɜn]	[bɛn]
Were	[wɜ]	[wɛr]

Meanwhile, RP [ɜ] is pronounced [ɔ] in the following words:

Word	RP	CamE
Work	[wɜk]	[wɔk]
Purpose	[pɜpəs]	[pɔpɔs]
Further	[fɜðə]	[fɔda]
Journal	[dʒɜnl]	[dʒɔnal]

- **Restructuring of RP diphthongs**

RP diphthongs are restructured in CamE in two ways: through the monophthongisation of the existing RP diphthongs or the creation of new diphthongs. As far as monophthongisation is concerned, RP [eɪ] is pronounced [e], [ɛ] or [a] in CamE, as shown below.

Word	RP	CamE
State	[steɪt]	[stet]
Great	[greɪt]	[gret]
Made	[meɪd]	[mɛd]
Labour	[leɪbə]	[lɛbɔ]
Fatal	[feɪtəl]	[fatal]
Satan	[seɪtən]	[satan]

Simo Bobda (1994) notes that RP [əʊ] is often replaced by either [o] or [ɔ] in CamE. While [o] occurs in final word syllables such as *no, go, so, know, most*, etc., [ɔ] is often pronounced in the word-medial position, as shown in the examples below.

Word	RP	CamE
Focus	[fəʊkəs]	[fɔkɔs]

Total	[təʊtl]	[tɔtal]
Notice	[nəʊtis]	[nɔtis]

The RP diphthong [ʊə] is shortened in CamE as [u] and [ɔ] as shown below:

[ʊə] → [u] as in *rural, plural, curious*

[ʊə] → [ɔ] as in *sure, assurance*

[ʊə], however, is equally replaced in CamE by diphthongs that do not exist in RP, and which are likely induced by the spellings of words. These spelling-induced diphthongs found in CamE include [ue, ɔi, ua] as found in the data below from Atechi (2006: 87).

[ʊə] → [ue] as in *confluence, influence*

[ʊə] → [ɔi] as in *fuel*

[ʊə] → [ua] as in *newer, truer, annual*

Just like [ʊə], the RP diphthong [ɛə] can either be monophthongised or replaced by diphthongs that do not exist in RP. In the examples below, [ɛə] is shortened into [ɛ] in CamE as seen below.

Word	RP	CamE
Heir	[ɛə]	[ɛ]
Parent	[pɛərənt]	[pɛrɛn(t)]

However, [ɛə] can also be replaced by the CamE diphthongs [iɛ, ia] as seen in the following examples.

Word	RP	CamE
Their	[ðɛə]	[dia]
Tear	[tɛə]	[tiɛ]

Finally, the RP diphthong [ɪə] is often shortened and replaced by [i]. This is generally the case with words containing the –er grapheme in the word medial position, as evident in the data below.

Word	RP	CamE
Period	[pɪərɪd]	[piriɔd]
Serious	[sɪərɪəs]	[siriɔs]
Inferior	[ɪnfɪərɪə]	[infiriɔ]

The above data shows that CamE pronunciation systematically deviates from RP in that it does not obey the pre-R breaking rule, which recommends that the schwa vowel be inserted between the sounds [ɪ] and [r] in word medial and final positions.

Also, RP [ɪə] is rendered as [ie/iɛ, iɔ, ia] as seen in the following examples from Simo Bobda (1994):

Word	RP	CamE
[ɪə] → [iɛ, ie] Beer	[bɪə]	[biɛ, bie]
Appear	[əpɪə]	[apiɛ, apie]
[ɪə] → [iɔ] onion	[əʊnɪən]	[ɔniɔn]
Opinion	[əʊpɪnɪən]	[ɔpiniɔn
[ɪə] → [ia] malaria	[məlɛərɪə]	[malɛria]
Julian	[dʒʊlɪən]	[dʒulian]

- **Restructuring of RP triphthongs**

As mentioned earlier, CamE has no triphthongs because the medial elements in triphthongs ([ɪ] and [ʊ]) are systematically changed into the glides [j] and [w], respectively, in the pronunciation of Cameroonian speakers, thereby splitting RP triphthongs into two

syllables (Simo Bobda 1994). The initial and final vowel elements are all pronounced [e, a, ɔ], as shown in the examples below.

Word	RP	CamE
Greyer	[greɪə]	[greja]
Hire	[haɪə]	[haja]
Lower	[ləʊə]	[lɔwa]
Flower	[flaʊə]	[flawa]
Employer	[ɛmplɔɪə]	[ɛmplɔja]

- **Restructuring of RP hiatuses in CamE**

Atechi & Njong (2011) investigated how RP adjacent vowel sequences (known as hiatuses) are rendered in CamE. Using a reading test administered to 20 English-speaking students of the University of Yaounde 1, the study focused mainly on how 10 RP hiatuses, including /i.æ, i.ɪ, i.ɒ, u.ə, u.ɪ, i.eɪ, i.əʊ, u.eɪ, aɪ.ɒ, əʊ.e/ are realised in CamE. Also, 11 other RP hiatus contexts including /eɪ.ɪ, u.e, aɪ.ɪ, aɪ.əʊ, aɪ.æ, əʊ.eɪ, əʊ.ɪ, aɪ.eɪ, eɪ.ɒ, ɔɪ.əʊ, əʊ.e/ were tested. Simo Bobda's (1994) and Simo Bobda & Chumbow's (1999) Trilateral Process was used to analyse the sound sequences. The findings reveal that RP's underlying representations (URs) of the sequences are restructured mainly into diphthongs, as shown below:

RP /i.æ/ is uttered /ia/ in CamE, as shown below.

Word	RP UR	RP surface	CamE surface
triviality	/trɪvi.ˈælɪtɪ/	[trɪviˈjælɪtɪ]	[triˈvialiti]
reality	/ri.ˈælɪtɪ/	[riˈjælɪtɪ]	[ˈrialiti]
theatrics	/θi.ˈætrɪks/	[θi.ˈjætrɪks]	[tiatriks]

Meanwhile, RP /i.ɪ/ is not rendered in a single specific way. Instead, users of CamE use a spelling pattern in this vowel sequence's pronunciation. Below are some examples.

Word	RP UR	RP surface	CamE surface
medieval	/mɪdi.'ɪvəl/	[mɪdi'ʲɪvəl]	[mɪ'dieval]
theist	/'θi.ɪst/	['θiʲɪst]	['teist]
theism	/'θi.ɪsm/	['θiʲɪsm]	['teism]

RP /i.ɒ/ can be uttered /io/, /iɔ/ and /o/ in CamE as shown below.

Word	RP UR	RP surface	CamE surface
theology	/θi.'ɒlədʒɪ/	[θi'ʲɒlədʒɪ]	['tiolodʒi]
idiotic	/ɪdi.'ɒtɪk/	[ɪdi'ʲɒtɪk]	[i'diɔtik]
negotiate	/nɪ'gəʊʃi.eɪt/	[nɪ'gəʊʃiʲeɪt]	[nego'ʃet]

RP /u.ə/ has three possible renditions in CamE. These include /ui/, /uɔ/ and /ua/, as illustrated below.

Word	RP UR	RP surface	CamE surface
continuity	/kɒntɪ'nju.ətɪ/	[kɒntɪ'njuʷətɪ]	[kɔnti'njuiti]
continuous	/kən'tɪnju.əs/	[kən'tɪnjuʷəs]	[kɔn'tɪnjuɔs]
ritual	/'rɪtʃu.əl/	['rɪtʃuʷəl]	['rɪtʃual]

RP /u.ɪ/ is rendered as /ui/ by Cameroonian speakers of English, as found in the examples below.

Word	RP UR	RP surface	CamE surface
tuition	/tju.ɪʃən/	[tju'ʷɪʃən]	['tuiʃɔn]
evacuee	/ɪvækju.'i/	[ɪvækjuʷ'i]	[eva'kui]

RP /i.eɪ/ can be rendered either as /i.e./ or /e/ in CamE speech. Below are some examples.

Word	RP UR	RP surface	CamE surface
radiate	/'reɪdi.eɪt/	['reɪdiʲeɪt]	[re'diet]
association	/əsəʊʃi.'eɪʃən/	[ə'səʊʃiʲeɪʃən]	[asosieʃɔn]

RP /ɪ.əʊ/ is often restructured as /io/ in CamE, as illustrated below.

Word	RP UR	RP surface	CamE surface
idiomatic	/ɪdi.əʊ'mætik/	[ɪdiʲəʊ'mætik]	[idio'matik]
radio	/'reɪdi.əʊ/	['reɪdiʲəʊ]	['redio]

RP /u.eɪ/ is pronounced as /ue/ in CamE ,as shown in the following examples.

Word	RP UR	RP surface	CamE UR	CamE surface
infatuate	/ɪn'fætju.eɪt/	[ɪn'fætjuʷeɪt]	/infa'tu.et/	[infa'tuet]
situation	/sɪtju.'eɪʃən/	[sɪtjuʷ'eɪʃən]	/si'tu.eʃɔn/	[si'tueʃɔn]
evaluator	/ɪ'vælju.eɪtə/	[ɪvælu'ʷeɪtə]	/eva'lu.etɔ/	[eva'lu.etɔ]

RP /aɪ.ɒ/ is pronounced as /ao/, /ajo/ by Cameroonian speakers of English, as evident below.

Word	RP UR	RP surface	CamE UR	CamE surface
biology	/baɪ.'ɒlədʒɪ/	[baɪ.'ʲɒlədʒɪ]	/bai.olodʒi/	['baolodʒi]
myopic	/maɪ.'ɒpɪk/	[maɪ'ʲ ɒpɪk]	/mai.opik/	['maopik]
prion	/'praɪ.ɒn/	['praɪʲɒn]	/prai.ɔn/	['prajon]
riot	/'raɪ.ɒt/	['raɪʲɒt]	/rai.ɔt/	['rajɔt]

RP /əʊ.ɪ/ is rendered /ɔi/ and /uɛ/ in CamE, as found in the examples below.

Word	RP UR	RP surface	CamE surface
Heroic	/hɪˈrəʊ.ɪk/	[hɪˈrəʊʷɪk]	[ˈhirɔik]
Poetry	/ˈpəʊ.ɪtrɪ/	[ˈpəʊʷɪtrɪ]	[ˈpɔitri]
Poem	/ˈpəʊ.ɪm/	[ˈpəʊ.ɪm]	[puɛm]

The RP hiatuses /eɪ.ɒ/, /aɪ.æ/ and /aɪ.ɪ/ are rendered respectively as /ejɔ/, /aja/ and /aji/ by Cameroonian speakers of English. Below are some examples.

Word	RP UR	RP surface	CamE UR	CamE surface
Chaos	/keɪ.ˈɒs/	[keɪˈʲɒs]	/keiɔs/	[ˈkejɔs]
Triangle	/ˈtraɪ.æŋgəl/	[ˈtraɪʲæŋgəl]	/traiaŋgəl/	[trajaŋgəl]
Naïve	/naɪ.ˈiv/	[naɪˈʲiv]	/nai.iv/	[najiv]

More examples of restructuring of RP hiatuses in CamE are found in Atechi & Njong (2011).

1.6.2.1.b. Consonantal features

While there are several notable differences between RP and CamE at the level of vowels, two consonants mainly differentiate the two varieties. In fact, RP [θ] and [ð] are replaced by [t] and [d], respectively, in CamE. However, several phonological processes occur on consonants in CamE, just like in other non-native varieties of English. For instance, Simo Bobda & Mbangwana (1993) report the following processes in CamE.

- Obstruents are devoiced in word-final position; e.g. *lab, charge, big, drugs, Steve's* pronounced in RP as [læb, ʧɑʤ, bɪg, drʌgz, stivz], are rendered as [lap, ʧaʧ, bik, drɔks, stiffs] in CamE.

- Words in V+sion take an [ʃ] in CamE instead of RP [ʒ]. For instance, the words *division, invasion, intrusion, cohesion* pronounced in RP as [dɪˈvɪʒən, ɪnˈveɪʒən, ɪnˈtrʊʒən, kəʊˈhɪʒən] are rendered as [divˈiʃɔn, inˈveʃɔn, inˈtruʃɔn, kɔˈeʃɔn] in CamE.

- In word medial position, [s] sometimes replaces RP [z], and [z] sometimes occurs for RP [s], as shown in the following examples. *Joseph* [ʤəʊzəf], *physical* [fɪzɪkəl], *president* [prɛzɪdənt] are rendered in CamE as [ʤosef, fisikal, president]. In the same way, *assume* [əsjum], *December* [dɪsɛmbə] and *consume* [kənsjum] are rendered as [azjum, dizɛmba, kɔnzjum] in CamE.

- RP [ks] is normally voiced only before stressed syllables. However, it is voiced in CamE before all vowels. Therefore, *Texas, maximum* and *flexible* pronounced in RP as ['tɛksəs, 'mæksɪməm, 'flɛksəbl] are rendered in CamE as ['tɛgzas, 'magzimum, 'flegzibəl].

- In CamE, [u], instead of RP [ju], occurs between a consonant and a following [l] or a vowel. For instance, *mule, ambulance, ambiguous, annual* pronounced in RP as [mjul, 'æmbjuləns, æm'bɪgjʊəs, 'ænjʊəl] are rendered in CamE as [mul, 'ambulans, am'biguɔs, 'anual].

- [h] is deleted before [j]. For example, *human, huge* and *humour* are rendered in CamE as [juman, juʧ, jumɔ] instead of RP [hjumən, hjuʤ, hjumə].

- Consonant clusters are often simplified in word-final position. This process mainly affects clusters such as [-nd, -st, -ld, -ft]. Then, *find out, post office, told Ann, left early* are rendered in CamE as [fain aut, pɔs ɔfis, tol an, lɛf ɛli] instead of RP [faɪnd aʊt, pəʊst ɔfis, təʊld æn, lɛft ɜlɪ].

- Post-vocalic [r] is often dropped, even when a vowel follows it. For example, *four hours* [fɔr aʊəz] and *your advice* [jɔr ədvaɪs] are rendered respectively as [fɔ awas] and [jua advais] in CamE.

- Stem-final [b] and [g] are not deleted, so that *bombing, plumber, singer,* and *hanging* are pronounced as [bɔmbiŋ, plɔmbiŋ, siŋga, haŋgiŋ] instead of RP [bɒmɪŋ, plʌmə, sɪŋə, hæŋɪŋ].

- *–stion* is pronounced [-sʃ-] instead of RP [-sʧ-]. Then, *question* and *suggestion*, which are pronounced ['kwɛsʧən] and [sə'ʤɛsʧən] in RP, are rendered respectively as ['kwɛʃɔn] and [sə'ʤɛʃɔn] in CamE.

- Unlike RP, CamE has no dark [ɫ]. All *l*'s in CamE are clear. For example, *tell* [tɛl], *belt* [bɛlt].

We cannot exhaust a discussion on the changes that occur in the segmental features of CamE without looking at instances of spelling pronunciation.

1.6.2.1.c. Spelling pronunciations

Spelling has a considerable impact on pronunciation in CamE. Simo Bobda & Mbangwana (1993) believe that this relates to the fact that Cameroonians had kept in touch with English after their first contacts with colonisers through written forms and not through listening. Examples of spelling-induced pronunciations are given below.

Word	RP	CamE
Plenary	[plinərɪ]	[plɛnari]
Bosom	[bʊzəm]	[bɔsɔm]
Saturday	[sætədɪ]	[satude]
Amoeba	[əmibə]	[amoeba]

Also, CamE speakers rely on spelling to pronounce pairs of words that are homophonous in RP differently. Atechi (2006: 93) provides the following examples.

Word pair	RP realisations	CamE realisations	
Baron / barren	[bærən]	[barɔn]	[barɛn]
Mare / mayor	[mɛə]	[mɛ]	[mɛjɔ]
Kernel / colonel	[kɜnl]	[kɛnɛl]	[kɔlɔnɛl]
Symbol / cymbal	[sɪmbəl]	[simbɔl]	[simbal]

Another instance of spelling-induced pronunciation in CamE is the pronunciation of silent letters *w, l, b*, and *u*, which are not pronounced in certain RP words but are articulated in CamE as found in these examples by Simo Bobda & Mangwana (1993:206).

Letter	word	RP	CamE
w	sword	[sɔd]	[swɔd]
l	colonel	[kɜnəl]	[kɔlɔnɛl]
b	debt	[dɛt]	[dɛbt]
u	circuit	[sɜkɪt]	[sekuit]

1.6.2.1d Anglicisation of the pronunciation of loan words

Although RP speakers tend to anglicise the pronunciation of loan words, CamE speakers tend to do it even more than these native speakers. In fact, CamE speakers tend to apply the rules and patterns governing the pronunciation of English words to French, Latin and Greek loans. In fact, the graphemes *ch* and *g*(e, i) in words of French origin are pronounced respectively [ʧ] and [ʤ] instead of RP [ʃ] and [ʒ]. Meanwhile, the word-final *e* in Latin and Greek loans, pronounced in RP is silent in CamE. The examples below illustrate those deviations from SBE.

Word	RP	CamE
Chic	[ʃik]	[ʧik]
Nonchalant	['nɒnʃələnt]	['nɔnʧalant]
Chicago	[ʃɪ'kɑgəʊ]	[ʧi'kago]
Prestige	[prɛs'tiʒ]	[prɛs'tiʤ - ʧ]
Regime	[reɪ'ʒim]	[re'ʤim]
Hyperbole	[haɪ'pɜbəlɪ]	['haipɛbol]
Vigilante	['vɪʤɪlæntɪ]	['viʤilant]
Apocope	[ə'pɒkəpɪ]	['apɔkɔp]

Source: Simo Bobda & Mbangwana (1993: 209)

1.6.2.1e Sounds in connected speech

Previous studies (Simo Bobda & Mbangwana 1993; Atechi 1996; Kouega 1999 cited in Atechi 2006) have shown that CamE speakers, just like speakers of other non-native varieties of English, hardly observe assimilation, elision and liaison. These three phonological processes naturally occur in the speech flow of NSs and ease the pronunciation of strings of speech that may require some effort. Instead, NNSs tend to pronounce utterances based on the sound segments of the individual words that make up those utterances.

Assimilation refers to the process whereby a sound segment takes the characteristics of a neighbouring sound. CamE speakers do not observe this rule, as seen in the data below.

Expression	Fluent RP speaker	Fluent CamE speaker
Last year	[lɑʃɪə]	[last jiɛ]
Not yet	[nɒtʃɛt]	[nɔt jɛt]
Would you	[wʊdʒʊ]	[wud ju]

Source: Kouega (1999: 550)

Elision is the process whereby a sound is deleted or omitted in a particular phonetic environment. CamE speakers, like other NNSs, also do not observe this rule. For instance, *find out, post office, told Ann, left early* are rendered in CamE as [fain aut, pɔs ɔfis, tol an, lɛf ɛli] instead of RP [faɪnd aʊt, pəʊst ɔfis, təʊld æn, lɛft ɜlɪ].

Liaison refers to the process of inserting a phoneme in an environment where it is not expected. Generally, the glides [j] and [w] are inserted between two words, especially when the first word ends with a vowel and the second begins with a vowel too. When the vowel sound preceding the glide is unrounded, [j] is inserted. Meanwhile, [w] is inserted when the vowel preceding the glide is rounded. For instance, *the answer* [ðiænsə] is rendered as [ðijænsə] and *to answer* [tʊænsə] as [tʊwænsə]. In the same way, [r] is inserted in non-rhotic Standard English in expressions such as *far away* [fɑrəweɪ] and *more and more* [mɔrənmɔ], instead of RP [fɑ əweɪ] and [mɔ ənd mɔ]. In CamE, instances of vowel-vowel liaison do not

exist (Kouega 1999). Instead, there are a few instances of consonant-vowel liaison as in *such as* and *there is*.

1.6.2.2 Supra-segmental features of CamE

Just like speakers of other non-native varieties, CamE speakers deviate considerably from the stress, intonation and rhythm patterns of native English speech. Atechi (2006), for example, found out that supra-segmental differences (46.5%) constitute the significant sources of intelligibility failure when NSs (British and Americans) listen to CamE speakers, as against 40.2% for segmental differences, 11.8% for phonotactic differences and 01.5% for lexical differences. He further added that these supra-segmental differences were equally the leading cause of intelligibility failure (56.7%) when CamE speakers listen to NSs, as against 22.03% for phonotactic differences and 21.21% for segmental differences. The above statistics highlight the importance of stress, rhythm and intonation in studies on the intelligibility of non-native varieties of English, notably CamE accent.

Concerning stress, Simo Bobda & Mbangwana (1993) and Simo Bobda (2011) highlight the following stress deviations from RP that occur in CamE:

- While RP essentially has a backward stress, CamE speakers display a strong tendency toward using forward stress. This means that stress often occurs one or two syllables later than in RP, as evident in the examples below.

RP	CamE
'ancestor	an'cestor
'petrol	pe'trol
'Sammy	Sam'my

- Stress rarely occurs earlier in CamE; in such a few cases, it falls one or two syllables before its position in RP.

RP	CamE
a'cute	'acute

ex'treme	'extreme
in'gredient	'ingredient

- Nouns and adjectives are likely to be stressed earlier in CamE than in RP. e.g., *'advice, 'hibiscus, 'impatient* for RP *ad'vice, hi'biscus, im'patient*.

- Unlike RP, where compounds are usually stressed on the first element, CamE speakers tend to place stress on the second element. E.g., *fire'wood, air'port* for RP *'firewood, 'airport*.

- Consonant clusters are often pre-stressed in CamE; they tend to pull stress to the preceding vowel. Examples include *embar'rass, chal'lenge* for RP *em'barrass* and *'challenge*.

- Affixes have deviant stress properties in CamE. For instance, stress-neutral affixes such as *in-, im-, -ful,* and *-ism* often pull stress in CamE, as seen in the examples below.

RP	CamE
in'different	'indifferent
im'possible	'impossible
'beautiful	beau'tiful
'capitalism	capi'talism

- Verbs are more likely than any other word category to have word-final stress, except when they end in sonorants. e.g., *speci'fy, inter'pret, boy'cott, prohi'bit* for RP *'specify, in'terpret, 'boycott, pro'hibit.*

- A final rhyme [i] is often self-stressed; it tends to attract stress towards itself. Examples include *cur'ry, pet'ty, Pakista'ni, Vi'cky* for RP *'curry, 'petty, Paki'stani, 'Vicky.*

- Like [i], word-final [n] is self-stressed in CamE. E.g., *plan'tain, mara'thon* for RP *'plantain, 'marathon*.

Still concerning stress, Simo Bobda (2011) developed what he called "a Competing Constraints Model of analysis of English word stress " to help us understand the innerworks of word stress placement in RP and CamE speech. The author holds that

> According to this model, word stress placement in both Inner Circle and non-native accents represented by Cameroon English is best seen as the outcome of a competition between several constraints, the winner or winners of which determine the position of stress (Simo Bobda op. cit.: 81).

In essence, the model described above helps to understand how word stress is realised in both native and nativised Englishes, and more particularly, "why it falls where it falls" (loc. cit.). In this model, a constraint is "the appeal for stress to fall on a particular syllable. This appeal is based on several internalised stress placement rules, conscious or unconscious" (loc. cit.). Then he adds that these constraints are nothing new, as they are already established in both native and non-native varieties of English.

In order to get a better understanding of the constraints in CamE, it is necessary to discuss the major constraints in RP first. Simo Bobda (ibid) identifies seven significant constraints which regulate word stress placement in Inner Circle Englishes, including RP. These include:

- The Backward Stress (BWS) constraint refers to the fact that stress "tends to fall somewhere towards the beginning of words" (Simo Bobda op. cit.: 82). Examples include 'person, 'interval, 'temperature, 'ultimately, 'patriotism, etc.

- The Antepenultimate Stress (APS) constraint: Most English words are stressed on the antepenultimate syllable. Some examples of antepenultimate stress assignment suffixes include –*cide* as in 'genocide, in'fanticide; *-ative* as in argu'mentative, in'dicative; *-ical* as in 'biblical, geo'graphical; *-ty* as in 'casualty, i'dentity; *-an* as in cosmo'politan, metro'politan, etc.

- The Heavy Syllable Stress (HSS) constraint: It has to do with "the distinction between heavy (or strong) syllables that attract stress and light (or weak) syllables that tend not to" (Simo Bobda op. cit.: 84). Generally, a heavy syllable has a tense vowel or a diphthong as its nucleus. Examples include per'tain, di'ploma, doc'trinal, etc.

- The Affix Stress Property (ASP) constraint: Prefixes and suffixes generally play an important role in stress placement. Then ASP constraint "refers to the different ways in which affixes affect the stress patterns of the bases to which they are attached" (Simo Bobda 2011: 85). Then, there exist stress-neutral affixes such as the suffix –*ence* as in 'competence, 'deference and the prefix *in-* as in in'active, in'capable. There are also stress-determining affixes such as the self-stressed suffixes –*ese* as in Congo'lese, journa'lese and –*aire* as in million'naire, question'naire.

- The Base Stress (BS) constraint, according to Simo Bobda (op. cit.: 86), refers to "the fact that the stress pattern of many morphologically complex words is often determined by that of the base". BS is often dictated by stress-neutral affixes such as the suffixes –*ism* as in 'socialism, 'terrorism and –*ful* as in 'beautiful, 'wonderful.

- The Donor Language Stress (DLS) constraint refers to the fact that stress placement in loan words often follows the stress pattern of the borrowing language. Examples include recent loans from French, where stress tends to fall on the final syllable, as in e'lite, la'trine and po'lice.

As can be expected, there are exceptions to each of the RP constraints discussed above, and Simo Bobda (ibid) amply discusses them in his paper. After the RP constraints, the author discusses some major constraints in CamE. He argues that CamE speech basically shares all the RP constraints discussed above but that the difference lies essentially in the competition between these constraints in the speech of Cameroonians. In other words, CamE speakers' awareness of some of these RP constraints often leads, unconsciously, to the violation of other constraints as a result of competition between these constraints. For example, BS is evident in CamE as Cameroonians place stress on the initial syllables of the words 'semester, 'professor, 'towards, etc., instead of RP se'mester, pro'fessor and to'wards.

In the same way, Cameroonians are aware of APS in their renditions of 'diploma, 'arena and 'umbrella, even though this violates the DLS constraint in RP. APS wins in the rendition of a'postolic, e'conomic and sci'entific by Cameroonians in violation of the ASP constraint in RP. Meanwhile, when the APS constraint in RP dictates the pronunciation of 'calendar, 'cylinder and 'orchestra, awareness of HSS by Cameroonians instead produces ca'lendar, cy'linder and or'chestra.

Finally, Simo Bobda (op. cit.: 87) identifies five "sui generis" constraints resulting from English's indigenisation in Cameroon. These include Forward Stress, I-stress, N-stress, Final Obstruent Verbal Stress and New Affix Stress Property constraints.

The Forward Stress constraint refers to the fact that in the case of a difference in stress placement between RP and CamE, there is a tendency for stress in CamE to fall one syllable later than it does in RP. Examples include A'gatha, attri'bute, du'al and an'nex instead of RP 'Agatha, at'tribute, dual and 'annex.

The I-Stress constraint refers to "the phenomenon whereby stress tends to fall on the last syllable of a word or a disyllabic prefix if its final rhyme contains a high front vowel" (loc. cit.). Examples include cur'ry, Pakista'ni, se'mi-final, he'misphere, Mag'gie instead of RP 'curry, Paki'stani, 'semi-final, 'hemisphere and 'Maggie.

The N-Stress constraint refers to the fact that stress is often placed on the final syllable of a word if that word ends with /n/. Examples include car'ton, hor'mone, hy'giene, Su'san instead of RP 'carton, 'hormone, 'hygiene and 'Susan.

The Forward Obstruent Verbal Stress constraint "causes stress to fall on the final syllable of a verb if it ends with an obstruent" (Simo Bobda op. cit.: 88). Examples include embar'rass, inter'pret, boy'cott instead of RP em'barrass, in'terpret and 'boycott.

The New Affix Stress Property constraint: As the name indicates, affixes in CamE are sometimes assigned new stress properties that are different from what obtains in RP and other Inner Circle Englishes. For example, while the prefix *in-* is stress neutral in RP, it is self-stressed in CamE. In other words, RP in'active and in'different are rendered inactive and 'indifferent in CamE.

Looking at rhythm, Atechi (2006) found that CamE speakers tended to use strong forms, even in environments requiring weaker forms in native speech. Then, while RP has rhythmic stress characterised by the succession of stressed and unstressed syllables, CamE speakers tend to apply the same degree of prominence to all syllables, making its rhythm syllable-timed. This situation is likely to cause intelligibility failure in communicative situations with NSs.

The above discussion on the supra-segmental features of CamE shows that the deviations from SBE accent features that are found in the speech of Cameroonians have become systematic to the point that there is no doubt today that Cameroonians speak a distinct and autonomous variety of English. The works of Simo Bobda and other Cameroonian scholars have immensely contributed to this situation. It becomes necessary, therefore, that after such a great scientific effort by illustrious scholars on CamE, that future research in the domain investigate whether Cameroonians are ready or not to accept the local variety of English as the model for the English language classroom.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the background information for this work. It has shown, first of all, that the spread of English around the world for the last three centuries has been impressive, resulting in the use of the Queen's language in all continents either as a first, second or foreign language. It has equally shown that the consequence of this internationalisation of English was its localisation and nativisation, especially in postcolonial multilingual contexts, as the language has come to adopt features specific to each of the contexts where it is spoken. Also, it was shown that non-native English scholars, who are the leading proponents of the WEs framework, have expressed the need to change current ELT pedagogy to represent the plural nature of English in teaching and testing. The implications of teaching non-native varieties of English as local models were equally discussed, and it was shown that while proponents of the pluralist approach (WEs framework) argue for their linguistic rights, both purists and the so-called neutral scholars' arguments only aim at maintaining their economic advantage as a result of the current submission of ELT teaching and testing to NS norms. Also, English language teaching in the Cameroonian context was discussed, with particular emphasis on policy and teacher education issues. Finally, the chapter provided a background discussion on CamE, the primary concern of this work, at three levels: a brief history of CamE, what it is, and its segmental and supra-segmental features.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.0 Introduction

This chapter consists of two parts. The first part discusses the theoretical framework upon which this study is built. Meanwhile, the second part reviews previous studies carried out in the domain of attitudes towards non-native English accents and teaching English pronunciation in different sociolinguistic contexts worldwide and in the Cameroonian context in particular.

2.1 Theoretical considerations

This part discusses the theories that underpin this work. These include the World Englishes framework— notably the Kachruvian paradigm and developmental cycles of non-native Englishes, the movement pioneered by Sridhar & Sridhar (1986) aimed at bridging the paradigm gap between SLA and WEs, and Levis's intelligibility principle.

2.1.1 World Englishes

WEs refers to a movement that has become a well-established area of linguistic enquiry attracting number of scholars around the world. The term "World Englishes" was proposed by Kachru to symbolise "the functional and formal variations, divergent sociolinguistic contexts, ranges and varieties of English in creativity, and various types of acculturation in parts of the Western and non-Western world" (Kachru 1992: 2). From the above, the term is used primarily to designate all varieties of English associated with specific geographical settings and cultures, irrespective of the manner and place in which they have evolved. Then, WEs represents varieties used in native and non-native settings altogether. However, there exist multiple interpretations of this concept.

Bolton (2004: 367), for instance, points out that there are at least three broad approaches to understanding the term WEs. First, it serves as an "umbrella label" covering all varieties of English worldwide and the different approaches used to describe and analyse them. Second, it is used in a narrower sense to refer to "new Englishes", or Outer Circle Englishes found in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean and focuses on the description of regional or national varieties of English. Thirdly, it is used to represent the inclusive and pluricentric approach to the study of English associated with Kachru and his colleagues, and is often referred to as the Kachruvian approach. However, there is considerable overlap between this and the second interpretation of the term. This third approach will serve as a framework of reference in this study.

2.1.1.1 The Kachruvian paradigm

This work follows Kachru's WEs paradigm because it considers the new ecologies and cultural contexts within which the English language is spoken today. Brown (1997: 137) refers to the WEs paradigm as a "framework of knowledge that accords as much importance to the socio-political context and human needs of its users as to the attributes of the language itself". In other words, three main elements matter in the Kachruvian paradigm: the English language, the social, political and geographical contexts in which it is used, and the needs of the people who use it. Kachru (1988: 59) further illustrates this point when he argues that three key elements are believed to exist in a WEs paradigm:

> A repertoire of models for English.
> The localized innovations [in English] have pragmatic bases.
> The English language now belongs to all those who use it.

The first two lines of the above quote highlight the concept of variation in the use of English, notably the idea that English is used in different ways by different people in various sociolinguistic contexts. The second line points to the many uses of English in local contexts, as it fulfils several functions, including communication, administration, education, etc. The last line of the quote challenges the NS ideology in English linguistics and highlights the point that all users of English around the world have rights to the language, be they native or non-native speakers. Then, the three perspectives of the Kachruvian paradigm that are of

central interest to this study include variation in WEs, the place of pedagogy in WEs scholarship and the distinction between norm and model.

- **WEs and variation**

Variation in English language use is central to the Kachruvian paradigm. An influential construct of the paradigm that best illustrates this variation is known as the "Three Circles of English" (see Figure 1 below), which represent "the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition and the functional domains in which English is used across cultures and languages" (Kachru, 1985: 12).

Three Concentric Circles of Englishes

The Expanding Circle e.g.,

China	Caribean Countries	Egypt
Indonesia	Israel	Japan
Korea	Nepal	Saudi Arabia
South Africa	South America	Taiwan
CIS	Zimbabwe	

The Outer Circle e.g.,

Bangladesh	Ghana	India
Kenya	Malaysia	Nigeria
Pakistan	Philippines	Singapore
Sri Lanka	Tanzania	Zambia

The Inner Circle

USA   UK   Canada
Australia New Zealand

Figure 1: Kachru's Three Circles Model (Source: Kachru 1996)

The Inner Circle refers to territories where English has been traditionally used as a native language. Examples include Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the USA. Meanwhile, the Outer Circle refers to territories formerly colonised or administered by Britain or the USA, such as Kenya, Nigeria, the Philippines and Singapore, and the Expanding Circle refers to territories where English plays no significant historical role and is not used in the government. Examples of such countries include China, Germany, Japan, Saudi Arabia, etc. Kachru (ibid) adds that there exist relationship patterns among varieties of the three circles. Inner Circle varieties strive to provide norms for users of Outer Circle and

Expanding Circle. Meanwhile, Outer Circle varieties tend to develop their own norms, whereas Expanding Circle varieties depend on Inner Circle norms.

It should be added here that Kachru's initial conceptualisation of the three circles slightly changed later. In fact, Kachru (1985, 1992) initially described Inner Circle Englishes as norm-providing, with SBE and AmE being the most preferred varieties of the group. He referred to Outer Circle varieties as norm-developing and added that in the postcolonial contexts where these Englishes are spoken, the general opinion is often divided between proponents of "correct" British/American English and those in favour of the codification and adoption of local varieties as standards. Finally, he referred to the Englishes spoken in the Expanding Circle as norm-dependent. Meanwhile, in another article published in 1996, Kachru abandoned the "norm-developing" label and described users of the English language as belonging to two types instead of three. "Norm-providing", the first type, consists of two sub-groups of users, namely L1 norm users from countries such as the USA, the UK and Australia, and L2 norm users from countries such as Nigeria, Kenya or Singapore. The second type, "norm-dependent", refers to English users from sociolinguistic contexts such as China, Egypt, South Korea, etc. What is interesting here is that in the 1996 article, Kachru now views postcolonial Englishes as autonomous varieties that have developed their own norms and have become able to provide norms for speakers of other non-native Englishes.

The basic principle underlying the WEs framework, therefore, is that English is not a monolith; instead, English is plural, multifarious and multilithic in the sense that it exists in several forms, all of which have been indigenised and nativised by adopting features from the various locations where it has come to be spoken. Central to Kachru's conceptualisation is the idea that a language that has been indigenised in so many different contexts becomes the property of its users. For him,

> English has gradually developed new local centres for authentication of its models and norms. In other words, it has become a *pluricentric* language with Asian and African norms and models for its acquisition, its teaching, and creativity in the language (Kachru 1996: 1).

From the above, the Kachruvian paradigm implies a conceptualisation of English as a pluricentric language because of its contact with local languages, and its use in disparate sociolinguistic contexts. It also entails understanding that the pluricentric nature of English

"is not merely demographic, it entails cultural, linguistic, and literary reincarnations of the English language" (Kachru op. cit.: 136-137). In other words, acceptance of this plural nature of English acknowledges the fact that NNSs of English have distinct identities from NSs. Achebe (1975: 434) highlights the identity factor in postcolonial literary works when he recommends that African authors use English instead of African languages to convey their messages:

> I feel that the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will have to be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings.

- **WEs and pedagogy**

Pedagogy is another critical aspect of the Kachruvian paradigm. In an article that elaborates on the WEs framework, Kachru (1992), cited in Clement (2011), identifies "six fallacies about users and uses of English". He urges NNSs and scholars to liberate themselves from such myths. The first of these fallacies is the idea that the primary reason English language users in the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle have to learn English is to interact with NSs. However, the reality is that in these contexts, interactions in English occur essentially among NNSs, and the use of SBE or AmE features would be considered "inappropriate" (Clement op. cit.: 357). The second fallacy is the idea that NNSs learn English in order to understand British or American culture. Although this is partly true, it is not the primary motivation for learning English. In postcolonial multilingual African and Asian contexts, English is learned first because it facilitates national integration. The third fallacy is that English language learners want to learn only SBE or AmE. This is also true only to an extent. Many people may also want to learn a non-native variety of English for integrative reasons. The fourth fallacy is the idea that non-native varieties of English are, in reality, "interlanguages" that will continue to evolve towards SBE. This is not the truth. Deviations from SBE found in the speech of NNSs are generally systematic and specific to particular ethnic groups, social and geographical contexts where NS norms would be irrelevant (Sridhar & Sridhar 1986). According to Kachru (1992), the fifth fallacy is that NSs of English provide the majority of the input for ELT worldwide. In reality, because English language teachers and other professional users of English are the primary sources of input in non-native contexts, the idea that SBE and AmE norms are taught and learnt worldwide is a

myth. This entails that it is a fallacy to promote NS norms in non-native contexts. The sixth fallacy is that variation in English language use across different sociolinguistic contexts indicates "linguistic decay", and that both NS and NNS teachers and ELT organisations should be working to stop or at least keep in check that decay.

Kachru and his followers equally understand that because English is plural, each local context should reflect its specificity in ELT, not only in the design of syllabuses but also in pedagogy and testing. Canagarajah (2002), for instance, highlights the need for a centrifugal approach to ELT in non-native contexts when he claims that "native speakers' norms of identity and proficiency disempower learners with a sense of inadequacy, preventing local communities from developing their pedagogical and linguistic resources in their own terms" (Canagarajah 2002: 256). Teaching materials must not only reflect the specificities of local contexts, but equally, expose learners to both native and non-native varieties of English. Smith (2016: 16) highlights this point in the quote below:

> Students must have access to authentic materials from different varieties of English in the world. […] They need to have access to literatures in world Englishes. […] International news in English from TV and radio using national broadcasters from different countries should be familiar to our students as teaching material. Other material from the internet or from a CD ROM which offers examples of written and spoken texts from world Englishes should be commonplace.

For Kachru (1992: 355), there is no doubt that the polymorphous nature of English should be taken into account immediately in areas such as teacher education and teaching methodology: "the implications of the internationalization of English have yet to be reflected in the curricula of teacher training programs, in the methodology of teaching, in the sociolinguistic profile of the language, and cross-cultural awareness". Following Kachru's lead, Smith (op. cit: 15) elaborates on how teaching and teacher training can address the need to reflect the polymorphous nature of English in these words:

> The perspective on teaching and teacher training from world Englishes suggests that teachers need to be aware of how often, with whom and for what purposes English is being learnt by students. Teachers must be able to help their students use English successfully with those people. […] Teachers should not neglect helping their students learn to successfully interact with North Americans and Europeans but they will also assist them in

understanding that conventions of communication and negotiation differ across cultures …. Teacher training (at the pre-service and in-service levels) needs to include learning about the rapid developments in formal English education that is taking place in countries all over the world.

In an attempt to address the shortcomings of ELT pedagogy caused by the fallacies discussed earlier in this sub-section, Kachru (ibid) suggests two main teaching strategies for classroom teachers: present students with the major varieties of English, allow them to explore these varieties, choose which one(s) they want to use, and how they differ from one another; and keep an impartial attitude in the process of presenting these varieties to build awareness of all varieties of English.

In the end, the Kachruvian paradigm recognises that speakers of English have the right to choose the variety they want to learn, the accent they want to speak, to create in the use of the language and even choose a variety as a local standard. To this, Crystal (2000: 5) adds that "language is an immensely democratising institution. To have learned a language is immediately to have rights in it. You may add to it, modify it, play with it, create in it, ignore bits of it as you will". Then, the Kachruvian approach, which influences this study, does not only involve the description of localised (national and regional) varieties but also related issues such as

the spread and stratification of English; characteristics of the stratification; interactional contexts of World Englishes; […] descriptive and prescriptive concerns; […] multi-canons of English; the two faces of English: nativisation and Englishisation; fallacies concerning users and uses; the power and politics of English; and teaching World Englishes" (Bolton 2004: 376).

- **On norms and models in WEs**

Although the terms "norm" and "model" appear close in meaning, there is some difference between them. Swann, Deumert, Lillis & Mesthrie (2004: 225) define norm as "linguistic practices that are representative of a group". They add that in sociolinguistics and sociology, there are two types of social norms, namely regularity norms and oughtness norms. Regularity norms are defined as "linguistic practices or customs as well as behavioural patterns which occur repeatedly and habitually within a speech community" (loc. cit.). The authors use the example of the German-speaking part of Switzerland to illustrate regularity norms. In fact, in this part of Switzerland, Swiss German (a regional variety) is

used in informal conversations instead of Standard German, which is used for more formal encounters. Meanwhile, oughtness norms are "behaviours which are expected within a community: individuals who do not conform to these norms will be ridiculed, excluded or even punished […] The overtly prescriptive norms of standard languages are a special type of oughtness norms" (loc. cit.).

From the above definition, the concept of norm involves, on the one hand, "conformity with the usage of the majority of native speakers" (Kachru 1983: 69) and on the other hand, prescription of standard language forms. Meanwhile, model "implies a linguistic ideal which a teacher and a learner keep in mind in imparting instruction or in learning a language" (Kachru 1982: 286). This means that in the WEs framework, SBE and AmE are the norms used respectively in Britain and the United States. Then, because users of English in non-native contexts do not generally reach native speaker fluency, SBE and AmE norms instead become pedagogical models in these contexts, including Cameroon.

The clarification above is meant to justify the use of the word "model" in the title of this work instead of "norm". Cameroonian teachers have taught English over decades with SBE in their minds as the target linguistic ideal, even though the outcome of this effort has systematically been CamE accent. Therefore, this work attempts to find out from teachers whether they would prefer having CamE accent as model, not SBE.

2.1.1.2 Models of developmental cycles of non-native Englishes

WEs scholars have suggested models account for the different phases of the developmental cycle of non-native varieties of English. In this work, three of these models, namely Kachru's three-stage model, Moag's five-stage model and Schneider's Dynamic Model, would provide a framework for discussion on the developmental cycles of non-native varieties of English, including CamE.

Developed by Kachru (1992), the first model consists of three stages. Non-recognition, the first stage, is characterised by rejection or non-recognition of the local variety. Users of this local variety prefer a traditional NS variety which they believe should be the model taught in school. At this stage, acrolectal forms (speech that approximates the NS variety used as standard) would assume social prestige. In contrast, basilectal and lower

mesolectal forms, whose features are more or less distant from the Inner Circle standard variety, would be considered inferior.

The second phase, coexistence of local and imported varieties, see some allocation of functions between the imported Inner Circle standard and the local variety. Although the local variety expands and becomes used in many situations, it is still considered inferior to the Inner Circle variety.

During the third phase, recognition, language users accept the local variety and recognise it as their model for language learning in school. The new standard becomes a marker of identity and a symbol of unity.

The second model of development of non-native varieties of English proposed by Moag (1992) comprises five stages, four of which are likely to apply to all non-native varieties of English. These include transportation, indigenisation, expansion in use and institutionalisation.

- Transportation is when English arrives in a new environment and is used for various purposes, including exploitation, trade, colonial administration and religion.

- Indigenisation, also known as localisation or nativisation, is the process whereby the new variety of English becomes different from the imported variety, as it starts to reflect features of the local culture and language(s) at different linguistic levels, including pronunciation, lexicology, discourse, grammar, etc.

- Expansion in use and function refers to the process whereby the new variety of English is used for an increasing range of purposes, including education, administration and the media by a wider population consisting of both the local elite and uneducated people. During this phase, local varieties emerge from the new variety.

- Institutionalisation is characterised by the adoption of the new language as a model for language learning in school. It is also used by local creative writers and media who best project how this new variety diverges from the imported variety.

The last model under review is Schneider's five-stage Dynamic Model (2003, 2007). Foundation, the first stage, refers to the arrival of English in a country where the population did not use it.

Exonormative stabilisation is the second stage. During this phase, the imported variety, which Schneider calls the STL strand, is used as the norm. However, it becomes gradually indigenised towards the local variety, the IDG strand, which, as a result, begins to expand.

The third stage, nativisation, is, according to Schneider (2003: 247), "the most important, the most vibrant one, the central phase of both cultural and linguistic transformation". This is the phase whereby the identity of the new variety is getting established. Here, the imported variety undergoes restructuring at lexicology, grammar, discourse, style and phonology levels to espouse the sociolinguistic and ecological realities of the setting where it is used.

Stage four is endonormative stabilisation. Here, the new variety is gradually adopted and accepted as the local norm and is used in a wide range of formal situations, including administration, the media, the legal system and education.

Stage five, the last phase, is differentiation. The new variety is the local model and reflects the identity and culture of those who use it. At this stage, local varieties emerge due to social differentiation among speakers of the new variety.

Scholars tend to agree on the main phases of the three developmental cycles outlined above. However, this work will follow Schneider's Dynamic Model, as it is directly concerned with the final two stages of his model, namely endonormative stabilisation and differentiation. In other words, the issues at stake in this thesis are (i) how people react to stage four, (ii) the challenges this stage brings and (iii) the way forward or prospects, i.e. whether the development of English in Cameroon will answer the needs for institutionalisation that eventually arise with the fifth and final stage.

2.1.2 Bridging the gap: SLA and WEs

This work investigates issues related to the acquisition of English as an additional language in a postcolonial multilingual context. Among other things, it handles and discusses issues such as how CamE accent is learnt and how it differs from other varieties of English. These are important issues in language education policies for at least two reasons: knowledge of English tends to provide a path towards upward social mobility (Kuchah 2016), and accents (or varieties) of English that betray the ethnicities of their speakers are generally stigmatized (Ngefac 2008; Ngwa 2015), and, therefore, can hardly be considered as models for teaching and learning English. From this background, it is essential to focus on issues related to the acquisition of CamE accent, a postcolonial variety of English that contains deviations from SBE, in the multilingual context of Cameroon. As Sridhar & Sridhar (1986, 2018) put it, this requires bridging the paradigm gap between SLA, especially Error Analysis— the theory of SLA that focuses on learners' production of deviant language structures— and WEs, which embraces variation in educated English speech. However, first, Error Analysis is the starting point of our discussion.

2.1.2.1 Error Analysis

Error Analysis (henceforth EA), according to Saville-Troike (2012: 40), is

> the first approach to the study of SLA that takes an internal focus on learners' creative ability to construct language. It is based on description and analysis of actual learner errors in L2, rather than on idealized linguistic structures attributed to native speakers of L1 and L2 ….

Before EA, SLA researchers and contrastive analysts used to view errors as bad habits, unwanted and unacceptable language forms that teachers had to get rid of. This paradigm shift was built on another innovation in applied linguistics, notably the movement from Behaviourism to Chomsky's Mentalism which emphasised that language acquisition was dependent on an innate language faculty specific to human beings. This faculty allowed humans to acquire language once sufficiently exposed to it, and to generate an infinite number of utterances, including those that are novel and unfamiliar to teachers and

caretakers. This new paradigm made scholars in applied linguistics more aware of the aspects of SLA.

Thanks to Corder's (1967) seminal publication entitled "The significance of learners' errors", EA developed as a field of study. In this book, the author argues that learners' errors should not be viewed as bad habits that must be eradicated at all costs but as sources of insight into the learning process. In this framework, learner language is viewed as an independent linguistic system that should not be measured against L1 or L2 norms. Corder (ibid) refers to this learner language as transitional competence. Then, EA was the first approach to take a different look at learners' errors and to consider them as evidence that learning was taking place. Errors, therefore, are significant in the language learning process because they inform teachers of the learner's progress, enabling them to adjust the quality and quantity of instruction depending on the needs of learners. Before arriving at that point, teachers must follow the procedure for analysing learners' errors. Crystal (2009: 173), cited in Ekundayo et al. (2013), summarises that procedure in the definition of EA provided below:

> Error Analysis is a technique for identifying, classifying and systematically interpreting the unacceptable forms produced by someone learning a foreign language using any of the principles and procedures provided by linguistics. Errors are assumed to reflect, in a systematic way, the level of competence achieved by the learner; they are contrasted with mistakes which are performance limitations that a learner would be able to correct.

The above quote indicates that EA involves an identification, classification and interpretation of deviant language features found in the speech of second language learners. Following Corder (1967), Ellis (2008) cited in Saville-Troike (2012) provides a more elaborate description of the stages involved in the analysis of learners' errors. These include:

- Collection of a sample of learner language: Data can be collected over a week, months or years. This sample could consist of student essays or audio recordings in case the teacher or researcher investigates aspects of speech.

- Identification of errors: Corder (1967) distinguishes between error and mistake from the Chomskyan perspective on the difference between competence and performance. Then, errors are systematic and reflect the learner's lack of knowledge of the underlying rules of the language. Meanwhile, mistakes are not systematic. They may

result from slips of the tongue, hesitations or lapses in memory which do not fully reflect the learner's competence in the language. Mistakes, which can be corrected by the person who made them, are, therefore, excluded from the analysis of errors.

- Description of errors: The analysis begins after errors are classified according to language levels, including phonology, morphology, syntax, discourse, semantics, etc., or more specific elements of language such as articles, prepositions, stress placement, etc.

- Explanation of errors: In this stage, the researcher explains the causes of errors. Among the possible causes are interlingual and intralingual factors. Interlingual errors result from negative transfer or interference from the L1. In English pronunciation, for example, the grapheme *an* as found in *dance, tolerance* is pronounced by Francophone speakers of CamE as [ã] instead of RP [ɑː] or [ən] (see Simo Bobda 2013). Meanwhile, intralingual or developmental errors occur within the L2 and often result either from imperfect/incomplete learning of the L2 rules or overgeneralisation of L2 rules. For example, CamE speakers often generalise the backward stress rule of SBE and apply it to words such as *success* and *semester,* which are exceptions to the rule, making those words sound as 'success and 'semester instead of RP suc'cess and se'mester.

- Evaluation of errors: Here, the researcher analyses each error in order to find out whether it affects intelligibility or not. "Serious" errors, then, are those that affect intelligibility. Such errors should be addressed immediately in the case of action research in a classroom.

Though EA was a fresh perspective in SLA research, scholars have criticised its shortcomings at three levels. First, the classification of error types is not always precise. For instance, what is considered an interlingual error for a French-speaking learner of English may be an intralingual error for a German-speaking learner of English. Also, EA suffers from a lack of positive data. In fact, insistence on errors only fails to consider progress and other positive aspects of learning. This may be detrimental to learners' motivation in the long run. Another point that was criticised is that some learners may avoid using particular language structures because they are aware of their difficulties in correctly using them. Then, a lack of

errors in the language of these learners may only deceive teachers about the actual language competence of those students.

At this point, EA is relevant in this work as it primarily deals with deviations from SBE that are found in the spoken English of Cameroonians. As CamE accent features need to be compared with Inner Circle varieties, especially SBE, for purposes of intelligibility, EA provides a framework for the classification and explanation of these "deviant" language structures. Also, the approach used to study CamE accent features is similar to that used to analyse errors; in fact, systematic deviations are identified, then classified into segmental and supra-segmental features, and then explained and evaluated. That said, the accents of educated NNS of English, including CamE speakers, are replete with features that deviate from SBE accent. It would be wrong to assume that all these deviant features are errors resulting from incomplete mastery of the language. This is the beginning of the paradigm gap between SLA and WEs.

2.1.2.2 The paradigm gap between SLA and WEs

The problem with EA in a study like this one is that it is a theory based on several fallacious assumptions, including (i) the only acceptable model in language learning is the native speaker, and, therefore, (ii) all learners' productions that do not conform with the native speaker's norms are "errors" that result from the interference of background languages leading to failure to master or incomplete mastery of the rules of the language, (iii) integrative motivation –that involves the need to join a speech community or integrate a target culture— is the ideal form of motivation for language learners, (iv) no matter how poor the input from non-native speaker teachers, learners are still expected to acquire native-like speech (Sridhar & Sridhar 1986). Also, because of the influence of Error Analysis in language learning and teaching, SLA has been accused of focusing too much on phonology and syntax while paying little attention to lexis and pragmatics and placing a much bigger emphasis on learners' acquisition of language forms to the detriment of the functions that these language structures serve in different speech communities (Ortega 2018; Kubota 2018; Mauranen 2018).

WEs as a field of study became gradually interested in SLA research because the latter's principles and methods heavily relied uncritically on Chomsky's use of the "idealised

native speaker-hearer" (Chomsky 1986) as the model for L2 learning. The evidence of this uncritical adoption of the Chomskyan paradigm is that the leading scholars in the field of SLA (Corder 1967; Selinker 1972; Krashen 1978) have conducted research with the assumption that all language learners target NS competence. These scholars equally believed that all English language learners who do not reach native-like proficiency have fossilized and, therefore, have "failed" to learn the language properly. According to Saville-Troike (2012: 198), Fossilization is "a stable state in SLA where learners cease their interlanguage development before they reach target norms despite continuing L2 input and passage of time". Interlanguage (henceforth IL) is a term coined by Selinker (1972) to refer to intermediate states of a learner's language before s/he reaches competence in the target language. Then, following Saville-Troike, an L2 learner is said to have fossilized when permanent errors occur regularly in his speech over time, despite continuous exposure to and use of the target language.

What is intriguing here is that Selinker's IL primarily results from the work of Corder (1967) on "the significance of learners' errors" and was mainly used to describe the language of non-native learners of English living in Inner Circle contexts where he conducted his studies. While both Corder and Selinker viewed learner language as an independent linguistic system, Selinker and other scholars in the field soon generalised it to refer to language productions of all learners of English in NNS settings, including those who were educated, yet whose speech deviated from NS norms. Selinker (ibid), cited in Groves (2010: 38), for instance, argued that

> [n]ot only can entire IL competences be fossilized in individual learners performing in their own interlingual situation, but also in whole groups of individuals, resulting in the emergence of a new dialect (…), where fossilized IL competences may be the normal situation.

The above quote is just the epitome of Selinker's bias towards non-native Englishes. Jenkins (2006b: 167) further summarises Selinker's views in the following terms:

> Any difference between their [learners'] output and Standard British or American English are to be regarded as errors caused mainly by L1 interference (or, less pejoratively transfer), while the point at which these so-called errors become fixed within the individual learner's repertoire is attributed to a phenomenon known as fossilization.

From the above, Selinker believes that all linguistic features that may represent local innovations in English language use are considered errors caused by interference from the learner's L1 or overgeneralisation of L2 rules. This is a problem, given that errors result from a lack of knowledge of the rules of the language. In contrast, local innovations in English language use are systematic in the speech of educated NNSs in different sociolinguistic contexts.

Many scholars, including Sridhar & Sridhar (1986), Y. Kachru (1994), Kachru (1996), Cook (1999) and Groves (2010), have described the monolingual bias in SLA research, which has systematically represented NS proficiency as the target for L2 learning, and NNS learners who could not produce native-like language patterns as "failures". For Kachru (ibid: 140), the monolingual bias would persist because a recognition of non-native Englishes in SLA was not welcomed by proponents of the NS ideology, as it would imply "slaughtering … sacred cows", including the acquisitional and pedagogical ones. Indeed, such recognition would considerably weaken widely accepted theories of SLA, such as interlanguage and fossilization, and have a considerable impact on the ELT industry, especially in domains such as the import/export of NS teachers and textbooks written by applied linguists in NS contexts, and the design of standardised proficiency tests such as TOEFL and IELTS. Meanwhile, for WEs scholars, this situation calls for a reconceptualization of the terms error, interlanguage, interference, and tools such as language teaching methodologies and ELT textbooks, issues that proponents of the NS ideology still prefer to avoid, thereby perpetuating the bias against non-native Englishes.

Cook (op. cit.: 194-195), for example, describes this bias in the following terms:

> Grammar that differs from native speakers', pronunciation that betray where L2 users come from, and vocabulary that differs from native usage are treated as signs of L2 users' failure to become native speakers, not their accomplishments in learning to use the L2.

Another manifestation of the monolingual bias in SLA is that research has not taken into account findings in NNS contexts, as shown in the quote below by Y. Kachru (1994: 413):

> The evidence available on the acquisition and use of a second or additional language from research on world varieties of English has been either ignored

in SLA-related literature, normalized as supporting the IL hypothesis, or mentioned only very briefly.

On the other hand, WEs as a field of study has its own end of the bridge to build, as it has been accused of focusing essentially on the description of non-native varieties of English while devoting very little time to issues of pedagogy and learners' cognition (Matsuda & Friedrich 2011).

The above discussion shows that there exists a paradigm gap between SLA's theoretical tenets— notably the idolization of the native speaker as the model for language teaching and learning, the consideration of all non-native speech that deviates from SBE as interlanguage, and the fact that pedagogy, research, didactic materials and assessment are concerned with SBE features only— and the tenets of WEs. Therefore, as Sridhar & Sridhar (1986) have argued, that paradigm gap needs to be bridged.

2.1.2.3 Bridging the paradigm gap between SLA and WEs

It is necessary, at this point, to find some convergence between SLA and WEs. Since Sridhar & Sridhar's (1986) seminal publication, several scholars (Hamid & Baldauf 2013; Sridhar & Sridhar 2018; Wee 2018; Mauranen 2018; Kubota 2018; Larsen Freeman 2018; Ortega 2018) have joined them in the quest for bridging the paradigm gap between the two fields of study.

First, there is a need to clarify some of the key terms that are likely to cause confusion as we navigate between the fields of SLA and WEs. Clarifications to be made include, on one hand, WEs and interlanguage and, on the other hand, the terms innovation, deviation, error and mistake. This clarification is necessary because, as Schneider (2011: 219) puts it,

> To accept new or modified norms requires some sort of consensus, obviously, as to what they consist of. This leads to a perennial question. Given that the traditional benchmark is British or "Standard" English, how should a distinction be made between an "error", deviant from some norm, and a consistent, acceptable new feature of a new variety of English?

From the discussion in the previous section, it appears that prejudice in SLA against language systems used by weaker socio-political groups, including NNSs of English, may come from a lack of understanding of the terminology in the field.

First, there is a need to differentiate between interlanguage and WEs, given that many SLA scholars (see Cook 1999 for more details) have followed Quirk's argument that non-native varieties of English are simply the result of imperfect or lazy language learning, hence interlanguages. Scholars such as Davies (1989), Y. Kachru (1994) and Groves (2010) have dismissed Quirk's argument on the grounds that IL is a construct in psycholinguistics that accounts for language development in individual learners, while non-native varieties of English is a construct in the domain of sociolinguistics that deals with norms and functions within speech communities or larger social groups. This means, for example, that within a sociolinguistic context such as Cameroon, where English is spoken, there exists a lectal continuum consisting of sub-varieties of the local norm that have both functional and developmental roles. These sub-varieties include basilect, mesolect and acrolect. Basilect refers to language features heavily influenced by mother tongues, as found in the speech of members of the community with low levels of education. Examples include Bafut English and Banso English, two ethnolects of CamE.Meanwhile, mesolect is the sub-variety spoken by people with some, yet incomplete education or educated speakers in informal communicative situations. Finally, the acrolect is the variety spoken by the educated elite in formal situations. It is often based on both written and SBE norms, even though it contains plenty of features that deviate from NS norms. In Cameroon, the English of educated Anglophones is, therefore, regarded as the acrolect.

From the above, non-native varieties of English should not be viewed as IL because the former deals with variation in language use within societies and communal norms as well, whereas the latter deals with language learning at the individual level. Then, the next question here is how do we determine an error, an innovation, or a mistake in a non-native variety of English?

Another essential clarification to make is the distinction between the terms innovation, deviation, error and mistake. We will follow Proshina's (2007) distinction of the terms. An innovation is a linguistic feature that has become systematic in the acrolect of a nativised

variety of English and serves a specific function in the context where it is used. The most commonly encountered innovations in English are lexical and include culture-loaded words from indigenous languages, some of which have been codified and feature today in the dictionaries of British or American English. In CamE, our focus in this study, examples of lexical innovations widely used and accepted include *njangi, mbanya, achu, waterfufu, eru, nkanda,* etc. Other lexical innovations that represent the linguistic creativity of non-native Englishes are new English words that result from new collocations, or English words whose meanings have been changed to fit communicative needs in particular contexts. Examples in CamE include *bushfaller, bornhouse, chopchair*, etc. All these innovations illustrate nativisation in that English has come to adapt to different local contexts to meet the people's communicative needs.

Innovations in pronunciation are also common, as they generally indicate the speaker's origin. For instance, the pronunciation of the nurse vowel reveals both the region of origin and ethnicity of speakers of varieties of English across Africa (Simo Bobda, Wolf & Peter 1999). Bamgbose (1998), cited in Proshina (2007), identifies five deciding factors that make a linguistic feature an innovation. These include:

- Demography: the new feature is used by a critical size of the educated population.

- Geography: the new feature is not limited in use to a part of the territory but is used all over the local context. The wider the use of the innovation, the more likely it will be accepted as standard.

- Authority: the innovation is used by influential people such as writers, journalists, and teachers.

- Codification: the innovation appears in pedagogic materials such as textbooks and dictionaries, thus becoming a permanent feature of the local variety of English.

- Acceptability: the innovation is accepted by those who use it and those who do not use it and is considered a marker of identity and a symbol of solidarity.

Bamgbose (1998: 4) argues that codification is probably the most important factor here because an innovation continues to be viewed as an error without it. He writes:

> I use codification in the restricted sense of putting the innovation into a written form in a grammar, a lexical or pronouncing dictionary, course books or any other type of reference material ... The importance of codification is too obvious to be belaboured…. One of the major factors militating against the emergence of endonormative standards in non-native Englishes is precisely the dearth of codification. Obviously, once a usage or innovation enters the dictionary as correct and acceptable usage, its status as a regular form is assured.

A deviation is not very different from an innovation in the sense that it equally results from the nativisation of English in local contexts. For Kachru (1983: 81), cited in Proshina (2007), a deviation "is the result of a productive process which marks the typical variety-specific features; and it is systematic within a variety, and not idiosyncratic". Therefore, a deviation is a linguistic feature that occurs in the speech of educated speakers of a non-native variety of English. The sum of deviations in a variety of English sets it apart from other varieties. The main difference between innovation and deviation, however, is that while innovation is fixed, i.e. codified and appears in reference pedagogic materials, deviation does not. Then, in CamE speech, the nasalisation of vowels that characterises CamFE is a deviation from both educated CamE accent and SBE.

Error, meanwhile, is a language feature that deviates from the standard but which is caused by a lack of knowledge of the rules of the language. Most often, an error is individual and occurs in the speech of uneducated speakers of the language. Then, unlike innovations and deviations that occur at the acrolectal level, errors occur at the mesolectal or basilectal levels.

Finally, a mistake is an error that can be self-corrected. It may be a slip of the tongue, a failure in processing, etc.

The above clarification of terms is crucial because it makes a case for non-native varieties of English, including CamE accent, as language systems in their own rights that are independent of the canons of traditional NS varieties. As Dörnyei (2009: 245) puts it, "pronunciation is the only area where even very advanced L2 users cannot correct their performance once it has been brought to their attention that this performance deviates from native-like norms". Therefore, the clarification helps to understand that the deviations from SBE that abound in educated CamE speech should neither be considered errors nor mistakes.

Instead, as Schneider (2007: 18) puts it, "from a strictly linguistic perspective, it would make sense to establish the careful usage of the educated members of a society as the target and as an indigenous language norm". Later, he added: "… forms and features which are used regularly and by educated speakers of local English should ultimately qualify and be accepted as elements of a new, emerging standard variety" (Schneider (2011: 219).

Second, bridging the gap between SLA and WEs requires efforts from proponents of both fields, especially those on the side of SLA, to integrate issues such as attention to diversity, topics of concern and critical reflexivity (Kubota 2018). First, diversity must be taken into consideration. In SLA, empirical research needs to focus on English language learners in non-native contexts worldwide, and not only in Inner Circle settings, given that these are different contexts with different realities. Therefore, research findings in one context cannot be applied to all English language learners worldwide. For WEs, variation must not be limited to studies on the description of varieties of English. However, it must equally include studies on linguistic and cultural diversity in schools and curricula, and how the issue of race, for instance, influences the perception of language varieties and language teaching in general. Concerning research topics and issues, SLA needs to lay more emphasis on macro issues, notably what variation or diversity means for language education policies and planning (the concern of this study), and not always micro-level topics such as the acquisition of language structures by learners, language teaching methodologies, etc.

Sridhar & Sridhar (2018) note with some measured satisfaction that the gap is being bridged compared to what existed three decades before when they published the 1986 paper. Indeed, though efforts still need to be made to represent diversity in textbooks and teaching methods, "the native speaker is no longer considered to be the only acceptable target of SLA: a proficient non-native speaker can be a perfectly effective user of English in today's world" (Sridhar & Sridhar op.cit., 130). They added:

> The monolingual bias has given way to a multilingual turn and there is a more constructive appreciation of the contribution of and interaction with the other languages of the speaker and the community. The focus of SLA is no longer exclusively cognitive/structural but has expanded to include a social/functional turn. The languages of the learner are no longer being studied as bounded formal systems. (…) Learners are accorded agency and their production is no longer judged as errors or characterized pejoratively as fossilization simply because they do not correspond to native speaker norms. The learner is also viewed as a

member of a communicative community and the role of the learner's language in identity formation is recognized. The contribution of the situational or sociocultural context, both in shaping the processes and products of the learner and the user in terms of a multilingual ecology is recognized. The need to differentiate Second Language Acquisition with reference to acquisition and use in the Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles is recognized (Sridhar & Sridhar op.cit., 136).

A theory that bridges the gap between SLA and WEs is suitable for this study because it reminds us of the need for dialogue between these two fields, especially when issues of language education policy come into play. While it cannot be denied that there are shifting values in ELT today resulting in space for theories and practices that take into consideration the pluricentric nature of English, it is also true that WEs research has gradually shifted focus towards the teaching of nativised varieties of English in the Outer Circle while using some of SLA's principles. It is, therefore, our belief that "each of these fields has much to offer to the other, in terms of theoretical perspectives as well as approaches to research and scholarship" (Bolton & De Costa 2018: 2). This implies raising learners' awareness of the existence of many different varieties of English and providing instruction on pragmatics, so that learners become aware of the contexts where to use these different language forms for successful communication in English.

2.1.3 The intelligibility principle in pronunciation instruction

The success of English pronunciation instruction depends on whether policy makers and classroom teachers target a NS model or intelligibility. Levis (2005: 370) raised this idea, who identifies two "competing ideologies" in pronunciation instruction, which he calls the nativeness principle and the intelligibility principle. The nativeness principle, which was widely used before the 1960s all over the world, "holds that it is both desirable and preferable to achieve native-like pronunciation in a foreign language" (loc. cit.). Although this view is no longer dominant as it used to be, it still has a considerable impact in several non-native contexts on domains such as foreign language teaching and foreign language teacher education. In fact, decision-makers in these countries have made classroom teachers, learners and teacher trainers to believe that the idealised native speaker-hearer is the best model all language users should subscribe to. The nativeness principle, however, has been criticised by applied linguists on social, psychological and pedagogic grounds.

At the social level, the relevance of NS models in non-native contexts has been questioned in ELF research as it is clear today that the overwhelming majority of NNSs is more likely to interact with other NNSs than with NSs. Also, although many NNSs desire a native-like accent, research (Derwing & Munro 1999, for instance) indicates that even adult English language speakers with a strong accent can still be intelligible to NSs. Then, instead of aiming for a NS model, pronunciation pedagogy should emphasise intelligibility.

At the psychological level, research (Setter & Jenkins 2005; Levis 2005; Kirkpatrick 2007a) indicates that it is becoming widely accepted today that a NS model is not a realistic and attainable target in multilingual non-native contexts. Then, there is a high probability that setting an unrealistic and unattainable target, such as SBE accent in ELT, may inevitably result in frustration from students and teachers when they realise they cannot meet the expected target. Such frustration may lead to some learners giving up on developing their oral skills and teachers feeling insecure or blaming their students when they become aware that they might not reach native-like pronunciation (Thir 2016). Finally, a native-like accent is not always desirable. In fact, some of today's younger pre-service and in-service English teachers are less infatuated with native-like accent features than their senior colleagues, probably due to the training they received, and therefore, might resist adopting a native-like accent for the classroom. Thir (op. cit.: 6) illustrates that point of view when she claims that

> (…) it is possible that a NNS teacher's identification with a particular English NS group or their sense of professional identity may be overridden by their personal and social identities so that, despite everything, the acquisition of a native-like accent simply does not feel right to them.

Walker (2010) goes even further to claim that native-like accents do not always guarantee intelligibility, as these accents are not always the most easily understood in interactions between NSs and NNSs. He adds that L2 speakers of English have the right to express their identity through their pronunciation.

At the pedagogic level, it is evident today that SBE is not a realistic model for the English language classroom in non-native contexts for at least three reasons: first, it is spoken only by very few (less than five per cent) people living in the British Isles. Second, nothing indicates that teaching SBE accent features will result in the learners' ability to reproduce sounds in a native-like manner (Seidlhofer 2005). Third, teacher training programs have

failed so far to help future teachers acquire native-like accent features. Therefore, it is a chimera to expect these teachers to teach a variety of English which they themselves do not speak.

Unlike the nativeness principle whose goal is to make learners develop native-like pronunciation, the intelligibility principle, according to Levis (2005: 370), argues that "learners simply need to be understandable". In other words, what matters is effective communication, i.e. being able to understand others and make others understand what we say without difficulty. This means that intelligibility is a two-way process in which both the speaker and the listener, the NS and the NNS have some part of responsibility. This more recent approach to pronunciation teaching departs from the nativeness principle which, according to Bamgbose (1998: 10), viewed intelligibility as a "a one-way process in which non-native speakers are striving to make themselves understood by native speakers whose prerogative it was to decide what was intelligible and what was not".

One of the earliest and important contributions to the intelligibility principle was Jenkins's (2000) Lingua Franca Core (LFC), a pedagogical core of phonological features that she described as central for success in ELF communication. Walker (2010: 46) acknowledged the contribution of the LFC towards pronunciation teaching with a focus on intelligibility when he referred to it as "a very good foundation for all learners" regardless of their goals in learning English pronunciation. The LFC features, which Jenkins recommends to classroom teachers and L2 learners of English, include the following:

- The consonant inventory: The LFC recommends teaching all consonants except /θ/, /ð/ and dark /l/ whose close approximations should be allowed, rhotic /r/ instead of /ɹ/, and intervocalic /t/ instead of the flap /ɾ/.

- Phonetic requirements: Teach aspiration only after the plosives /p/, /t/ and /k/, and appropriate vowel length before fortis/lenis consonants.

- Consonant clusters: Teach word initial consonant clusters without simplifying them. Meanwhile, simplify medial and final clusters according to the L1 rules of elision.

- Vocal sounds: Focus more on quantity and not quality. This means that teachers should prioritise the differences between long and short vowels, for instance *rich* vs. *reach*, and sufficient length in the pronunciation of diphthongs.

- Nuclear stress production and placement: Make students aware of the fact that inappropriate placement of nuclear stress results in breakdown in communication. Teach students how to divide speech into word units for correct nuclear stress placement.

Jenkins (ibid) dismissed features such as weak forms, tone (pitch movement), stress-timing, word stress, vowel quality, and features of connected speech such as assimilation, liaison and coalescence because, in her opinion, such features were neither necessary nor teachable for mutual intelligibility. More recent research, however, has exposed the weaknesses of the LFC, arguing that it places too much emphasis on teaching sound segments in isolation instead of focusing on supra-segmental features such as stress and intonation, and adopting a more communicative approach to pronunciation teaching. Derwing & Rossiter (2003: 14), for instance, criticised LFC by claiming that "if the goal of pronunciation teaching is to help learners become more understandable, then […] it should include a stronger emphasis on prosody". In the same vein, Gilbert (2008: 8) writes in her booklet on pronunciation teaching that "without a sufficient, threshold-level mastery of the English prosodic system, learners' intelligibility and listening comprehension will not advance, no matter how much effort is made drilling individual sounds". In the late 1980s, Anderson-Hsieh & Koehler (1988: 562) already highlighted the priority of supra-segmental features in pronunciation teaching when they claimed that "prosodic deviance may affect comprehension more adversely than does segmental deviance".

Another argument in favour of the intelligibility principle has been referred to as Acculturation Model in SLA theory. This theory states that in the course of learning a language, an individual may choose to keep some social distance with some aspects of the L2, including pronunciation or integration with the L2 speech community. This means, in the case of English language learning for instance, that some NNS learners may prefer to retain their accent for reasons that may include loyalty towards their L2 speech community (Martin, 2013) or pride in projecting difference from the "model" varieties.

The intelligibility principle in pronunciation is part of our theoretical framework of reference for at least three reasons. First, English pronunciation instruction is a central topic in this study. Indeed, this study investigates, among other things, what English teachers, trainee teachers of English and NPIs of English think about English pronunciation instruction in the Cameroonian context, and about adopting CamE accent as the model for the English classroom. Second, the choice of an unrealistic and teaching pronunciation model in ELT, such as SBE, significantly affects pronunciation instruction, as it may lead to negative psychological consequences for both learners and teachers. This, therefore, calls for a change of goals for pronunciation instruction, as Walker, Low & Setter (2021: 7) write:

> During much of the 20th century, pronunciation teaching for learners of English as a foreign language was governed by the 'nativeness principle', with the goal assumed to be the attainment of a native speaker accent— often either British **Received Pronunciation (RP)** or its US equivalent, **General American (GA)**. This assumption was challenged by the arrival of communicative approaches in the 1980s, which placed the emphasis on **communicative competence** and questioned the need for learners to achieve native-speaker accents. Increasingly, it was felt that a more appropriate goal for learners was to be comfortably intelligible and that teaching should be guided by the 'intelligibility principle'. This has given rise to the current view that an appropriate goal for pronunciation teaching is **international intelligibility**, that is, the capacity to make one's speech understandable to people from a wide range of language backgrounds, both native speakers and non-native speakers, and thus participate effectively in international communication [original emphasis].

Then, the results of this investigation (especially the attitudes towards CamE accent and the challenges to the adoption of CamE accent as the local model in ELT) may be significantly affected by the current pronunciation model in use in Cameroon. Finally, because "intelligible pronunciation is an essential component of communicative competence" (Morley 1991: 488), our hope is that attitudes towards CamE accent change positively, leading to greater prospects for adopting this accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon.

2.2 Literature Review

This section discusses the literature on the main topics of this work, which include accent and (language) attitude. Also, previous works on attitudes towards non-native Englishes and adopting non-native varieties of English as local models are reviewed.

2.2.1 Accent

This section discusses the concept of accent from three perspectives, including the dimensions of accent, the relationship between accent and pedagogy, and the relationship between accent and society.

Following the definition by Montgomery (1996) provided in the General Introduction of this work, accent in sociolinguistics generally refers to how an individual, a group of individuals, or the majority of language users in a region or country articulates the speech sounds of a particular language. This implies the central role of human listeners in the perception of variation in speech. A more elaborate definition by Swann et al. (2004: 2) views accent as:

> A variety of speech differing from other varieties in terms of pronunciation (including intonation), and which identifies a speaker in terms of regional origin, social standing, and, possibly, ethnicity—thus a 'Northern accent', a 'broad accent', 'Scottish accent', etc. In this sociolinguistic sense, all speakers have an accent: the term is not restricted to low-status varieties but includes prestige varieties such as (in British English) Received Pronunciation…

From the above, it can be said that an accent is a set of pronunciation features of a particular group of people in relation to another group. Then, speakers of English in Cameroon have a mainstream accent that is more or less different from the mainstream accents used by speakers of English in countries such as Kenya, Ghana, Sri Lanka or Singapore. In other words, there is Cameroon English accent in the same way as there are Kenyan English, Ghanaian English, Sri Lankan English or Singaporean English accents.

Previous research (Flege 1984; Anderson-Hsieh, Johnson & Koehler 1992; Munro, Derwing & Burgess 2010 cited in (Foote 2015) shows that listeners can detect foreign accents and are extremely sensitive even to the most negligible variations in accent. From that perspective, Derwing & Munro (2009: 476) refer to accent as "the degree to which a speech sample differs from the local variety". In another paper published six years later, the same scholars add that accent "is, by definition, something that listeners notice; therefore, there is no kind of accent other than a perceived accent" (Derwing & Munro 2015: 8). Remarkably, both definitions place a strong emphasis on the listener's perception of variation in accent instead of the use of technology to measure accentedness in speech. However, accent is not

always a monolith; it is composed of three different elements or dimensions, as discussed below.

2.2.1.1 Dimensions of accent

Derwing & Munro (2005, 2009a, 2009b) and Derwing (2018) believe that any comprehensive discussion of accent requires the clarification of three concepts, namely accentedness, also known as salience, comprehensibility and intelligibility. Derwing & Munro (2009b: 478) define accentedness as "how different a pattern of speech sounds compared to the local variety". In other words, accentedness has to do with the degree of difference at the phonological level between an accent and what is considered as the local variety. It is measured by having listeners rate speech on a nine-point Likert scale ranging from "no accent" to "extremely strong accent".

Comprehensibility is defined by Derwing & Munro (loc. cit.) as "the listener's perception of how easy or difficult it is to understand a given speech sample". In other words, comprehensibility has to do with the effort the listener makes to understand an utterance. Then, if listeners struggle or have to listen carefully before they understand an utterance, then the utterance would be rated as having low comprehensibility even if its message is actually understood by the listeners. To measure comprehensibility, researchers ask listeners to rate speech samples on a nine-point Likert scale ranging from "very easy to understand" to "very difficult to understand".

Intelligibility, according to Derwing & Munro (op. cit.: 479) refers to "the degree of a listener's actual comprehension of an utterance". Unlike accentedness and comprehensibility that are measured through ratings, intelligibility can be measured more objectively. For example, researchers may ask listeners to transcribe an utterance instead of rating it, or write summaries of speeches. Listeners can equally take dictations and comprehension questions that measure the intelligibility of a speech sample. Therefore, intelligibility is more a matter of outcome or end result of a listener's perception of speech.

From the above, the term accent is closely related to salience, comprehensibility and intelligibility, yet they all have different meanings. For instance, accentedness is related to intelligibility in the sense that someone who sounds unintelligible generally has a very strong

accent. In the same vein, accentedness is different from intelligibility in the sense that a speaker may have an extremely strong accent, yet be perfectly understood. Also, comprehensibility and intelligibility do not mean the same. However, it is important to note here that the three dimensions of accent discussed above are not static in individual language users. Instead, they may change over time depending on factors such as instruction or change in social environment.

2.2.1.2 Accent and pedagogy

Pedagogy plays an important role in pronunciation, as it helps learners acquire the local and/or standard accent. Yet pronunciation teaching has been, without doubt, one of the most marginalised areas of applied linguistics research, probably because studies had shown that its main target, native-like production of speech, was unattainable and unrealistic, especially for second and foreign language learners. In the late 1980s, Communicative Language Teaching considerably minimised the role of pronunciation instruction, as it advocated a rich, qualitative input to improve speech production. However, recent trends suggest a renewal of interest in pronunciation research, as evidenced by the quantity and quality of research in the domain. This section discusses the relationship between accent and pedagogy in ELT from two perspectives: issues about English pronunciation teaching that relate to the choice of a NS model or a nativised model for ELT, and the possible solutions to the problems of English pronunciation instruction.

Looking at the first perspective, Kirkpatrick (2007b: 184ff) argues that governments, ministries of education and other employers of ELT professionals in countries of the Outer Circle and Expanding Circle often have to choose between an "exonormative native speaker model" and an "endonormative nativised model" for pronunciation teaching. Evidently, either model has advantages and disadvantages.

- **Advantages and disadvantages of choosing an exonormative NS model**

According to Kirkpatrick (ibid), an exonormative NS model is the choice that is most often made by policy makers in Outer Circle and Expanding Circle contexts. The author provides three main reasons to account for this choice. First, NS models are conferred prestige and legitimacy because they are codified in grammars, dictionaries and other

teaching reference materials. This codification leads to the acceptance by teachers and learners of these models as standards for learning, teaching and testing. The second reason for choosing a NS model is that teaching materials on those models are available and constantly updated. The third reason is that ministries of education worldwide who choose a NS model for their students claim that their choice is motivated by the desire to provide the "best" education possible for their people.

Kirkpatrick (op. cit.: 185) argues that the main beneficiaries of the choice of a NS model are the American and British ELT industries: "They can sell materials, provide training and courses, place native speaker teachers and develop international exams and testing systems. All this is financially beneficial for the parties concerned". Most of the arguments raised by the author to develop the main points of the above quote have been discussed earlier in the first chapter in Section 1.4.2 and Section 1.4.3.

If the American and British ELT industries benefit from the choice of NS models in non-native ELT contexts, then it is evident that NNS teachers in these contexts are disadvantaged by this choice. Kirkpatrick (loc. cit.) provides the following reasons to illustrate his point.

> Firstly, the choice of an exonormative model automatically undermines the value and apparent legitimacy of a local teacher's own model of English. Secondly, teachers are required to teach a model which they themselves do not speak, which can severely reduce their sense of self-confidence (…). Such a lack of self-confidence may be accompanied by a relative feeling of resentment, especially when they themselves are highly trained, if an untrained native speaker teacher appears in the school who then becomes the 'source' of knowledge about *the* model purely on the strength of being a native speaker.

From the above quote, the choice of a NS model entails that local teachers are not good enough because they do not speak SBE accent, and that they can be replaced anytime by a NS teacher who might not even have received the same training. Yet there are at least two advantages in using local teachers. First, local teachers have the experience of learning English as a second or foreign language, so they are aware of the potential difficulties in learning English, and can tailor instruction to facilitate students' English language learning experience. Second local teachers know two or more languages, and sometimes even speak the learners' L1. This is not the case with monolingual NS teachers who have never

experienced what it means to learn an additional language, and who have no idea about how the brain of a multilingual person functions.

Concerning students, Kirkpatrick (ibid) argues they may be advantaged in certain circumstances by the adoption of an exonormative NS model, especially when they aim to study or live in Inner Circle contexts. However, he immediately hedges this point, arguing that such students are very few, and that several members of staff of universities in these countries are foreigners, and speak different non-native accents. Also, NSs of English who are part of the student population in these countries may speak several different regional varieties of English, and not always the local standard variety which is the norm in the educational system and the media. Therefore, the belief that the choice of a NS model will advantage NNS students who hope to pursue their education in Britain or North America is erroneous.

Another disadvantage of a NS model is that it often sets a unattainable target for the overwhelming majority of learners. The consequence of this choice is that students are likely to be demotivated when they realise they cannot reach the target which was set for them.

- **Advantages and disadvantages of choosing an endonormative nativised model**

Kirkpatrick (2007b) equally discusses the advantages and disadvantages of choosing an endonormative nativised model. Regarding advantages, he argues that the choice of a nativised model advantages local teachers because it "legitimises their model of English and thus increases their self-confidence and self-esteem" (Kirkpatrick op. cit.: 189). Also, local teachers are empowered by a nativised model insofar as it tends to value their own experiences of learning English as a second or foreign language as well as the additional multilingual resources they can bring to the English classroom. Another advantage of using local teachers in non-native contexts is that they are "familiar with their students' educational, social and cultural norms, and, importantly, the school system as a whole. They understand the roles expected of them as teachers in their particular culture and how these roles interact with the expected roles of students" (Kirkpatrick op. cit.: 190). From a cultural perspective, therefore, local teachers are less likely than NS teachers to promote alien cultural values.

Beside local teachers, the education system as a whole equally benefits both financially and pedagogically from the choice of an endonormative nativised model in the sense that the financial resources that would normally be used to hire NS teachers can be spent on training local teachers (Kirkpatrick loc. cit.). Well-trained local teachers are equally very likely to design ELT programmes, create teaching tools and publish textbooks that are more adapted to local realities and that can lead to better teaching and learning outcomes, leading to a more rapid development of the local ELT industry.

Finally, students are also very likely to benefit from a nativised ELT model because it is an appropriate and attainable target. In fact, the role models here are local teachers and not some NSs who are hardly available to students.

An endonormative nativised model, according to Kirkpatrick (ibid), also has disadvantages. Most often, the local variety of English has not been codified yet in dictionaries, grammars and textbooks, and it becomes virtually impossible to implement such a model in the English language classroom. This is the case in several Outer Circle and Expanding Circle contexts, leading to the fear of several education stakeholders that the English of informal contexts, which might not be internationally intelligible, could become the model for the local English language classroom. Generally, the disadvantages of using a local variety of English that has not been codified yet outweigh the advantages.

Opposed to the choice of exonormative NS models in Outer Circle contexts, Rajadurai (2006: 46) claims that "… a blind submission to native English norms is unreasonable, inappropriate and unrealistic, and this is especially true in countries of the Outer Circle, where English is both used intranationally and internationally". She raises the three reasons below to support her claim. First, she argues that even if a NS model were appropriate, such a model is not available for teachers and learners in non-native settings, given that NS teachers have never taught the overwhelming majority of English language learners in those contexts. Even when this was the case, those few NS teachers did not necessarily speak RP. Then, asking teachers and learners to target a model that is not available to them may result in significant loss of motivation, confidence and self-esteem, which are central to L2 acquisition. Second, she argues, following Cook (1999), that language users have a tendency to adopt the norms of the speech community they are part of, and, therefore, NNSs may

prioritise maintaining their identity in the use of English instead of adopting a NS model. Third, Rajadurai (ibid) holds that targeting a NS model both at international and intranational levels is unrealistic because the English language is constantly being reshaped by the groups and communities who use it to fulfil a variety of functions in different sociolinguistic contexts. This clearly indicates that diversity should be expected in the use of English both in intranational and international contexts.

In another publication, Kirkpatrick (2007a) equally uses words such as "unrealistic", "unattainable" and "irrelevant" to describe pronunciation teaching goals based on a NS model, and argues that such a model in ELT poses problems to both teachers and learners. About teachers, the author argues, following Medgyes (1994), that a NS model disadvantages these educators in the sense that it reduces their self-confidence, as they are asked to teach a language variety which they themselves do not speak.

He adds that a NS model fails to see the additional linguistic and cultural resources that a local teacher brings to the classroom to facilitate teaching and learning. For instance, local English teachers are able to foresee learning difficulties related to particular language items and seek appropriate solutions to help learners understand those items more easily. These teachers can also compare and contrast features of the target language with those of the learners' first language of instruction in order to facilitate understanding. A NS model may not view those linguistic and cultural resources as advantages, but rather as problems to teaching.

Finally, on teachers, Kirkpatrick (ibid) claims, following Kubota (1998), that a NS model in ELT creates prejudice against local teachers and models by encouraging different stakeholders including students, parents, teachers and language policy makers to prefer NS models over local ones. Meanwhile, NNSs of English should be able to choose a language teaching and learning target that is realistic, attainable and relevant to their communicative needs.

On students, Kirkpatrick (ibid) holds that the choice of a NS model disadvantages learners because that target is completely out of their reach. The author echoes previous researchers, among whom Honna & Takeshita (1998, 2000) who found that Japanese learners of English are unwilling to experiment with the language because they are ashamed of

making errors and not being able to speak as NSs, and Cook (2002) who argued that setting nativeness as the measure for success in ELT only frustrates non-native students and teachers, as it is an impossible target for them to meet. Derwing & Munro (2005: 384) are more elaborate when they hold that

> (…) most learners who strive for nativeness are likely to become disheartened. Though all learners should be encouraged to reach their full potential, which may well exceed the minimum required for basic intelligibility, it may do more harm than good for teachers to lead learners to believe that they will eventually achieve native pronunciation or to encourage them to expend time and energy working toward a goal that they are unlikely to achieve.

In the end, the main issue about English pronunciation teaching is the use of a NS model (RP or AmE) as target in multilingual settings. Other scholars have joined Kirkpatrick (2007a; 2007b) to argue that RP and AmE are not appropriate in NNS contexts. Rogerson-Revell (2011: 7) cited in Szpyra-Kosłowska (2015), for instance, identifies four aspects of RP that he believes are problematic for teaching that accent as model. These include the facts that:

- "RP is a minority accent which perpetuates the norms of an elite minority which few L2 speakers are likely to encounter".

- "RP is far from the easiest accent to learn because it contains a large number of vowels and diphthongs, weak forms and is non-rhotic".

- "RP has changed considerably over time" so "many feel it is old-fashioned".

- "Adopting an 'alien' accent involves loss or threat to identity".

In other words, an accent that is not even representative of NSs of the language, that seemingly precludes NNSs' self-acceptance of being different from NSs in local contexts, and that contains features totally alien to the linguistic repertoires of NNSs cannot be used effectively as the model for teaching and learning in non-native English contexts.

- **Other challenges to English pronunciation teaching**

Although the choice of an exonormative NS model is by far the main issue that plague English pronunciation teaching in non-native contexts, scholars have investigated other

challenges to pronunciation instruction. Derwing & Munro (2005), for example, have identified four other problems that plague pronunciation instruction. The first relates to the fact that NNS teachers receive no formal training on pronunciation instruction. Studies carried out in Western contexts such as Britain (Burgess & Spencer, 2000), Canada (Beikreutz, Derwing & Rossiter 2002) and Australia (MacDonald 2002) cited in Derwing & Munro (ibid) clearly indicate that the overwhelming majority of ESL teachers in those countries do not teach pronunciation because they were not formally trained in teaching that aspect of language, and, therefore, lack the knowledge and skills to teach pronunciation effectively. Suppose NS ESL teachers do not teach pronunciation because of the reasons listed above. In that case, one could hardly fathom how a NNS teacher—who was taught English and trained by other NNS teachers— could successfully teach pronunciation in English, a language that is not his/her native tongue.

The second problem comes from the fact that the pronunciation textbooks and software used to train students are not often adapted to their needs. In fact, most learning materials are designed without a solid grounding in pronunciation research. In the same way, teachers who use software to facilitate pronunciation instruction most often do not utilize those tools adequately, and end up placing emphasis on native-like pronunciation by teaching sound segments in isolation through mechanical drills instead of placing emphasis on intelligibility, stress, intonation and communication.

Teachers' lack of knowledge of phonetics is another problem in pronunciation instruction. In fact, most teachers do not master phonetic symbols and transcriptions well, and end up misleading students in the classroom. For instance, students could be misled by a teacher who fails to differentiate between short and long sounds as /i/ vs. /ɪ/ in *beat* and *bit*, or /ɑ/ and /æ/ as in *car* and *cat*, and between the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ as in *thin* and *that*.

Finally, most teachers do not have opportunities for professional development in pronunciation instruction, and do activities in their classrooms that have little value in terms of improving student oral production. Most often, pronunciation activities are an afterthought and suffer from a lack of planning and insufficient teaching time. Unfortunately, pronunciation teaching is hardly discussed during professional development programs.

- **Possible solutions to the issues that plague pronunciation teaching**

It is necessary to propose some solutions to the problems that plague English pronunciation teaching listed above. First of all, given that most of the problems that plague pronunciation teaching stem from unrealistic teaching goals, it becomes vital to set realistic and attainable goals to motivate teachers to teach pronunciation. Instead of native-like speech production as model, it has become more appropriate to consider intelligibility as the main target of pronunciation instruction for NNS learners of English. Szpyra-Kosłowska (2015: 10) echoes this point of view when she holds that

> Setting unrealistic goals can lead to both teachers and learners' frustration, so only objectives that can be attained should be aimed at. Moreover, native pronunciation models are claimed to be inappropriate for international learners since they use English mainly in contacts with other non-native speakers, in which case native norms of correctness are irrelevant. What is needed is a kind of English pronunciation that would be intelligible to its users, even if it departs from traditional standards considerably.

We hope that education policy makers in several non-native contexts, including Cameroon, have adopted SBE accent features as model for the classroom understand and make theirs the rationality and wisdom in the above quote. The author of the quote is a native of Poland, a European country that has strong economic and geopolitical ties with the United Kingdom. Suppose she is able to understand that there are more interactions in English among NNSs than among NSs around the world, and, therefore, NSs' models are not appropriate in non-native contexts. Why should Cameroonian ELT professionals and decision makers fail to understand that too?

Regardless of whether Cameroonians are able to understand that SBE and AmE accents are not realistic and appropriate models for their educational context, some Western scholars have nonetheless proposed more effective models or approaches to pronunciation instruction in L2 contexts. These models all share at least two characteristics: (i) a communicative approach to pronunciation teaching and (ii) a greater focus on supra-segmental features.

Morley (1991), for instance, proposed the Teacher-as-Coach model for pronunciation teaching as a partnership between the teacher and the learner in which the former coaches or

facilitates acquisition for the latter. This model identifies four major goals of pronunciation teaching for the L2 learner. These include: functional intelligibility (ability to be understood easily), functional communicability (ability to communicate effectively with others), increased self-confidence (confidence in one's oral language skills) and strategies for speech monitoring and modification in real-life communicative situations. Pronunciation teachers could achieve these goals by carrying out the following tasks:

- Conducting a diagnostic analysis of learners' needs so as to know the features that are more important to achieve intelligibility, and prioritise these features in teaching.

- Helping learners set both short term and long term goals that are realistic and attainable.

- Setting goals for their classroom while equally taking into account the needs of individual learners.

- Providing tasks that engage learners in real-life communicative situations through different teaching strategies.

- Giving tasks that require learners to have speaking practice outside the classroom in real-life communicative situations, and giving feedback to the class.

- Exposing learners to both NS and NNS models through guest speakers or tape recordings.

- Assisting students by providing constructive feedback for improvement.

- Monitoring students' oral production continuously and taking note of their progress.

- Developing student self-awareness and self-monitoring of speech.

- Providing support and encouragement to all learners.

For Kirkpatrick (2007b: 193-194), choosing a lingua franca approach (which he also calls "bilingual approach") to English pronunciation instruction is the way forward, as it derives from successful communication between NNSs of English with different background languages. His lingua franca approach goes beyond the linguistic (segmental and supra-

segmental) features to involve cultural aspects that may equally impede cross-cultural communication. Based on Jenkins' LFC, the bilingual approach is built around a curriculum consisting of three strands: First, students need to be told about the linguistic features that cause the breakdown of intelligibility. These features are contained in the LFC, and can be presented in the form of a list of segmental and supra-segmental features. Second, the curriculum must emphasise differences across cultures and their implications for communication between speakers of different background languages. The author provides examples of pragmatic norms such as 'facework' in Asian cultures, and appropriate request schemas to illustrate this point. Third, the curriculum must focus on strategies for successful communication between speakers of different background languages. Examples of such strategies include "the accommodation of different linguistic and sociolinguistic norms and a range of repair strategies which can be used in the face of misunderstanding" (Kirkpatrick op. cit.: 194). The author argues that this approach advantages both teachers and students for at least two reasons: first it aims at a model of English speech that is appropriate for the local context in the sense that it accommodates not only features of the linguistic repertoire of local peoples, but also their cultural conventions and pragmatic norms. Second, it sets as target a model that is attainable by teachers and learners. While this approach can be criticised because it does not provide further details on how teachers could implement the second and third strands, it places a strong emphasis on what to do to communicate effectively in cross-cultural communicative situations. Kirkpatrick (loc. cit) summarises his lingua franca approach in the following terms:

> In aiming to teach and learn English in ways that would allow for effective communication across linguistic and cultural boundaries the focus of the classroom moves from the acquisition of the norms associated with a standard model to a focus on learning linguistic features, cultural information and communicative strategies that will facilitate communication.

Celce-Murcia et al. (2010) have proposed a communicative approach to pronunciation teaching based on the tenets of Communicative Language Teaching. In other words, their approach acknowledges that language is best taught through communicative situations, that the tasks and materials of pronunciation lessons should reflect learners' interests and goals and motivate them to learn, that students learn best when they participate actively in the lesson, that the syllabus should provide opportunities for learners to express themselves in

communicative situations, and that errors are a normal part of the language learning process. From that theoretical foundation, Celce-Murcia et al. (op. cit.: 9) claimed that

> The goal of teaching pronunciation to (…) learners is not to make them sound like native speakers of English. With the exception of a few highly gifted and motivated individuals, such a goal is unrealistic. A more modest and realistic goal is to enable learners to surpass the threshold level so that their pronunciation will not detract from their ability to communicate.

As the above quotation suggests, intelligibility and comprehensibility are the targets of pronunciation teaching. Celce-Murcia et al. (ibid) add that these targets can be attained by following five steps in a pronunciation lesson. These include:

- Description and analysis: Teachers write down and produce orally the new pronunciation feature. Then they explain when it is used in speech.

- Listening discrimination: Teachers model practice orally for learners so as to help them identify and discriminate the new pronunciation feature from other features.

- Controlled practice: Teachers make students read sentences with minimal pairs, tongue twisters, short dialogues while paying attention to the pronunciation feature under study.

- Guided practice: Teachers provide structured communication exercises such as dialogues and information gap activities that allow learners to monitor the use of the target feature.

- Communicative practice: Teachers give fluency-building tasks that require learners to use the target feature effectively in communicative situations.

Another scholar, Derwing (2010: 26ff), in an article that tackles some of the problems in English pronunciation instruction, outlines nine characteristics or goals for an effective and efficient teaching of pronunciation to non-native students. These include

> increased attention from researchers; a focus on teacher education; appropriate curriculum choices; improved assessment; focus on intelligibility/comprehensibility; more useful software and other technology; a focus on enhancing native speakers' listening; no scapegoating of accents; and better strategies for integrating newcomers into the community.

In this work, the first seven characteristics will be discussed, as they apply well to ELT practice in several non-native settings, including Cameroon.

- Increased attention from researchers: Derwing (ibid) believes that increased pronunciation research has the potential to improve teaching, especially because the overwhelming majority of teachers in non-native settings believe that they are not sufficiently prepared to teach pronunciation. Practical research can then help teachers fill that gap by revealing not only certain aspects of learner pronunciation where they need to put the focus, but also innovative techniques to teach pronunciation more effectively.

- A focus on pronunciation in teacher education: Derwing (ibid) recommends that pronunciation teaching be given more emphasis in teacher training by designing courses on pronunciation pedagogy in English teacher education programs. In addition to formal training at the teacher college, field teachers should receive regular professional development to update their pronunciation instruction skills. In their classrooms teachers should equally attempt to pronounce words appropriately, and not imitate their students in order to sound more intelligible.

- Appropriate curriculum choices: making the right choices is very important in pronunciation teaching. Derwing (ibid) suggests that pronunciation activities be integrated into listening and speaking classes, and that students be exposed to a wide range of dialects and accents in the classroom.

- Assessment: Derwing (ibid) says she is in favour of the development of tools to assess pronunciation. Pronunciation would be taught if it was assessed in exams and other language proficiency tests.

- A focus on intelligibility and comprehensibility: the author believes that the focus of pronunciation instruction should be intelligibility and comprehensibility rather than accentedness. This is because teachers who focus on accentedness end up following the nativist principle which requires learners to target native-like pronunciation. Meanwhile, an emphasis on intelligibility and comprehensibility allows teachers to

focus on what really matters the most in oral production, which is being an articulate and fluent speaker.

- Useful software and technology: Derwing equally suggests the development of easy-to-use software and technology to assist teachers in the domain of pronunciation instruction. Computer assisted pronunciation training and the use of virtual spaces such as Skype and iChat could be beneficial to learners.

- Enhancing NS' listening: NSs need to be trained to understand L2 accents because it is unfair to ask NNSs to make efforts alone while their NS interlocutors are not making any adjustments to facilitate communication. Real communication is a two-way process; both sides should make efforts for it to succeed.

In another article, Derwing (2018: 14-16) outlined what she describes as "important considerations for pronunciation instruction". First, she described the aspects of pronunciation which, in her opinion, should be taught in the English classroom. In her opinion,

> the aspects of pronunciation deserving highest priority are those that have the greatest effect on intelligibility and/or comprehensibility. […] Aspects of speech that interfere with understanding matter more than aiming for nativelike performance (Derwing op. cit.:14).

In the author's opinion, one of these aspects is connected speech. On this issue, she recommends that teachers receive pronunciation-specific training because relying on their intuitions to deal with pronunciation-related issues may instead mislead students and cause intelligibility problems in the future. Another aspect that deserves priority in the treatment of corrective feedback in the pronunciation classroom is the functional load, which Derwing (op. cit.:15) defines as "the number of words in a language that a particular phonemic contrast keeps apart". The functional load theory stipulates that some errors in the pronunciation of sound segments are more serious, and, therefore, more likely to affect listeners' comprehension than others. Then, high functional load errors such as the substitution of /b/ for /p/ so that *bill* is pronounced *pill,* or the substitution of /l/ for /r/ leading to the pronunciation of the phrase *land rover* as *rand lover* reduce comprehensibility and cause problems to learners. Meanwhile, low functional load errors, including their pronunciation as *dey* or *bath* as *baf* do not affect intelligibility. In the English classroom,

teachers should address high functional load errors whenever they occur to prevent these errors from recurring in students' speech. Stress is another aspect of pronunciation that teachers are required to prioritise in the English classroom. For Derwing, incorrect stress placements cause breakdowns in comprehension whereas correctly stressed speech is easier to understand. She recommends, therefore, based on the findings of other studies, that stress be taught explicitly to students in the first six months of prolonged exposure to the English language for optimal outcomes, a period which is called by Derwing & Munro (op. cit.: 15) the window of maximal opportunity, or "the ideal time to introduce P[honetic] I[nstruction]".

After discussing the aspects of pronunciation that should be taught, Derwing (ibid) examined which speech model should be adopted for the English language classroom, between the ELF, WEs, RP or General AmE models. In her opinion, putting an accent on the local variety of English is important, but it is necessary to expose students to a wide range of accents:

> This question is often moot because in most cases, the students will learn whatever dialect their teachers speak. But it is important to ask, to whom will students talk in English? If, for the most part, they will interact with other speakers in the same community, then the local variety is probably the best choice. However, teachers do not always know with whom their students will interact in the future. Their jobs, studies and travels may take them out of the local context, therefore they may benefit from exposure to a wide range of Englishes. (Derwing 2018: 15-16)

Derwing (ibid) concludes her paper with some basic principles of pronunciation instruction. These include teaching the perception of English accents to L2 learners, providing explicit instruction with examples, providing explicit corrective feedback on student high functional load errors, and using authentic language and technology to support instruction.

The above models all project intelligibility as the target for pronunciation teaching. However, since these models are all proposed by NS scholars, they could be criticised easily on two grounds: first, they remain prescriptive to a certain extent, as they tend to prescribe some leniency to teachers vis-a-vis certain features that deviate from NS models, and second, they view intelligibility and comprehensibility essentially from the perspective of NSs. This situation has urged scholars from postcolonial English nations to go even further to propose teaching the local English accent as model.

In Ghana, Koranteng (2006) and Ofori (2012) cited in Ofori et al. (2014), for instance, have proposed a Ghanaian English Pronunciation Standard (GhEPS) comprising sixteen distinct vowel sounds among which ten pure vowels (i, ɪ, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u, ʊ, ɜː) and six regular diphthongs (ai, au, ɔi, iɛ, ua, iɔ), and twenty-two consonants (b, d, f, g, h, dʒ, tʃ, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, v, w, x, z, j, ʃ, ʒ). These scholars have expressed hope that GhEPS will be officially adopted as the standard for teaching and testing English language learners in Ghana.

In Kenya, Ragutu (1993) identified features of the English spoken by educated native Kenyans living in Kenya which he referred to as Standard Accent of Kenyan English (SAKE). He claimed that SAKE consists of six pure vowels (i, e, a, æ, o, u) and seven diphthongs, even though there exist in reality four distinct vowels (ia, ao, ai, ua), while the underlying representations of the three other diphthongs undergo restructuring processes leading to monophthongisation. In fact, because the vowels /ə/ and /ʊ/ do not exist in SAKE, diphthongs such as /əʊ/ and /eɪ/ as found in the words *so* and *table* are rendered respectively as [so] and [tebl]. The author adds that SAKE does not differ much from RP at the level of consonants. At the level of supra-segmental features, he argues that unlike RP which is stress-timed, SAKE appears to allocate equal prominence to all syllables, and to place stress on the first syllable of words with no more than three syllables, and systematically on the final syllable of much longer words. He concludes his study by advocating the official recognition of SAKE as the attainable model in English pronunciation for Kenyans.

In Nigeria, Banjo (1993) has called for an endonormative model for teaching English in the country. Other scholars have joined him, including Olajide & Olaniyi (2013) who have proposed educated Nigerian English phonology, which is not very different from educated CamE accent, as the local model. Their call equally comes from the realisation that RP or SBE has become an albatross around the neck of Nigerian English teachers, since neither they nor their students could speak it effectively after years of study.

In the Cameroonian context, the focus of this study, Ngefac (2011) and Ngefac & Bami (2010) have joined the trend and proposed teaching CamE accent features instead of RP. However, decision makers have not responded favourably to this recommendation so far. This attitude may result from the paucity of empirical research in this field of study. Therefore, this study aims to provide these policy makers with relevant information from

empirical research on whether in-service and pre-service teachers want to teach CamE accent features in their classrooms.

To summarise this section, setting attainable and realistic goals for pronunciation instruction is the main solution to the problems that English language teachers encounter when they have to teach that language skill. Also, an emphasis on pronunciation teaching during teacher training and professional development, making the right pedagogical choices grounded in pronunciation teaching research, and training NSs to be tolerant to non-native accents are significant steps that need to be integrated in pronunciation pedagogy.

2.2.1.3 Accent and society

Accents can be significantly affected by social factors such as linguistic background, identity, nativeness/non-nativeness, level of education and social class. To be more specific, elements such as familiarity with the accent, social prestige, nationality of the speaker and status of English in a particular context significantly influence our perceptions of an accent.

First, accent perception can be positive or negative depending on the listener's familiarity with that accent. Gill (1994), for instance, found that many listeners have a more positive perception of their own accent than other accents that may sound foreign to them. Then, it will not be surprising that Ghanaians perceive Ghanaian English more positively than Nigerian and Cameroonian Englishes, or that a NS of the Bafut language perceives the English accent of NSs of Bafut more positively than the English accent of Nso speakers, for example. In the same line of thought, Winke & Gass (2012) found that the familiarity of a speaking test rater with a test taker's background language—which is likely revealed during speech— may lead to a positive rating of that speaker's accent. This means, for example, that an Indian TOEFL test rater is likely to assign a better grade in speaking to a test taker from India whose accent he is familiar with, than to another test taker from Nigeria whose accent is alien to him.

Social prestige is another determinant factor in the perceived attractiveness of a speaker's accent. Studies including Luk (1998), Dalton-Puffer, Kaltenboeck & Smit (1997) and Butler (2007) cited in Buckingham (2014a) have shown that because SBE and AmE accents are more prevalent in the media and advertisement of ELT materials, these accents

are more perceived as 'correct' and prestigious in EFL contexts. Other studies (Jenkins 2005; Kobayashi 2008; Sasayama 2013) have shown that around the world, NS accents, especially British and U.S accents, are the most favoured by EFL learners and non-native English speaker teachers.

Also, the nationality of speakers may increase the attractiveness of an accent. In fact, studies by Buckingham (2014b) and Yook & Lindemann (2013) have shown that a positive perception of an accent may not necessarily indicate higher ratings unless the listeners have previous information about the speaker's nationality. Hence, the English accents of Western Europeans are perceived by North Americans as "cute" or "lovely", and, therefore, more desirable than the accents of speakers from other non-native contexts including post-colonial countries of Africa and Asia.

Finally, the status of English within a non-native context may generate favourable ratings from speakers of that accent. Timmis (2002), and Tokumoto & Shibata (2011) have shown, for example, that in countries such as India, Pakistan and Malaysia where English may have become the L1 of a section of the population and is strongly institutionalised, there exist a strong confidence in, and a positive perception of indigenised pronunciation norms. This confidence and positive perception may stem from SLA research works (Medgyes 1992; Flege, Munro & MacKay 1995; Kirkpatrick 2006b; Abrahamsson & Hyltenstam 2009) that have opened the eyes of many speakers to the fact that exocentric norms such as SBE and AmE accents are unattainable language targets in non-native contexts.

Remarkably, the social factors discussed above have obvious consequences for individuals and groups at three levels: discrimination, identity threat and listener's responsibility.

- **Discrimination**

One of the inevitable consequences of accent diversity and variation is discrimination. Quite often, the pattern of accent-based discrimination is obvious: there is a tendency for NSs to discriminate against speakers with non-native accents. In other words, NSs enjoy benefits or positive discrimination while NNSs are most likely to suffer from negative discrimination as a result of their accents. As far as the English language is concerned, two NS accents,

notably SBE and AmE, are viewed by speakers around the world as the most prestigious. Then, accent-based discrimination is common in Inner Circle contexts, as NSs with working class accents and NNS job seekers with strong accents are often victims of prejudice. For instance, reflecting on British society, Trudgill (2002: 176) holds that "discrimination on the grounds of accent still occurs in British society". Looking at the discrimination of job seekers based on accent, Harrison (2014: 205) highlights the "otherness" of NNSs in workplaces when he holds that

> Employers routinely form initial impressions of job applicants on the basis of their linguistic presentation, using accent to make inferences about social group membership and level of competence. In these contexts, vocal features such as accent and speech style serve as signifiers of status and credibility.

Most often, attitudes towards native working class accents and non-native accents are not positive, as many English language users, both native and non-native, consider those varieties as inferior or sub-standard. Baratta (2017a: np), for instance, shows that in a NS context such as Britain, speakers with regional accents are often victims of prejudice:

> (…) accent acts as a linguistic proxy for larger social categories which it reflects, with class certainly one of them. Consider that the upper- (and middle-) classes in Britain still tend to speak Received Pronunciation (RP), which itself is a class-based accent, heard all the way from London to Yorkshire. How, then, do people perceive British accents deemed working-class? Usually, it works like this: a broad regional accent often acts as a symbol of working-class origins, which in turn leads to stereotyping based on the judgements often made of the working-classes, such as 'uneducated', 'uncouth', 'ignorant' and so on".

It will not be surprising, therefore, that accent discrimination in a conservative socio-political context such as Britain, as described in the above quote, is particularly prominent in the teaching profession which prescribes norms for language use in society. Indeed, Baratta (2017b) and Donnelli, Baratta & Gamsu (2018) have shown how trainee teachers face pressures from their mentors to modify their accents—when these accents reveal working class origins—and adopt Standard English (RP) in order to be considered more "professional", and how regional accents can become a barrier to social mobility in the UK teaching profession. These prescriptions in teacher training and in the teaching profession eventually have negative psychological effects on individuals as discussed in the next sub-section on identity threat.

Also, accent-based discrimination towards NNSs often depends on the speaker's country of origin. In fact, the attitudes of NSs towards Western European English accents tend to be positive, while attitudes towards accents from Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and South America are generally negative. In the U.S., for instance, the English accent of a white NS of French is considered as "charming", and therefore, preferable to the accent of an individual from Germany, Italy, Russia or Hungary in that order. In the same way, the English accent of a Spaniard tends to be rated more positively than that of a Mexican or Colombian, even when they are all NSs of Spanish.

In both NS and NNS settings, higher social class and level of education often correlate positively with more socially prestigious accents. For instance, RP, which is allegedly spoken by the British upper and middle classes, enjoys greater social prestige both within the UK and worldwide. Also, the accents of educated speakers of English around the world are generally more prestigious than the English accents of uneducated people in all those countries. Then, in Cameroon, for instance, the accent of an English-speaking journalist is considered more prestigious than the accent of a plumber with an O/Level education, or a French-speaking university professor.

- **Identity threat**

A strong correlation has been established between language and identity in sociolinguistic research. In fact, several studies (Labov 1966, 1978; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985; Myers 2006; Becker 2009; Baratta 2014, 2017a, 2017b) have all claimed that the way an individual sounds (accent) reveals where s/he comes from and identifies him/her with a particular social group. Zuengler (1988: 34), for instance, claims that "pronunciation is a domain within which one's identity is expressed". Setter & Jenkins (2005: 5) add that

> [p]ronunciation seems to be particularly bound up with identity. Our accents are an expression of who we are or aspire to be, of how we want to be seen by others, of the social communities with which we identify or seek membership, and of whom we admire or ostracise.

In the same line of thought, Mugglestone (2003) cited in Baratta (2014: 43) opines that accent acts "as a marker of group membership and as a signal of solidarity", and that "each utterance…becomes an act of identity" (Baratta, op. cit.: 57).

Identity, however, is a flexible construct, as people can change their identity depending on the context of communication and their interlocutors. For instance, one individual can assume four different identities every day: son, teacher, husband and father, and each of these identities may cause considerable modifications of language use. In the same way, many NNSs of English may seek to modify their accents for different reasons. Baratta (2016), for instance, shows that people modify their accents to be perceived as educated or intelligent, to fit in a particular social group, to be understood better, and to avoid prejudice against their natural accents. From that perspective, Moyer (2013: 11) defines accent as a "set of dynamic segmental and suprasegmental habits that convey linguistic meaning along with social and **situational** affiliation" (my emphasis). Then, accent modification largely occurs in specific contexts such as the job place, job interviews, academic debates and interactions with people in authority (Baratta, ibid).

Remarkably, accent modification is most often unidirectional, in the sense that those who modify or have to modify their accents are either working class people or NNSs. The problem here is that modification that is imposed on an individual by certain circumstances has a considerable impact on that person's identity. Baratta (2017a, 2017b) finds that negative feelings associated with accent modification include anger, annoyance, frustration, self-betrayal, feelings of being fake and selling out. These negative feelings stem from the fact that modifying one's accent for some people, including English teachers, means negating oneself or rejecting part of one's identity. That point of view is reiterated by Walker (2011: 13) who holds that "whatever accent we have, native speaker or non-native speaker, standard or regional, it is part of our identity, and for some people losing their accent is the same as losing part of their identity". Before him, Porter & Garvin (1989) cited in Dalton & Seidlhofer (1994: 8) stated that:

> A person's pronunciation is one expression of that person's self-image. To seek to change someone's pronunciation—whether of the L1 or of an L2—is to tamper with their self-image, and is thus unethical—morally wrong.

Then, while accent modification can result in benefits such as better perception, passing a job interview or sounding educated, it inevitably leads to a denial of self, which may result in very negative feelings and attitudes towards the target prestigious accent.

Sometimes, hypercorrection, an extreme type of accent modification, is perceived negatively by other language users in the same speech community. Mbangwana (1987) has shown, for instance, that Cameroonian English language speakers tend to ridicule their interlocutors who modify their accent to sound British or American. In the same way, NNSs who genuinely sound native may not be viewed positively by other English language users in the same speech community. Passe (1947) quoted in Kachru (2006: 451) illustrated this many decades ago with examples from the Sri Lankan context as shown in the quote below:

> It is worth noting, too, that Ceylonese [Sri Lankans] who speak 'Standard English' are generally unpopular. There are several reasons for this: those who now speak Standard English either belong to a favoured social class, with long purses which can take them to English public schools and universities, and so are disliked too much to be imitated, or have rather painfully acquired this kind of speech for social reasons and so are regarded as the apes of their betters; they are singular in speaking English as the majority of their countrymen cannot or will not speak it…Standard English has thus rather unpleasant associations when it is spoken by Ceylonese [Sri Lankans].

- **Listener's responsibility**

It is unfair to blame NNSs only for communication breakdowns with their NS counterparts. Communication is a two-way process, so all interlocutors should contribute for its success. In a utopian world, this means that the listener or NS should be aware of the potential difficulties that his interlocutor could face during the interaction. Pronunciation pedagogy can certainly help if intelligibility is its main priority. Also, language learners, both NSs and NNSs, need to be exposed to different accents. These recommendations derive from studies such as McGarr (1981, 1983) cited in Kennedy & Trofimovich (2008), Gass & Varonis (1984) and Winke & Gass (2012) which all showed that familiarity with non-native speech improved comprehension. Also, Kennedy & Trofimovich (ibid) demonstrated that listeners with more experience (more exposure to non-native speech) understood more non-native accents than inexperienced listeners.

2.2.2 Attitudes

Attitude is not an easy word to define. This is because there exist two views or theoretical approaches to the concept: a mentalist view and a behaviourist view. The mentalist view sees attitude as a state of mind that can trigger certain patterns of behaviour.

Here, attitude is defined as "a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a direct or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related" (Allport 1935 as cited in Münstermann & van Hout 1988: 174-175), or as "an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person's response" (Fasold 1987: 147). Mentalists including Gardner (1985), McGroarty (1996) and Garrett (2010b) view attitude as consisting of three components: cognitive, affective and conative. The cognitive component refers to knowledge or beliefs; affective concerns feelings or emotional reactions, while the conative component refers to action or behaviour associated with the object of the attitude. Garrett (op. cit.: 23) describes the connection between the three components as follows:

> In terms of language, then, if we were considering a student's attitude towards Spanish as a foreign language, we could talk about a cognitive component (she believes that learning Spanish will give her a deeper understanding of Spanish culture), an affective component (she is enthusiastic about being able to read literature written in Spanish), and a behavioural component (she is saving money to enrol on a Spanish course).

Meanwhile, the behaviourist view sees attitude as a reaction or response to a social phenomenon, such as language or culture. Then, there are language attitudes, which may be positive or negative, depending on the individual's personal experience with a particular language or group of languages. The difference between the two approaches is that while mentalists view attitudes as comprising sub-parts, behaviourists consider them as single units. The similarity, however, is that in both approaches, attitudes are directed to a psychological object which could be a language, a dialect, an accent, etc.

Language attitudes, the concern of this work, refer to "the feelings people have about their own language or the languages of others" (Crystal 1997: 215). As language is a complex phenomenon involving several components, language attitudes are complex too, as "[p]eople hold attitudes to language at all its levels: for example, spelling and punctuation, words, grammar, accent and pronunciation, dialects and languages" (Garret 2010b: 2), with accent and pronunciation as the most investigated features used by policy makers to take decisions related to language planning (Garret, op. cit.: 95).

Language attitudes, however, are not limited to language only. Fasold (1987: 148) further elaborates on the topic when he argues that

> (…) language attitudes are distinguished from other attitudes by the fact that they are precisely about language. Some language attitude studies are strictly limited to attitudes towards language itself… Most often, however, the definition of language attitude is broadened to include attitudes towards speakers of a particular language or dialect. An even further broadening of the definition allows all sorts of behaviour concerning language to be treated, including attitudes toward language maintenance and planning efforts.

Baker (1992: 29) cited in Haapea (1999) is of the same opinion, as he argues that language attitude is "an umbrella term" under which are subsumed several different types of attitudes including:

- attitudes to language variation, dialect and speech style
- attitudes to learning a new language
- attitudes to a specific minority language
- attitudes to language groups, communities and minorities
- attitudes to language lessons, etc.

Baker (op. cit.: 29-32) argues that language attitudes have two components: an instrumental component and an integrative component. An attitude is instrumental when it is self-oriented and governed by pragmatic, utilitarian motives. For instance, a French-speaking Cameroonian may learn English because s/he wants to study in an English-speaking country or get an international job. Meanwhile, an integrative attitude is socially oriented, and reflects the need for attachment to or affiliation with a particular speech community. Then, an English-speaking Cameroonian may learn AmE accent because he wants to live in the US and integrate into the society.

Baker (ibid) argues that a learner can have both instrumental and integrative attitudes when learning a language. However, his ideas were criticised on grounds that they fail to provide a variety of instruments to measure both components of attitudes.

Language attitudes can be assessed in three ways: content analysis of social treatment, direct measurement and indirect measurement (Ryan et al. 1982; Baker 1992 cited in Haapea 1999). Content analysis of social treatment is evident in how language varieties are treated

publicly, i.e. in official language policies and usage in the administration, media, educational system, etc. The analysis is not based on information provided by respondents via questionnaires or interviews, but on techniques such as observation and content analysis. Evidently, this technique has drawbacks, as it cannot be used to investigate all types of attitudes to language variation, especially those related to accent.

Direct measurement of language attitudes involves the asking of direct questions to respondents through questionnaires and interviews. Issues such as accent preference, attitudes towards certain groups of speakers, reasons for preferring a particular variety of a language, or learning a particular language are generally investigated through direct methods. A major drawback of direct measurement is that participants may say what they believe the researcher wants to hear or know instead of their genuine opinion on the subject matter.

Unlike direct measurement which generally reveals the intentions of the researcher, indirect measurement of language attitudes involves "a certain amount of disguise of the intentions of the experimenter" (Haapea 1999: 20). Indirect methods include analysis of speech samples, sentence completion tests, participant observation, the matched-guise technique, etc.

This work investigates, among other things, Cameroonian English language users' attitudes towards the English accent of educated Cameroonians. Direct methods are used for the investigation, and they are discussed in detail in Chapter 3. Evidently, the attitude survey in this work is not limited to accent features but also includes important attitudinal aspects such as policy, pedagogical practices and planning.

2.2.3 Introducing educational innovations

This work is concerned with initiating or introducing an innovation in ELT in Cameroon, viz. the adoption of CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. The term "innovation" is used here to mean "planned and positive change", or "novelty" aimed at improving the outcomes of instruction. Fullan (2001: 39) identifies three dimensions of educational innovation at the classroom level: (i) the possible use of new or revised materials such as curriculum materials, (ii) the possible use of new teaching approaches (including new teaching strategies or activities) and (iii) the possible alteration of beliefs (pedagogical assumptions and theories underlying new policies and programs). He adds that "innovations that do not include changes in these dimensions are probably not significant

changes at all" (Fullan op. cit.: 40). As far as this thesis is concerned, the adoption of CamE accent would certainly translate into the revision of English language curricula and didactic materials, the use of new teaching methods that take into account accent variation, and a change in perception and beliefs regarding CamE accent. In other words, the changes implied by the adoption of CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon are quite significant.

2.2.3.1 Strategies for introducing educational innovations

Before making an effective innovation such as using CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English, it is important to assuage certain concerns at the initiation stage. These include finding out about

> (…) the origin and quality of the innovation, who has access to information, whether there is advocacy from central administration, whether there is teacher advocacy, the role of external change agents, the existence and nature of funding, and whether the orientation of the intended users of the innovation is 'problem-solving' or 'bureaucratic' (Wall 1996: 339).

In that line of thought, Markee (2001: 123) identifies three strategies for introducing educational innovations: these include power-coercive, empirical-rational and normative re-educative strategies. The power-coercive strategy is a top-down approach wherein government officials impose change by using legislation and sanctions to force stakeholders to accept the innovation by acting in certain ways. The majority of educational reforms in Cameroon and other postcolonial countries have initiated reforms following this model. By deduction, SBE accent was adopted as the model for the classroom through the same process. The empirical-rational strategy is another top-down approach wherein those behind the innovation use reason and evidence in order to persuade teachers about the need for change. Unlike the above top-down strategies, the normative and re-educative strategy is a bottom up approach in which teachers initiate and collaborate with decision-makers to solve problems related to implementing an innovation. Today, however, educational change may be initiated via the above-mentioned strategies. For instance, the Competency-Based Approach has been introduced through power-coercive and empirical rational strategies. Among the three strategies, it is obvious that the normative and re-educative model is more likely to make

change more effective since it is intended to solve a specific problem affecting a community of practice.

2.2.3.2 Factors affecting the implementation of educational innovations

The implementation of educational innovations can be positively and negatively influenced by the following factors: innovation characteristics, innovation context and the teacher factor.

- **Innovation characteristics**

Innovation characteristics refer to both the design features of change and how these features can positively and negatively affect the adoption of the innovation. Stoller (2009) identifies six fundamental parameters in the adoption of innovations:

- Compatibility: how compatible is the innovation with current practice?

- Complexity: is the innovation too simple or too complex for teachers to understand and use?

- Explicitness: are the underlying principles and procedures of the innovation clear to its adopters?

- Flexibility: is the innovation flexible enough to accommodate variation during implementation?

- Originality: is the innovation so novel that adopters (teachers) cannot understand it?

- Visibility: are the results of the innovation visible to others?

The importance of these parameters cannot be over-emphasized; innovations should be easy to understand and adapt from previous practices, and their outcomes should be better than those of previous practices. Educational innovations that are totally alien to teachers' beliefs and practices are not likely to succeed. Then, from the above, the teaching of SBE accent features in the Cameroonian context has failed to bear fruit primarily because its results are not visible and because this accent is certainly too complex for teachers to use among other things.

- **Innovation context**

The Cameroonian English language teaching context is heavily influenced by the French-English official bilingualism policy, which is a relic of French and British colonization of Cameroon. In fact, from 1919 to Independence in 1960, France administered Eastern Cameroon, whereas Britain administered Western Cameroon. The main consequence of this historic act is that there are two sub-systems of education in Cameroon: the Anglophone sub-system where English is taught as a second language (ESL) and the Francophone sub-system, where English is taught as a foreign language (EFL). This means that English language teachers, student teachers and pedagogic inspectors of English/bilingualism are from both backgrounds. Apart from English, French, Camfranglais and Cameroon Pidgin English, there are also about 270 indigenous languages in the repertoire of Cameroonians. Not being aware of and ignoring those relevant contextual factors are detrimental to the success of new educational innovations, given that innovations need to be compatible with the existing norms. In this connection, Markee (1997: 84) argues that "the likelihood of an innovation to be adopted is always contingent on its appropriateness in a specific context of implementation". Then, it should not be ignored that imported teaching methodologies pose problems in non-Western contexts. Indeed, several studies (Tomlinson 1990; Shamim 1996; Holliday 1997; Li 1998 and Hu 2002, cited in Dogancay-Atkuna 2006) have widely documented the inadequacy of certain imported teaching methodologies with classroom culture, goals of language teaching and norms of classroom participation in several Asian contexts. This is certainly why Holliday (2001: 169) recommends that innovations "be sensitive to the cultural expectations of the recipients of the innovation, whether they be students or teachers encountering new teaching methodologies, or stakeholders in curriculum projects". In other words, the choice of a NS accent as the model for the Cameroonian classroom is certainly unrealistic because such a model does not suit the realities of the local context.

- **The teacher factor**

It cannot be over-emphasized that teachers play a crucial role in adopting or rejecting educational reforms. In fact, teachers' attitudes toward a reform have considerable effects on the successful or unsuccessful implementation of that reform. When teachers are motivated

and ready to accept changes in their beliefs, practices and interacting attitudes with their learners, the reform is likely to be successful. Meanwhile, when teachers do not understand a reform, are coerced to accept it, or do not get incentives to implement it in their classrooms, the said reform is doomed to failure. In this wise, Breen et al. (2001: 472) cited in Orafi (2008) remind us that "any innovation in classroom practice from the adoption of a new technique or textbook to the implementation of a new curriculum has to be accommodated within the teacher's own framework of teaching principles". Malderez & Wedell (2007: xiii) highlight the role of teacher training and development in educational innovations in the following terms: "the effective teaching of teachers is the key factor influencing the extent to which the effective implementation of new education policies and curriculum reforms takes place as intended". Finally, Carless (1999) cited in Orafi (2008: 23) warns about the negative consequences of the lack of teacher development in the face of innovation as follows:

> If teachers are not equipped to deal with the implications of a new approach, they are likely to revert to the security of their previous behavior and the desired change may not take place. Without sufficient retraining, even teachers initially enthusiastic about an innovation can become frustrated by the problems in innovation and eventually turn against it.

From the above, any educational innovation must be contextualized within a system or subsystem of education. That means the innovation should be adapted to the components of the education system, including teachers (teacher training and professional development), infrastructure and funding. This study, therefore, begins with the understanding that voices of ELT practitioners in favour of changing goals for English pronunciation teaching could persuade educational authorities in Cameroon to choose more realistic models for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. This is why this thesis investigates the attitudes of ELT practitioners towards adopting CamE accent as the model for the classroom in Cameroon, the challenges that such a project would face, as well as the prospects of adopting such a reform in ELT.

2.2.4 Review of previous studies on the intelligibility of CamE accent to speakers of other Englishes worldwide

It is important to review previous works on the intelligibility of CamE accent, the focus of this study, to speakers of other varieties of English worldwide because the attitudes of Cameroonians towards CamE accent are certainlyly related to their perception of the

intelligibility of CamE accent to speakers of both native and non-native English accents. In other words, the higher CamE speakers perceive the intelligibility of their accent towards NS Englishes (first) and other non-native Englishes, the more positive attitudes they will have towards CamE accent, and the more positive they will be for the adoption of CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. Four works are reviewed in this section.

First, this section begins with the only major work that investigated the intelligibility of CamE accent to NS accents. Indeed, Atechi (2006) investigated the intelligibility of CamE speakers to British and American speakers and vice-versa. The findings showed that CamE is slightly more intelligible to native English speakers (61.3%) than native English speech is to CamE speakers (56.3%). His study also revealed that CamE is slightly more intelligible to British speakers (62.9%) than to AmE speakers (59.7%). Finally, it was found that SBE is slightly more intelligible to CamE speakers (58.7%) than AmE is (53.9%). The same study equally analysed the factors that cause intelligibility breakdown when these English language users interact. Results showed that supra-segmental features were the major source of intelligibility failure between CamE speakers and speakers of native varieties of English.

The other three works reviewed in this section sought instead to find out about the degree of intelligibility of CamE accent to speakers of other non-native varieties of English., Safotso (2015), for instance, found that CamE and Indian English speakers have great difficulties to understand one another in free speech. His study investigated the mutual intelligibility of CamE and Indian English speakers. Participants were 04 Indian nuns who spoke at least 04 languages each, including English and French, and 08 English-speaking Cameroonian student teachers who all lived in Maroua, in the Far North region of Cameroon. Data was collected via recorded readings of words, phrases and sentences, free speech on specific topics and dictogloss based on speech samples from each group of informants. The findings revealed that apart from consonant clusters where the Indian and Cameroonian informants had a mutual intelligibility rate largely above 50%, their mutual intelligibility was low with regards to the pronunciation of -s, both as marker of the third person singular and the possessive case, and much lower in free conversation. Safotso's study shows that it will be wiser to assess the intelligibility of CamE accent to speakers of many other non-native varieties of English because after all, Cameroonians are going to have more opportunities to interact with speakers of non-native varieties of English than those of native varieties in the

future. The implication here is that further studies on intelligibility need to be carried out before the standardisation of CamE accent.

Ngwa (2020) studied the intelligibility of CamE speech to some Chinese speakers of English living in Cameroon. Participants were 03 English-speaking Cameroonians and 50 educated Chinese living in Cameroon's Centre and North West regions. Though Cameroonian participants were educated, they did not do English studies at university. Their role was to produce tape-recorded samples of targeted phonological variables in isolation and in connected speech. The Chinese participants had to listen to the samples and take a series of tests including word recognition (in isolation and in connected speech), stress and rhythm. The findings revealed that the mean percentage score on the intelligibility of isolated segmental features to Chinese participants was 49.66%. This percentage is even much lower (40.3%) for the intelligibility of segmental features in connected speech. However, it was found that Chinese participants had less difficulty with the suprasegmental features of CamE, as the mean percentage of intelligibility for both stress and rhythm was 53.4%. These findings are quite surprising, as it is known in studies on pronunciation teaching that suprasegmental features constitute the main barrier to intelligibility between speakers from different linguistic backgrounds.

Two Brazilian scholars carried out the last work to be reviewed here. In fact, Cruz & D'Ely (2015) investigated the intelligibility of CamE pronunciation to Brazilian speakers of English in a Brazilian context. The study involved one Cameroonian student (a lady from a French-speaking background) taking an undergraduate course in English and ten Brazilian students enrolled in the same undergraduate program. Data collection consisted in recording 11 speech samples of the Cameroonian student in natural conversations, and having Brazilian students listen to these samples in a laboratory and write down what they had heard. A total of 22 targeted phonological variables were used to investigate the intelligibility of the Cameroonian student. The findings indicate that Brazilian English speakers had more difficulty with the rendition of vowels by the Cameroonian student. Indeed, it was found that the vowels [ɜː] and [ʌ] pronounced in CamE as [ɔ], [ə] rendered as [e] and the diphthong [əʊ] pronounced as [o], all had 100% of incorrect transcriptions. They were followed by the consonant [ð] rendered as [d] with 50% incorrect transcriptions, the diphthong [eɪ] pronounced as [e] with 43%, stress placement 20% and the vowel [æ] pronounced as [a] by

the Cameroonian participant with 15% of incorrect transcriptions. The Brazilian participants mainly explained that their difficulties with CamE accent are largely due to their lack of familiarity with CamE accent.

From the above review, it appears that CamE speech tends to be more intelligible to native speakers of the Inner Circle than to speakers of non-native varities of the Outer circle and the Expanding Circle. This means that more work needs to be done to increase the intelligibility of CamE to other non-native Englishes.

2.2.5 Review of previous works on attitudes towards NNS teachers and non-native varieties of English in different sociolinguistic contexts worldwide

This section reviews works on the attitudes of stakeholders in the ESL industry in some NS settings towards varieties of English spoken worldwide. It also reviews studies on the attitudes of NNSs towards native and nativised varieties of English shall be reviewed.

- **Attitudes towards NNS teachers**

We begin this review with attitudes towards NNS teachers for one major reason: these teachers have always been considered as second class or inferior to their NS counterparts, and , for this reason, their English speech was equally largely rated as sub-standard. In this sub-section, two works are reviewed.

First, Moussu (2006) investigated the attitudes of the major stakeholders (students, NS teachers, NNS teachers and Intensive English programme administrators) in the ESL teaching industry in the USA towards NNS teachers. More specifically, the study focused on how variables such as students' first languages, gender, class subject, level and expected grade, as well as teachers' native background languages influenced students' responses. It also looked at native and non-native teachers' self-perceptions about their language proficiency and teaching skills and the experiences of Intensive English programme administrators with NS and NNS teachers. Data was collected via online questionnaires answered by 1040 ESL students, 78 NS teachers, 18 NNS teachers and 21 Intensive English programme administrators. The results revealed that, in general, students' attitudes were more positive towards NS teachers than NNS teachers even though NNS teachers had more positive attitudes towards NNS teachers than students taught by NS teachers only. Also, it

was found that teachers' background languages strongly influenced students' responses. Another interesting finding was that students' attitudes towards NS and NNS teachers improved significantly with time and exposure. The results obtained from teacher informants showed that NNS teachers lacked confidence in their language and teaching skills, but believed that their own English language learning experience could greatly benefit ESL students. Finally, Intensive English programme administrators equally acknowledged the strengths and weaknesses of NNS teachers, and emphasised the importance of training and teaching experience as major criteria for hiring ESL teachers.

The second study reviewed here was carried out by Ling & Braine (2007). They investigated the attitudes of university students in Hong Kong towards their NNS English teachers. Using a questionnaire, the researchers queried a total of 420 second and third-year undergraduate students from seven universities, and conducted semi-structured interviews with 10 students from three other universities located in Hong Kong. The findings showed that students had generally positive attitudes towards NNS teachers, and believed that these teachers could be as good as NS teachers. The main implication of these results was that the costly recruitment of NS teachers to teach Hong Kong and Chinese university students was not the best solution; instead, hiring qualified local teachers and recruiting NS teachers to bolster local teachers' English proficiency could be more effective and sustainable solutions to the ELT problems in the Hong Kong context.

The above studies indicate a positive perception of NNS teachers by students taught by these teachers, but an overall preference by participants for NS teachers over NNS teachers. Finally, teachers' level of confidence in their own language proficiency appears as an important indicator for policy making, as it is evident that a lack of confidence in their language skills implies lesser effectiveness if they are to work without recourse to NS "experts" to help them upgrade their skills.

- **Students' attitudes towards different English accents**

As this work partly investigates student teachers' attitudes towards CamE accent and other accents, it is necessary to find out how NNS students around the world perceive different English accents.

In the Indonesian context, Dharma & Rudianto (2013) investigated EFL students' attitudes towards five English accents: British English, American English, Malaysian English, Indian English and Japanese English. They administered a questionnaire to 100 university students and made them fill it out while listening to audio recordings of a story in English read five times by 5 different persons, among whom natives from Britain, the USA, Malaysia, India and Japan. The informants were not told the origins of the readers whose accents they were rating so as to prevent bias based on readers' origins. The findings showed that informants expressed positive attitudes towards native (AmE and SBE) accents, while they displayed negative attitudes towards non-native (Malaysian, Japanese and Indian) accents. Though the informants preferred NS accents, they believed that intelligibility was the most important communication factor, and expressed positive opinions and feelings towards their own accent.

Jindapitak & Teo (2013) explored English students' preferences for English accents in a Thai university campus and their attitudes towards the importance of understanding varieties of English. Their study utilised a questionnaire which 52 English-major students filled in. The findings revealed that American English (28.85%) and British English (21.15%) were the most preferred English accents, followed by Thai English (09.62%), Chinese and Australian Englishes (each slightly under 08%), Canadian English (below 6%), and Russian, Japanese, Malaysian and Singaporean each below 4%. The informants also preferred NS models (63.46%) over NNS models (34.62%) mostly because of the prestige associated with these varieties. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of respondents (63.46%) either agreed or strongly agreed that it is important to understand other varieties of English.

Fang (2016) investigated students' attitudes towards their own English accents and the accents of other varieties of English in a Chinese university where the majority of English language teachers came from several different countries and spoke with different accents. Using a mixed-methods research design consisting of questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, the author collected 309 valid questionnaires and conducted interviews in Chinese Mandarin with 09 students randomly selected. The findings showed that slightly more than half of participants (162) believed that there was no better accent, as accents simply indicate people's background languages and cultures. Nevertheless, among the 147 respondents who expressed their preferences, the overwhelming majority preferred either US accents (97) or

UK accents (78) to China English accents (3), Canadian English accent (1) or other accents (13). When asked about the perception of their own accent, only 53(17.1%) respondents claimed they were satisfied with their own accent, while 220 (71.2%) expressed dissatisfaction with their English accent. The study also revealed that the overwhelming majority of respondents (79.3%) aspired to sound like a traditional NS, while 10.7% claimed that they would be happy to keep their accent and 0.3% said they did not care about their pronunciation.

In the Malaysian context, Pilus (2013) explored the attitudes of Malaysian ESL students towards three English accents, namely British, American and Malaysian English. He used a questionnaire adapted from Jenkins (2007) that was answered by 34 secondary students, and which mainly studied attitudes towards the above-mentioned accents on four dimensions: correctness, acceptability for international communication, pleasantness and familiarity. The findings revealed that above 76% of informants considered their own pronunciation as British-like, about 9% as a combination of British and American English accent features, about 9% only as Malaysian English and 6% as American English. When asked about which variety they would choose as model for teaching and learning English pronunciation, 79% preferred the British accent, 18% preferred a mixture of British and American accents, 03% indicated their preference for American English accent, and none of the informants chose the Malaysian accent. The most frequent reasons put forward by the informants for choosing British English were that it was easy to learn, easy to speak and easy to understand. British English was highly rated as correct and acceptable while Malaysian English was highly rated as pleasant and familiar. He concluded that because of the fact that no standard Malaysian English model has been recognised yet, "choosing a local accent as model does not appear to be a viable option at the moment" (Pilus op. cit.: 151).

In the context of Finland, Koskela (2017) surveyed the attitudes of 358 English-major university students towards English. More specifically, the study aimed to find out which variety of English these students preferred to learn and the reasons for their preference. The findings revealed that the majority of informants preferred SBE for its 'cultured' features and perceived aesthetics, and because it was the current pedagogical model used in schools around the country. Also, while the results indicated the understanding by the majority of informants that fluency in spoken English was more important than native-like speech in

conversations between NNSs, the majority of students still wished they could acquire native speech at a personal level.

Finally, a study carried out by Brabcova & Skarnitzl (2018) investigated the attitudes of Czech EFL learners towards English accents and their use as pronunciation models. Participants were 145 learners of English aged 15 to 30 who majored in other disciplines than Engish. A questionnaire was used to collect data. The results showed that over 70% of respondents expressed a desire to acquire a native-like accent. Also, about half of the participants who expressed the wish to acquire a native-like accent favoured General British English over General American English and Celtic English for a variety of reasons including prestige, sophistication and elegance. About 90% of respondents believed that pronunciation instruction is important, and 73% disagreed with the statement that speaking English with a foreign accent is important to indicate that one is a non-native speaker. Also, the majority of respondents agreed that speakers should have the choice over the variety of English they want to have as model. Another important finding was that many participants preferred to be exposed to several different English accents, native and non-native.

The above studies indicate that students worldwide largely prefer NS accents (SBE and AmE) over NNS accents from their countries of origin and other countries. However, it was also evident that study participants valued the ability to understand other English accents.

- **Attitudes of NNS pre-service teachers towards English accents**

Pre-service teachers constitute a target group in this work, so it is necessary to find out how NNS student teachers' attitudes towards different English accents. Three works are reviewed here for that purpose.

First, Kaur & Raman (2014) examined how NNSs of English view non-native accents in relation to NS accents in terms of correctness, acceptability, pleasantness and familiarity. They equally used a questionnaire adopted by Jenkins (2007) which was answered by 36 pre-service teachers in a Malaysian public university. Unlike Pilus's study which found Malaysian English accent as pleasant and familiar, and a NS accent as correct and acceptable, the findings of this study revealed that NS accents (UK and US accents) were overwhelmingly perceived as correct, acceptable, pleasant and familiar, while non-native

accents (Indian English, China English, Brazilian English and Japanese English) were ranked last among the ten varieties under study. These results could be explained by the fact that the ELT field in Malaysia is entirely dependent on the norms and pedagogical materials from NS contexts, notably the US and the UK.

Second, Wong (2018) studied pre-service teachers' perception of English accents in teaching and learning. More specifically, the aim of the study was to find out whether pre-service EFL teachers in Hong Kong preferred a traditional native English accent to be the model for teaching and learning, which country's or countries' English accent(s) they preferred and whether those pre-service teachers could identify their preferred accent. Three instruments were used to collect data: a survey questionnaire, a listening task and focus group interviews. Twenty-one third year students including 15 females and 06 males were participants in the study. The findings revealed that participants preferred native English as the model for teaching and learning in Hong Kong. They provided several explanations to their responses. For instance, they preferred native English because it guaranteed "effective communication" and could lead to "career advancement". Also, participants held negative opinions and attitudes towards using the local English accent in the classroom. For example, they said Hong Kong English was confusing while the "right pronunciation" was "native English" or "Standard English". They equally said they would correct their students if they used the local accent in the classroom. Concerning the accent they preferred, pre-service teachers chose the UK accent as the teaching and learning model first because Hong Kong is a former British colony, and also because they perceived the British accent as "high class", "elegant", "professional" and "the best standard". Meanwhile, they considered AmE accent as "non-standard" and "low-class". About the last major research focus, the findings revealed that only 03 students were able to identify the UK accent in the listening task.

Third, Risan (2014) investigated prospective English teachers' attitudes towards non-native English accents in the Norwegian context. She used questionnaires filled in by 65 prospective teachers from three Norwegian universities and interviewed five prospective teachers. The findings showed that informants had confused attitudes towards their non-native accent. For instance, the majority of informants (about 62%) would prefer having an American accent, while close to 35% wanted to have a British accent and about 02% preferred to speak with a Norwegian accent. Yet, about 92% of the informants had a very

positive attitude towards their own English accent, as they said they were either very satisfied or satisfied with their English. Only 08% of respondents reported dissatisfaction with their own accents. Furthermore, 88% of the respondents claimed they wanted to sound more native-like when they speak English. There is another contradiction at this level since 90% of respondents reported that it is not important to maintain a Norwegian accent in English. When asked which accents they would recommend for teaching and learning English, the majority of respondents (70%) selected both British and American English accents, while only 14% suggested that Norwegian-accented English be used in the English classroom. About 74% said they would encourage their students to learn the British English accent while a little more than 60% expressed favourable opinions towards American English accent, and 17% of prospective teachers said they would encourage their students to learn Norwegian English accent. Also, about 76% of respondents claimed that a NS teacher was better or somewhat better than a Norwegian teacher of English, while 32% selected the "not at all" option. Finally, informants were asked to provide one-word descriptions of eight accents of English. The results are as follows:

American English: *rude, sloppy, dominant, loud, friendly, outgoing, relaxed, easy, cowboy,*

Indian English: *funny, exotic, difficult to understand*

Swedish English; *awkward, embarrassing, funny, childish, stereotyped*

French English: *horrible, poor, accent, very bad*

Chinese English: *misunderstandings, poor, difficult to understand*

Norwegian English: *funny, awkward, embarrassing, charming, underestimated, Jagland, underrated, understandable, melodious*

British English: *beautiful, comfortable, classy, posh, educated, polite, stuck-up* (Risan op. cit.: 25).

The findings of the above studies indicate that pre-service teachers had positive attitudes towards NS English accents and negative attitudes towards NNS accents.

- **Attitudes of NNS in-service teachers and students towards English accents**

In-service ESL teachers' attitudes towards English accents were equally reviewed alongside their students'. Below are two of these studies.

Yoo (2015) explored the attitudes of Korean English teachers and learners towards varieties of English. His study involved 64 secondary school English teachers and 103 twelfth-grade high school students. The participants were queried through questionnaires and audio stimuli of four varieties of English: American English, Indian English, Chinese English and Korean English accents. The findings revealed that both teachers and students preferred American English accent most, and Korean English accent least. Also, both groups of participants expressed the desire to change their pronunciation for a native-like model, and expected English teachers to have native-like pronunciation. Finally, though teachers wanted to acquire native-like pronunciation, they believed that there was no ideal pronunciation in English, and that all English language speakers, native and non-native, could claim ownership of the language.

Arrieta (2016) studied ESL teachers' and students' perceptions and attitudes in the USA towards WEs pronunciations both before and after watching a video on WEs accents. Data was collected online over a period of one month via surveys completed by 14 teachers and 06 students. The results indicate pre- and post-video watching that students believed non-native accented English speakers can succeed in a NS setting like the USA if they manage to make themselves understood by other speakers. Meanwhile, five students out of six indicated that they wanted to speak natively or found their accents much better than some of the WEs accents on the video. Students equally expressed higher interest in taking a course on WEs pronunciations after watching the video than before. As far as teachers were concerned, it was found that only one out of fourteen had an approximate idea about what WEs was all about. They all believed that WEs pronunciations in the video were related to poor phonetics and English phonology knowledge. Yet the majority recognised that exposing students to WEs accents was important, although this was not a priority. About 50% of teachers claimed that they had already incorporated WEs in their lessons to point out differences among accents, even though they did not believe that their students particularly needed to know about WEs accents.

- **Attitudes of non-native teachers towards the importance of having a native-like accent**

After reviewing NNS teachers' attitudes towards English accents, it is important to review at least one study on the importance of having a native-like accent for these teachers. Arboleda & Garces (2012) studied the degree of significance of having a foreign accent to non-native EFL teachers and learners at the university level in Columbia. Data was collected via a questionnaire answered by a total of 32 respondents, among which 08 Columbian teachers, 08 foreign teachers, 08 Columbian students and 08 foreign students. The findings showed that both teachers and students believed that accent was a very important factor in teaching a foreign language. Remarkably, 50 per cent of both teacher informants and student informants expressed preference for NS English teachers, while the other half believed that non-native speaker teachers are better placed to teach Columbian students. Neither the teachers nor the students considered native-like speech as the most important qualification to teach English. Also, the informants believed that native-like speech did not particularly affect learning in a positive manner.

- **Attitudes of educated speakers towards native and non-native English accents**

Educated speakers constitute a target group of informants in works on language attitudes since their attitudes towards varieties of a language are likely to influence policy decisions. A study by Chien (2014) examined the attitudes of Taiwanese people towards different varieties of English including Australian English, General American English, Indian English, Japanese English, Spanish English, Taiwanese English and Southern British English. The 317 participants in the study listened to speech recordings of the seven varieties of English listed above and had to rate them in descending order according to speaker status and solidarity. The status category consisted of the following sub categories: "confident", "intelligent", "educated" and "authoritative". Meanwhile, the solidarity category consisted of the two sub categories "friendly" and "lively". The findings revealed that the overwhelming majority of participants preferred NS varieties, notably General American English (the variety taught in schools across Taiwan), in terms of status and solidarity. Meanwhile, Taiwan English, the local variety, scored higher in the solidarity category than in the status category. These findings corroborate those of a previous study, notably Garrett et al. (2003) who found that

language users tend to prefer their own local variety on the solidarity dimension and native standard varieties associated with prestige on the status dimension.

From the above, the majority of works on NNSs' attitudes towards accents of English around the world reveals a preference for traditional native English accents over non-native English accents, even though considerable numbers of informants in these studies found their own accents as positive or acceptable. Another major finding in these studies is that intelligibility is an important aspect of communication.

2.2.6 Review of previous works on the attitudes of Cameroonians towards CamE accent

So far, there has been a paucity of research on attitudes in the field of English sociolinguistics in Cameroon. In fact, research in this domain has been limited to attitudes towards Cameroonians who modify their everyday accent to sound British (Mbangwana 1987), the attitudes of Cameroonians towards uneducated tribalised features of CamE (Ngefac 2008), the attitudes of Francophone learners towards English (Abongdia 2009), the attitudes of journalists, teachers and pedagogic inspectors of English towards CamE accent (Ngefac & Bami 2010), the attitudes of Cameroonians towards their second official language (Mbamulu 2012), and the attitudes of Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonians towards using CamE as the model for teaching and learning in Cameroon (Atechi & Angwah 2016).

Most of these studies (Mbangwana 1987; Ngefac 2008; Ngefac & Bami 2010; Atechi & Angwah 2016) have shown that Cameroonians hold positive attitudes towards CamE accent and do not necessarily admire their compatriots who neutralise their accent to sound like NSs. In relation to the second point mentioned above, Mbangwana (1987: 423), for instance, claimed that "Cameroonians who insist on sounding like Britons are sometimes ridiculed rather than admired".

Ngefac & Bami (2010) investigated the attitudes of educated Cameroonian workers (journalists, teachers and pedagogic inspectors) towards CamE accent. Sixty informants among which twenty from each of the three groups were queried through a questionnaire on four main topics: how they perceive their own accent vis à vis CamE accent, their attitudes towards other Cameroonians who insist on sounding like traditional NSs, their opinions on whether or not CamE should be promoted, and the model accent they prefer for the

classroom. The results indicate that 50% of teachers, 30% of pedagogic inspectors and 20% of journalists rated their own accent as similar to CamE accent. Interestingly, 30% of journalists claimed that their accent was very different from CamE, while no teacher and no pedagogic inspector did the same. On attitudes towards Cameroonians who insist on sounding like NSs, the majority of informants (80% of teachers, 85% of journalists and 85% of pedagogic inspectors) claimed that they were indifferent, while 10% of teachers, 15% of journalists and 15% of pedagogic inspectors said that they admired them. Also, the overwhelming majority of informants (100% of teachers, 80% of journalists and 95% of pedagogic inspectors) indicated that they were favourable to the promotion of CamE accent. Surprisingly, 70% of journalists, 30% of teachers and 80% of pedagogic inspectors claimed that they preferred British English as the model for teaching English language pronunciation in Cameroon. While 50% of teachers preferred CamE, only 05% of pedagogic inspectors and 15% of journalists did the same. The study concluded that Cameroonians hold overall positive attitudes towards CamE accent.

Atechi & Angwah (2016) investigated the attitudes of Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonians towards adopting CamE as a model for teaching and learning in Cameroon. Data was collected through a questionnaire administered to 80 post-graduate students, among which 40 Francophones and 40 Anglophones from the departments of English of the University of Yaounde 1 and the Higher Teacher Training College of the same university. The findings revealed that while Francophone informants had a positive attitude towards SBE (64.16%) and a very negative attitude towards CamE (78.22%), Anglophone informants had a very positive attitude towards CamE (86.42%) and a very negative attitude towards SBE (84.58%) as a model for teaching and learning in Cameroon. Francophone informants gave the following reasons for their negative attitude towards CamE: it contains many errors and cannot facilitate their economic development. Meanwhile, Anglophone informants preferred CamE because it contains elements of Cameroonian culture and because it is easy to understand. Finally, Francophone informants preferred SBE to CamE because it is widely accepted, codified and well documented. The article further recommends that CamE be promoted because its main speakers (Anglophones) hold positive attitudes towards it.

Atechi & Essomba (2016) studied the effect of background languages, formal instruction and motivation on the spoken English of Level 2 Bilingual Studies' students of the

University of Yaounde I. Data was collected through two tape-recorded tests and a questionnaire administered to 20 students among whom 10 English-French and 10 French-English bilinguals. The analysis of questionnaires revealed that none of the two groups used English only daily. Instead, the informants used English alongside French and other languages daily. Also, 09 out of the 10 French-English bilingual informants answered that having good English pronunciation was either important or very important against 06 English-French informants who did the same. In other words, the majority of informants believed that good English pronunciation was relevant and desirable. The analysis of the tape-recorded tests produced some interesting results. In fact, all informants systematically restructured the long monophthongs, central vowels, diphthongs and triphthongs. Also, it was found that the informants' background languages played an essential role in shaping their pronunciation of English words, while motivation and formal interaction were the main ingredients for success. Finally, the analysis revealed that no clear evidence could help determine whether age played a positive, negative or no role in L2 English phonological attainment.

Angwah (2019) investigated the correlation between the linguistic perceptions of Cameroonian ESL teachers and some phonological aspects of their English. The study involved 75 ESL teachers who were tasked to respond to questionnaires and participate in a reading test of 10 sentences containing targeted phonological variables (ʤ, ʧ, θ, ð, ə, ɛ, əʊ, əʊə, aʊə). Their renditions of the sentences were tape-recorded and transcribed later. They were then compared with the informants' responses to the questionnaire. The findings revealed a considerable gap between the phonological renditions of respondents and their linguistic perceptions. In fact, although 85.33% of teachers claimed that they spoke SBE and that 90.67% answered that the accent they use in the classroom is SBE, it was found that these informants spoke CamE instead, as 73.62% of their renditions of the investigated phonological variables were in CamE, against 10.51% for SBE and 15.85% consisted of hypercorrected forms.

The above studies show that the attitudes of Cameroonians towards CamE accent are positive, even though they desire to acquire SBE accent features. Also, it is evident from the studies reviewed above that Cameroonians generally consider good pronunciation important.

2.2.7 Review of previous works on teaching English pronunciation in different sociolinguistic contexts worldwide

This section reviews previous works both on teaching ESL pronunciation in native speaker contexts and teaching EFL pronunciation in many other contexts worldwide. First, works on teaching ESL pronunciation in native speaker contexts are discussed.

The first study is Macdonald (2002), who studied the beliefs of 08 ESL teachers about pronunciation teaching in Australia. These teachers, who had previously answered in a questionnaire that they were reluctant to teach pronunciation, were queried through interviews. The findings revealed a lack of motivation to teach pronunciation mainly due to the lack of knowledge and skills on teaching and testing that area of language. Also, it was found that teachers taught pronunciation occasionally, most often only when intelligibility was compromised, and were reluctant to monitor student speech. Finally, the informants indicated that compared to the other language skills and sub-skills, pronunciation was neglected as there was a lack of appropriate resources to teach it.

Foote, Holtby & Derwing (2010) surveyed pronunciation teaching in adult ESL programs in Canada. Their study focused essentially on three points: the pedagogical training of ESL teachers in pronunciation, how and how much pronunciation is taught, and teachers' beliefs and attitudes towards pronunciation instruction. An online survey consisting of 45 questions was successfully taken by 159 individuals, among whom 129 teachers, 13 program coordinators, 09 who were both teachers and coordinators and the rest who were classed in categories such as assessor or team lead. Concerning the first point, the findings revealed that 51% of respondents indicated that teachers could access university courses on the teaching of pronunciation, and that 50% of respondents answered that some of their teacher colleagues had received special training in pronunciation. Among other important results, 59% of teachers had received training in a TESL or general linguistics course, 52% had taken a phonetics or phonology course, and about 20% had taken a credit course with a specific focus on pronunciation instruction. About how and how much pronunciation was taught, 70% of respondents answered that they could integrate pronunciation into their English classes, with 86% of these respondents indicating that they were doing that regularly. Also, 73% of respondents said that they regularly provided corrective feedback. It was equally found that out of the 17.13 hours average that each teacher taught per week, less than one hour in

average was dedicated to teaching pronunciation. Only 52% of respondents reported that they used the pronunciation activities in their textbooks. When asked about the most effective pronunciation teaching strategies, respondents answered that using minimal pairs, repetition after the teacher, using mirrors, having students record their own speech and listen to it, and using diagrams of the mouth to show where the sound is pronounced were the most preferred options. About beliefs and attitudes to pronunciation teaching, the findings revealed that only 58% of teachers reported that they could teach the sound segments of English well, 56% agreed that they were confident in their abilities to teach prosodic features of English, and up to 75% of teachers wished they had more training in teaching pronunciation. Nevertheless, the respondents agreed that pronunciation teaching was important in general for ESL students at all levels; in fact, 83% agreed that it was important for beginners while 91% found it important for intermediate beginners, and 86% for advanced learners.

The two studies on ESL pronunciation teaching in NS contexts reviewed above tend to reveal what we already know: English pronunciation is hardly taught and teachers do not feel confident in their abilities to teach that language skill. Below are reviewed some works on pronunciation teaching in three different EFL contexts.

In Greece, Sifakis & Sougari (2005) explored the beliefs of English teachers on topics such as accents, teaching practices and the ownership of English in relation to the connection between English pronunciation instruction and EIL. Data was collected via questionnaires that were filled in by 421 informants among whom primary, lower secondary and upper secondary school teachers. The findings indicated that the vast majority of teachers, especially those working in primary schools, believed that it is important to follow NS models. However, some upper secondary school teachers answered that intelligibility was a more appropriate teaching goal than nativeness. Moreover, it was found that the informants' teaching practices revealed a NS-oriented approach, given that these teachers often invited traditional NSs in their classrooms to interact with their students, and often involved learners in role play activities in which one of the participants would play a NS role. Finally, more than 70% of the informants answered that they preferred the accent of NSs and speakers with a good proficiency than their own English accent. The authors concluded that the beliefs and practices of English teachers in Greece are essentially based on external NS norms.

Szyszka (2016) investigated English pronunciation teaching at the primary, lower secondary and higher secondary levels in Poland. Data was collected through questionnaires administered to 64 teachers, including 20 primary school teachers, 21 lower secondary school teachers and 23 higher secondary school teachers. The findings revealed that teachers at different educational levels paid attention to their English pronunciation and how their students pronounce English words, and answered that it was important to teach pronunciation at school. When asked about their most and least preferred pronunciation teaching techniques out of a list of 16, primary school teachers answered that acting out dialogues (Mean = 4.32), repetitions after the teacher (Mean = 4.26) and repetitions after recordings (Mean = 4.26) were most frequently used. Meanwhile their least preferred teaching techniques included voice recordings (Mean = 1.53), checking pronunciation in a dictionary (Mean = 2.53) and guessing stress placement in words (Mean = 2.67). However, lower secondary school teachers showed a strong preference for one technique only, namely reading aloud (Mean = 4.14), and moderate interest in the other teaching techniques. Nevertheless, these teachers answered that they rarely used techniques such as voiced recording (Mean = 1.48), checking pronunciation in a dictionary (Mean = 2.24), and recognising phonemic symbols (Mean = 2.33). The findings equally revealed that teachers of the higher secondary level used repetition after recordings more often (Mean = 4.14) and many other teaching techniques moderately. However, they used voice recording (Mean = 1.26), rhyming (Mean = 2.17) and recognising phonemic symbols (Mean = 2.35) less frequently. Then apart from repetitions and reading aloud, the frequency of the other teaching techniques was relatively low, which was an indication that pronunciation was rarely taught at the different educational levels. Finally, because only a few techniques (including repetition after the teacher, repetition after recordings and reading aloud) reported high frequencies of use among teachers, the researcher concluded that teachers' declarations and attitudes towards English pronunciation are not enough to fully implement pronunciation teaching in classrooms, and that teachers needed additional motivation to teach pronunciation.

In the Indonesian EFL context, Moedjito (2016) examined the perceptions of Indonesian school teachers and university students towards the teaching of English pronunciation. Data was collected through questionnaires distributed to 110 school teachers

and 230 university students. It was found that 92% of students and 90% of teachers considered that English pronunciation was difficult. The main arguments chosen by both teacher and student respondents to explain the difficulty of English pronunciation include the facts that teachers are reluctant to teach pronunciation, that some English sounds do not exist in the students' L1, and that the same sounds have different distributions. When asked about their priorities for English pronunciation teaching, students answered that their top priority is vowels, followed by consonants, enunciation and word stress. Meanwhile, teachers rated consonants as first, followed by vowels, enunciation and sentence stress. Finally, the respondents were asked about their preferred techniques for teaching English pronunciation. Students preferred *teacher explanation in L1* first, followed by *teacher demonstration*, *minimal pairs* and *communicative practice*. Similarly, teachers prioritised *teacher demonstration*, *teacher explanation in L1*, *minimal pairs* and *communicative practice*.

The three studies on English pronunciation teaching in EFL contexts reviewed above indicate that English pronunciation is taught in these contexts from the perspective of a NS model, and that most teaching practices have a NS orientation. This is not surprising, as Greece, Poland and Indonesia, the EFL contexts highlighted in the studies discussed above are all countries of the Expanding Circle, which remains largely dependent on NS norms.

2.2.8 Review of previous works on teaching English pronunciation in Cameroon

Studies on pronunciation teaching in the Cameroonian English classroom are quite scarce. Nevertheless, three studies carried out in recent years are reviewed here.

Safotso (2016) investigated the weaknesses of the English for Academic Purposes (EAP) course, also known as bilingual training for Francophone students, concerning pronunciation teaching in some Cameroonian universities including Dschang, Yaounde I, Douala and Maroua. He argued, using evidence from course descriptions offered by the institutions listed above, that little or no importance was given to this important language skill. In fact, when pronunciation was not completely left out, it was barely mentioned in these course descriptions. Also, the EAP course was most often taught by part-time secondary school teachers and doctorate students who may not have mastered the required skills to teach that course. Another shortcoming was that the programmes of some of these institutions recommended drilling students on consonants, vowels and stress placement in 20

or 24 hours only per year, which is clearly insufficient for improving learners' English. The author equally made some proposals to improve on the teaching of this course. These include an emphasis on teaching only the consonant and vowel sounds that students may have difficulty to pronounce and correct stress placement. The author acknowledged, nevertheless, that teaching stress may be difficult to teachers, and advised that

> […] since the majority of those teachers have some notions of English phonetics/phonology, […] they can check the pronunciation of some specialised vocabulary of their lessons from dictionary. It is true that they will teach something that does not reflect their own accent, but they can teach it in a contrastive way, i.e. telling their learners how the various items are pronounced in Cameroon English, RP (Received Pronunciation) or General American (Safotso 2016: 179).

The above citation is important to this study as it recommends teaching CamE pronunciation alongside SBE and AmE features. It is our hope that an increasing number of teachers accept this proposal as a reflection of the presence of English multidialectalism in the Cameroonian context.

Nforbi & Siewoue (2018) investigated the pronunciation component in the competency-based EFL curriculum in Cameroon secondary education. Using content analysis, the authors studied the importance of pronunciation in the new curriculum and in two officially recommended textbooks, including Interactions in English and Majors in English, concerning the workload and the challenges on the field. Their findings indicate an emphasis on the supra-segmental features (stress, intonation, weak and short forms) of English even in lower classes, to the detriment of the sounds of English in both the curriculum and textbooks. They argued that teaching the sounds of English would develop learners' dictionary skills and improve their intelligibility, and, therefore, recommended that teachers place a little more emphasis on the segmental features of English when drawing their schemes of work. Finally, they recommended the use of appropriate audio-visual materials to enhance pronunciation instruction for improved learner outcomes.

Mbeudeu (2019) investigated English pronunciation teaching and the development of student teachers' skills in pronunciation teaching during their practicum at Government Bilingual General Teacher Training College Nlongkak-Yaounde. Data was collected through the observation of 04 pronunciation lessons taught by 03 trainee teachers, and document

analysis (log books, lesson plans and schemes of work) produced by 10 trainers. Qualitative content analysis was used to analyse the data. Concerning English pronunciation teaching at the target teacher training college, the findings revealed that there was no consistency in the frequency of lessons on English pronunciation pedagogy from one class and level of study to the next. Also, the study of the schemes of work found in the logbooks revealed scanty details on activities related to pronunciation pedagogy. The study of logbooks further indicated that current methods in pronunciation pedagogy did not inform the methods and techniques used by trainers to teach English pronunciation pedagogy. Log books of trainee teachers during the practicum equally showed that they had taught only a few pronunciation lessons. Also, the analysis of lesson plans revealed that trainee teachers had difficulty preparing lessons following the exigencies of the Competency-Based Approach. Finally, classroom observation indicated that trainee teachers lacked knowledge and skills to teach pronunciation effectively. He concluded that the training received by future teachers in pronunciation pedagogy is not adequate as it fails to equip these professionals with the skills they need to teach effectively.

The above studies systematically reveal that pronunciation is a neglected skill in the English language classroom in Cameroon. In fact, pronunciation is not only hardly taught in primary, secondary and tertiary classrooms, but it is also neglected in textbooks and course descriptions of English proficiency courses in university, and in English teacher training course programmes.

2.2.9 Review of previous works on educational change in Independent Cameroon

Existing literature on policy in education in Cameroon reveals both a lack of clear policies and failed policies in several domains including language, curriculum and production of didactic materials (Tchoungui 1982; Gwanfogbe 2002; Atechi 2008).

As far as language is concerned, the government of Cameroon adopted English-French bilingualism as the official language policy at Independence in order to avoid potential conflict that could arise from the choice of one indigenous language over others. However, Cameroonian linguists including Chumbow (1980), Tchoungui (1982) and Echu (2003) argue that the country does not have a well-defined language policy. Chumbow (1980: 297), for instance, believes there are issues regarding the conception and implementation of the English-French language policy when he opines that "there has been no clear knowledge of

the destination of English-French bilingualism in Cameroon and consequently no clear knowledge of the best way to get there". Tchoungui (op. cit.: 791) provides an even bitter critique when she writes:

> (…) after nearly 20 years of independence, bilingualism is extremely incoherent, fragmentary and in fundamental contradiction with other publicized aspects of educational policy and the general policy of the country. In short bilingualism is not operational.

The above critique is certainly built on the failure of the Cameroonian government to implement official bilingualism effectively, which is manifested by the dominance of French over English in the domains of administration, the media and education.

Kouega (2003b) sought to find out what measures were taken by the successive governments of Cameroon to implement official bilingualism, and why these measures failed to bear fruit. He discovered that policies regarding the promotion of English in Francophone schools in Cameroon—including making English a mandatory subject in secondary schools and at all public examinations, and introducing English into the curriculum of the last three grades of primary school— failed because of a variety of reasons including insufficient teachers and lack of didactic materials.

Echu (2003: 40) echoed the concerns of Tchoungui (ibid) and Chumbow (ibid), and opined that the two official languages, namely English and French, needed to be developed and standardized, at least at the lexical level as found in the quote below.

> In all, the implementation of the policy of official language bilingualism betrays total absence of language planning. Very little is done in the domain of corpus planning and almost nothing is done in the area of language policy evaluation. In spite of the awareness that both English and French are fast growing to cope with the realities of a multilingual landscape, no serious attempts are made to develop these languages. Work on lexical standardization of Cameroon English and Cameroon French is seriously lagging behind due to lack of institutional support. Such support is obviously necessary for the promotion of the two official languages.

Therefore, this thesis follows the concern Echu (ibid) raised on the need to address the nativization of English in the Cameroonian context at the policy and planning levels. Unlike Echu's suggestion to place focus at the lexical level, this work seeks to address the issue at

the level of pronunciation. Unfortunately, literature on policy design in the area of CamE accent is quasi inexistent.

Looking at curriculum, attempts at reforming the education system both at the primary and secondary levels were hardly successful. For instance, ruralisation, which was the main point of primary education reform after independence, proved to be a failure (Ndille 2015; Yaro 2019). In the same way, attempts at reforming and harmonizing the British and French sub-systems of education in Cameroon did not yield the expected results (Tosam 1988). The same can be said about Communicative Language Teaching, which was barely effective in French-medium schools (Essossomo 2013; Essomba 2014), and the Competency-Based Approach which has been giving teachers a hard time since its arrival (Njwe 2016; Belibi 2018).

As far as production of didactic materials is concerned, Atechi (2008) raised concerns about the ambivalence of policy makers in English language teaching in the Cameroonian context, which is manifested by their preference for textbooks and other learning and teaching materials produced in the UK, even though these documents hardly reflect local realities or may not be used effectively by teachers. He opined:

> The teaching material is in normal circumstances supposed to reflect the sociolinguistic and cultural realities of the environment. (…) It is worth noting that these textbooks do not give any concession to local forms that reflect the realities of the sociolinguistic and cultural identity of both the teacher and the learner of the language. It thus sounds most paradoxical and problematic to imagine that the teacher who is a typical speaker of CamE is obliged to teach these forms which he is not familiar with, let alone the learner who has very little exposure to the native forms. We all know that our teachers are all locally trained and that most of them are not exposed to these native forms… (Atechi 2008: 188).

For Kouega (2003b: 410), policies regarding the production of didactic materials in ELT in Cameroon are not clear, given that "the choice of a textbook does not seem to be motivated by its academic value, but by financial and other factors". This claim is based on two points. First, pedagogic inspectors had little or no incentive to promote textbooks produced by British citicizens, so they hardly cared whether teachers used these textbooks. Second, pedagogic inspectors are co-authors of textbooks today, and sanction over a fault they may have committed can result in the removal of their textbooks from the school programme, regardless of the quality of these materials when compared with others.

In brief, the above discussion shows that most attempts at reforming education in Cameroon were initiated by the government, with the results that we all know today. In other words, ruralisation in primary education, harmonisation of the Francophone and Anglophone sub-systems of education, Communicative Language Teaching in Francophone schools, English-French bilingualism and to some extent the Competency-Based Approach all failed to bear fruit, or have hardly been successful because these reforms all followed a centre-periphery model. In fact, teachers, the main implementors of these reforms, have been coerced to accept them, even when they did not understand them, or when these innovations did not consider the context's realities. Therefore, this study attempts to introduce an innovation in English pronunciation instruction through a problem-solving approach, as it seeks to find out whether ELT professionals are largely in favour of the reform.

2.3 Gaps and contribution

As a high school English teacher and researcher, it is normal for me to investigate issues that pose problems to learners and the everyday classroom practice of teachers. Without any doubt, pronunciation is one of those issues, as teachers either struggle with or avoid doing speech work effectively in the classroom, while learners are limited to rely only on insecure teachers – who lack confidence on their ability to teach English pronunciation— as models. The result of this situation is that Cameroonian English language users do not speak English like the British whose norms they claim to have as model for the classroom. The reality is that many teachers feel ill-prepared to teach English pronunciation.

In the case of this study, Cameroonian teachers are still required to use SBE accent features as the model for the English classroom even when they do not speak this accent. This goes against the current paradigm in L2 pronunciation instruction which emphasizes intelligibility or the ability to communicate rather than nativeness. Therefore, we hope that this work's findings will help shift the focus away from SBE accent, which has proven to be an unrealistic target for NNS learners, to a more realistic model (CamE accent) for teachers and learners of English in Cameroon.

As previous research works including Ngefac (2011) have concluded that it is a fallacy to promote SBE accent features in the Cameroonian context, this work investigates what major stakeholders in the ELT business in Cameroon, namely teachers, trainee teachers and

pedagogic inspectors of English think about CamE accent, and whether these stakeholders would like it or not to be adopted as the local model for teaching and learning English. This work equally examines the challenges and the prospects of adopting the local variety of English as model for the classroom. The results of this study have the potential to speed the codification and standardisation of CamE accent.

This topic is particularly worth investigating because as Ragutu (1991: 45) has argued,

> It is incumbent on the local phoneticians, phonologists, sociologists and teachers of English to provide the model of pronunciation and influence the type of English to be taught in schools, which, actually, should reflect the type that is used outside the classroom. They should write books and journals on the subject, develop audio-visual materials and thus pursue the notion further.

This work tries to do nothing but that. It attempts to contribute to research on the variety of English taught in schools in Cameroon, to determine whether the major stakeholders in the ELT business in the country can influence the future of that local variety of English.

Unlike Atechi & Angwah (2016) that mainly focused on attitudes towards CamE as a model for teaching and learning in Cameroon, this study focuses specifically on the attitudes, challenges and prospects of adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning in Cameroon. The difference here is at two levels: first, while Atechi & Angwah (ibid) studied CamE as a whole, this study investigates CamE accent only. Second, while Atechi & Angwah investigated whether Cameroonians hold positive attitudes towards CamE as one among two or many models for language teaching and learning in Cameroon, this study seeks to find out whether Cameroonians would like to have CamE accent only as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon.

Also, unlike Ngefac & Bami (2010) who investigated the attitudes of professional users of English (teachers, journalists and pedagogic inspectors of English) towards CamE accent, this study examines the attitudes of major stakeholders in the ELT business (field teachers, student teachers and pedagogic inspectors) towards adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. So, the findings of this study will be based on a larger population of ELT professionals, and a much higher number of informants.

This study is equally significant in that it is going to reveal to ELT professionals and administrators, policy makers, curriculum developers and course book designers what educated Cameroonians think of the variety of English they speak, as well as what future they reserve for that variety of English. While the existence of non-native varieties is no longer an issue of contention worldwide and in Cameroon in particular—which highlights a significant change in attitude towards those varieties— it is also a truism that too many professional English language users are still reluctant to choose an endonormative model for a variety of reasons that have been discussed above.

This work not only contributes to research on attitudes towards CamE in general and CamE accent in particular, but also addresses challenges to adopting the local accent, notably teachers' beliefs, and shortcomings in student teachers' training. It equally investigates challenges related to pedagogical materials.

Finally, this work studies the likelihood of adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. In other words, it seeks to find out about the future of CamE accent.

2.4 Conclusion

This study, just like other studies on non-native varieties of English, is conducted under the WEs framework, notably the Kachruvian paradigm which highlights variation in English language use, and more prominently, nativisation in Outer Circle and Expanding Circle contexts. Also, this paradigm asserts the need for English language pedagogy in NNS contexts to reflect this polymorphous nature of English by incorporating local norms and models. Another framework used in this study that often accounts for deviations from SBE is EA. This framework was used because it takes a different look at errors, which are viewed here as evidence that learning is taking place. Also, EA provides insights into the learning process, as errors have the potential to inform pedagogy for optimal learning outcomes. It was equally evident, however, that a thesis on non-native varieties of English would require the researcher to go beyong EA in order to dissipate the controversies surrounding some of the key concepts of this work, including non-native Englishes and IL, innovation, deviation, error and mistake. Finally, the intelligibility principle was discussed, and it was found that intelligibility is a more realistic, appropriate and attainable target for NNS learners compared

to nativeness, which is still widely in use in several non-native contexts including Cameroon. The second part of the chapter has discussed the terms accent and attitude. The literature has shown that accent reveals both ethnicity and social affiliation, and that language users are able to perceive even subtle differences among accents. Also, it was found that accent discrimination is common, as language users are often biased against the accents they are not familiar with, and the accents of people coming from the least glamorous and least developed countries. It was argued that the current problems in pronunciation instruction are the result of policy choices, notably the decision to impose NS models such as SBE or AmE as the targets for all learners. Finally, it was shown that accent can threaten NNSs' identities in that NNSs living in Inner Circle often have to modify their accents to get jobs or other social services that are often reserved for NSs. In the third part of the chapter, previous research works on attitudes towards non-native English accents worldwide and CamE accent were reviewed. In the Cameroonian context, it was found that though native-like proficiency in SBE remains the target for pronunciation instruction, the attitudes of Cameroonians towards CamE accent have largely improved over the last two decades, as considerable numbers of informants in the studies reviewed here indicated that they would prefer CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. Also, teachers' cognitions related to pronunciation instruction worldwide and in the Cameroonian context were discussed. It was found that although NNS teachers and student teachers view their English accents more positively today than they used to do in the past, they still prefer exocentric pedagogic models mainly because these accents are standardised and carry overt prestige. Finally, a few studies on educational reforms in the Cameroonian context were reviewed, and it was found that these reforms were hardly effective because they were initiated by the government and forced down on teachers.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology used to carry out this study. Specifically, it presents the context of the study, the sampling technique and the target population. The research tools used for data collection are also presented. The chapter ends with a discussion of the method used for analysing data.

3.1 Research context

The present study was carried out in Cameroon and involved informants from all regions of the country. The scale of representation of informants was motivated by the researcher's desire to collect data and obtain findings that were representative of the target populations of study in the country. Then the study involved not only field teachers from all regions of the country, but also student teachers from two State-owned teacher training colleges and NPIs of English. Data collection was done from 2015 to 2018. This study was carried out during a difficult period in the recent history of Cameroon marked by the security issues in the Far North and the socio-political crisis in the North West and South West regions. Those events considerably affected data collection, resulting in the researcher's decisions to cancel travel plans twice in the North West and once in the Far North, which subsequently delayed the completion of this work.

3.2 Sampling technique and target population

The target population of this study consisted of three groups of informants: certified English language and literature teachers, student teachers and NPIs of English. The sampling strategy used by the researcher in this study is called purposeful sampling strategy. According to Merriam (1998: 61),

> Purposeful sampling is based on the assumption that the researcher wants to discover, understand and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned. The logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for in-depth study.

It should be noted that two types of purposeful sampling were used in this study: maximum variation and snowball. In maximum variation sampling, the respondents are selected because they have particular features or characteristics in common, and represent a specific group of people based on a specific criterion, yet are diverse in the sense that they may have different experiences in different contexts (Merriam, 1998). The inclusion of diversity helps explore the impact of those characteristics on the results (Ritchie & Lewis 2003). Maximum variation sampling was the strategy used in this study to sample teacher and student teacher informants.

Snowball sampling, however, refers to the process whereby an informant can suggest potential informants to the researcher whom they know can provide rich, relevant and appropriate information (Merriam 1998). This study used this sampling strategy to identify potential informants for the interviews with NPIs.

The researcher's choice of informants was motivated by the fact that he wanted to conduct an in-depth study on the perception of, and attitudes towards CamE accent using a population of study consisting of Cameroonians whose careers and lives significantly impact and shape the English that is spoken and taught in Cameroon. Therefore, the choice of informants was done with the understanding that only certified classroom English teachers could provide relevant information in an adequate manner because they have experienced the difficulties related to teaching English pronunciation using SBE as the pedagogical model in a postcolonial multilingual context where spoken English significantly deviates from SBE accent features.

The researcher sampled pre-service teachers to determine whether future ELT professionals receive training in speaking and teaching SBE accent, and whether these informants feel confident about their readiness to use that accent effectively when they go to the field. The use of the purposeful sampling strategy equally allowed the researcher to select only those informants who could provide the richest, most relevant and meaningful data that would help answer the research questions more effectively. In fact, as a teacher trainer, the

researcher was aware that only Levels 2, 3 and 4 Bilingual Studies' students and Level 4 English Modern Letters students who were already familiar with the main issues of the study could participate effectively in the investigation.

NPIs of English were sampled because they constitute a college of experts who hold the reins of policy design, monitoring and evaluation on issues that relate to which variety of English should be taught in the country and which approach could be used to teach it effectively. Then, the researcher wanted to find out the opinions of this group of informants on whether SBE accent was used effectively by teachers in the classrooms, and whether CamE accent could become the pedagogical model in ELT in Cameroon. Because the researcher is well acquainted with one NPI, he requested her help to find informants for this study. That is how he was able to get the seven informants who accepted to participate in the study.

3.3 Sample population

The sample population of this study consisted of 257 ELT professionals divided as follows: 134 teachers of English language and literature, 116 student teachers of English and 07 NPIs of English. These informants were selected because they have "…particular features or characteristics that will make possible detailed exploration and understanding of the central themes and puzzles that the researcher wishes to study" (Ritchie & Lewis 2003: 78). In other words, the choice of informants was motivated by the desire of the researcher to have practitioners who could provide relevant information that make the overall findings reliable and valid. The study was limited to these three groups of ELT practitioners for two main reasons: familiarity with the context, and the crucial role of educators in policy reforms (see Chapter 2,   above). Therefore, it would be pointless to investigate what educated parents, journalists and other professional users of the English language think about models for teaching and learning the language in Cameroon if the perceptions, beliefs and practices related to English language teaching of the main stakeholders in ELT (teachers, trainee teachers and pedagogic inspectors) are not known or taken into consideration by education policy makers. After all, 60 years of power-coercive policy strategies in ELT has systematically led to the result that we all know today; Cameroonian teachers have systematically failed to transmit SBE accent features to their learners, and their frustrations

about this are still to be taken into considerations by policy makers. Why not, for once, listen to the voices of these stakeholders on this issue?

3.3.1 English language and literature teachers

The sample teacher population of this study involved 134 teachers of English and literature in English. The researcher made sure that all teacher informants who were given the questionnaires to fill out were certified, i.e. had obtained a teacher certificate from a State-owned secondary and high school teacher training college in Cameroon. This choice was motivated by a desire to increase the reliability of findings. The teacher population is distributed as follows:

Table 1: Distribution of teacher informants

Region	Number of teachers
Adamawa	14
Centre	38
East	04
Far North	04
Littoral	10
North	08
North West	24
South West	16
West	14
South	02
Total	134

As Table 1 above shows, 134 teachers from all 10 regions of Cameroon provided data for this study. Details about them are provided in the table below.

Table 2: Details on teacher informants

	Options	Numbers of teachers	Percentage
Gender	Male	53	39.55
	Female	81	60.45
	Total	134	100%
Age	20 – 30 years	35	26.12
	31 – 40 years	61	45.52
	41 – 50 years	23	17.16
	50 -60 years	15	11.20
	Total	134	100%
Teaching experience	1-5 years	55	41.05
	6-10 years	24	17.91
	11-15 years	26	19.40
	16+ years	29	21.64
	Total	134	100%
Sub-system in which they teach	Anglophone	70	52.24
	Francophone	58	43.28
	Both	06	04.48
	Total	134	100%

Table 2 above shows that 60.45% of the teachers sampled were female while 39.55% were male informants. Also, it can be deduced from the above table that about 59% of sampled teachers had a teaching experience of six years or more. The choice of experienced informants was motivated by the researcher's desire to have a population of study consisting of professionals who could add more value to the quality of findings of this study.

3.3.2 Student teachers

One hundred and sixteen student teachers were equally queried through questionnaires to provide data for this study. They came from the English Modern Letters (henceforth LMA) and Bilingual Studies (henceforth BIL) specialisations of the Higher Teacher Training Colleges (henceforth HTTC) of Yaounde and Maroua. Details about these informants are shown below.

Table 3: Details on student teacher informants

	BIL 2		BIL 3		BIL 4		LMA 4		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
HTTC Yaounde	06	22	/	/	10	25	02	29	84
	28		00		35		31		
HTTC Maroua	/	/	10	12	/	/	/	/	22
	00		22		00		00		
Total	**28**		**22**		**35**		**31**		**116**

The above table indicates that 84 questionnaires were collected from HTTC Yaounde, while 22 were collected from HTTC Maroua. Data in Yaounde was collected in May 2016 and April 2017. Meanwhile, the data from Maroua was collected in February and March 2018.

Levels 3 and 5 student teachers of HTTC Yaounde were not solicited because they had already answered the questionnaire during the previous academic year. Meanwhile, only 22 BIL3 student teachers of ENS Maroua could provide data for the study. This was because the researcher could not keep track of the questionnaires distributed to LMA students in that institution.

The researcher did not sample Level 1 BIL student teachers because he deemed that they could not answer the questionnaire adequately, as they had still not acquired the

necessary theoretical knowledge required to address some of the issues raised in the questionnaire. In the same line of thought, Level 4 LMA and BIL students were administered the questionnaire in the second semester only because the researcher wanted to make sure that they were familiar with some of the issues raised in courses such as *(Advanced) English Speech and Usage*, *Sociolinguistics* and *Varieties of English*. Level 2 BIL students were administered the questionnaire in the second semester for the same reasons. The researcher wanted to make sure that the collected data was valid and reliable.

3.3.3 National pedagogic inspectors of English

Seven NPIs of English based in Yaounde were equally interviewed in May 2018. All were experienced educators who had taught English for twenty or more years, and had an experience of at least five years as pedagogic inspector of English, first at the regional level, then at the national level. Pedagogic inspectors were queried because the researcher wanted to find out about their views on why SBE is the model promoted in the Cameroonian classroom even though Cameroonian teachers do not speak it themselves, which factors hinder the promotion of CamE accent, and what policy decisions could be taken regarding the future of CamE.

3.4 Data collection instruments

This work used the direct approach to language attitudes studies which consists of questionnaires and interviews, both of which involve "the asking of direct questions about language evaluation, preference, etc." (Garrett et al. 2003: 16). Then the instruments used to collect data for this study comprised a teacher questionnaire, a student teacher questionnaire and an interview guide with NPIs of English. These instruments are described below.

3.4.1 Questionnaires

Survey questionnaires, according to Richards & Lockhart (1994: 10), have widely been used in linguistic research to collect "information about effective dimensions of teaching and

learning, such as beliefs, attitudes, motivations and preferences". Dörnyei & Taguchi (2010) identify the following advantages of questionnaires:

- A great amount of data can be collected in a short period of time.

- Questionnaires can be used to investigate a variety of topics through a variety of informants.

- Questionnaires reduce the influence of the researcher's bias in interviews; this increases the reliability and consistency of results.

The questionnaires used in this study consist of three main types of questions according to Dörnyei (2007). Researchers use factual questions to find factual or background information about the respondents, for example, gender, age, work experience, type of school they work at, how long the informants have lived in an English-speaking environment, etc.

Behavioural questions are used to find out about the actions or habits of respondents in relation to the issue under investigation. For instance, the researcher may ask how often teachers teach pronunciation, whether they aim at a particular accent when speaking English, etc.

Attitudinal questions investigate what people think in relation to the subject matter of a study. They are concerned with the respondents' attitudes, opinions, beliefs, values and interests. For example, the researcher may ask questions about why the informants prefer certain varieties of English, whether they agree or disagree with a statement, or the extent to which something is important to them. The majority of questions in our questionnaires is of this type.

The teacher and student teacher questionnaires in this study had closed-ended and open-ended questions. The advantage of having closed-ended questions is that they facilitate data analysis and are ideal for calculating percentages. Meanwhile, open-ended questions allow respondents to express their opinions freely on the main issues raised in the questionnaire. Dörnyei (op. cit.: 107) illustrates the advantage of using this type of questions in the quote below:

> By permitting greater freedom of expression, open-format items can provide a far greater richness than fully quantitative data. The open responses can offer graphic examples, illustrative quotes, and can also lead us to identify issues not previously anticipated. Furthermore, we need open-ended items for the simple reason that we do not know the range of possible answers and therefore cannot provide pre-prepared response categories.

Despite the advantages listed in the above quote, open-ended questions equally have at least one major drawback. In fact, they may provide lengthy and varied responses, making data analysis more difficult and time-consuming.

3.4.1.1 Teacher questionnaire

Data from teachers was collected between August 2015 and February 2017. To be more specific, the bulk of questionnaires was collected at the 2015 Cameroon English Language and Literature Teachers' Association (CAMELTA) annual national congress in Bamenda. There, 147 questionnaires were shared out, and the researcher was able to collect 71 valid questionnaires by the last day of the congress. After that, the researcher equally shared out 103 questionnaires to other English language and literature teachers that he met at seminars, or who worked in schools in the Centre region. Through this process, 63 valid questionnaires were equally collected. So, the researcher distributed a total of 250 questionnaires, but 134 valid questionnaires were returned to him. The researcher considered a returned questionnaire valid when the informants were able to fill out at least two thirds (15) of the content questions.

The teacher questionnaire for this study consisted of 30 questions divided into four sections: (1) demographic information which comprised 07 questions, (2) attitudes towards English language pronunciation teaching and accent differences which involved 11 questions, (3) challenges to adopting CamE accent as the pedagogical model in Cameroon which consisted of 09 questions and (4) prospects of the adoption of CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon with 03 questions. So, there were 07 demographic information questions and 23 content-related questions. Visual details on the organisation of the teacher questionnaire are provided in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Details of the teacher questionnaire

Sections	Questionnaire items
Personal details/ Background	1 – 7
Attitudes towards CamE accent, English language pronunciation teaching in Cameroon and accent preferences	8 – 18
Challenges to adopting CamE accent as a pedagogical model in Cameroon	19 – 27
Prospects	28 – 30

From the table above, the teacher questionnaire comprised 07 factual questions, 20 attitudinal questions and 03 behavioural questions. Of the 23 content-related questions, there were 21 closed-ended questions among which 12 clarification questions[1] and 02 straightforward open-ended questions. The closed-ended questions of our study consisted of 08 Likert scale questions, 03 Yes/No questions, 02 "how important" questions and 08 general multiple choice questions. A copy of the teacher questionnaire is found in Appendix A.

3.4.1.2 Student teacher questionnaire

The researcher collected data from BIL and LMA student teachers via questionnaires distributed in the second semesters of the academic years 2015-2016 and 2016-2017 respectively at HTTC Yaounde, and between February and March 2018 at HTTC Maroua. The student teacher questionnaire, just like the teacher questionnaire, comprised sections: 1) personal details, 2) attitudes towards English language pronunciation teaching in Cameroon and accent preferences, 3) challenges to training future teachers in adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon, 4) prospects of adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. Section 1 addresses

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[1] Clarification questions are a type of open-ended questions. Examples include "Other/Other answer" in multiple choice questions and the "Explain, please" item that follows some questions.

questions 1 to 7, Section 2 covers questions 8 to 16, section 3 from 17 to 27 and section 4, questions 28 to 30. Just like the teacher questionnaire, the student teacher questionnaire had 30 questions. Details of the student teacher questionnaire are presented in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Details of the student teacher questionnaire

Sections	Questionnaire items
Personal details/ Background	1 – 7
Attitudes towards CamE accent, English language pronunciation teaching in Cameroon and accent preferences	8 – 16
Challenges to training future teachers in adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching English in Cameroon	17 – 27
Prospects	28 – 30

A more detailed study of the student teacher questionnaire shows, just like it was the case with the teacher questionnaire, that there are 07 factual questions, 20 attitudinal questions and 03 behavioural questions. Of the 23 content-related questions, 18 are closed-ended (including 08 clarification questions) and 05 are open-ended questions. Of the 18 closed-ended questions, 08 are Likert scale questions, 02 "how important" questions, 01 Yes/No, and 07 general multiple choice questions. A copy of the student teacher questionnaire is found in Appendix B.

3.4.2 Interview guide with NPIs

The semi-structured interview is one of the most common and effective methods for conducting qualitative research. According to Qu & Dumay (2011: 246),

the semi-structured interview involves prepared questioning guided by identified themes in a consistent and systematic manner interposed with probes designed to elicit more elaborate responses. Thus, the focus is on the

interview guide incorporating a series of broad themes to be covered during the interview to help direct the conversation toward the topics and issues about which the interviewers want to learn.

In other words, the researcher uses the semi-structured interview to gather information in a conversational manner. It is flexible because the interviewer can change the order of questions and rephrase them in order to disclose hidden information from the interviewee. Also, the informant can express his/her views on the topic freely without being constrained by a set of proposals or the quality of language use in a questionnaire for example.

For the purpose of this study, seven NPIs of English based in Yaounde were interviewed in October 2018. The interview guide with NPIs comprised 15 questions which investigated the three focal points of this study, namely attitudes towards CamE accent, challenges to the adoption of CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English, and the prospects of adopting an endonormative model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. Table 6 below provides details of the interview guide.

Table 6: Details of the interview guide with national pedagogic inspectors

Sections	Item(s) on the interview guide
Personal details	1
Attitudes towards CamE accent and English language pronunciation teaching in Cameroon	4 – 9
Challenges to adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching English in Cameroon	2 -3; 10-13
Prospects	14-15

A study of the interview guide shows that there are 14 content questions, among which six that investigate attitudes towards CamE accent and English pronunciation teaching, six other questions that investigate challenges to adopting CamE accent as the local model in ELT, and two questions for the prospects of adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching

and learning English in Cameroon. A copy of the interview guide with NPIs can be found in Appendix C.

3.5 Validation of research tools, administration of questionnaires and conducting interviews

Before collecting data, the researcher had to prepare his data collection tools and follow some other procedures. This section describes the data collection process.

First, the researcher prepared all three data collection instruments (teacher questionnaire, student teacher questionnaire, and interview guide with NPIs) and submitted them to his supervisors for validation. An important aspect in the preparation of these data collection tools was the framing of questions. In fact, after recommendations from the supervisors, the researcher carefully reviewed the wording of questionnaires and the interview guide to discard specialised linguistic terminology that could have made the comprehension of questions difficult. After amending the data collection tools as suggested by the supervisors, the researcher went to the field and started collecting data.

3.5.1 Administration of questionnaires

The researcher began collecting data in August 2015 at the CAMELTA annual national congress in Bamenda, in the North West Region of Cameroon. He was formally introduced to the audience by the conference organisers and was allowed to talk about his research and share questionnaires. After that, he distributed 147 questionnaires. At the end of the congress, the researcher collected 71 valid questionnaires. Then, in 2016 and 2017, the researcher continued data collection from teachers he met at other seminars or acquaintances who were English language and literature teachers. In this way, 63 valid questionnaires were also collected out of 103 questionnaires that were distributed. So in total, 250 questionnaires were shared out while 134 valid questionnaires were collected.

The second data collection tool, the student teacher questionnaire, was first shared with Level 1 BIL students of HTTC Yaounde in the second semester of the 2015 – 2016 academic year. Twenty-one questionnaires were collected four days later, among which only

four could be considered as valid. In fact, 15 respondents did not answer about half of the questions, and told the researcher that these questions were difficult for them to answer. The researcher then studied the students' responses in the collected questionnaires and decided to disqualify all Level 1 student teacher informants. In fact, their responses showed that they still lacked basic theoretical knowledge on issues such as CamE accent, World Englishes and pronunciation teaching.

A week later, 75 questionnaires were distributed to student teachers of HTTC Yaounde, among which 25 to BIL 2 students, 25 to LMA 4 students and 25 to BIL 4 students. Five days later, a total of 37 valid questionnaires were collected from the three groups of student teachers, out of the 75 distributed. One year later, in May 2017, the researcher distributed 70 questionnaires to BIL 2, BIL 4 and LMA 4 students and gathered 47 valid questionnaires.

In February and March 2018, the researcher equally distributed 40 questionnaires to BIL 3 and LMA 4 students of HTTC Maroua. There, 22 valid questionnaires were collected. In total, 185 questionnaires were shared out to student teachers, and 116 valid questionnaires were collected.

3.5.2 Conducting semi-structured interviews

The interviews with NPIs were conducted in the offices of the informants. Contacts were made with all seven informants at least one week before each interview took place. The researcher used an interview guide to conduct the interviews. The interviewer did not use any recording device during the interview. Instead, he used a pen and sheets of paper to take down notes.

The researcher followed the five-stage interview procedure outlined in Hermanns (2004). First, before starting the interview, the researcher briefed his informants about the goal of his study and the length of the exchange, and explained the interview procedure. Second, he tried to create a relaxing atmosphere by chatting with each interviewee about a seminar that had taken place a week before, or some difficulties he has encountered on the field. During this conversation before the interview, the researcher showed interest, attention and respect to the interviewees and what they said. Third, the researcher allowed the

informants to "open up" as he made the interview more conversational than formal and treated informants as "conversation partners" (Rubin & Rubin 2005: 14). To achieve this, he showed the informants before and during the interview that he was ready to listen and not interrupt them, because as Hermanns (op. cit.: 210) claims, "in the first few minutes the interviewer has to create a situation that is so relaxed and open that the people in it can lay bare, without fear, a great variety of aspects of their personality and their life-world". Throughout the interview, the researcher did not explain his own position on the topic, and tried to keep interest, even when the interviewee's ideas conflicted with his viewpoints.

Fourth, the researcher used language carefully so as to allow the conversation to develop naturally. On this, Qu & Dumay (2011: 247) hold that "conducting semi-structured interviews requires a great deal of care and planning before, during and after the interviews with regard to the ways questions are asked and interpreted". This is because "when it comes to assessing non-factual matters such as respondents' attitudes, beliefes and other personal or mental variables (…) minor differences in how a question is formulated and framed can often produce radically different levels of agreement or disagreement" (Dörnyei 2007: 103). Then the design of our interview guide followed the typology of questions developed by Kvale (1996: 133 – 135).

Table 7: Types of interview questions with examples

Types of questions	Purpose of questions	Some examples
1.Introducing questions	To kick start the conversation, establish rapport and move to the main interview.	- "do you remember an occasion when […]?" - "Can you tell me about […]?"
2. Follow-up questions	To focus questioning on what has just been said	- "What happened in the episode just mentioned?"
3. Probing questions	To make the informant provide more complete information	- "Could you say something more about that?"
4. Specifying questions	To get specific information	- "what did you think then?"

	from a general statement	
5. Direct questions	To elicit a direct response	- "Have you ever received money for good grades?"
6. Indirect questions	To ask projective questions	- "How do you believe other students regard the competition for grades?"
7. Structuring questions	To indicate that one part of the interview is finished and to start another	- "I would now like to introduce another topic […]"
8. Silence	To pause and allow the informant to reflect before answering a question	
9. Interpreting questions	To clarify and interpret an answer instead of asking a new question	- "You the mean that […]? - "Is it correct that you feel that […]?
10. Throw away questions	To relax or move away from the subject when the interviewee feels uncomfortable or indicates that the interviewer has touched a sensitive area.	- "Oh I forgot to ask you […]"

(Adapted from Kvale 1996)

Another important point is that the researcher's focus during the interview was on the real-life experiences of informants instead of theoretical knowledge or ideal-world situations. At the end of each interview, the interviewer once again explained the study's goal and asked each informant if s/he wanted to be cited anonymously or read the manuscript before the study's publication. After that, he thanked the informant and went away.

3.6 Difficulties encountered

The main difficulty faced by the researcher in the course of carrying out this study was that data collection in teacher training colleges was done at a delicate moment in the history of Cameroon, notably during the socio-political crisis in the North West and South West regions, and the peak of terrorist attacks in the Far North region of Cameroon. This eventually affected the work speed, as the researcher was forced to modify his plans. For instance, after making arrangements with a friend living in Bamenda in October 2016, the researcher could not finally travel there to collect data in early November due to the cancellation of classes at HTTC Bambili. Another attempt was made in March 2017, but it was unsuccessful once again. This time, the researcher was discouraged by security concerns and student teachers' timid return to school. That ultimately led to cancelling plans to collect data at HTTC Bambili.

Then the researcher decided to collect data at HTTC Maroua instead. There, he faced a major problem. In late October 2017, only Levels 1, 2 and 4 BIL and Level 4 LMA student teachers were available on campus to fill out the questionnaire, while BIL 3 and 5, and LMA 5 student teachers had gone to the field for the practicum. However, given that the researcher had sampled only undergraduate student teachers who had already completed at least three semesters and graduate student teachers who had completed at least one semester for this study, no group of student teachers on campus was, therefore, eligible to provide data for the study. The researcher then had to wait for the month of March 2018 to collect data from BIL 3 students. Because it was difficult to keep track of questionnaires distributed to LMA 5 student teachers, the researcher gave up attempts to collect those questionnaires.

Another main difficulty in the course of gathering data through questionnaires was the refusal of some teachers to provide data for the study. In fact, at the CAMELTA annual congress in 2015, dozens of teachers simply refused to participate in the study. Similarly, dozens of other teachers working in schools around Yaounde took the questionnaires, but never returned them, even after the researcher had met with them personally to collect the questionnaires. This explains the fact that out of 250 questionnaires distributed, only 134 valid questionnaires were returned to the researcher.

The researcher equally had difficulties conducting interviews, mostly because the informants were not often available at the time set for the meetings. Most often, the informants were busy when the researcher arrived, and some of the interviewees postponed our meeting six times between August and October 2018, even though they had proposed the date and time for the interview themselves. Also, none of the seven interviewees was comfortable with my proposal to have them recorded on tape. The consequence was that instead of lasting 20 to 25 minutes, each interview lasted 35 to 45 minutes because the researcher had to take down notes, and sometimes, ask the informants to take over what they had just said.

3.7 Data analysis methods

According to Merriam (1998: 178), data analysis refers to the "process of making sense and meaning from the data that constitute the study's finding". The data of this study was analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. While quantitative research methods investigate the "how many" aspect in a study, qualitative methods focus on finding out the "why" and "how", i.e. aspects that relate to the meaning, context and process (Cohen & Manion 1994). In this study, therefore, quantitative analysis was done on the responses to the closed-ended questions of the questionnaires. Meanwhile, qualitative analyses were done on the open-ended questions of the questionnaires and on the interview responses.

3.7.1 Quantitative analysis

Quantitative analysis involved the calculation of percentages using the formula below:

<u>AR</u>   X   100 = X%

PR

Where AR stands for Actual Respondents/Responses, PR for Potential Respondents/Responses, and X for any number inferior or equal to 100.

3.7.2 Qualitative analysis

Qualitative data analysis aims to make sense of the research participants' perception about a particular situation or phenomenon. Because open-ended questions and interview questions often generate elaborate and lengthy responses from informants, they necessitate a more comprehensive method of analysis. Then the first stage of qualitative analysis is data preparation. The researcher used a qualitative content analysis approach to transcribe the interview notes. This means that the focus during that stage was on the linguistic data provided by the informants only, and, therefore, extra-linguistic information such as slips of the tongue, pauses, laughter, hesitations or silences which was of little relevance to the analysis was simply discarded. This selective methodology is grounded in transcription theory which requires that only features of conversational behaviour that will be analysed should be transcribed so as to facilitate readability (O'Connell & Kowal 1995; Kowal & O'Connell 2004). Then the text was reconstructed in order to obtain readable interview transcripts. This means that the transcripts used in this work do not reflect natural speech from the informants. Instead, they consist of accurate speech excerpts produced by the interviewees and arranged by the researcher.

The researcher equally used a qualitative content analysis approach to examine the responses to the open-ended questions of the questionnaires. Here, these responses were read multiple times, and their wording was analysed. The aim here was first of all to record all the different responses provided by the informants, and secondly, to indicate the number of occurrences of each response in the data.

The data preparation stage aimed at coming up with texts that would be easier for interpretation and analysis. The interpretation of data in this study was essentially guided by the text and the researcher's prior theoretical knowledge on CamE accent on one hand, and the implications of using a localised and nativised English accent as pedagogical model on the other hand.

After data preparation, the researcher followed five other stages of the qualitative analysis method described by Schmidt (2004):

- Material-oriented formation of analytical categories: First, the researcher read each interview transcript multiple times in order to come up with the main topics or aspects worth of focus that could facilitate the interpretation of data. As Merriam (1998: 11) says, "the analysis usually results in the identification of recurring patterns that cut through the data or into the delineation of a process". Then, items from the transcribed texts were broken down and classified according to fixed categories. Categories here refer to sets of similar ideas, concepts and themes. Then each category is represented by a phrase describing its main idea. As Merriam (op. cit.: 183) explains, "categories should reflect the purpose of the research. In effect, categories are the answers to your research questions".

- Assembly of the analytical categories into a guide for coding: in this stage, the analytical categories drafted in the previous stage were named, explained, refined and put together to form a guide for coding. Coding here refers to "the *deciphering* and *interpretation* of data and includes the naming of concepts and also explaining and discussing them in more detail" (Böhm 2004: 270, original emphasis). So the initial tentative coding guide comprised 5 analytical categories including (a) perception of CamE accent, (b) pronunciation teaching (norms, beliefs, practices, strategies), (c) attitudes towards CamE accent, (d) attitudes towards adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English, (e) challenges to teaching SBE pronunciation features, and (f) prospects of adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English.

- Coding of the material: first, the researcher made sure that the analytical categories in the coding guide were clearly different from one another, with no possible overlap. Then all analytical categories in the coding guide were applied in succession to each transcribed text. The categories that repeatedly did not have enough materials in the transcripts were either revised or discarded. Then at the end of this coding process, the researcher came up with a coding guide for interviews with NPIs comprising the following three analytical categories: attitudes towards CamE accent, challenges to the adoption of CamE accent as the local model in ELT, and prospects for teaching CamE accent as the local model, representing the three main areas of focus of the study.

- Quantifying surveys of the material: In this stage, the researcher presented the results of the coding using frequencies and percentages. Then the results of each of the analytical categories were studied to find out if there were any trends in the responses provided by the informants. For example, the most commonly found answers in the data were singled out.

- Detailed case interpretations: This was the last stage. It involved higher levels of interpretation. Its goals, according to Schmidt (2004: 257), "might be: to discover new hypotheses, to test a hypothesis on a single case, to distinguish between conceptual terms, to arrive at new theoretical considerations or to revise existing theoretical frameworks". In order to ensure that the findings of the study were valid and reliable, the researcher worked closely with his supervisors throughout the interpretation of interview data. No theoretical framework was revised.

From the above, qualitative analysis focused on two types of data: nominal data on the one hand, and ordinal data on the other hand. As the name suggests, nominal data are used to label or categorise variables without providing any quantitative value. With this type of data, the analysis can only conclude that units belong to the same or different categories. Examples of questions which generate nominal data include which variety of English is used in the Cameroonian classroom, or which pronunciation teaching strategies are used by English language teachers. Meanwhile, ordinal data are used to study relationships between categories. In general, ordinal data are obtained from attitudinal questions, for example how important it is for a teacher informant to have a native-like English accent, or how much an informant agrees or disagrees with the claim that teaching CamE accent causes more harm than good to students. As the name indicates, ordinal data can be numbered and measured. This entails that the findings of our qualitative analysis will be illustrated in tables and charts.

3.8 Validity and reliability of research findings

According to Silverman (2004: 283), "validity and reliability are two important concepts to keep in mind when doing research, because in them the objectivity and credibility of research are at stake". In order to ensure that the findings of this study were valid and reliable, the researcher utilised two methods of data collection, namely questionnaires and

interviews, two methods of data analysis, viz quantitative and qualitative methods, and both inference and induction for interpretation.

Validity is concerned with the truth or falsity of research findings. In this study, the validity of research findings was ensured through the following strategies as proposed by McMillan & Schumacher (2001), and Ritchie & Lewis (2003):

- Field work: Data for this study was collected on the field in the staffrooms of many schools, the offices of NPIs and at ELT seminars.

- Constant comparative method: The researcher constantly compared the findings obtained with those of previous studies carried out both in Cameroon and beyond.

- Triangulation: sources in the literature review were used to discuss the findings of this study.

- Respondent language: The interview transcripts contain, in most cases, the exact words uttered by the respondents. Respondent language was used in the work to enhance the credibility of findings.

- Respondent review: Each informant was sent the transcript of the interview in order to review its accuracy.

Reliability, however, refers to the idea that under the same conditions, the main findings of a study could be repeated by other scholars. In other words, if the error margin between a particular study and previous or future studies is significant, then that study becomes less reliable and the scientific community is less likely to accept its findings. In order to ensure the validity of the findings of this study, the following strategies were used:

- A representative sample population: the researcher used 257 informants, among whom 134 field teachers, 116 student teachers and 07 NPIs of English.

- Triangulation: the research design followed that of other studies on language attitudes. Furthermore, two methods of data collection, namely questionnaires and interviews, were used.

- Explanation of procedures: the researcher explained how data was collected and analysed, and provided the transcripts of interviews in the appendices.

3.9 Ethical considerations

Ethical issues constitute today an important aspect of dissertation writing. They often relate to beliefs about what is good or bad, right or wrong, proper or improper in research (MacMillan & Schumacher 2001). In this study, the researcher followed ten points, which, according to Bryman & Bell (2007), should be taken into consideration as far as ethical issues in dissertation writing are concerned.

- Research participants should not be subjected to harm in any way: The informants of this study were neither coerced physically nor mentally to provide data. They were all volunteer participants in the study.

- Respect for the dignity of the participants was prioritised at all levels of the investigation. The respondents were not harassed to provide data, fill out the questionnaires or grant the interviews. They all did that at a time of their choosing. Also, the choice of NPIs not to be tape-recorded during the interviews was respected by the researcher.

- Full consent should be obtained from the participants before data collection begins: I received informed consent from each of the participants before sharing out the questionnaires and conducting interviews.

- The protection of the privacy of the participants must be ensured: Interview participants in this study were informed beforehand and were allowed to choose where and when they wanted the interviews to be conducted.

- Confidentiality of the research data must be ensured: the information obtained from participants remained confidential and will only appear anonymously in this work.

- Anonymity of the participants involved in the study must be ensured: the respondents of the questionnaire were given the choice to remain anonymous or not, and the researcher respected their decision in this work. Also, he made sure that all seven participants in the interviews remain anonymous. So, their names will not be revealed.

- Deception or exaggeration of any kind of the aims and objectives of the study must be avoided: The informants were systematically informed of the goals of the study and the researcher explained what he hoped to achieve before sharing out questionnaires and conducting the interviews. Also, he was honest with them about the study and did not mislead them.

- All affiliations, sources of funding and possible conflicts of interest must be declared: The researcher told his respondents about his job (high school teacher) and research as a Ph.D. student.

- All communications in relation to the study should be honest and transparent: The findings of this work will be presented with honesty and transparency.

- Misleading information and biased representation of data findings should be avoided: The researcher tried to remain objective throughout the analysis and discussion of findings.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the methodology of this study. Purposeful sampling was the strategy used for selecting informants. While maximum variation sampling was used to obtain informants for the questionnaires, snowball sampling was used to select the NPI informants needed for the interviews. The sample population and data collection methods were equally presented and discussed in this chapter. In fact, 257 ELT professionals, among whom 134 field teachers, 116 student teachers and 07 NPIs were queried through questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. While two sets of questionnaires were used to collect data from field teachers and student teachers, an interview guide was used to gather data from the NPIs. Then, the data collection procedure was explained, and particular emphasis was laid on the procedure used to conduct semi-structured interviews. The difficulties encountered in the course of collecting data were equally presented. The quantitative and qualitative methods used for data analysis were equally discussed. Finally, the conditions for validity and reliability of research findings, and the ethical considerations of the research process were discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR

ATTITUDES TOWARDS CAMEROON ENGLISH ACCENT

Introduction

This chapter reports the results of the first main research question: What are the attitudes of field teachers, student teachers and NPIs of English towards CamE accent? Then, the attitudes of all 3 groups of informants towards CamE accent are presented and analysed. First, the attitudes of English language teachers are studied, then those of student teachers and finally those of NPIs of English.

4.1 The attitudes of English language teachers towards CamE accent

In order to elicit English language teachers' attitudes towards CamE accent, the researcher asked informants to provide their understandings of what they think CamE accent refers to, to say how different they think CamE accent is from traditional NS accents, and how important it is for their students to have a native-like accent. Also, teacher informants were asked to say how important pronunciation is in English language teaching in Cameroon, what the goal of English pronunciation teaching in Cameroon is, what their overall accent preferences are, and, finally, what their accent preferences for the classroom are.

4.1.1 Teachers' perceptions of CamE accent

Survey question 8 asked informants to choose among the proposed items in the questionnaire, the definition that was closest to their perception of CamE accent, or to provide their own definition of CamE accent. Their answers are presented below.

Table 8: Teachers' definitions of CamE accent

CamE accent refers to (N= 133)	N	%
English pronunciation features of educated Anglophones	32	24.06%
English pronunciation features of educated Francophones	02	01.51%
English pronunciation features of educated Cameroonians (both Anglophones and Francophones)	84	63.16%
Tribalised English pronunciation features (e.g. Nso and Bafut varieties)	12	09.02%
Other	03	02.25%

As the above table shows, the majority of teachers (63.16%) view CamE accent as the spoken English of educated Cameroonians from both Anglophone and Francophone backgrounds. Meanwhile, 24.06% of teacher informants view CamE accent as the English pronunciation features of educated Anglophones, and 09.02% view it as tribalised English pronunciation features. Also, only 02 (01.51%) informants believe that CamE accent refers to English pronunciation features of educated Francophones. Finally, only 03 out of the 133 informants who answered this question provided their own definitions of CamE accent. These definitions are provided below.

- o CamE accent refers to English pronunciation features of both educated and uneducated Cameroonians living in both Francophone and Anglophone areas in Cameroon. It also includes the features of tribalised English pronunciation.

- o It refers to pidginised English pronunciation features of Anglophone Cameroonians.

- o It is the English pronunciation features of both educated and non-educated Anglophone Cameroonians.

The above three definitions tend to reject level of education as a major variable in the definition of CamE accent. In fact, these definitions are more inclusive, as they take into consideration not only the English accent of educated Cameroonians, but also the accent

features of uneducated Cameroonians, among which tribalised features mainly from Anglophone Cameroonians. However, two out of three definitions do not recognise the English of Francophone Cameroonians as part of CamE accent.

To further investigate teachers' perception of CamE accent, Survey Question 7 asked these informants if they thought CamE accent was a distinct variety of English spoken by Cameroonians. The results indicate that the majority of teachers either agreed or strongly agreed that CamE is a distinct variety of English as shown in the chart below.
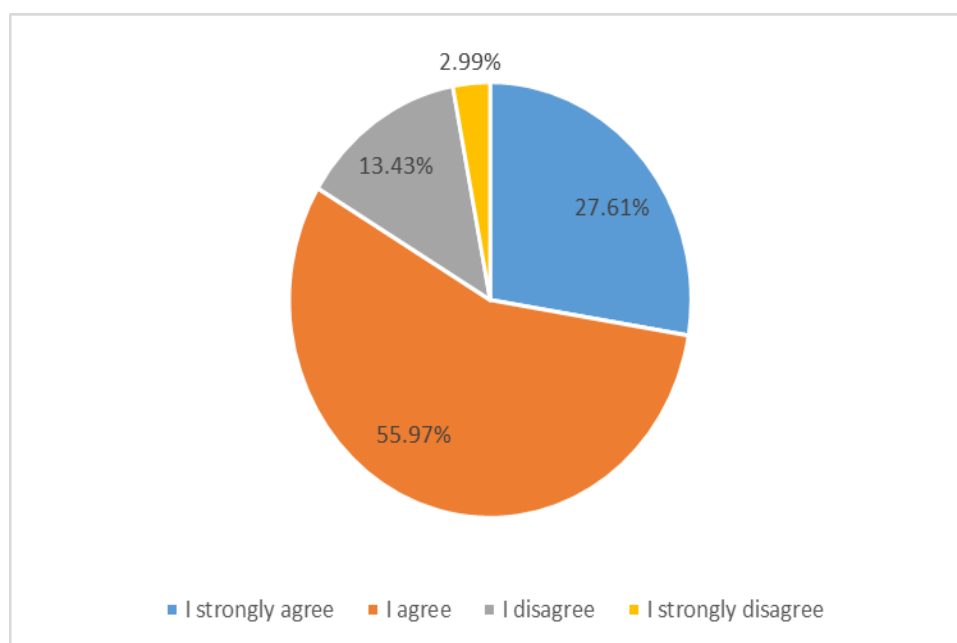
Chart 1: Teachers' opinions on whether CamE accent is a distinct variety of English spoken by Cameroonians

The above chart shows that 55.97% (75) of teachers agreed that CamE is a distinct variety of English spoken by Cameroonians while 27.61% (37) strongly agreed with the same assertion. Meanwhile, 13.43% (18) of informants disagreed and 02.99% (04) strongly disagreed with the claim. This means that more than 83.5% of the total number of informants believe that CamE accent is different from traditional NS accents.

Following Survey Question 7, Survey question 9 asked teachers if they thought that CamE accent was different from SBE and AmE accents. The results are presented in the chart below.
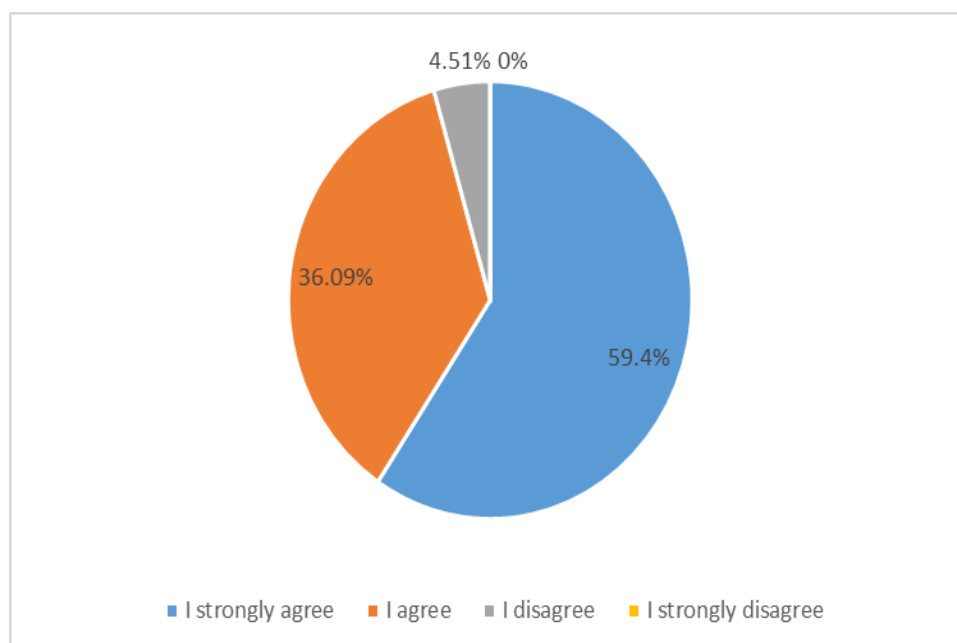
Chart 2: Teachers' opinions on whether CamE accent is different from SBE and AmE accents

As the above chart shows, 59.4% (79) of informants reported that they strongly agree that CamE accent is different from SBE and AmE accents, while 36.09% (48) agreed with the statement. This means that close to 95.5% of informants either strongly agreed or agreed that CamE accent is different from traditional NS accents. While 04.51% (06) of informants disagreed, none of the 133 informants who provided a response to this question strongly disagreed.

4.1.2 Teachers' beliefs and practices related to English pronunciation instruction

Three survey questions investigated teachers' beliefs towards teaching English pronunciation. Survey Question 10, for instance, asked teachers how important they thought English pronunciation instruction was in Cameroonian classrooms. The results of this question are presented in the chart below.
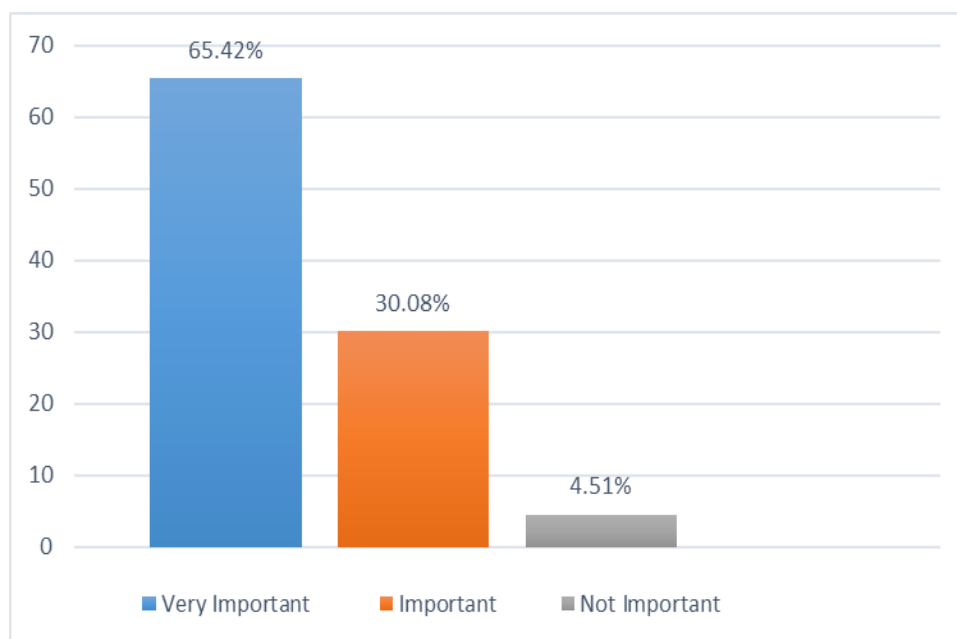
Chart 3: Teachers' beliefs on the importance of English pronunciation instruction in Cameroonian classrooms

The above chart shows that 65.42% (87) of teacher informants believe that pronunciation instruction is very important in Cameroonian classrooms. Also, 30.08% (40) believe it is important and only 04.51% (06) believe that it is not important. These results indicate that about 95.5% of the 133 teacher informants who responded to the question believe that pronunciation instruction has considerable importance in English language teaching.

Following that question, Survey Question 11 asked teachers how important it was for their students to have a British-like or American-like pronunciation in English, and to provide an explanation to their answer. The chart below shows the results of that question.
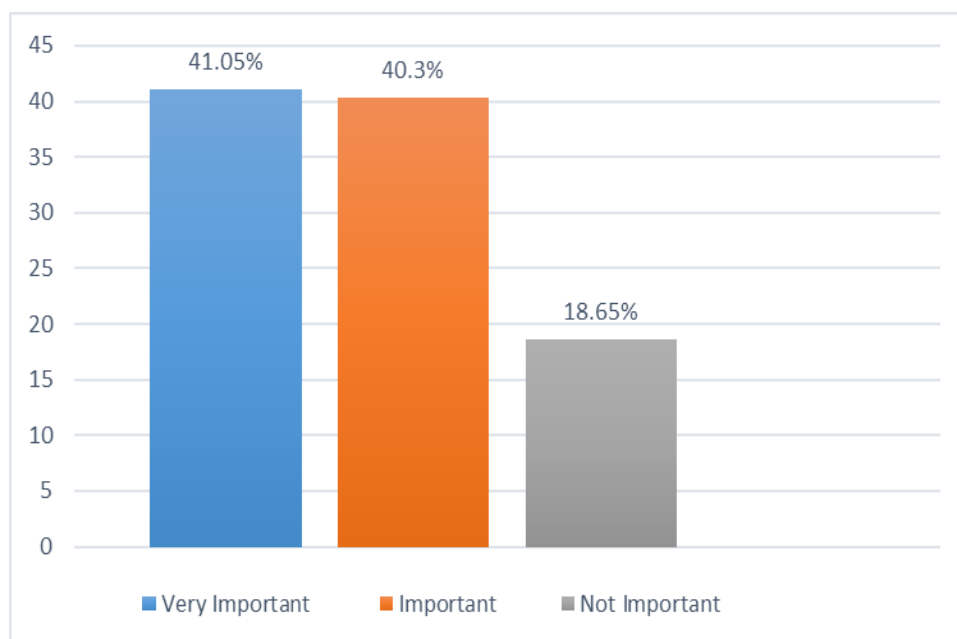
Chart 4: Teachers' beliefs on the importance of British-like or American-like pronunciation in English for their students

As the chart above shows, 41.05% (55) of teachers reported that it is very important for their students to have a British-like or American-like pronunciation in English. About the same number of teachers, 54 (40.3%) to be exact, answered that having a traditional NS accent is important for their students, while 25 (18.65%) believed that having a British-like or American-like accent is not important. These results show that about 81.3% of teacher informants believed that having a native-like accent is of considerable importance to their learners.

After choosing the answer they thought was appropriate to Survey Question 11, the informants were asked to explain their choices. Their explanations are presented in the table below.

Table 9: Teachers' explanations on the importance of British-like or American-like accent of English for their students

Responses	Explanations	Occurrences
Very important (N=43)	o English is a borrowed language, so it should be taught to students in a way that helps them speak and use it in the same way as [traditional] native speakers.	09 (20.93%)
	o Students need good pronunciation in order to be able to communicate with [traditional] native speakers.	09 (20.93%)
	o Good pronunciation facilitates both communication with other English language speakers and travel around the world.	08 (18.60%)
	o When a Cameroonian speaks English with a native-like accent, they are admired.	01 (02.32%)
	o A native-like accent shows that the speaker is civilised.	01 (02.32%)
	o My students need exposure to [traditional] native speaker pronunciation for authenticity and inspiration.	01 (02.32%)
	o SBE is what the government prescribes.	02 (04.65%)
	o SBE improves students' speaking skills.	05 (11.63%)
	o SBE is what many people want to learn around the world.	01 (02.32%)
	o SBE and AmE are two internationally used and recognised accents.	04 (09.30%)
	o Students need good pronunciation skills in order to listen	01 (02.32%)

	to the news on CNN and BBC.	
	○ SBE is a standard accent and we need it to act as a yardstick to measure the English spoken in Cameroon so that we do not move far away from intelligible English.	01 (02.32%)
Important (N=38)	○ In Cameroon, we follow RP or SBE pronunciation. It is what is recommended for the classroom.	03 (07.89%)
	○ We were colonised by Great Britain, so we should pronounce English words like British people do.(x2)	02 (05.26%)
	○ English is a borrowed language, and for us to achieve efficiency, we need standard grammar, lexis and above all, phonology for adequate communication and usage.	01 (02.63%)
	○ I teach English in a language centre and learners demand SBE only.	01 (02.63%)
	○ SBE accent helps to communicate well in English.	05 (13.16%)
	○ SBE accent and AmE accent prepare students better to communicate with the rest of the world.	09 (23.68%)
	○ SBE accent will help students take exams and pass interviews in the future.	01 (02.63%)
	○ Either British-like or American-like pronunciation remains an ideal that every Cameroonian English speaker would like to reach.	01 (02.63%)
	○ English is a global language.	01 (02.63%)
	○ Students need to speak a variety of English that other people around the world understand.	05 (13.16%)

	o Students need to speak the language well and be able to communicate orally with native speakers.	06 (15.79%)
	o If my students can hold a meaningful conversation in English, I will be happier.	01 (02.63%)
	o British and American English accents help learners understand foreign English accents.	01 (02.63%)
	o SBE accent is considered as the model in international conferences.	01 (02.63%)
Not important (N= 22)	o What is important is (effective) communication.	11 (50%)
	o We teach English for communication, not for students to become British or American people.	04 (18.18%)
	o What matters more is to understand others and be understood by them.	04 (18.18%)
	o Cameroonians should have their own specificity in pronunciation, that is "Cameroon English", rather than struggle to imitate the native language of others. After all, it is not our native tongue.	01 (04.54%)
	o There can never be one standard way of pronunciation only because World Englishes are being recognised today.	01 (04.54%)
	o Students do not study English out of necessity to live, work and interact in British or American contexts. Also, some language learners whose mother tongues dominate L2 or L3 acquisition do not succeed to pronounce words well despite their willingness to do so. So	01 (04.54%)

		communication is more important.	

As Table 9 above indicates, 43 teacher informants explained why they believe that it is *very important* for their students to have a British-like or American-like pronunciation in English. The two most common explanations provided by participants include: the fact that English is a borrowed language, so its teaching should help learners speak and use it as native speakers do (20.93%), and the ability to communicate effectively with both native and non-native speakers of English around the world (20.93%). These two comments are followed by: the fact that good pronunciation facilitates communication and travel around the world (18.6%), the fact that SBE can improve speaking skills (11.63%), and the fact that it is an internationally recognised accent (09.3%). The table above shows that 38 teachers commented on why they believe it is *important* for their students to have a native-like accent. The most common explanations they provided include: the fact that SBE and AmE accents prepare students for communication with both native and non-native speakers around the world (23.68%); the fact that students need to speak the language well, and communicate orally with native speakers (15.79%); that SBE accent helps to communicate well in English (13.16%); and the fact that students need to speak a variety of English that other people around the world understand (13.16%). Finally, 22 informants explained why it was *not important* for their students to have a native-like accent. The most common explanation provided by 50% of respondents was that communication is more important than having a native-like accent. Two other comments followed this: English is taught for communication, not to make learners become British or American people (18.18%); and what matters more is to understand others and be understood by them (18.18%).

The informants were also asked in Survey Question 12 if the goal of pronunciation instruction should be to help learners acquire a native-like accent. All 134 informants answered this question, and the results are presented in the chart below.
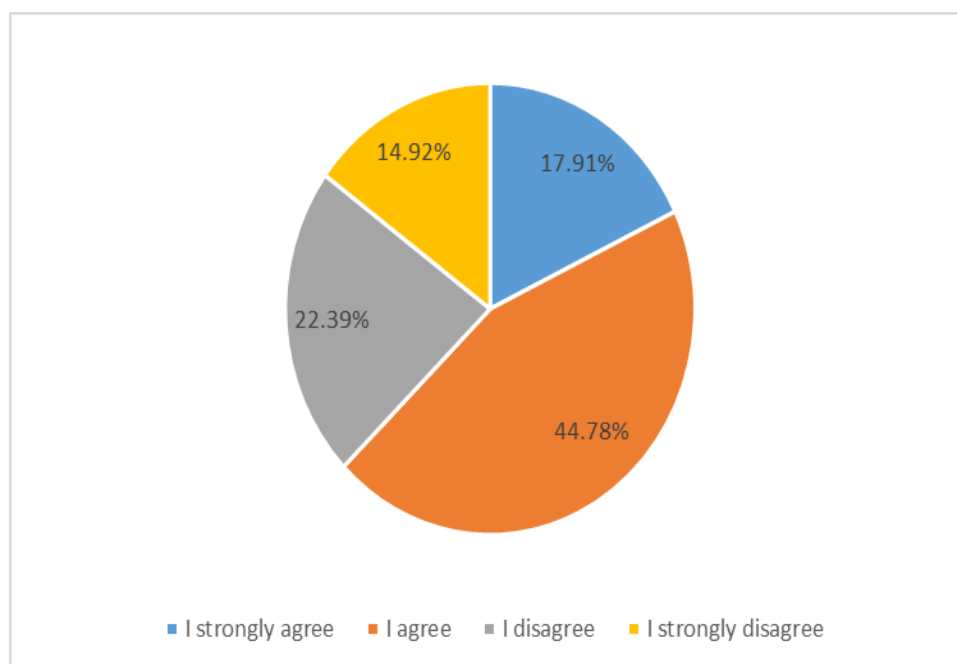
Chart 5: Teachers' opinions on whether the goal of pronunciation instruction should be to help learners acquire a native-like oral proficiency

The above chart shows that the 44.78% (60) of teacher informants answered that they agree that the goal of pronunciation instruction should be to help learners acquire a native-like accent. Also, 17.91% (24) of informants strongly agreed, while 22.39% (30) of informants disagreed and 14.92% (20) strongly disagreed. These results imply that at least 62% of teachers believe that the goal of English pronunciation instruction should be to help students acquire British-like or American-like oral proficiency.

Apart from investigating beliefs related to English pronunciation instruction, informants were also asked in Survey Question 13 to provide information about how they teach English pronunciation. Here, informants were allowed to tick all the options that they believed applied to their own practices, and to provide other techniques they used to teach pronunciation. The results of Survey Question 13 are presented in the table below.

Table 10: Teachers' strategies for teaching pronunciation

Strategies	N= 134	%
I try to approximate Standard British English pronunciation and my students repeat after me.	112	83.58%
I invite a colleague whose pronunciation is better than mine.	14	10.44%
I invite a traditional native speaker to my classroom.	03	02.24%
I use a recording from an electronic dictionary.	36	26.86%
No need to bother! I pronounce the sounds as I do every day.	38	28.38%
Other	07	05.22%

The above table shows that the strategy used by the overwhelming majority of teacher informants (83.58%) is to approximate SBE pronunciation and have students repeat after them. This strategy is followed by the no-need-to-bother technique whereby teachers pronounce sounds as they do in everyday interactions. About 28.38% of informants claimed that they use that technique. Another widely reported technique is using an electronic dictionary audio recording (26.86%). The least used techniques by teachers include inviting a traditional NS in the classroom (02.24%) and inviting a colleague with better English pronunciation skills (10.44%). Remarkably, 05.22% (7) of informants answered that they use other strategies to teach pronunciation. Their answers are listed below.

o   I transcribe on the board and teach phonetic representation.

o   I show how the words I am teaching are pronounced both by British and Cameroonian people.

o   I use mnemonics. These are words, sentences or poems that have the sounds or words I am teaching, and that help students remember the lesson. My students enjoy it.

o   I bring a radio to class and make students listen to the BBC news.

o I sometimes ask students to listen to news broadcasts over our national media and try to imitate news presenters.

o I call out a student to pronounce the words I am teaching. When there is difficulty, I call out another student to help until they are able to do it on their own. If no one can pronounce correctly, then I intervene.

o When there is a difference in pronunciation between British and American English accents, I teach my students both pronunciations.

Two out of the 7 strategies above expose learners to other English accents apart from SBE. Also, two strategies use technology to facilitate pronunciation instruction.

4.1.3 Teachers' accent preferences

This section reports on English teachers' accent preferences. Survey Question 14, for instance, asked informants which English accent they wanted their students to approximate. A total of 125 participants answered that question. Their responses are presented in the chart below.
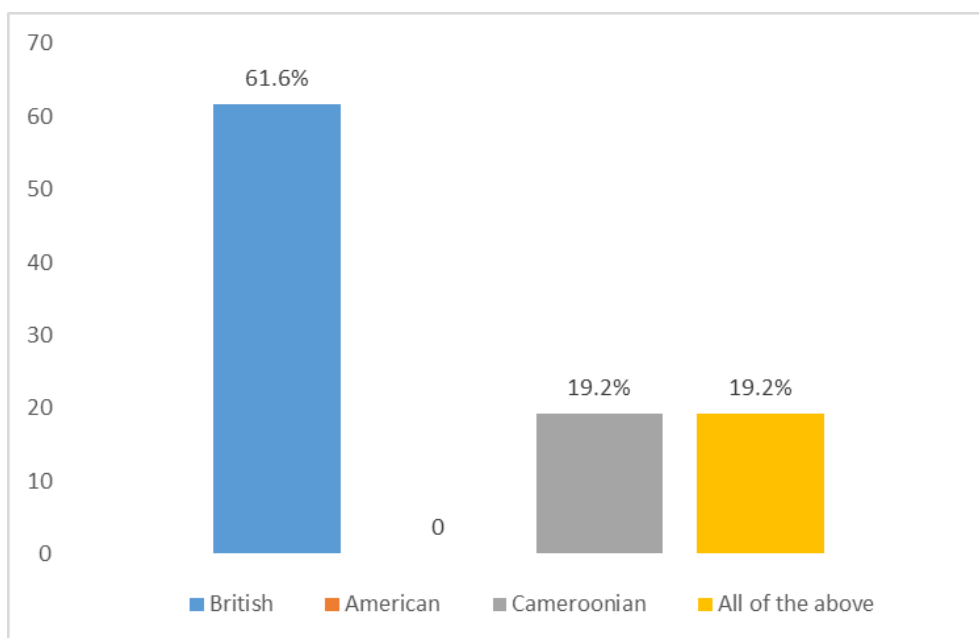
Chart 6: How teachers would like their students to sound

Chart 6 above reveals that 61.6% (77) of teachers said they wanted their students to sound British when speaking English. Meanwhile, 19.2% (24) of teachers preferred that their students sound Cameroonian and the same number of teachers (24) preferred that their students have an accent that combines features of British, American and Cameroonian English pronunciation features. Remarkably, no teacher preferred that their students sound American when they speak English.

Survey Question 16 further investigated English teacher's accent preferences for the classroom. Here, participants had to choose, by placing a tick in the corresponding cell, the accent that applied to each description given to them. The results are presented in Table 11 below.

Table 11: Teachers' accent preferences for the English class

Description	AmE	SBE	CamE	NigE
Very good for students (N= 126)	05 (03.97%)	93 (73.81%)	28 (22.22%)	00 (0%)
Good for students (N= 123)	46 (37.4%)	43 (34.96%)	32 (26.02%)	02 (01.62%)
Neither good nor bad for students (N= 124)	45 (36.29%)	02 (01.61%)	63 (50.81%)	14 (11.29%)
Not necessary for students (N= 120)	17 (14.17%)	04 (03.33%)	06 (05%)	93 (77.5%)
Not good at all for students (N= 107)	04 (03.74%)	00 (0%)	05 (04.67%)	98 (91.59%)

As the table above shows, the majority of informants have a very positive attitude towards SBE, as 73.81% rated it as *very good for students*, and 34.96% found it *good for students*. This very positive attitude towards SBE is further confirmed by the fact that only 03.33% of respondents rated it as *not necessary for students* while no one thought that it was *not good at all for students*. Following SBE, CamE received average ratings from participants. In fact, 22.22% of informants answered that it was *very good for students* while

26.02% said it was *good for students*. While it had few negative ratings (only 05% of respondents said it was *not necessary for students* and 04.67% responded that it was *not good at all for students*), CamE received close to 51% of neutral ratings. AmE accent had less positive ratings from teachers than CamE accent. In fact, only 03.97% of participants answered that AmE accent was *very good for students*, while 37.4% thought that it was *good for students*. AmE also got a considerable amount of neutral ratings (36.29%) and some negative ratings as well, given that 14.17% of respondents said it was *not necessary for students* and 03.74% thought that it was *not good at all for students*. NigE accent obtained very negative ratings from participants. In fact, 91.59% of teachers responded that NigE was *not good for students while 77.5% though*t it was *not necessary for students*. This negative attitude towards NigE accent is further confirmed by the fact that only 02 informants believed it was good for the classroom and no informant thought it was very good for students.

Apart from their accent preferences for the classroom, participants also had to provide their individual accent preferences by choosing the description which they thought corresponded best to each accent. The results of the analysis of Survey Question 15 are presented below.

Table 12: Teachers' personal English accent preferences

Description	AmE	SBE	CamE	NigE
Beautiful and pleasant (N= 125)	56 (44.8%)	65 (52.00%)	04 (03.2%)	00 (0%)
Easy to understand (N= 127)	06 (04.72%)	33 (25.98%)	85 (66.93%)	03 (02.36%)
Associated with prestige (N= 121)	28 (23.14%)	91 (75.21%)	02 (01.65%)	00 (0%)
Easy to teach (N= 133)	02 (01.50%)	64 (48.12%)	67(50.38%)	00 (0%)
Prepares for jobs in Cameroon (N= 127)	02 (01.57%)	47 (37.01%)	76 (59.84%)	02 (01.57%)
Prepares for international jobs (N=129)	20 (15.50%)	106 (82.17%)	03 (02.33)	00 (0%)

As the above table shows, the overwhelming majority of informants preferred traditional NS accents (SBE and AmE) for descriptions such as *beautiful and pleasant* (52% for SBE and 44.8% for AmE), *associated with prestige* (75.21% for SBE and 23.14% for AmE) and *prepares for international jobs* (82.17% for SBE and 15.5% for AmE). On the contrary, the majority of informants preferred CamE accent over SBE and AmE accents for descriptions such as *easy to understand* (66.93% for CamE against 25.98% for SBE and 04.72% for AmE) and *prepares for the job market in Cameroon* (59.84% for CamE against 37.01% for SBE and 01.57% for AmE). In the meantime, informants were quite split over the description *easy to teach*, as 50.38% preferred CamE accent while 48.12% chose SBE and 01.5% selected AmE accent. The table equally shows that while CamE accent got higher ratings over descriptions such as *easy to understand* and *prepares for the job market in Cameroon* and satisfactory ratings over the description *easy to teach*, it was rated less well in the areas where SBE in particular performed very well, such as *beautiful and pleasant*, *associated with prestige* and *prepares for international jobs*. Remarkably, Table 11 shows that NigE accent received the worst ratings from informants, as it only got a total of 05 votes from all 6 available descriptions.

4.2 The attitudes of student teachers towards CamE accent

This section follows the same structure as section 5.1.1 of this work. This means that student teachers' attitudes towards CamE accent are studied at three levels: perception of CamE accent, beliefs and practices related to training in teaching English pronunciation in the country, as well as student teachers' accent preferences.

4.2.1 Student teachers' perceptions of CamE accent

Like teachers, student teachers were asked to define or provide their definition of CamE accent. Their answers are presented in Table 13 below.

Table 13: Student teachers' definitions of CamE accent

CamE accent refers to (N= 112)	N	%
English pronunciation features of educated Anglophones	16	14.29%
English pronunciation features of educated Francophones	07	06.25%
English pronunciation features of educated Cameroonians (both Anglophones and Francophones)	63	56.25%
Tribalised English pronunciation features (e.g. Nso'o and Bafut)	26	23.21%
Other	00	00%

As the above table shows, the majority of trainee teacher informants (56.25%) answered that CamE accent refers to English pronunciation features of educated Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonians. A little more than a fifth of the total number of informants (23.21%) defined CamE accent instead as tribalised English pronunciation features. Meanwhile, 14.29% of informants viewed CamE accent as English pronunciation features of educated Anglophones, and 06.25% as English pronunciation features of educated Francophones.

Trainee teachers equally had to say whether they agreed or disagreed with the claim that CamE accent was a distinct variety of English spoken by Cameroonians. One hundred and thirteen informants answered that question. Their responses are presented in the chart below.
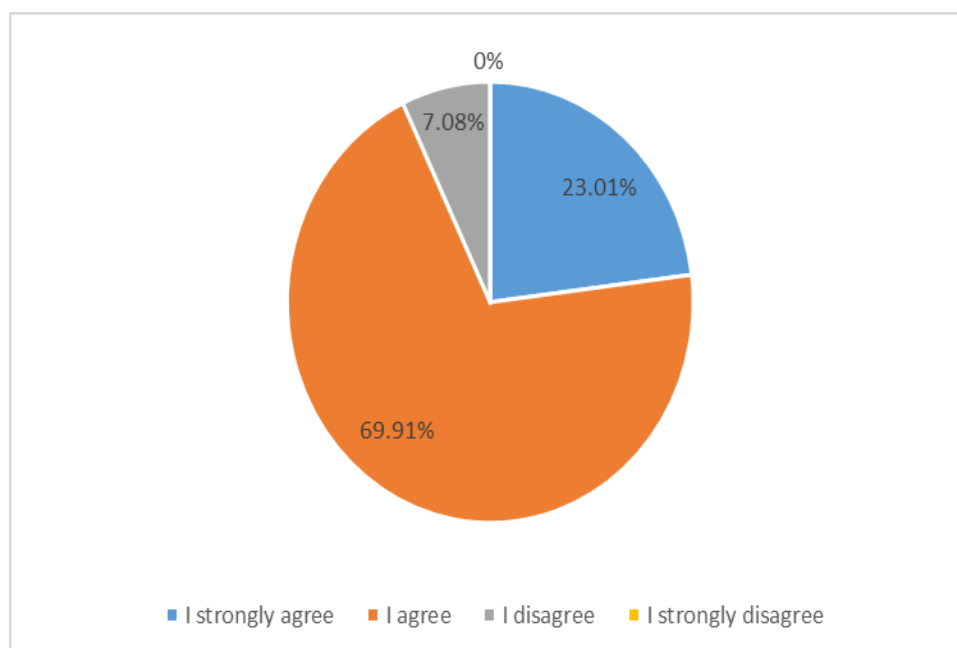
Chart 7: Student teachers' views on whether CamE is a distinct variety of English spoken by Cameroonians

As the chart above shows, 69.91% (79) of student teacher informants answered that they agree with the claim that CamE accent is a distinct variety of English spoken by Cameroonians, and 23.01% (26) of the same group of informants strongly agreed. Meanwhile, 07.08% (08) of the informants disagreed and no informant strongly disagreed. This means that about 93% of respondents considered CamE different from other English varieties, notably SBE and AmE.

The next survey question asked the informants if they agreed or disagreed with the claim that CamE accent is different from SBE and AmE accents. Chart 8 below presents the results of Survey Question 10 as provided by 112 respondents.
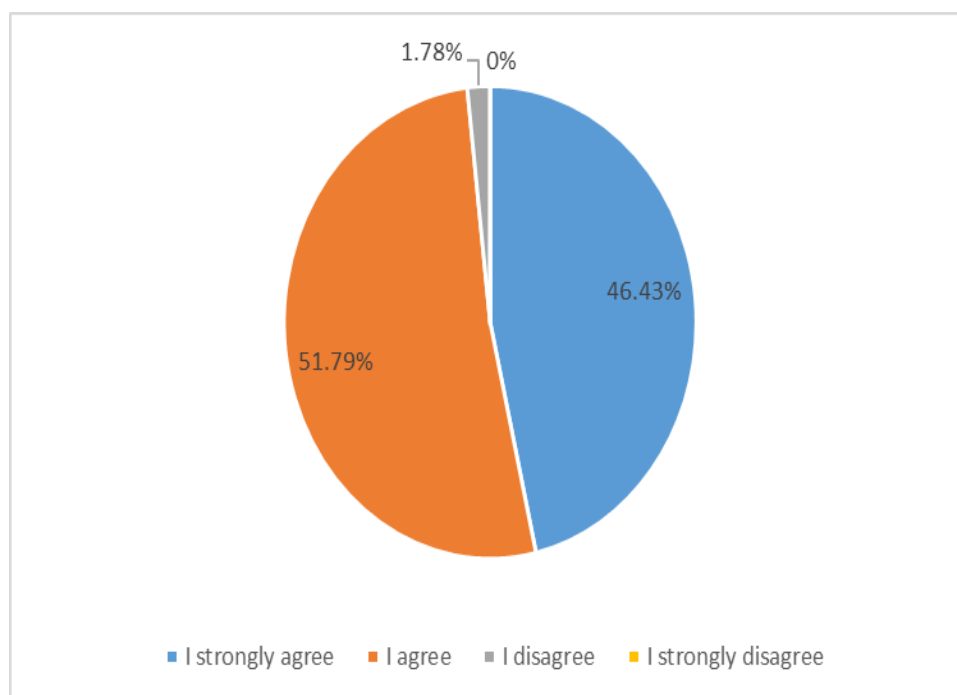
Chart 8: Student teachers' views on whether CamE accent is different from SBE and AmE

The above chart shows that almost all of the informants (more than 98%) either agreed or strongly agreed that CamE accent is different from British and American English accents. In fact, 51.79% (58) of student teachers agreed while 46.43% (52) strongly agreed. Meanwhile, only 01.78% (02) of informants disagreed and no one strongly disagreed.

4.2.2 Student teachers' opinions about their training in teaching English pronunciation

Survey Question 11 asked student teachers how important pronunciation teaching is in their training. The answers provided by 116 informants are presented in the chart below.
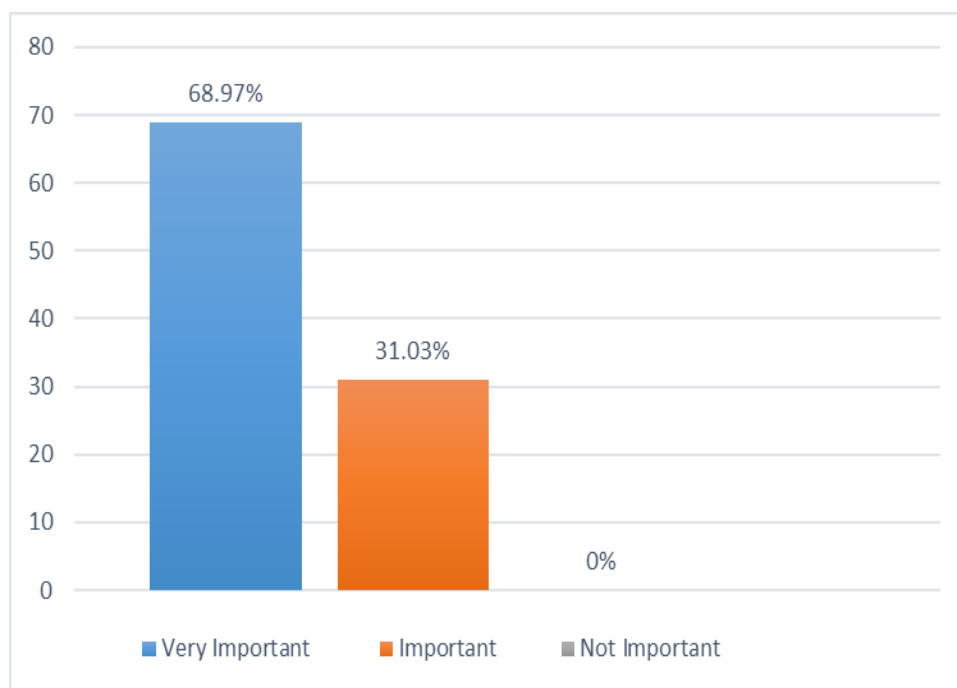
Chart 9: Student teachers' opinions on the importance of pronunciation teaching in their training

As Chart 9 above shows, all informants answered that pronunciation teaching has a great degree of importance in their training. In fact, 68.97% (80) of informants said that pronunciation teaching was *very important* in their training while 31.03% said it was *important*. None of the informants said that pronunciation teaching is not important.

The informants were then asked in Survey Question 12 to say how important it is for them, as future teachers, to have a British-like or American-like accent in English. The chart below presents the results obtained from 116 respondents.
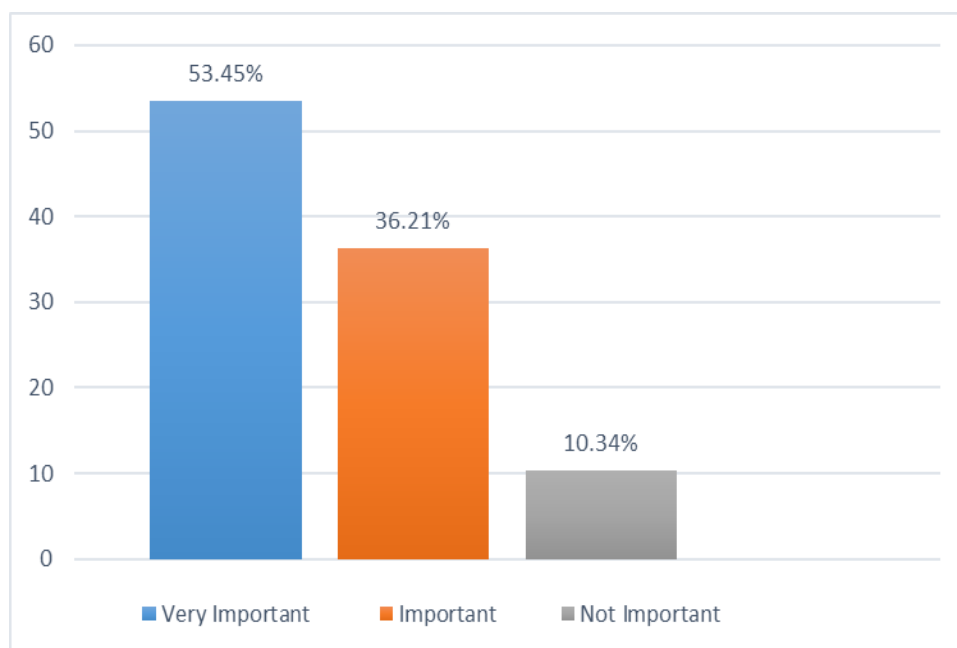
Chart 10: Student teachers' opinions on why it is important for them to have a British-like or American-like English accent

The above chart shows that 53.45% (62) of student teachers answered that it is *very important* for them as future teachers to have a British-like or American-like pronunciation in English whereas 36.21% (42) said it was *important*. This implies that about 89% of informants value the fact of having a native-like accent. Meanwhile, 10.34% (12) of informants responded that it was *not important* to have native-like pronunciation.

After answering Survey Question 12, the informants were asked to provide explanations for their answers. The table below presents the various explanations given for each response.

Table 14: Student teachers' explanations on why it is important for them to have a British-like or American-like pronunciation in English

Responses	Explanations	Occurrences
Very important (N=47)	o We need standard pronunciation in a globalized world. British English and American English are still the dominant varieties. We need to rely on them.	01 (02.13%)
	o British English and American English are still the leading varieties of English worldwide, and they are indispensible for the future success of Cameroonian students.	06 (12.77%)
	o SBE is the norm that is taught in schools. (x3)	03 (06.38%)
	o Native-like accents are standard. If we opt for CamE, we are going to face many sub-varieties as we move from one place to the other.	01 (02.13%)
	o Because teachers are the mirrors of society, they have to pronounce well in order to encourage students to use SBE.	01 (02.13%)
	o Good pronunciation helps learners have a good knowledge of words and their meanings.	03 (06.38%)
	o Teachers who use SBE accent are better models for their students. These students will eventually copy or imitate the way their teachers speak.	01 (02.13%)
	o When teachers do not pronounce well, students face difficulties to learn.	04 (08.51%)
	o If I have a native-like accent, my students will learn to	08 (17.02%)

	speak English like native speakers.	05 (10.64%)
	o It will help me teach the correct pronunciation of English words to students, which will improve their speaking proficiency.	03 (06.38%)
	o If we want to communicate well out of the country, we need to speak well and be understood by native speakers.	07 (14.89%)
	o As a teacher, you are a role model. So you need to adopt linguistic features that are standard in order for students to be well-equipped.	03 (06.38%)
	o Since I will have to teach SBE pronunciation to students, I need to speak it first, so that I can do it perfectly.	01 (02.13%)
	o A good teacher must know how words are pronounced in both SBE and AmE accents.	
Important (N= 21)	o In Cameroon, it is SBE that we have to teach. So that is what we must speak and strive to teach students.	02 (09.52%)
	o Learning a language is learning the culture of native speakers. So approximating native speech becomes a necessity.	01 (04.76%)
	o It will help to communicate better and understand native speakers better. (x2)	02 (09.52%)
	o It is important, but I don't think it's necessary to make our students English men in black skins.	01 (04.76%)

	o Language is used for communication, and you must be intelligible to the person to whom you are talking, no matter his origin.	01 (04.76%)	
	o SBE is the most appropriate accent for young learners.	01 (04.76%)	
	o English is the world language, so having the "source" pronunciation helps to be flexible in the language even outside Cameroon.	01 (04.76%)	
	o Having a native-like pronunciation will help students to understand better some words which they encounter in daily conversations.	03 (14.29%)	
	o Even Cameroonians should make efforts to speak English like native speakers.	01 (04.76%)	
	o Pronunciation is directly related to other linguistic levels such as syntax, morphology and semantics that I will teach in class.	01 (04.76%)	
	o It encourages students to speak the language correctly.	03 (14.29%)	
	o It can help students differentiate between SBE accent and many other accents.	03 (14.29%)	
	o Every language has its standards, and SBE is the standard accent that we must teach.	01 (04.76%)	
Not important (N= 09)	o Learners are not to be impressed with an accent they do not understand. Our aim is to make students speak intelligible English and understand what others say.	01 (11.11%)	
	o One can develop a good pronunciation, but it is not an obligation to have a British-like or an American-like	02 (22.22%)	

		English accent.	
	o	What is important is not the accent, rather it is having the right pronunciation of the word or sentence.	01 (11.11%)
	o	We are Africans and Cameroonians with varied sources of linguistic influence in our English. These influences come from our mother tongues and Pidgin English. So trying to sound British or American would be denying who we are.	01 (11.11%)
	o	Pronunciation partly depends on the context. So it is not important in all contexts to want a native-like accent.	01 (11.11%)
	o	The realities of native speakers of English are not ours. This means that we will never be able to speak like them no matter how much we try.	01 (11.11%)
	o	There are influences from our ethnic languages which prevent us from acquiring a native-like accent. Then, having a British or American accent is not important.	02 (22.22%)

The above table shows that 77 responses were given on why it is important or not to have a native-like accent. Informants provided forty-seven responses on why having a British-like or American-like accent is *very important*. Among those responses, the most common include: the belief of student teachers that if they have a native-like accent, their students will speak English like NSs (17.02%); the idea that teachers are role models, and, therefore, they must use standard linguistic features in order to equip their students better (14.89%); the idea that British English and American English are still the varieties that best guarantee the future success of students (12.77%); and the idea that teaching "correct" pronunciation will improve students' speaking proficiency (10.64%). The table above shows that 21 responses were provided on why it is *important* to have a British-like or American-like pronunciation in English. The three most commonly given reasons for that answer

include: the belief that having a native-like accent will help students understand English words better (14.29%); the idea that native-like speech encourages learners to speak English correctly (14.29%), and the belief that native-like speech helps students to differentiate between SBE and other English accents (14.29%). Finally, 09 informants gave reasons why they believe that having a native-like accent is *not important*. The two most commonly used reasons are that a good pronunciation is a plus, but there is no obligation to have a British-like or American-like accent (22.22%); and that the influences of ethnic languages make it almost impossible to have a native-like accent (22.22%).

Survey Question 13 asked student teachers if they believed that the goal of the *Advanced English Speech and Usage* course was to acquire SBE pronunciation and usage features. A total of 113 informants answered the question, and their responses are shown in the chart below.
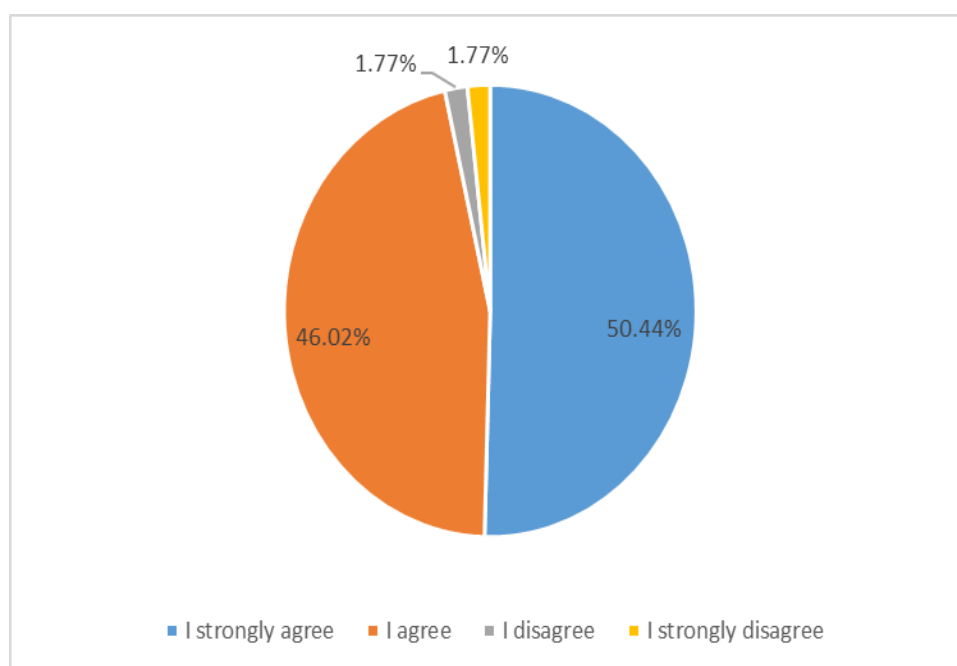
Chart 11: Student teachers' opinions on whether the goal of the course *Advanced English Speech and Usage* is to help future teachers acquire SBE pronunciation and usage features

The above chart shows that 50.44% (57) of the respondents strongly agreed that the course Advanced English Speech and Usage aims to prepare them to acquire SBE

pronunciation and usage features, while 46.02% (52) answered that they agree with the goal stated above. This implies that more than 96% of informants view that course as providing training to future teachers in SBE pronunciation. Meanwhile, less than 04% of the respondents disagreed that the course's goal was to help them develop SBE accent features.

4.2.3 Student teachers' accent preferences

Like field teachers, student teacher informants were queried about their accent preferences. In Survey Question 14, for instance, they were asked which accent they want to approximate in the English classroom. The answers provided by 116 informants are presented in Chart 12 below.
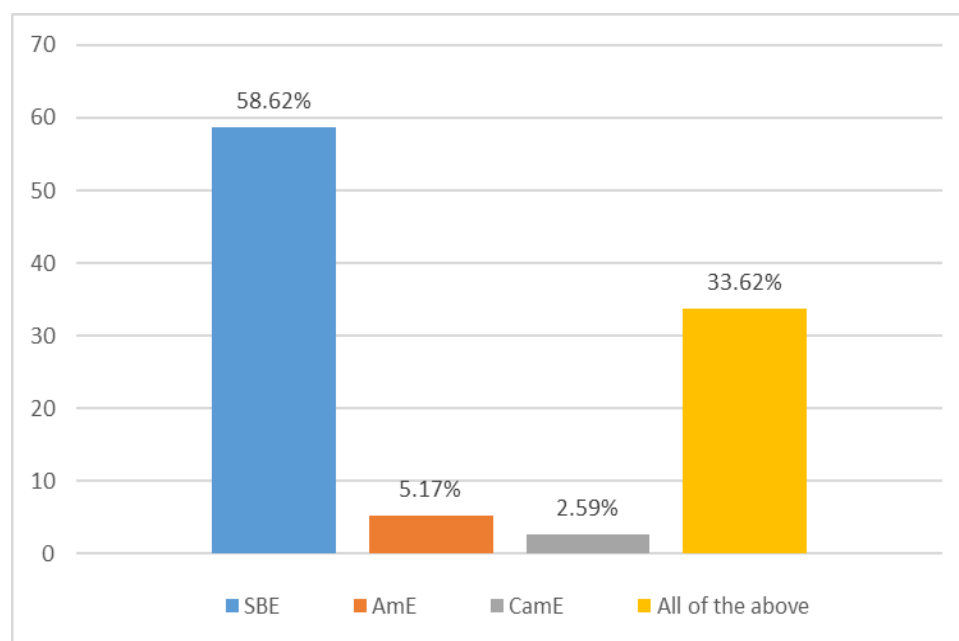
Chart 12: Student teachers' overall accent preferences

As the chart above indicates, the majority of informants (58.62% which represents 68 respondents) want to approximate SBE accent whereas only 02.59% (03) of the informants want to sound Cameroonian when speaking English, and 05.17% (06) prefer AmE accent. Remarkably, about a third of respondents (33.62%) prefer their accent to comprise features of SBE, AmE and CamE altogether.

Survey Question 15 further investigated student teachers' accent preferences by asking these informants to place a tick in the column that applied best to each description given to them. The table below presents their answers.

Table 15: Student teachers' accent preferences depending on specific variables

Description	AmE	SBE	CamE	NigE
Beautiful and pleasant (N= 116)	57 (49.14%)	47 (40.52%)	07 (06.03%)	05 (04.31%)
Easy to understand (N= 116)	13 (11.21%)	37 (31.89%)	57 (49.14%)	09 (07.76%)
Associated with prestige (N= 104)	39 (37.50%)	63 (60.58%)	01 (00.96%)	01 (00.96%)
Easy to teach (N= 108)	04 (03.70%)	54 (50%)	47 (43.52%)	03 (02.78%)
Prepares for jobs in Cameroon (N= 114)	04 (03.51%)	41 (35.96%)	67 (58.77%)	02 (01.75%)
Prepares for international jobs (N=116)	42 (36.21%)	70 (60.34%)	02 (01.72%)	02 (01.72%)

As the table above shows, traditional NS accents are preferred for descriptions such as *beautiful and pleasant*, *associated with prestige* and *prepares for international jobs*. In fact, 49.14% of the student teacher informants found that AmE accent is *beautiful and pleasant*, whereas 40.52% preferred SBE accent instead for that description. Meanwhile, less than 11% of the respondents chose either CamE accent or NigE accent. In the same way, 60.58% of the informants answered that SBE is *associated with prestige*, whereas 37.5% preferred AmE accent instead for that same description. Meanwhile, less than 2% of informants preferred both CamE and NigE accents. Another result is that 60.34% of the informants answered that SBE *prepares for international jobs*, while 36.21% preferred AmE accent for the same description. The table above equally shows that CamE accent is the most preferred accent by informants for descriptions such as *easy to understand* (49.14% against 31.89% for SBE and 11.21% for AmE accent) and *prepares for the job market in Cameroon* (58.77% against 35.96% for SBE and 03.51% for AmE). For the description *easy to teach*, SBE got the

highest ratings (50%) followed by CamE (43.52%). The results equally indicate that the least preferred accent in all descriptions is NigE.

Just like field teachers, trainee teachers were asked to provide information about their accent preferences for the classroom. Table 16 below presents the results obtained after the analysis of Survey Question 16.

Table 16: Student teachers' accent preferences for the classroom

Description	AmE	SBE	CamE	NigE
Very good for students (N= 116)	13 (11. 21%)	90 (77.58%)	13 (11.21%)	00 (0%)
Good for students (N= 109)	30 (27.52%)	50 (45.87%)	24 (22.02%)	05 (04.59%)
Neither good nor bad for students (N= 111)	34 (30.63%)	05 (04.50%)	56 (50.45%)	16 (14.41%)
Not necessary for students (N= 108)	07 (06.48%)	02 (01.85%)	15 (13.89%)	84 (77.78%)
Not good at all for students (N= 97)	06 (06.19%)	00 (0%)	14 (14.43%)	77 (79.38%)

Table 16 above shows that SBE obtained more positive ratings from the majority of informants than any other accent. In fact, 77.58% of the informants rated SBE as *very good for students* while 45.87% found it as *good for students*. AmE was the second most positively rated accent, as 11.21% of informants answered that it was *very good for students* while 27.52% said that it was *good for students*. Because they had more positive ratings, both SBE and AmE accents had fewer negative ratings. Meanwhile, CamE and NigE accents, which had fewer positive ratings, had the highest numbers of negative ratings. While CamE accent obtained less negative ratings in general compared to NigE, it was considered by about half (50.45%) of the informants as *neither good nor bad for students*.

4.3 The attitudes of national pedagogic inspectors of English towards CamE accent

This section presents and analyses results on the attitudes of NPIs of English towards CamE accent. First, findings on the perception of CamE accent by the informants are presented before their beliefs and recommendations related to pronunciation instruction.

4.3.1 The perception of CamE accent by national pedagogic inspectors

First, the informants were asked whether they believed that CamE accent differed from SBE accent. Below are their answers.

o   I think educated CamE is not very far from SBE accent.

o   I believe that there is some difference. If there was not, some of us would not feel the need to change our everyday accent in certain circumstances.

o   I think some educated Cameroonians can speak with an accent that is close to educated British or American English accents. That's only where there is some convergence. Uneducated Cameroonians are not intelligible to the British and Americans, and vice-versa. So in general, we speak differently. It is not the same.

o   We do not speak like the British or the Americans. So we cannot deny that our accent is a bit different.

o   I don't think it is very different if people can understand what you say and you can understand them.

o   Yes, CamE accent is different from SBE. They are not the same.

o   It is different. There is no way we can say that it is the same.

From the comments above, it can be seen that five (71.43%) inspectors answered clearly that they believe CamE accent is different from SBE. Meanwhile, the other two inspectors provided different answers. While one of the two thought that educated CamE accent "is not very far from SBE", the second explained that CamE is not very different from SBE if communication is successful.

Item 9 on the interview guide asked the informants if they thought that the choice of SBE as the model for the classroom meant that CamE accent was inferior or sub-standard. Their comments are listed below.

- o If we have to compare, then CamE accent is below SBE.

- o If you are educated and use grammar and vocabulary correctly, you don't need to feel inferior just because you speak CamE accent.

- o I think yes. SBE is more prestigious. That is why we learn it here in Cameroon.

- o It is true that I said our accent is a bit different. But as someone who is educated, I do not consider CamE accent as sub-standard, except when we cannot make ourselves understood by others.

- o No, there is no variety of English that is superior.

- o Both SBE and CamE are used to communicate in their local contexts. So, I do not believe that CamE accent is inferior.

- o CamE is still inferior. It is not recognized worldwide. That is why we are using SBE.

The above comments show that 04 (57.14%) informants answered that CamE accent is not inferior to SBE. Meanwhile, the rest (03) of informants answered that SBE is superior to CamE accent.

4.3.2 NPIs' beliefs and recommendations related to English pronunciation instruction

Item 4 in the interview guide sought to find out from the informants how important pronunciation teaching is in ELT today in Cameroon. The responses provided by the seven interviewees are listed below.

- o It is important because it is well stated in the new syllabus that teachers should equally pay attention to accuracy; that is good grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation. If you check that syllabus, you will see that teachers are recommended to do speech work regularly in context, and not in isolation.

o With CBA, we have a syllabus that acknowledges the importance of pronunciation. Before, pronunciation was an afterthought in language teaching because teachers taught only what comes in the exam: grammar, vocabulary, writing, etc. and taught pronunciation very rarely. Today, the syllabus and textbooks recommend teaching sound segments, stress and intonation.

o Today, pronunciation is more important than it was in the past. The old syllabus hardly mentioned it, and teachers used to neglect it because it was not tested in the exams. Today, however, things have changed. The syllabus clearly states that pronunciation should be taught often.

o Pronunciation today is taken seriously. The new syllabus recommends doing speech work regularly in each module. It recommends teaching silent letters, stress patterns, differences and similarities between sounds, etc.

o Pronunciation was hardly taken seriously in the past. After the 3e class, there were no lessons on pronunciation in the official syllabus. Today, the CBA syllabus recommends teaching sounds in context, in sentences and not as isolated words. So, there is a more realistic approach to teaching pronunciation.

o CBA has increased the importance of pronunciation teaching today. The new syllabuses recommend teaching vowels, consonants, but more importantly stress and intonation. Also, pronunciation lessons are more regular and more detailed in textbooks.

o Pronunciation is very important in English language teaching because it allows us to continue communicating successfully. Today, CBA has given an important role to pronunciation. The syllabus recommends doing speech work regularly, even when teaching other lessons.

From the above responses, it can be said that pronunciation is more important in ELT today than it was in the past thanks to the paradigm shift from the skills-based to the competency-based approach. Indeed, all NPI informants alluded to the new English syllabuses, and notably the fact that they give more importance to pronunciation than the

former syllabuses did. Then, there seems to be a stronger emphasis on teaching that language skill regularly, and in context nowadays.

Item 5 of the interview guide asked informants how important it was for Cameroonian teachers to have a native-like accent. Their responses are listed below.

- It is not very necessary. You do not have to be another person when you get into the classroom. However, you must use the right grammar and vocabulary.

- It has some importance. For historical reasons, we will always be drifting towards SBE even though many more people, especially Francophones, tend to move towards AmE.

- Here in Cameroon, it is not very important for our students. But when you teach adult learners who want to travel out of the country in a language centre, you should try to target RP more because your students need it and some will even ask for it.

- We cannot say that it is not important. Teachers should use dictionaries. Our students will not remain in Cameroon only. They are children of the world. Some of them will take the TOEFL test for example in the future. They need to get pronunciation lessons that help prepare them for such tests.

- It depends on the context. If you are teaching in a language centre, for example, you must strive to pronounce words as it is prescribed in the dictionary. But if you teach students in class, you should not forget that they need English first to communicate in their own country. So in the class, you don't need to be someone else.

- In Cameroon, having a native-like accent is not a priority. However, it is good to show students what the correct pronunciation is.

- Speaking English like a British or an American is a plus, but I do not think it is very important. If we can understand other speakers of English around the world well and they can understand us too, then it is sufficient.

The above responses show that NPIs do recognise that having a native-like accent has some degree of importance, even though they are split regarding that degree of importance.

In fact, while four (57.14%) interviewees viewed having a native-like accent as "not very necessary", "not very important", and "not a priority", the others (42.86%) answered that "it has some importance", "we cannot say that it is not important" and "it depends on the context".

Item 6 of the interview guide sought to find out from the informants what the target of pronunciation teaching is in Cameroon. Their comments are provided below.

- o The target is Standard British English, but as the teacher, you need to be yourself.

- o It is more important for students to be able to communicate well in English than to sound like native speakers.

- o Communication is more important here. Some teachers, especially Francophones, unfortunately do not seem to understand this. Sometimes they want to sound British, but they often mislead students.

- o If you teach the pronunciation that is prescribed in the dictionary and that your students are able to communicate well in English, then you have done what a good teacher should do.

- o As I said above, students need to be able to communicate in English. This means that you should ask yourself these questions: Can they speak English and be understood? Can they understand what other people say? After that, the rest is not very important.

- o SBE is the recommended model. It is what teachers should have as target.

- o Standard British English remains our target in Cameroon. Even if it is difficult for teachers to speak it, they must continue to have it as target.

The comments above indicate that four (57.14%) informants answered that teachers should have as goal for pronunciation teaching intelligibility or the ability of their students to communicate effectively orally in English, instead of targeting a native-like accent. However, the other three (42.86%) interviewees answered that teachers should target SBE because it is the recommended model.

Item 7 asked the NPI informants about how they would recommend teaching pronunciation in secondary school. Their answers are provided below.

o When you do speech work, check your dictionary. Then try to pronounce the words as it is prescribed in the dictionary. But when you are out of class, be yourself and pronounce the words as you normally do.

o Teachers should always teach sounds in context. Teach sounds in words, sentences, poems and tongue twisters. Do activities such as reading contests and role-play.

o Preparing the lesson well at home is very important. Teachers often fail to teach pronunciation well because they do not prepare their lessons at home. This means they should rely on the dictionary as model. Even when they have to teach a word which they did not prepare, they can take a second to check the right pronunciation in their smartphone if they have got one.

o They should prepare their lessons well at home and use the dictionary so that they teach what is officially recommended.

o This is where we have to make a difference between pronunciation teaching and accent. The right pronunciation is in the dictionary. So the teacher should go for it when teaching pronunciation. After that, he can use his natural accent.

o They should use a variety of techniques, for example minimal pairs, reading contests, dictations, tongue twisters, etc.

o Teaching pronunciation is not difficult. First, check your dictionary for the right pronunciation. Then pronounce as the dictionary prescribes. Have students listen and then repeat. You can also use tongue twisters or give activities where they spot out the word with the odd sound.

As shown in the above comments, the informants recommend that teachers use dictionaries and prepare their lessons well before teaching pronunciation. Also, two interviewees suggested that teachers try to approximate SBE accent in the classroom, but speak with their natural accent out of the classroom. Finally, three interviewees

recommended using various techniques such as listen and repeat, tongue twisters, dictations, spotting out the word with the odd sound, reading contests and role-plays.

The findings of this section reveal that NPIs have mitigated attitudes towards CamE accent. In fact, while their perception of CamE accent is positive, their beliefs and suggestions related to pronunciation teaching are not in favour of CamE accent. For instance, while the majority (04) answered that CamE accent is not inferior to SBE, said that it is not important for teachers to have a native-like accent and claimed that the goal of pronunciation teaching is intelligibility, they recommended that teachers target dictionary transcriptions that follow SBE pronunciation rules to teach pronunciation. It is obvious, therefore, that NPIs d

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that field teachers, student teachers and NPIs of English all view pronunciation as very important in ELT today. They have a positive perception of CamE accent, as they view it as a unique variety of English spoken by Cameroonians and a symbol of Cameroonian identity. Field teachers and trainee teachers equally rated it as "easy to understand", "easy to teach" and "prepares for jobs in Cameroon". However, these informants preferred a NS accent, notably SBE for the English classroom because it is beautiful and pleasant, associated with prestige, and prepares for international jobs. Also, the majority of field teachers and student teachers rated SBE as very good for students, whereas these informants mainly described CamE accent as neither good nor bad for students or not necessary for students. Finally, field teachers and trainee teachers answered that making learners acquire a native-like accent should be the goal of pronunciation teaching. This was partly corroborated by NPIs who recommended teaching the SBE pronunciation of words as found in dictionaries, even though they had stated before that intelligibility should be the goal for pronunciation instruction.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHALLENGES TO THE ADOPTION OF CAMEROON ENGLISH ACCENT AS THE MODEL FOR TEACHING AND LEARNING ENGLISH IN CAMEROON

5.0 Introduction

This section presents and analyses the results of challenges to adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. The method used for presenting and analysing these results is similar to that of the previous chapter. This means that the results provided by field teachers will be presented and analysed first, followed by those of student teachers and, finally, those of NPIs of English.

5.1 Challenges from the perspective of English language teachers

The researcher sought to find out whether informants knew which accent was officially recommended for the English language class. All 134 informants answered the question. The results are presented in the chart below.
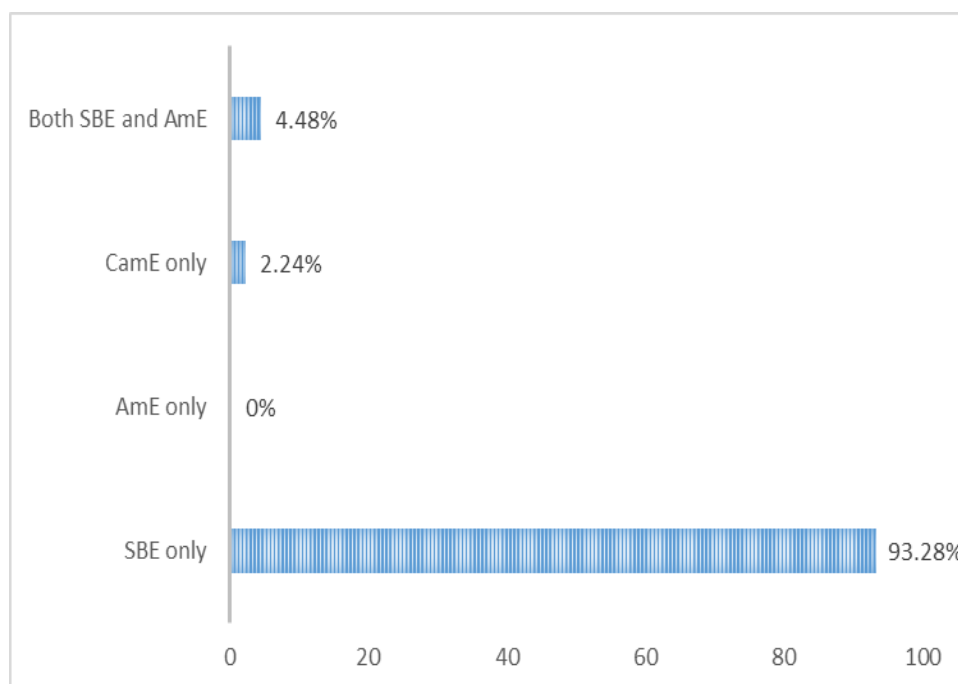
Chart 13: Teachers' responses on which accent is officially recommended for the English language class in Cameroon

As the chart above shows, 93.28% (125) of the teacher informants answered that SBE only was the officially recommended accent in the English language class. Meanwhile, 04.48% (06) of the informants said that both SBE and AmE accents were officially recommended for the classroom, whereas 02.24% chose CamE accent instead, and no informant selected AmE only.

Though the overwhelming majority of teacher informants chose SBE as the officially recommended accent in ELT in Cameroon, they might differ in their accent uses inside and outside classrooms and might have different opinions on the suitability of SBE for the Cameroonian education context.

5.1.1 Challenges related to teachers' attitudes and beliefs

Teacher informants were asked in Survey Question 17 which English accents they often used out of the classroom. The 134 informants had to select one or many accents among the options provided to them. The figure below shows the results of that question.
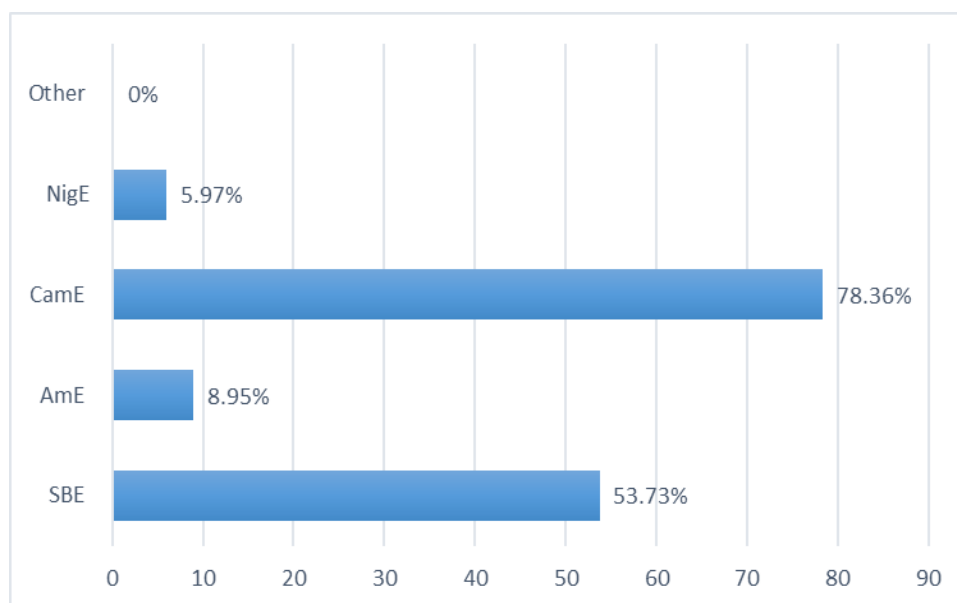
Chart 14: Teachers' most used accents out of the classroom

Chart 14 above reveals that the majority of teachers (78.36%) used CamE followed by SBE (53.73%) outside the classroom. Only a few teachers used AmE (08.95%) and NigE (05.97%).

To further discover English language teachers' accent uses, the teacher informants were asked whether their colleagues use SBE in their classrooms. Answers to Survey Question 19 show that this is not always the case, as shown in the chart below.
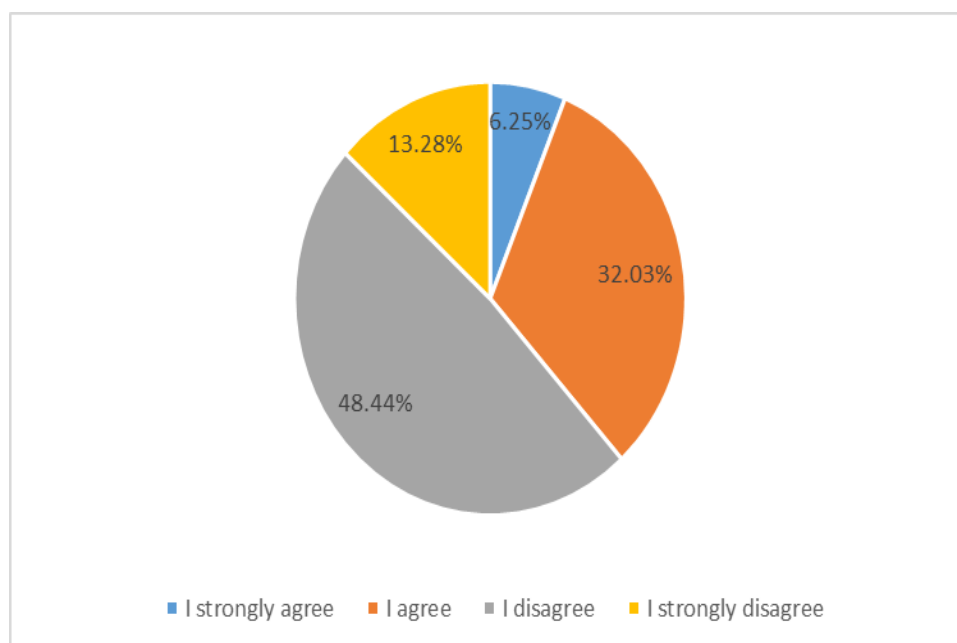
Chart 15: Teachers' opinions on whether colleagues use SBE in their classrooms

The above chart indicates that the majority of informants (more than 61.5%) did not believe that their colleagues use SBE accent in their classrooms. In fact, out of the 128 valid responses obtained for Survey Question 19, 48.44% (62) of the informants reported that they disagreed, and 13.28% (17) strongly disagreed with the claim that their colleagues use SBE accent in their classrooms. Meanwhile, about 38% of the informants believed that their colleagues use SBE accent in their classrooms, as 32.03% agreed while 06.25% strongly agreed.

After choosing the answer that they believed was appropriate, informants were asked to explain their choices. The table below presents these explanations.

Table 17: Teachers' explanations on whether their colleagues use SBE accent in their classrooms

Responses	Explanations	Occurrences
I strongly agree (N= 06)	o SBE is what is officially recommended for the classroom	02 (33.33%)
	o It is an obligation for teachers to use SBE.	02 (33.33%)
	o I can see that teachers use SBE regularly in their teaching	01 (16.67%)
	o My colleagues use SBE essentially in pronunciation activities.	01 (16.67%)
I agree (N= 22)	o It is their choice and they still communicate successfully with students.	01 (04.54%)
	o They do their best to approximate RP.	04 (18.18%)
	o They use SBE because it is recommended by the government.	07 (31.82%)
	o They pronounce as it is prescribed in dictionaries	03 (13.64%)
	o The majority have a good command of SBE accent	03 (13.64%)
	o It is the type of English that is prescribed for Cameroonian students.	01 (04.54%)
	o It is their choice, as long as students understand them, there is no problem.	01 (04.54%)
	o I communicate with them and correct them at time when they pronounce a word wrongly.	01 (04.54%)

	o They strife to speak SBE to their students.	01 (04.54%)
I disagree (N = 41)	o Many colleagues find it difficult to pronounce English words appropriately in SBE.	01 (02.44%)
	o Teachers shy away from using SBE.	02 (04.88%)
	o They pronounce as they want.	02 (04.88%)
	o My colleagues do not pay attention to SBE stress and intonation patterns when they speak.	04 (09.76%)
	o They think SBE makes them feel ridiculous, so they prefer to keep their identity.	01 (02.44%)
	o They do not stick to one particular accent; they use a variety of accents which is detrimental to teaching and learning.	01 (02.44%)
	o Most teachers have features of CamE accent in their speech.	12 (29.29%)
	o Most teachers are not grounded in the use of SBE accent.	01 (02.44%)
	o These teachers speak English with tribal or ethnic features that betray their origins.	01 (02.44%)
	o They often use a variety of accents instead: CamE, SBE, AmE and tribalised features.	01 (02.44%)
	o Some teachers are not fluent in English and speak with a francophone accent.	01 (02.44%)
	o Many teachers do not even know the correct	05 (12.2%)

	pronunciation of words.	
	o They speak naturally, except when they are teaching phonetics.	01 (02.44%)
	o Teachers do not speak it. How can they teach it?	01 (02.44%)
	o They mostly use the local accent.	01 (02.44%)
	o Most of us struggle to use SBE to no avail and finally settle with some unqualified English accent.	01 (02.44%)
	o The majority use educated CamE accent.	01 (02.44%)
	o Many students do not use SBE because of the bad influence of their teachers.	01 (02.44%)
	o Some teachers are not versed with SBE, and use what they are good at, i.e. a blend of English, French and CamE.	01 (02.44%)
	o Cameroonians don't even know the difference between SBE and other accents such as AmE.	01 (02.44%)
	o Teachers of other subjects use CamE accent because they think that their students will understand them better. This kills efforts to make students use SBE.	01 (02.44%)
I strongly disagree (N = 12)	o They speak normally.	02 (16.67%)
	o They speak like they do every day outside the classroom.	02 (16.67%)
	o They speak CamE accent.	03 (25%)

	o They speak English in many different ways. For example, some speak Francophone English while others speak Anglophone English.	01 (08.33%)
	o French-speaking colleagues speak Francophone English while English-speaking colleagues speak educated CamE accent.	01 (08.33%)
	o Most of them barely speak English.	01 (08.33%)
	o None of us masters this variety of English.	01 (08.33%)
	o They mostly communicate using CamE and feel very comfortable with that.	01 (08.33%)

The above table shows that six participants strongly agreed that their colleagues used SBE accent in their classrooms for two main reasons: SBE is the officially recommended accent (33.33%), and teachers have the obligation to use it in class (33.33%). For the response *I agree*, 22 comments were recorded, and the most commonly given reasons were that teachers use SBE accent because it is recommended by the government (31.82%), because they do their best to approximate RP (18.18%), because they pronounce as it is prescribed in dictionaries (13.64%) and because they have a good command of that accent (13.64%). The response *I disagree* generated the highest number of comments (41) among which the following ones were the most common: 29.29% of respondents explained that most teachers have features of CamE accent in their speech. Meanwhile, 12.2% of comments raised the point that many teachers do not know the correct pronunciation of words, and 9.76% of respondents in this section opined that many teachers do not pay attention to intonation and stress patterns when they speak. Finally, for the response *I strongly disagree*, 12 comments were reported, and the three most common reasons were that teachers speak CamE accent (25%), they speak normally (16.67%), and that they speak like they do every day outside the classroom (16.67%).

The responses to Survey Question 19 indicate that though SBE is officially recommended for the classroom, it is not always used by teachers. This pattern continues

after the analysis of Survey Question 20, which asked participants whether they would prefer teaching CamE accent instead of SBE. The chart below shows the results of that question.
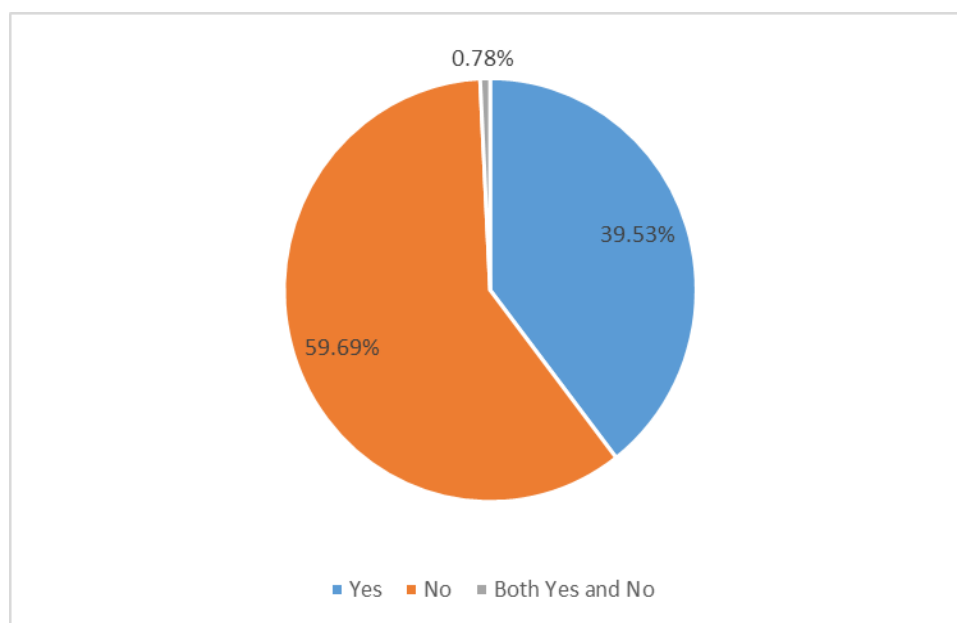
Chart 16: Would you prefer teaching CamE accent instead?

From the chart above, it is clear that most teacher informants (59.69%) do not want to teach CamE accent instead of SBE accent. They still prefer teaching SBE, the officially recommended accent. Meanwhile, 39.53% of respondents reported that they would prefer teaching CamE accent, and less than 1% of respondents answered *Yes* and *No* instead, meaning teachers were either totally against teaching CamE accent, or for it. After providing their answers, the respondents were asked to explain their choices. A total of 96 comments were obtained from the data, distributed as shown in Table 18 below.

Table 18: Teachers' explanations on whether they would prefer teaching CamE accent or not.

Answers	Explanations	Occurrences
Yes (N = 35)	o It is because our English accent is affected by our local languages and experiences.	02 (05.71%)
	o Students understand their teachers much better.	01 (02.86%)
	o I want my students to understand me well.	01 (02.86%)
	o CamE accent suits the realities of our context.	09 (25.71%)
	o It makes me feel more comfortable.	05 (14.29%)
	o It is what I learnt in school. I can give out only what I know and have learnt.	01 (02.86%)
	o Teachers and students already know it.	02 (05.71%)
	o CamE facilitates communication between teachers and students.	01 (02.86%)
	o I am already familiar with it and students too, because they hear it every day.	01 (02.86%)
	o We are Cameroonians and we should use language in a way that suits our context.	01 (02.86%)
	o It is easier to teach than SBE and AmE.	04 (11.43%)
	o It identifies us as Cameroonians.	01 (02.86%)
	o It will be difficult to get Cameroonians speak with a British accent.	01 (02.86%)

	o It easily flows and people understand you whenever you speak.	01 (02.86%)
	o It is not abstract to learners.	01 (02.86%)
	o I want students to pass the GCE exam, so I prefer to be natural for them to understand me well.	01 (02.86%)
	o In my opinion, CamE should be standardised and taught from nursery school up to Form 5 /2nde. Then in Premiere and Terminale or Lower Sixth and Upper Sixth, learners should be taught SBE and AmE accents.	01 (02.86%)
	o I prefer teaching CamE accent because students will operate in the language spoken in their environment.	01 (02.86%)
No (N = 60)	o I feel embarrassed when I have to avoid the right pronunciation of words in order to sound Cameroonian.	01 (01.67%)
	o It is not a standard accent in many countries.	12 (20%)
	o CamE accent is not widely spoken and understood well around the world.	01 (01.67%)
	o CamE accent has not been standardised yet.	07 (11.67%)
	o It is not a good foundation on which to mould good speakers of the language.	01 (01.67%)
	o CamE is plural and diverse. Besides I do not master its speaking mechanics.	01 (01.67%)

		o There are no textbooks that show how to teach it.	04 (6.67%)
		o It does not sound beautiful and pleasant.	02 (03.33%)
		o It is limited to Cameroon only.	08 (13.33%)
		o It will limit the scope of teaching and learning to a variety that is not even recognised outside Cameroon.	01 (01.67%)
		o I think SBE will help students more than CamE accent.	02 (03.33%)
		o There will be no yardstick to measure the intelligibility of spoken CamE.	01 (01.67%)
		o It is not the officially recommended accent.	03 (05%)
		o It is not universal and standard.	01 (01.67%)
		o It is not a good model and it is not what people want to learn.	01 (01.67%)
		o It is not in the best interest of our students today.	01 (01.67%)
		o SBE is what I want to teach.	01 (01.67%)
		o SBE would help the learner when he travels abroad and it will help me grow as a teacher.	01 (01.67%)
		o Learners should learn the prescribed variety despite the difficulties.	01 (01.67%)
		o It is a challenge. I like challenges.	01 (01.67%)

	o It is not a recognised model internationally. Also, it needs to be standardised first.	01 (01.67%)
	o I love what is standard and one sounds more intellectual teaching SBE.	01 (01.67%)
	o It will not help the learners in any way.	01 (01.67%)
	o It is below standard and would limit job opportunities in the country and abroad.	01 (01.67%)
	o CamE accent makes English sound ugly.	01 (01.67%)
	o It will not favour us as compared to teaching SBE.	01 (01.67%)
	o It is considered inferior. Those who speak SBE accent are admired by both educated and uneducated Cameroonians. SBE is the trend.	01 (01.67%)
	o SBE is officially recommended in the classroom and if this is not done, student pronunciation will not be good and this will deprive them of international opportunities.	01 (01.67%)
	o SBE has already been established as the official target language for schools. Notwithstanding, CamE can still serve if developed and accepted.	
Both Yes and No (N = 1)	o CamE accent prepares learners for the Cameroonian job market. On the other hand, CamE limits them to Cameroon only.	

The above table shows that the study participants provided more explanations (60) on why they would not prefer to teach CamE accent features. The most commonly given reason,

which came from 20% of respondents, was that CamE is not a standard accent in many countries around the world. This was followed by the facts that CamE is limited to Cameroon only (13.33%), that it has not been standardised yet (11.67%), and that there are no textbooks that show how to teach it (06.67%). Meanwhile, 35 comments were produced by teachers who prefer CamE accent instead of SBE. The main reason provided by 25.71% of these respondents was that CamE accent suits the realities of the Cameroonian context. This was followed by the idea that CamE makes teachers feel more comfortable (14.29%), and that this accent is easier to teach than traditional NS accents (11.43%). The results above show that the majority of teachers are not in favour of replacing SBE with CamE accent, which constitutes a major challenge to adopting CamE accent as the model for ELT practices in Cameroon.

The next survey question sought to find out from teachers if they believed that teaching CamE accent was in line with the goal of the Competency-Based Approach to prepare students for a rapid insertion into the worldwide job market. The results of this question are presented in the chart below.
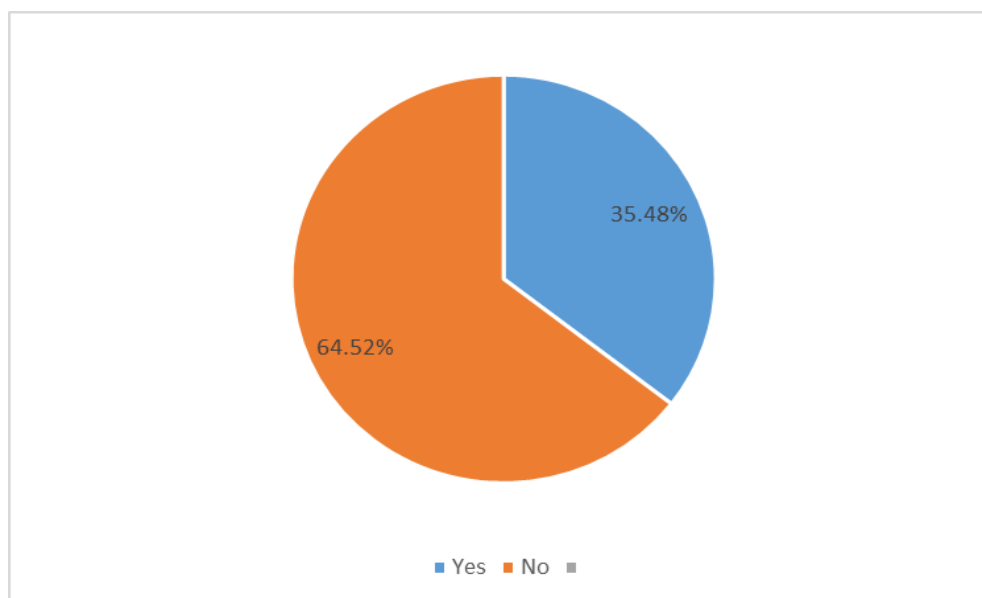
Chart 17: Teachers' responses on whether teaching CamE accent follows CBA's goal of preparing students for the job market worldwide

From the above chart, it is evident that the majority of informants do not believe that teaching CamE accent follows CBA's goal of preparing students for the job market

worldwide. In fact, out of the 124 valid responses obtained for this question, 64.52% (80) of the informants answered *No* while 35.48% (44) answered *Yes.* The reasons for the various answers are provided in Table 19 below.

Table 19: Teachers' explanations on whether teaching CamE accent is in line with the goal of CBA to prepare students for the job market worldwide

Responses	Explanations	Occurrences
Yes (N=19)	o Learners should use the language to apply for jobs or interact professionally more on the national arena than internationally.	01 (05.26%)
	o CamE accent makes teaching learner-centered. It allows learners to do tasks more easily.	01 (05.26%)
	o We should use the accent that facilitates the presentation of real-life situations.	01 (05.26%)
	o Using CamE accent promotes a learner-centered approach. We need to allow students speak in the language they understand easily.	01 (05.26%)
	o When we bring real-life situations into the classroom, we must allow learners say words in the mother tongue before saying them in the English they know best.	01 (05.26%)
	o For students to understand better, we have to avoid foreign accents which complicate matters for learners.	01 (05.26%)
	o Cameroon is the first job market for Cameroonians.	01 (05.26%)
	o We are teaching students what is their reality. This prepares them to function in our society.	01 (05.26%)
	o It is because the goal of speaking English is mutual	01 (05.26%)

	intelligibility between speakers of the language in Cameroon first.	
	o CamE accent is not taught for exams only, but also to embrace real-life situations that students would encounter in the job market.	01 (05.26%)
	o Bringing real-life situations into the classroom entails the local colour which is CamE.	01 (05.26%)
	o CamE accent will give students the competencies to communicate effectively in Cameroon.	01 (05.26%)
	o I think that Cameroonians can mutually understand each other through CamE.	01 (05.26%)
	o There is nothing wrong with CamE, though it is infiltrated by Pidgin.	01 (05.26%)
	o CamE is part of Cameroonian culture and identity.	01 (05.26%)
	o CamE accent is better suited to address real-life situations.	01 (05.26%)
	o CamE is not that different from SBE. The only distortions that occur are related to our local languages.	01 (05.26%)
	o People in the community will understand better when CamE accent is used.	01 (05.26%)
	o Students are involved in real-life situations through which they bring society into the classroom, and the language used in society outside the classroom is CamE.	01 (05.26%)

No (N= 59)	o CBA demands effective practice, and CamE does not provide it.	01 (01.69%)
	o CamE accent is not recognised out of Cameroon.	07 (10.44%)
	o It is inappropriate to teach CamE accent since it is not worth using it. Learners should be taught SBE accent.	01 (01.69%)
	o It is not appropriate for the international job market.	01 (01.69%)
	o It is not mastered worldwide.	01 (01.69%)
	o Not many users of English over the world are exposed to CamE accent.	01 (01.69%)
	o It limits learners' scope to Cameroon only.	06 (10.17%)
	o It does not prepare students for international jobs.	14 (23.73%)
	o It cannot open the doors of the world to students.	01 (01.69%)
	o CamE will not help us go international.	01 (01.69%)
	o Cameroonians will not communicate adequately with other people in the world.	04 (06.78%)
	o Cameroonians will not get international jobs if CamE is taught in schools.	04 (06.78%)
	o CamE accent is not already spoken locally. We need an international variety of English.	01 (01.69%)
	o SBE and AmE accents are instead the two accents that best prepare learners for the international job market.	01 (01.69%)
	o You need to be intelligible in English before you can get	

		an international job, and CamE accent may not be intelligible to many people around the world.	01 (01.69%)
	o	Only a variety of English that is recognised worldwide can prepare students for international jobs.	01 (01.69%)
	o	The world is a global village and the global language is English.	01 (01.69%)
	o	Learners should practise standard forms of language to communicate, and not local forms.	01 (01.69%)
	o	CBA aims at making learners see the realities of life in all their lessons, i.e. bringing society into the classroom.	01 (01.69%)
	o	Using an internationally recognised variety helps students adapt to the world better.	01 (01.69%)
	o	The worldwide market demands SBE and not CamE accent.	04 (06.78%)
	o	There may not be mutual intelligibility with speakers of other regions of the world.	01 (01.69%)
	o	If CBA is aimed at preparing students for the job market worldwide, CamE won't have a place because it will be understood within Cameroon only.	01 (01.69%)
	o	Employers worldwide want the best, and CamE is not the best.	01 (01.69%)
	o	CamE has not been accepted yet as a norm in Cameroon. Even if it was, it will encounter limitations in the international job market.	01 (01.69%)
			01 (01.69%)

		o They should provide the environment for the language to be tested.	

Table 19 above shows that a total of 78 comments were provided by teachers to explain their answers. First, 19 teachers who answered *Yes* came up with diverse explanations for their response. Though these comments were different from one another, a deeper study of their contents reveals two main points: (i) teachers believe that CamE accent prepares students to communicate with Cameroonians and have jobs in Cameroon, and (ii) it is the accent that best helps students and teachers bring real-life situations into the classroom, as required by CBA. Meanwhile, the participants who answered *No* provided the highest number of comments (59). The most common reasons they provided were that CamE accent does not prepare students for international jobs (23.73%); it is not recognised outside Cameroon (10.44%); it limits the scope of learners to Cameroon only (10.17%), and it is not the accent for the worldwide market (06.78%).

Survey Question 22 further investigated teachers' attitudinal challenges to adopting CamE accent as the pedagogical model in ELT in Cameroon by asking informants what they would do if they learned that their child was taught CamE and not SBE. The results of this question are presented in the table below.

Table 20: As a parent, what would you do if your child was taught CamE and not SBE?

Options	Occurrences (N = 119)
I would be happy because it's high time we taught our local variety of English as standard.	35 (29.41%)
I would not like it, but I would let it go.	51 (42.86%)
I would report that teacher to authorities for un-teaching children.	20 (16.81%)
Other	13 (10.92%)

The table above indicates that the majority of informants are not enchanted with the idea of using CamE accent in the classroom to teach their children. In fact, 42.86% of the respondents would not appreciate if they found that their child was taught CamE and not SBE, but would let it go. About 16.81% of the respondents indicated that they would report the teacher to authorities instead. This means that more than 59% of respondents would not like to know that their child is being taught CamE accent. Meanwhile, 29.41% of participants said they would be happy while 10.92% preferred other options that are listed below.

- As an English teacher, I will use the opportunity to teach my child the correct form.

- I will teach my children SBE pronunciation features at home (03 occurrences in the data).

- I strongly believe that students should be taught standard language forms.

- I may change my child's school because reporting people does not help in Cameroon. No one cares.

- I will meet the teacher privately and make him understand why teaching SBE is better.

- I would be indifferent because the teacher himself may not be grounded in SBE, and forcing it would un-teach my child instead.

- I will emphasise the importance of SBE to my child at home and make him understand that it is preferable.

- I will meet that teacher and find out his/her reasons. I just need to be convinced that it is not bad for my kid.

- I will make my child understand that SBE is the norm and will drill her to become proficient in it.

- If it is official, it won't bother me because I know what the child learns will reflect the realities he meets within his country.

The above comments show that some teachers would teach SBE accent to their child at home or make them understand that it is the model they should strive to speak instead of learning CamE accent. The results of Survey Question 22 further show that some challenges to adopting CamE accent as the pedagogical model in Cameroon are ingrained in teachers' belief systems and, therefore, difficult to alter.

5.1.2 Challenges related to pedagogical materials

This section highlights challenges to adopting CamE accent as the language teaching and learning model in Cameroon that relate mainly to pedagogical materials. Survey Questions 23, 24 and 25 sought to find out whether the officially recommended ELT materials (textbooks, teachers' books, and other materials) promote CamE accent features. The findings are not positive. First, Chart 18 below shows the results of Survey Question 23 which asked teachers whether they agreed that the officially recommended English language textbooks used in secondary education expose learners to CamE accent features in their pronunciation lessons.
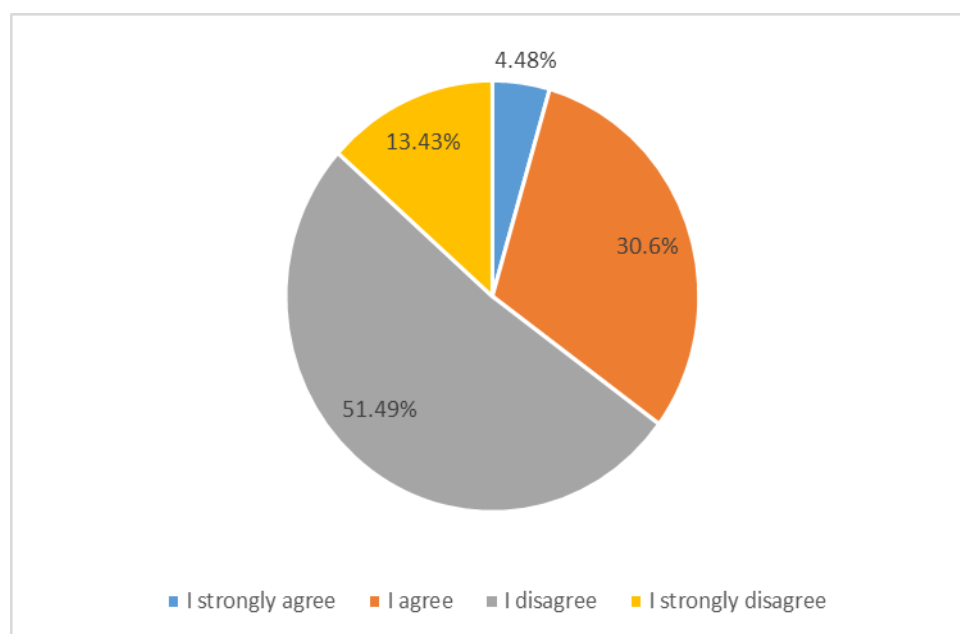
Chart 18: Teachers' opinions on whether the officially recommended textbooks expose learners to CamE accent features in pronunciation lessons

The above chart shows that 51.49% (69) of the 134 respondents said they disagree with the claim that the English language textbooks expose learners to CamE accent features

in pronunciation lessons. In the same way, 13.43% (18) of the participants said that they strongly disagree with the claim. This means that more than 64% of informants did not believe that textbooks promote CamE pronunciation features. Meanwhile, 30.6% (41) of teacher informants agreed with the claim, while 04.48% (06) strongly agreed.

The informants were asked to provide explanations for their responses. A total of 81 comments were obtained. These are shown in Table 21 below.

Table 21: Teachers' explanations on why they agree or not with the claim that the officially recommended textbooks expose students to CamE accent features

Responses	Explanations	Occurrences
I strongly agree (N = 02)	o All communicative situations implementing the four language skills are showcasing our daily life in our various Cameroonian cultural environments.	01 (50%)
	o CamE is part of our linguistic culture, and we are gradually seeing this in textbooks.	01 (50%)

I agree (N = 15)	o Some authors use inappropriate language structures in those textbooks.	01 (06.66%)
	o Most of the authors of these textbooks don't bother much about SBE.	01 (06.66%)
	o The English in these textbooks helps bring learning near language users.	01 (06.66%)
	o Book authors treat pronunciation lessons based on their own ways of pronouncing words without consulting a dictionary for the SBE form.	01 (06.66%)
	o There are very few lessons on SBE accent, and CamE accent is gaining ground.	01 (06.66%)
	o CamE accent is the local reality, and this should be represented in textbooks.	01 (06.66%)
	o There are only a few pronunciation lessons in those textbooks, and they are not taught in SBE.	01 (06.66%)
	o The textbooks contain language features that reflect students' realities and expose them to those features, including CamE accent.	01 (06.66%)
	o This explains why Cameroonians do not speak SBE accent.	01 (06.66%)
	o Graded English, for example, gives the standard form as well as the local pronunciation of words.	01 (06.66%)
	o There are only a few pronunciation lessons. So teachers	01 (06.66%)

		get used to CamE accent.	
	o	Those textbooks are written by Cameroonians who have a Cameroonian experience. These authors use some words that are not found in the English dictionary, and this affects their pronunciation in English.	01 (06.66%)
	o	Teaching aids are from the local environment.	01 (06.66%)
	o	Those textbooks have the pronunciation that English teachers know well.	01 (06.66%)
	o	The English in these textbooks makes learning easier and facilitates comprehension for students.	01(06.66%)

I disagree (N = 51)	o Those textbooks are written in plain English.	01 (01.96%)
	o Very few words that reflect Cameroonian realities are found in these books.	01 (01.96%)
	o SBE phonetic alphabet is used in those books.	01 (01.96%)
	o Most lessons are designed to teach SBE pronunciation features.	09 (17.65%)
	o All English language textbooks use SBE pronunciation features only.	22 (43.14%)
	o Most textbooks have scanty pronunciation lessons, but they use SBE only.	05 (09.80%)
	o Pedagogic inspectors do not follow the needs and behaviour of learners, even if they want SBE. Instead what the inspectors believe is relevant must be taught to students at all costs.	01 (01.96%)
	o Even a bad textbook can be well used by a good teacher. A good teacher should use SBE.	01 (01.96%)
I strongly disagree (N = 13)	o All books emphasise SBE features only.	13(100%)

Table 21 above shows that only 02 reasons were given by the participants who strongly agreed with the claim that the officially recommended textbooks expose learners to CamE accent features in pronunciation lessons. While both explanations hardly deal with pronunciation instruction, the second acknowledges the increasing presence of CamE features in textbooks. For the answer *I agree*, 15 comments were reported, and they are all different from one another. Nevertheless, a close study of these comments indicates that respondents

believe that there is an insufficient number of pronunciation lessons in the textbooks, and that these textbooks expose learners to CamE accent features. Among the 51 comments obtained by the respondents who disagreed, the three most common explanations include: all English language textbooks use SBE pronunciation features only (43.14%); most lessons are designed to teach SBE pronunciation features only (17.65%); and though most textbooks have scanty pronunciation lessons, they use SBE features only (09.80%). All 13 valid responses obtained from informants who strongly disagreed equally raised the idea that the officially recommended textbooks emphasise SBE features only.

Survey Question 25 brought a nuance to Question 23, as it asked informants if they believed that the officially recommended English language teaching materials (dictionaries, teaching aids and other resources) facilitate the teaching of CamE accent features. A total of 130 valid responses were obtained as shown in Chart 19 below.
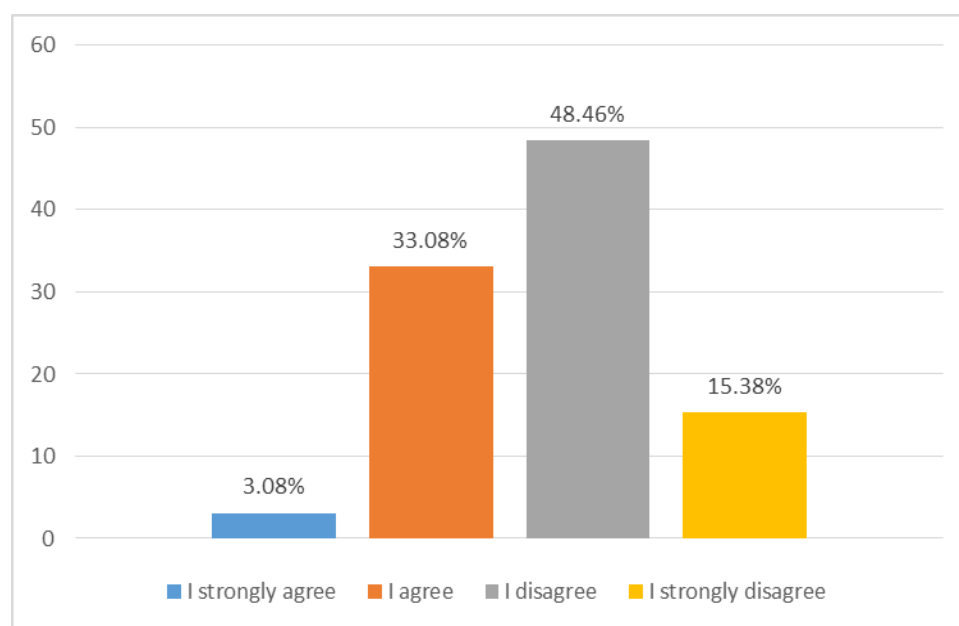
Chart 19: Teachers' opinions on whether the officially recommended ELT materials facilitate the teaching of CamE accent features

The above chart shows that 48.46% (63) of the informants disagreed that the recommended ELT materials facilitate the teaching of CamE accent features. In the same way, 15.38% (20) of the respondents strongly disagreed. This means that more than 63% of the participants did not believe that ELT materials facilitate teaching CamE accent features.

Meanwhile, 33.08% (43) answered that they agree while 03.08% (04) answered that they strongly agree.

Survey Question 24 sought to find out from the informants whether teachers' guides suggested that they expose learners to CamE accent during pronunciation lessons. The results obtained from answers provided by 130 informants are shown in the chart below.
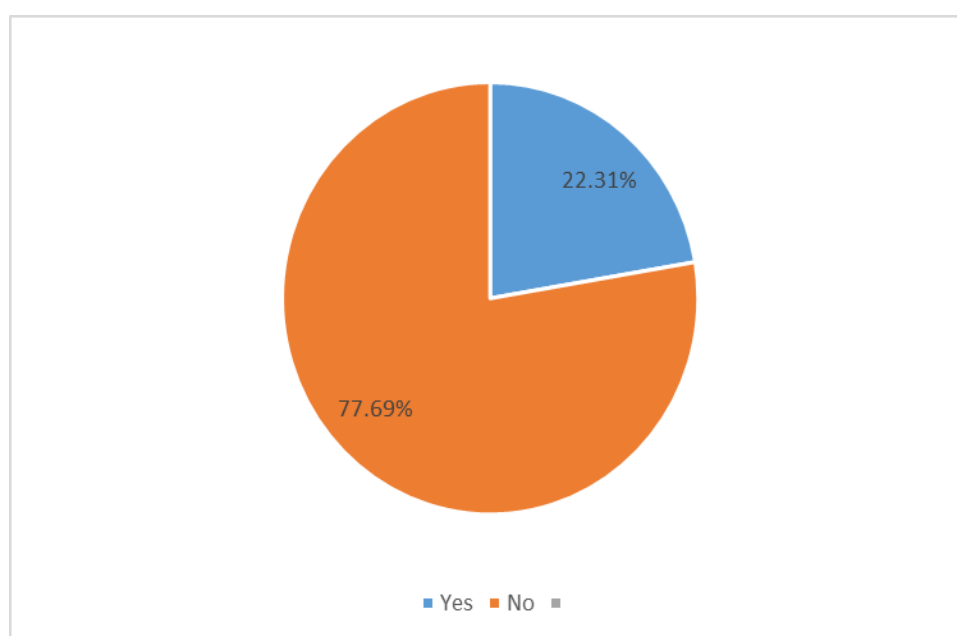
Chart 20: Do teachers' guides suggest that learners be exposed to CamE accent features in pronunciation lessons?

One hundred and thirty valid responses were recorded from the participants. Chart 20 above reveals that the majority of teacher participants do not believe that teachers' guides suggest that learners be exposed to CamE accent features in pronunciation lessons. In fact, 77.69% (101) of the teachers answered *No* whereas 22.31% (29) answered *Yes* to the question.

The above results obtained from Survey Questions 23, 24 and 25 clearly show that the majority of teacher informants do not believe that the officially recommended ELT materials in use today promote CamE accent features. The section below studies challenges to the adoption of CamE accent from a student teacher perspective.

5.2 Challenges from the perspective of student teachers

This section presents the results of questions relating to challenges to adopting CamE accent as the pedagogical model in ELT in Cameroon from the perspective of student teachers. First, informants were asked which English accent is recommended for the classroom. Their responses are shown in Chart 21 below.
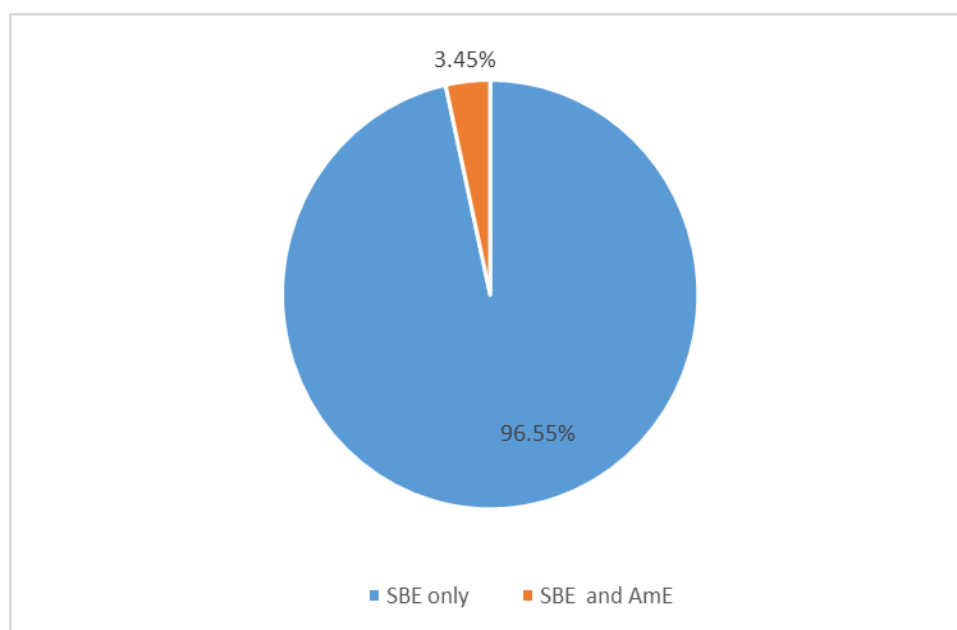
Chart 21: Student teachers' responses on which accent is recommended for the classroom

The above chart indicates that the overwhelming majority of participants (112 which represents 96.55%) answered that the officially recommended accent in the English language classroom is SBE. Meanwhile, 03.45% (04) of the participants answered that both SBE and AmE are the two recommended accents. Neither CamE only nor AmE only was chosen by participants. These answers show that the overwhelming majority of student teachers are aware that SBE is the accent recommended for the English language class in Cameroon.

This section of the thesis presents two types of challenges: challenges related to participants' attitudes and beliefs and challenges related to training future teachers.

5.2.1 Challenges related to student teachers' attitudes and beliefs

Survey Question 17 asked participants which English accents they often use in formal interactions. The results are presented in Table 22 below.

Table 22: Which accents do you use in formal interactions?

	Number	**%**
SBE	50	43.10
AmE	02	01.72
CamE	37	31.90
Both SBE and CamE	27	23.28
Total	116	100%

The above table indicates a preference for SBE and CamE accents; in fact, 43.10% of informants answered that they use SBE while 31.9% chose CamE, and 23.28% said they use both SBE and CamE. Meanwhile, 01.72% of informants only chose AmE as one of the accents that they use in formal interactions.

Challenges to student teachers' attitudes and beliefs were further investigated in Survey Question 20 which asked participants which English accent they could effectively use in the classroom. SBE and CamE were the choices of the overwhelming majority of participants as found in Table 23 below.

Table 23: Which English accent can you effectively use in the classroom?

	Number	%
SBE	56	48.28
CamE	50	43.10
AmE	05	04.31
SBE and CamE	04	03.45
SBE, AmE and CamE	01	00.86
Total	116	100

As the above table indicates, 48.28% of informants answered that SBE is the accent they can effectively use in the classroom, while 43.10% reported that CamE is the accent they could use well in the classroom 04.31% only said they prefer AmE accent. Though participants were asked to choose one accent only, a few (05) answered that they could teach two accents or more. In fact, 04 respondents said they could use both SBE and CamE while one informant reported that he could use three English accents effectively, namely SBE, AmE and CamE.

Survey Question 25 asked informants what they would do if they discovered that a colleague has been teaching CamE and not SBE features to his/her students. Their responses are shown in Table 24 below.

Table 24: Student teachers' responses on what they would do if they discovered that a colleague has been teaching CamE and not SBE features to students

Options	Occurrences (N= 113)
I would be happy because it's time we taught our local variety of English as standard.	26 (23.01%)
I would not like it, but I would let it go.	69 (61.06%)
I would report that teacher to authorities for un-teaching children	17 (15.04%)
Other	01 (00.88%)

From the table above, it is evident that the majority of informants (61.06%) would not like to discover that a colleague has been teaching CamE features instead of SBE, but they would not equally wish to see any disciplinary measure taken against that teacher. However, 15.04% of participants said that they would report their colleagues to school authorities for un-teaching children if they taught CamE accent. This means that about 76% of respondents would not like their colleagues to teach CamE features instead of SBE. Nevertheless, close to a quarter of participants (23.01%) answered that they would be happy if CamE features were taught to students. One respondent preferred an option different from the three suggested in the questionnaires. S/he said:

o I will advise that colleague to stop teaching CamE features.

Survey Question 26 asked informants whether they thought that the officially recommended English language textbooks in secondary education expose learners to CamE accent features in pronunciation lessons. The results of this question are presented in the chart below.
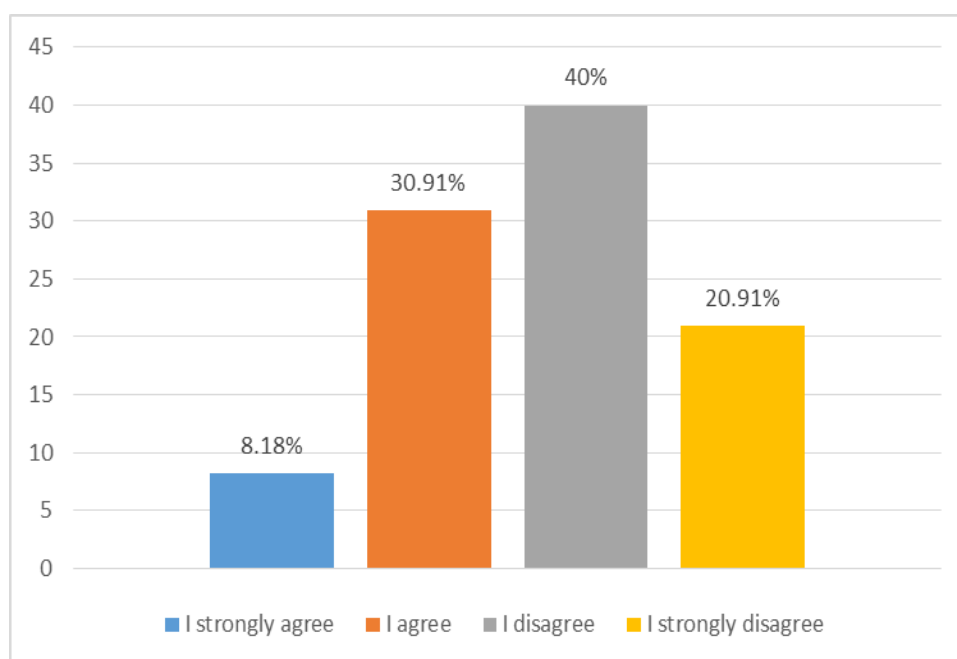
Chart 22: Student teachers' opinions on whether the officially recommended textbooks expose learners to CamE accent features in pronunciation lessons

The above figure shows that the majority of the 110 informants who answered this question either disagreed or strongly disagreed. In fact, 40% (44) of informants answered that they disagree with the claim that the officially recommended textbooks expose learners to CamE accent features in pronunciation lessons. Also, 20.91% (23) strongly disagreed with the claim. This means that more than 60% of informants did not believe that textbooks expose learners to CamE accent features. Meanwhile, 30.91% agreed (34) while 08.18% (09) strongly agreed.

Participants were equally asked to provide explanations to their answers. A total of 65 comments were collected from the data, as shown in Table 25 below.

Table 25: Student teachers' explanations on whether the officially recommended textbooks expose learners to CamE accent features in pronunciation lessons

Responses	Explanations	Occurrences
I strongly agree (N = 02)	o Most of the textbooks in the school programme are written by Cameroonians, which explains why there are CamE features in those books.	01 (50%)
	o There are lessons on pronunciation, and some transcriptions in those books.	01 (50%)
I agree (N= 11)	o The expressions in these books are often Cameroonian and the teachers themselves use a Cameroonian accent in class.	01 (09.09%)
	o Teachers are Cameroonians. They speak and write CamE.	01 (09.09%)
	o The context in which these textbooks are conceived plays a significant role in the introduction of CamE features.	01 (09.09%)
	o Some of the textbooks have clear CamE features.	01 (09.09%)
	o The textbooks used in Cameroonian schools are not strictly verified to see if contents are standard or if they suit the context.	01 (09.09%)
	o In reading classes, many teachers use CamE features in the pronunciation of words.	01 (09.09%)
	o Most teachers use CamE in the classroom and not SBE which is the recommended model.	01 (09.09%)
	o Some of the textbooks were edited by teams of teachers	

		who have little knowledge of SBE or AmE.	01 (09.09%)
	o	In these textbooks, there is a mixture of British, American and CamE accent features.	01 (09.09%)
	o	Many novels for example are written in CamE, and they further expose students to the Cameroonian pronunciation of words.	01 (09.09%)
	o	We cannot learn a foreign language without it being changed by the realities of our context.	01 (09.09%)
I disagree (N= 22)	o	Pronunciation depends on the teacher and not the books.	01 (04.54%)
	o	Words in those books are transcribed according to the IPA chart.	01 (04.54%)
	o	Some textbooks are written by authors who studied in Britain and who use SBE.	01 (04.54%)
	o	The English language textbooks are chosen in compliance with SBE, but some local words or realities justify the use of CamE features.	01 (04.54%)
	o	Teachers are expected to teach good English pronunciation in their lessons.	01 (04.54%)
	o	Textbooks are designed to promote SBE features.	04 (18.18%)
	o	Until now, CamE has not been standardised, so it cannot be used in the classroom.	01 (04.54%)
	o	If students learn English, it is because they want to get good jobs. So the English of the job market worldwide (SBE) should be taught.	01 (04.54%)
	o	The language elements of those textbooks are in SBE.	02 (09.09%)

	o The contents of textbooks focus on everything else than pronunciation.	01 (04.54%)
	o These textbooks provide SBE features, but teachers fail to use them properly.	01 (04.54%)
	o Learners are exposed to SBE accent only in textbooks.	06 (27.27%)
	o Teachers do not often transcribe the words they want to teach. Because of this, they pronounce as they want or think it's correct.	01 (04.54%)
I strongly disagree (N =10)	o There is no proof that there are features of CamE in textbooks.	01 (10%)
	o Phonetic transcriptions in those books follow the rules of SBE.	01 (10%)
	o If those textbooks had CamE accent features, then they should not have been included in official programmes.	01 (10%)
	o Some of the authors of these textbooks are British so they cannot encourage the use of CamE knowing that it not the standard variety.	01 (10%)
	o It won't be helpful for learners to learn CamE features in textbooks because their English is already influenced by their mother tongues and other languages.	01 (10%)
	o Nowadays, standard is context-based and I wish we could really teach CamE accent.	01 (10%)
	o In official textbooks, we find SBE and some AmE.	01 (10%)
	o Pronunciation lessons are done in SBE.	02 (20%)

	o Pronunciation is part of language teaching and books teach students to pronounce like the British.	01 (10%)

The above table indicates that there are two explanations only for the response *I strongly agree*, and none of the two really explains why the respondents strongly agreed with the claim that the officially recommended textbooks expose learners to CamE accent features in pronunciation lessons. For the response *I agree*, the 11 explanations provided by respondents were different from one another. However, a closer study of these answers shows that many respondents believe that because textbooks are written by Cameroonians who may not master SBE well, they certainly contain CamE pronunciation features. For the response *I disagree*, 22 comments were recorded, and the most common explanation provided by participants was that textbooks expose students to SBE accent features only (27.27%). Also, 18.18% of respondents believed that textbooks are designed to promote SBE accent features, and 09.09% claimed that the language elements of textbooks are in SBE. Finally, informants who selected the answer *I strongly disagree* provided 10 explanations. While some comments claim that lessons follow SBE features, others suggest that CamE features cannot be present in the textbooks because such features are inferior or sub-standard.

The results of this section clearly indicate student teachers' preference for SBE in the classroom, and not CamE accent, as the majority of respondents use it in formal communicative events, claim that they can effectively use it in the classroom, would not appreciate if CamE features were taught instead, and disagree that the officially recommended textbooks expose learners to CamE accent features. The section below presents the results of challenges related to teacher training.

5.2.2 Challenges related to the training of future English language teachers

This section aims to study factors that are likely to explain student teachers' general attitudes towards adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English language in Cameroon. Survey Question 17, for instance, inquired from informants which English accents they were exposed to during training. Participants were allowed to tick all options that applied to their training experience from a list of accents. The table below presents the results of this question.

Table 26: Which English accents are you exposed to during training?

	Number (N=116)	%
SBE	91	78.45
AmE	45	38.79
CamE	73	62.93
NigE	05	04.31
Other	00	00

Table 26 above indicates that student teachers are exposed to at least four English accents during their training. These include SBE, AmE, CamE and NigE. The results show that the majority of informants claim to be exposed to SBE (78.45%) and CamE (62.93%). Also, nearly two fifths of the informants (38.79%) are exposed to AmE, while 04.31% only are exposed to NigE. The participants did not mention any other accent they were exposed to during training.

In Survey Question 21, participants were asked to agree or disagree with the claim that their teacher trainers recommend that they use CamE accent in the classroom. The participants' responses are presented in Chart 23 below.
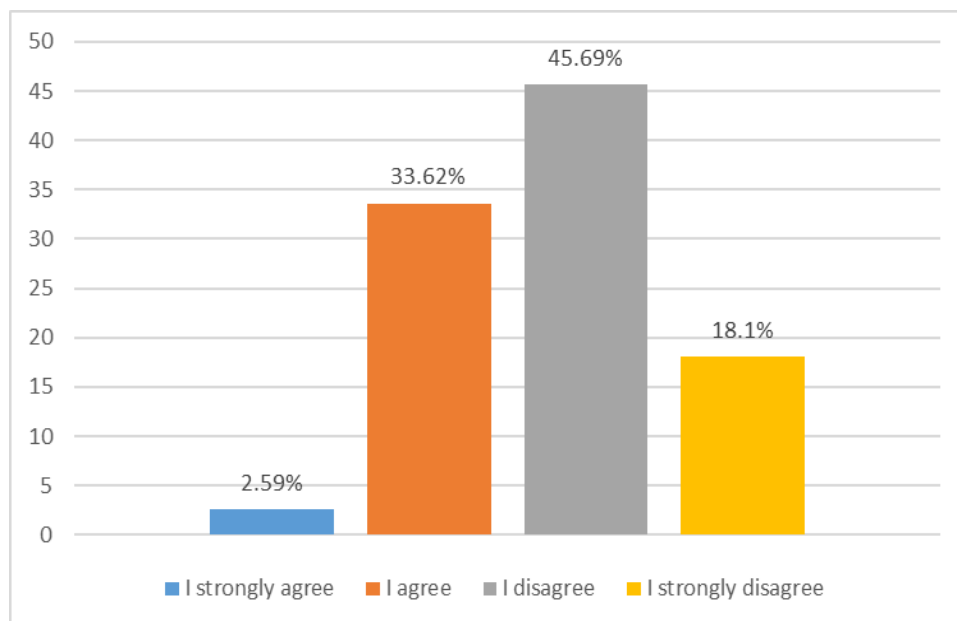
Chart 23: Our trainers recommend that we use CamE accent in the classroom

From the above chart, it is evident that most respondents either disagreed or strongly disagreed that their trainers recommend using CamE accent in the classroom. In fact, 45.69% (53) of the informants answered that they disagree with the claim that trainers recommend the use of CamE accent in the classroom, and 18.1% (21) strongly disagreed. This means that more than 63% of the 116 participants did not agree with the claim. Meanwhile, more than one third of the participants agreed or strongly agreed with the claim. In fact, 33.62% (39) agreed and 02.59% (03) strongly agreed.

Survey Question 22 sought to find out whether informants agreed or disagreed with the claim that their trainers use CamE accent in their lectures. The results are presented in the chart below.
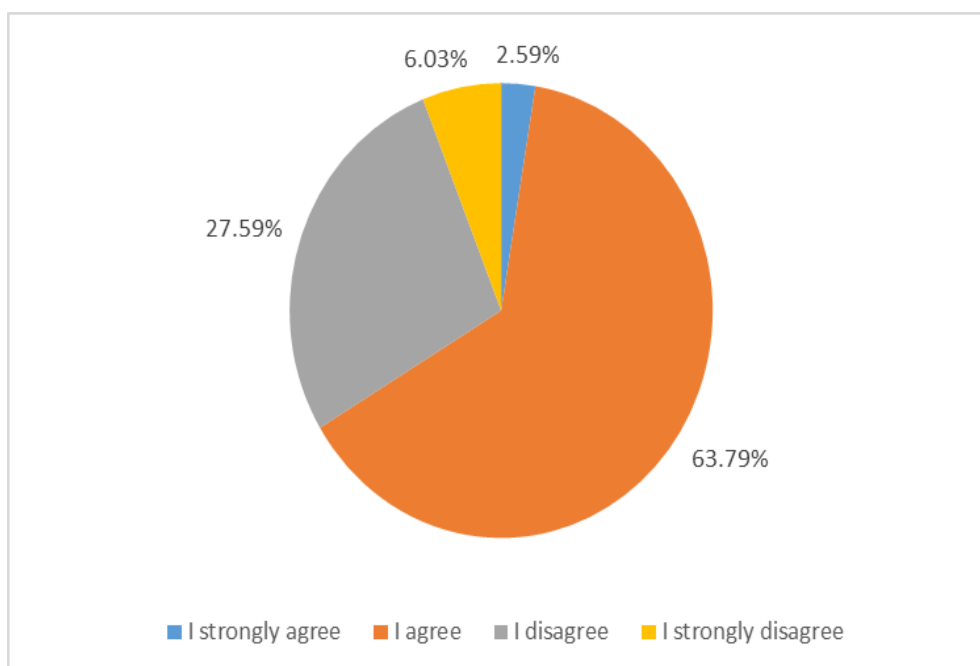
Chart 24: Our trainers use CamE accent in their lectures

As the above chart shows, the majority of informants (74 representing 63.79%) answered that they agree with the claim that their trainers use CamE accent in their lectures, and 02.59% (03) strongly agreed. This suggests that more than 66% of respondents agreed with the claim. Meanwhile, about a third of all 116 informants disagreed; in fact, 27.59% (32) answered that they disagree and 06.03% (07) strongly disagreed.

Survey Question 23 asked informants which English accent they would prefer their trainers to use during lectures. All 116 participants answered the question, and the results are presented in the chart below.
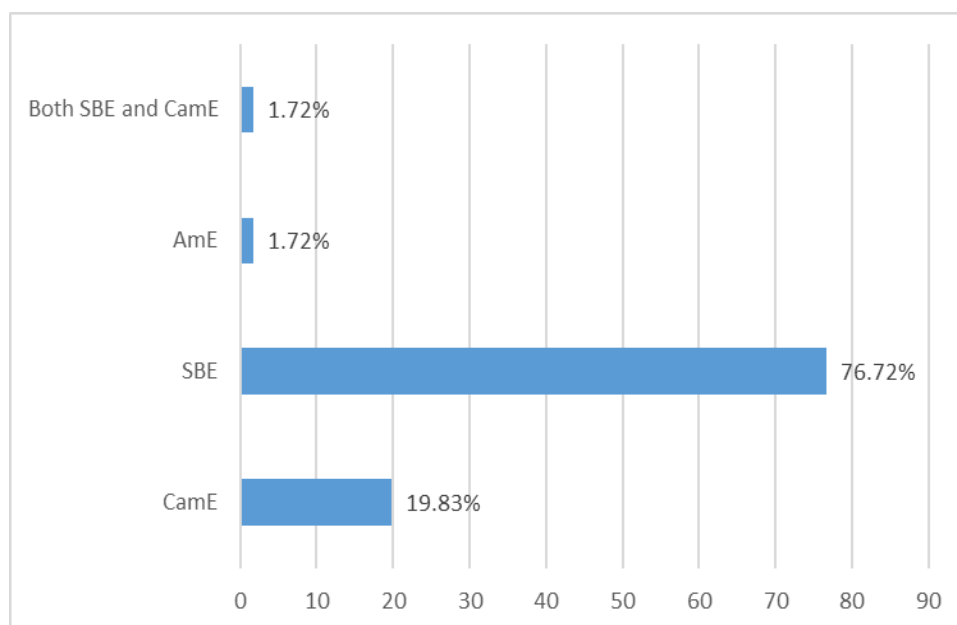
Chart 25: Which English accent would you prefer your trainers to use?

The above chart shows that out of the 116 responses obtained, 76.72% (89) of the participants said they would prefer their trainers to use SBE in their lectures. Meanwhile, 19.83% (23) preferred CamE while 01.72% (02) chose AmE accent and the same number chose both SBE and CamE. Following their answers, participants were asked to explain their choices. A total of 83 comments were collected, as shown in the table below.

Table 27: Student teachers' explanations on which accent they would prefer their trainers to use in class

Responses	Explanations	Occurrences
CamE (N= 15)	o It is the accent all Cameroonians are easily exposed to at a young age.	01 (06.66%)
	o I can easily understand what my teachers say.	01 (06.66%)
	o It is closer to me and I don't lack words when I use it to communicate.	01 (06.66%)
	o I can understand it without making efforts.	08 (53.33%)

	o It is more appropriate to our social milieu.	01 (06.66%)
	o We are Cameroonians.	01 (06.66%)
	o We should not distance ourselves from our roots.	01 (06.66%)
	o In our context, some realities are better understood with CamE accent.	01 (06.66%)
SBE (N = 64)	o It is beautiful in the ears and easy to understand.	01 (01.56%)
	o It is beautiful and pleasant.	01 (01.56%)
	o We want to be proficient in English and speak like native speakers.	01 (01.56%)
	o It is SBE that will open the doors of the world to each and every one of us.	01 (01.56%)
	o It will help us to be in contact with the accent that we have to teach.	01 (01.56%)
	o It is because students have to use SBE in formal interactions.	01 (01.56%)
	o It is easier to speak and more formal.	01 (01.56%)
	o It enables students acquire the language that helps them interact fairly with the rest of the world.	01 (01.56%)
	o It is better to use the standard form of English than to go the wrong way while teaching.	01 (01.56%)
	o It will help insert students smoothly into the worldwide job market.	01 (01.56%)

		o It is the standard form of the language which should be learned and used.	01 (01.56%)
		o It is easy to understand and speak.	04 (06.25%)
		o SBE will allow me to communicate everywhere in the world.	01 (01.56%)
		o Teachers should use the standard accent.	01 (01.56%)
		o It is what we are recommended to teach to young learners in secondary schools.	01 (01.56%)
		o It is what is recommended for the English classroom.	05 (07.81%)
		o It is what we teach in the classroom.	01 (01.56%)
		o It is good to hear correct language usage.	01 (01.56%)
		o CamE is not helpful for us in class.	01 (01.56%)
		o I feel more comfortable with it because it is highly intelligible.	01 (01.56%)
		o Teacher trainers must use the standard accent.	01 (01.56%)
		o It is what we must speak.	01 (01.56%)
		o English is not our language and if we use it, we should be intelligible to other speakers of English abroad.	01 (01.56%)
		o It's easy to understand and hear what is being said as compared to AmE which is fast in speech. It is the door to international relations.	01 (01.56%)
		o It is the variety that has been adopted. It is this variety	

		that will help students more.	01 (01.56%)
	o	It is the variety that exposes them to more opportunities. It is also true that some of our Cameroonian realities can only be better understood in CamE.	01 (01.56%)
	o	It is the legacy of history. It gives teachers and students a native-like command of language.	01 (01.56%)
	o	It is a prestige variety.	07 (10.94%)
	o	It is a standard variety.	05 (07.81%)
	o	If teachers use SBE, it will encourage students to speak like them.	06 (09.37%)
	o	SBE has the required linguistic features that are needed.	01 (01.56%)
	o	It is the standard variety recommended for Cameroonian schools.	05 (07.81%)
	o	It is one of the most important varieties in the world.	01 (01.56%)
	o	It is more motivating for students.	01 (01.56%)
	o	It is a reference accent in the world.	01 (01.56%)
	o	SBE will help equip students with a solid base in pronunciation.	01 (01.56%)
	o	It is used for international communication and is useful at the global level.	01 (01.56%)
	o	SBE will help students do better not only in pronunciation, but also speaking.	01 (01.56%)

AmE (N= 02)	○ It is the accent that is up to international standards.	01 (50%)
	○ It is an internationally recognised accent that is similar to CamE.	01 (50%)
Both SBE and CamE (N= 02)	○ CamE features are inevitable in the speech of Cameroonians, even when we use SBE because we are non-native speakers of English.	01 (50%)
	○ We can use SBE, but in the course of teaching, we must differentiate CamE and SBE.	01 (50%)

The above table shows that more comments (64) were provided by the respondents who preferred SBE. The analysis reveals that the most commonly used explanations include: SBE is a prestige variety (10.94%); students will be encouraged to speak SBE accent if their teachers speak it first (09.37%); it is the standard variety recommended for Cameroonian schools (07.81%); it is what is recommended for the English class (07.81%); it is easy to understand and speak (06.25%). The table above equally shows that 15 comments were produced by the respondents who preferred CamE accent. About half (53.33%) of these respondents explained that Cameroonians can understand CamE accent without making efforts because they are exposed to it. Also, 02 participants only chose AmE accent because it is recognised worldwide, while the 02 participants who preferred both SBE and CamE explained that their choice was motivated by the recurrence of features of both accents in the speech of Cameroonians.

The next question, Survey Question 24, asked participants if they thought that teaching CamE accent was in line with the goal of CBA to prepare students for the job market worldwide. The results indicate that the overwhelming majority of participants answered *No* as shown in the chart below.
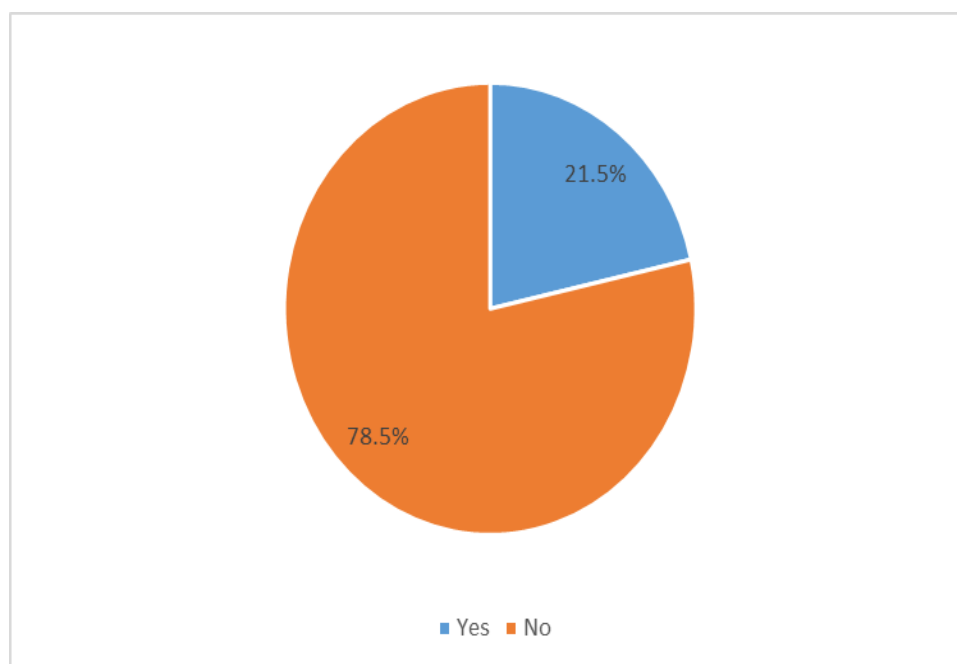
Chart 26: Student teachers' opinions on whether teaching CamE accent is in line with CBA's goal to prepare students for the job market worldwide

As the above chart shows, 78.5% (84) of the 107 informants who answered this question preferred the response *No,* meaning that they did not think that teaching CamE accent aligns with the goal of CBA to prepare students for the job market worldwide. Meanwhile, 21.5% (23) answered *Yes*, meaning that they believe that teaching CamE accent espouses the goal of CBA to prepare learners for the international job market.

Participants were also asked to explain their choices. A total of 56 comments were recorded as shown in Table 28 below.

Table 28: Student teachers' explanations on whether teaching CamE accent follows the goal of CBA to prepare students for the international job market

Responses	Explanations	Occurrences
Yes (N = 13)	o The job market worldwide is for everybody. CamE accent should be seen as a sign of identity.	01 (07.69%)
	o CamE is the accent mostly used in professional contexts in Cameroon.	01 (07.69%)

		o By knowing CamE accent, we are able to see where we deviate or abide with SBE.	01 (07.69%)
		o CBA helps learners acquire knowledge more easily, and CamE accent facilitates understanding.	01 (07.69%)
		o Students understand better when teachers use language that is accessible.	01 (07.69%)
		o Bearing in mind the fact that CBA has not been well implemented in Cameroon, using CamE is but normal because we have local realities that must be taken into consideration whatever the method of teaching.	01 (07.69%)
		o CBA seeks to enhance students' knowledge of what they are already familiar with. CamE is then the best channel to apply CBA.	01 (07.69%)
		o One cannot speak a language that does not belong to him. English in Cameroon belongs to us and teaching must be adapted to that reality.	01 (07.69%)
		o We are in Cameroon and what we speak is CamE.	01 (07.69%)
		o CamE accent prepares us to socialise in our environment.	01 (07.69%)
		o Teaching CamE accent prepares learners for the job market in Cameroon.	01 (07.69%)
		o CamE is part of our identity.	01 (07.69%)
		o When students start working, they face the reality of the field, and out of school, there is one reality: CamE accent.	01 (07.69%)

No		
(N = 43)	o CamE is not recognised on the international scene.	03 (06.98%)
	o CamE is a substandard form and not all learners want to learn it. It is preferable to go with the standard accent which is SBE.	01 (02.32%)
	o CamE will not insert students into the more demanding international job market.	01 (02.32%)
	o CamE accent is most often not well understood by native speakers of English.	01 (02.32%)
	o CamE is not appropriate with CBA.	01 (02.32%)
	o Because CamE is not recognised worldwide, it will be difficult for Cameroonians to interact with other speakers of English around the world.	05 (11.63%)
	o CamE is considered as a deviation of SBE, therefore, it limits openness to the world.	01 (02.32%)
	o The government will not achieve the goals of CBA if CamE is used in the classroom.	01 (02.32%)
	o CamE is intelligible to Cameroonians only; it is not easy to get an international job with it.	01 (02.32%)
	o There are some jobs you will never get when you speak CamE accent.	01 (02.32%)
	o CamE accent is not known worldwide, so teaching it to students will be like tying "nkwi" in leaves.	01 (02.32%)
	o CamE is not yet an autonomous variety of English. We still	

		need to rely on international norms, a consequence of globalisation.	01 (02.32%)
	o	CamE has not been standardised yet, so it is not recognised worldwide.	01 (02.32%)
	o	This is because CamE is a blend of SBE and some interference from local languages in Cameroon.	01 (02.32%)
	o	CamE limits opportunities to get international jobs.	03 (06.98%)
	o	CamE accent is somehow a stigmatised variety of English.	01 (02.32%)
	o	CamE accent is not meant to be used in the classroom.	03 (06.98%)
	o	CamE is not for the classroom because it is not accepted out of Cameroon.	01 (02.32%)
	o	CamE brings down the level of pronunciation of students and reduces their English skills as well.	01 (02.32%)
	o	Teaching CamE accent won't be a good idea because CamE speech is not intelligible everywhere around the world.	01 (02.32%)
	o	CamE accent is not suitable for a demanding job market worldwide since it is spoken by Cameroonians only.	01 (02.32%)
	o	The predominant language variety used in the worldwide job market is SBE.	01 (02.32%)
	o	The job market worldwide does not recognise CamE, but SBE instead.	01 (02.32%)

		o CamE accent is limited to Cameroon only.	03 (06.98%)
		o CamE accent has not been codified yet.	01 (02.32%)
		o CamE accent is mostly spoken in Cameroon and will not be understood by British and American people.	01 (02.32%)
		o CamE accent is limited to Cameroon and has no prestige.	01 (02.32%)
		o CamE accent cannot permit us to have jobs worldwide. For example, with CamE accent, you cannot become a journalist in England.	01 (02.32%)
		o Even though Cameroonians speak it, CamE accent is not a recognised variety of English in the world.	01 (02.32%)
		o When we teach CamE, our learners will not get the same opportunities to get international jobs as other students who are learning SBE.	01 (02.32%)
		o Teaching CamE accent will not facilitate fluent oral communication between Cameroonians and native speakers.	01 (02.32%)

From the table above, 13 explanations were provided to justify why teaching CamE accent contributes to the goal of CBA to prepare students for the international job market. Although the 13 comments were quite different from one another, the underlying message in these explanations was that we are Cameroonians and live in Cameroon, and, therefore, CamE is the accent that suits our job market and best represents our local realities. Meanwhile, 43 participants who answered *No commented* on why they did not believe teaching CamE accent was in line with CBA's goal to prepare students for the job market worldwide. The explanation that was most commonly found in the data was that CamE accent is not recognised out of Cameroon, so it will be difficult for Cameroonians to interact with other speakers of English around the world (11.63%). These two comments follow it:

CamE accent is not meant for the classroom (06.98%); and it limits opportunities to get international jobs (06.98%).

The results obtained in this section indicate that though teacher trainers mostly use CamE accent in their lectures, most student teachers do not believe trainers recommend it for the English language class. Instead, these respondents would prefer their trainers to use SBE in their lectures because it is an internationally recognised variety that carries prestige and prepares future teachers for the local and international job markets. Also, these respondents do not think that teaching CamE accent espouses the goal of CBA to prepare students for the job market worldwide.

5.3 Challenges from the perspective of national pedagogic inspectors of English

Item 2 on the interview guide asked informants which accent is officially recommended for teaching English in Cameroon. As expected, all the seven interviewees answered that SBE is the officially recommended model for teaching English in Cameroon. Then, each of the informants was asked why they believed SBE was selected as the Cameroonian English language classroom model. Their answers are provided below.

- o This comes from our colonial history with Britain. It is only normal that after independence, we decided to have British English as the model for the classroom.

- o Since independence, we have been using SBE probably because it was widely accepted in those days as the only model.

- o It is the model in many countries. Besides, we were colonised by the British.

- o We were colonised by Britain so this explains why there is more attachment towards SBE.

- o I can't really explain why and how it was chosen. We are simply into the flow of things here. It was there before my colleagues and I arrived here.

- o Not really. It was SBE before I became a national pedagogic inspector. It was also SBE when I was a teacher. So it is difficult for me to give you the exact reasons why it was selected.

o SBE is the norm in many countries in the world. It is what most students around the world want to learn, and it is the norm in Britain which is the country that colonised Cameroon. So there is a historical link between Cameroon and SBE.

The above comments indicate that the choice of SBE as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon was motivated by two reasons. The first reason is historical and relates to Great Britain colonising Cameroon. The second is sociolinguistic and is linked to the prestige that has always been associated with SBE.

Item 10 on the interview guide asked the informants whether they thought English teachers in Cameroon use and teach SBE effectively. The results clearly indicate that this is not the case as evident in the comments below provided by the interviewees.

o No, the problem today comes from Francophone English teachers. Some of them graduate from ENS but can barely speak English fluently. Also, many part-time teachers have not received training, but who teach students. Imagine that in places like Akonolinga, the majority of English teachers are part-timers. Students pick up all their errors, and therefore, you cannot expect these students to speak good English in the future.

o Teachers, most often, do not teach pronunciation regularly. One of the reasons is that these teachers do not have the skills to teach pronunciation effectively. Another problem here is that many teachers do not check their dictionaries before teaching the pronunciation of words. Also many schools here in the Centre Region lack trained teachers. They recruit part-timers and students do not learn the correct pronunciation.

o It's a complex situation. Some trained teachers, both English-speaking and French-speaking, do their best to pronounce words well. However, there are many others who do not care much. Also, the number of untrained part-time teachers is quite high, which undermines efforts to teach the recommended variety of English.

o Many teachers shy away from teaching pronunciation because they do not have the skills to teach it well. Here in the Centre, I have met teachers on the field who can manage to teach in the classroom in English, but out of class, they cannot converse fluently in English. Also, there are many other teachers who get to class unprepared

and teach what they believe is the right pronunciation of words. This is not what a good teacher should do.

o I work with primary school teacher training colleges. I can tell you that many trainers there do not have the skills to train teachers in pronunciation teaching. So when we go to the field, what we see there is often funny. I can't even say that these teachers use English. Often you hear a few English words, but more French and Ewondo. But there is nothing we can do. Those teachers are just trying their best to do something in English. We lack trained teachers.

o Certainly not. Cameroonian teachers do not speak SBE.

o No. Many teachers speak English in the classroom in the same way as they do out of class. Also, many Francophone teachers do not speak English well. Some of them exaggerate their pronunciation to sound British. So it is difficult to claim that SBE is what we actually teach in schools.

From the above comments, no informant indicated that Cameroonian teachers use SBE accent and teach its features effectively in the classroom. The interviewees used these four main points to justify their answers: (1) many certified English language teachers of Francophone background lack oral fluency; (2) there are too many untrained part-time English language teachers with poor oral skills; (3) most English teachers avoid teaching pronunciation because they lack skills in pronunciation teaching; and (4) most English teachers do not prepare their pronunciation lessons.

Item 11 on the interview guide with NPIs asked these informants if they thought that textbooks and other pedagogic materials that are officially recommended today facilitate the teaching of SBE accent features. The comments provided by the respondents are presented below.

o Yes, textbooks today have many lessons on speech work. In all those lessons, the model is British English. Today, for example, there are lessons on sounds, stress placement and intonation in the textbooks from 6e to 3e.

o The syllabus tells teachers what they are supposed to teach. Textbooks do the same. Some pronunciation lessons are not always explicit and detailed in the textbooks. Maybe that makes teaching pronunciation difficult. However, it's up to teachers to design lessons that suit the needs of their learners.

o I think that if we could say before that Cameroonians speak the way they do because they were not taught how to pronounce English words well, we can't say that today with the new syllabuses. With CBA, new measures have been taken to make pronunciation teaching effective. And I do think that the textbooks that we selected provide students with enough opportunities to do speech work.

o The new syllabus clearly states that pronunciation is important and that teachers should teach it in context. Textbooks put that into application. There are many pronunciation activities in textbooks on intonation, stress, tongue twisters, etc. and we still follow British English. So I do not think that the problem is at the level of textbooks.

o Yes, the syllabus recommends teaching sounds, stress and intonation of SBE. There are pronunciation lessons in the textbooks.

o Yes, I do. In all textbooks from Form 1 to Form 4 and 6e to 3e, there are two speech work activities in most of the units. In all of these textbooks, only SBE features are presented.

o The textbooks that are officially recommended contain only SBE features because it is what the government recommends.

As expected, all the informants answered that pedagogic materials facilitate the teaching of SBE accent features. In fact, the comments above all indicate that both the syllabuses and textbooks facilitate the teaching of the pronunciation skill based on SBE accent features. This means that NPIs do not view pedagogic materials as elements that contribute to the fact that English teachers neither speak SBE nor teach it effectively.

Item 12 asked the opinions of the seven interviewees about the claim made by some teacher informants that some of the officially recommended textbooks encourage the use of CamE accent features. Their comments are listed below.

o That is not true. The course books we recommend are those that follow SBE norms.

o Well, that's their opinion. But I don't think at this level, that textbooks can promote something that the government has not recognised yet and has not asked us to promote.

o I am quite surprised. But knowing very well that many teachers out there lack the skills to teach pronunciation, it is normal that I doubt whether they know the features of SBE accent at all.

o That is ridiculous. No textbook out there, at least from those that are officially recommended, contains such features. I have never seen, in the 30 years of my career, any English textbook in Cameroon that presents anything else apart from SBE features.

o I don't think that's the truth. Selection of course books is thorough. Did these teachers specify which of the textbooks contained those features? (No) Then, that's a ridiculous idea.

o No, that is not the case. No officially recommended English language textbook promotes CamE accent features. It is SBE only.

o There are no CamE pronunciation features in the textbooks. Now I guess the teachers who said that want to discredit the textbooks we selected.

As it can be seen in the above comments, NPIs categorically oppose the idea that the recommended textbooks promote the features of CamE accent. In their opinion, the only accent features that are found in the textbooks are those of SBE.

Item 13 on the interview guide with NPIs asked these informants which measures have been or should be taken at their level to adapt the goals of pronunciation teaching with the

reality that Cameroonian teachers do not speak SBE and, therefore, cannot teach it effectively. Below are their answers.

- o We advise teachers to teach pronunciation from 6e to Terminale. To do it effectively, they must prepare lessons before going to class. So they must check their dictionaries for correct pronunciation.

- o We advise teachers to do speech work regularly, even in high school. Also, it will be a good idea to include speech work in the high school syllabus, and test it in the Probatoire and Baccalaureat exams.

- o We advise them continuously to attend seminars and other professional development events, such as those organised by the US Embassy. We equally ask them to buy their dictionaries and use them whenever they have to teach pronunciation.

- o We plan to work with school principals in order to provide some training for uncertified teachers. Some students do not pronounce words well because their teachers are weak.

- o It is true that we have not had seminars on pronunciation teaching for quite some time. We have been pre-occupied with CBA for the last 4 years or so. But I think that we need to train teachers in pronunciation teaching because many of them shy away from doing speech work.

- o We encourage them to use the dictionary for correct pronunciation, because the teacher can model the pronunciation and have students repeat.

- o We need to have more seminars about pronunciation teaching because many teachers do not teach it. Unfortunately, for the last 4 years we have been busy with CBA only.

As the comments above show, four (57.14%) interviewees argued that continuous professional development on pronunciation teaching could improve teaching and learning outcomes. Also, two (28.57%) informants claimed that teaching pronunciation up to high school could be another effective measure to improve learners' output in relation to the recommended target, SBE.

5.4 Conclusion

The results of this chapter indicate that SBE is the officially recommended accent for the English language classroom in Cameroon. It was chosen because of the colonial history of Cameroon with Great Britain, and because it was already a prestige variety worldwide by the 1960s. Though SBE is the target for teaching and learning English in Cameroon, classroom teachers do not use it and can hardly teach it effectively. Also, the informants believed that pedagogic materials are not the cause of Cameroonians' inability to speak SBE. They suggested that continuous professional development programs on pronunciation teaching be offered to teachers and that syllabi be amended to include speech work in high schools as measures to adapt the goals of pronunciation teaching with the reality that Cameroonians do not speak English with a British accent. Finally, the informants indicated that exposing learners to CamE accent features in pronunciation lessons can be a positive idea. However, teachers should be careful not to confuse or overload learners with features of several varieties of English.

CHAPTER SIX

PROSPECTS OF ADOPTING CAMEROON ENGLISH ACCENT AS THE MODEL FOR TEACHING AND LEARNING ENGLISH IN CAMEROON

6.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the investigation into the probability of CamE accent to become the model in English language teaching and learning in Cameroon. It studies those prospects first from the perspective of teachers, then student teachers and finally pedagogic inspectors of English.

6.1 Prospects from the perspective of teachers

The last four survey questions of the teacher questionnaire studied the prospects of CamE accent to become the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. Survey Question 26, for instance, asked teacher informants whether they agree or disagree with the claim that teaching CamE accent will cause more harm than good to students. The results of this question are presented in the chart below.
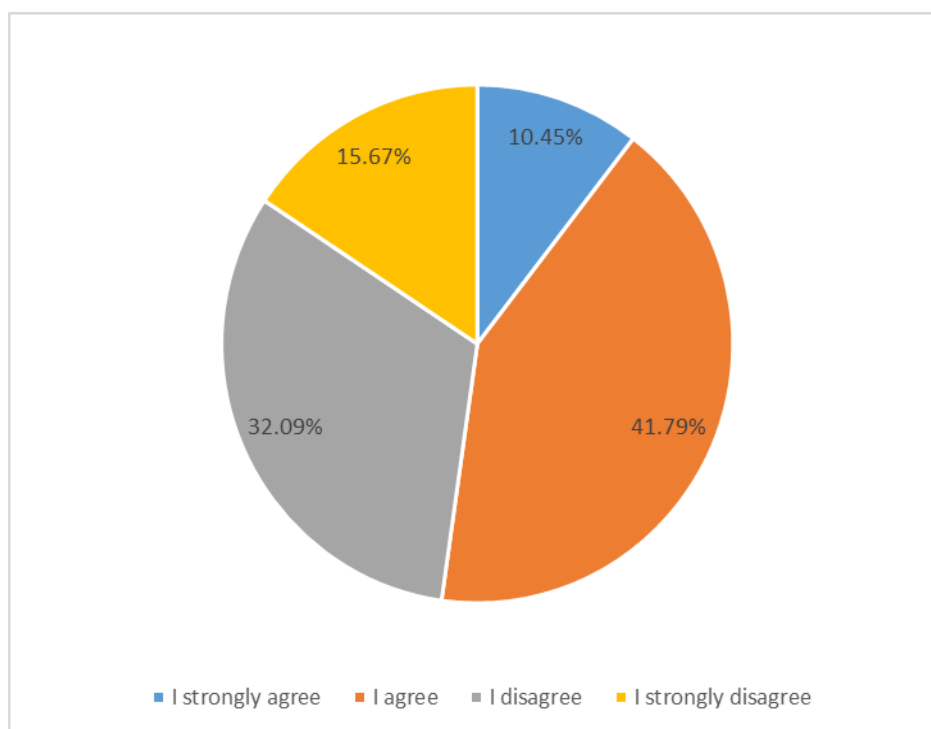
Chart 27: Teachers' opinions on whether teaching CamE accent will cause more harm than good to students

The above chart indicates that the proportion of respondents who either agreed or strongly agreed that teaching CamE accent will cause more harm than good to students is slightly superior to the proportion of respondents who either disagreed or strongly disagreed. In fact, 10.45% (14) of the 134 participants answered that they strongly agree while 41.79% (56) answered that they agree. This means that more than 52% of the informants either agreed or strongly agreed with the claim that teaching CamE accent will cause more harm than good to students. Meanwhile, 32.09% (43) disagreed while 15.67% (21) strongly disagreed. After choosing their answer, the participants were asked to explain their choices. Table 29 below presents their comments.

Table 29: Teachers' explanations on whether they agree or disagree with the claim that teaching CamE accent will cause more harm than good to students

Responses	Explanations	Occurrences
I strongly agree (N= 09)	o Students will not be able to learn SBE which is the accepted version of English.	01 (11.11%)
	o Students need to be taught a variety of English that is recognised worldwide, used in movies, on TV, etc.	01 (11.11%)
	o Students could be frustrated by CamE accent.	01 (11.11%)
	o Students will find it difficult to secure good jobs in Cameroon and abroad.	01 (11.11%)
	o Students will not fit into world standards in terms of communication in English.	01 (11.11%)
	o Most Cameroonians want to learn SBE, so CamE accent will do them more harm than good.	01 (11.11%)
	o Most learners prefer having a British or an American English accent than a Cameroonian accent.	01 (11.11%)
	o Students don't need CamE accent. What they need is SBE.	01 (11.11%)
	o Learners would be very limited and would find it difficult to interact with native speakers.	01 (11.11%)
I agree (N= 26)	o CamE is full of jargons.	01 (03.85%)
	o It is because Cameroonians will have difficulty communicating with foreigners.	01 (03.85%)

	o Learners should be taught SBE pronunciation.		
	o Learners will be limited to CamE only.	01 (03.85%)	
	o The base of CamE accent is not recommendable.	04 (15.38%)	
	o There is no standard CamE accent. It would be dangerous for students if CamE accent was adopted because it has no standard form.	01 (03.85%)	
	o Students need to learn the English that is understood worldwide (British and American accents) and not CamE which is not recognised outside Cameroon.	01 (03.85%)	
	o Students will miss many great opportunities at the international level because of their accent.	01 (03.85%)	
	o Students will be unable to use both CamE and SBE correctly.	01 (03.85%)	
	o CamE accent does not provide a solid foundation to learn the language.	01 (03.85%)	
	o Students may not be able to converse naturally with the British or Americans.	01 (03.85%)	
	o Learners want to learn SBE and not CamE accent.	01 (03.85%)	
	o Many students want to speak English like artists and movie stars from the USA and Britain.	01 (03.85%)	
	o We are going to teach a variety of English that is not recognised as a model for teaching, and which many	01 (03.85%)	

	other people around the world are not familiar with.	01 (03.85%)
	o It is only used for conversations in Cameroon, but it does not help students get jobs at the international level.	01 (03.85%)
	o Learners should be taught how to use the standard accent, but they should equally be exposed to other accents including CamE accent.	01 (03.85%)
	o English language will break up and each country may have its own variety, and this is not good.	01 (03.85%)
	o Learners need to be taught the English that they can use everywhere in the world and be understood.	01 (03.85%)
	o Some students want to speak English like their Hollywood idols.	01 (03.85%)
	o Students should have a broad horizon; they should not be limited to Cameroon.	01 (03.85%)
	o Students will not have opportunities to acquire SBE, which is officially recommended.	01 (03.85%)
	o Students will face communication problems if they want to leave the country to another English-speaking country. Another limitation is job placement at the international level.	01 (03.85%)
I disagree (N= 19)	o We need to begin from the known (CamE) to the unknown (SBE).	01 (05.26%)
	o We can learn other varieties of English later for	

		prestige reasons.	01 (05.26%)
		○ It is already there. Everywhere you go, there is CamE.	01 (05.26%)
		○ Students need to understand what teachers say to pass their exams.	03 (15.79%)
		○ Students need the accent to interact with people in their environment, and in Cameroon, that accent is CamE.	01 (05.26%)
		○ It is what people use every day, and I don't see any harm it has done so far.	01 (05.26%)
		○ Many teachers already use CamE. If it does any harm, it will not be new then.	01 (05.26%)
		○ Our students are not native speakers of English.	01 (05.26%)
		○ We can teach CamE accent and still expose learners to SBE.	01 (05.26%)
		○ Using another accent could make students sound like strangers in their homeland.	01 (05.26%)
		○ CamE is not an obliteration of SBE. It should rather be used as a rock on which SBE can come and stand at the university level.	01 (05.26%)
		○ If we are not natural in the way we speak, students will not understand us.	01 (05.26%)

	o Learners are already exposed to CamE before they are introduced to SBE.	01 (05.26%)
	o Our students already speak CamE even before we meet them in class. They live in Cameroon so whether we teach them CamE or not, they will naturally speak it.	01 (05.26%)
	o There are many varieties of English students are exposed to and CamE is just one of them.	01 (05.26%)
	o Most students use English only in the classroom and in a few other contexts.	01 (05.26%)
	o Teaching CamE will help students communicate even better in an accent they are already familiar with.	01 (05.26%)
I strongly disagree (N= 09)	o Many teachers already use CamE in the classroom.	01 (11.11%)
	o English is a borrowed language.	01 (11.11%)
	o CamE accent is already part of our identity. What is in us cannot harm us.	01 (11.11%)
	o We need to valorise what belongs to us.	01 (11.11%)
	o Learners need to move from CamE which they know to SBE which they don't know.	01 (11.11%)
	o Learners acquire language by learning to speak like people around them.	01 (11.11%)

	o Cameroonians will hardly speak like British people.	01 (11.11%)
	o When one uses the British or American accent in Cameroon, it sounds odd.	01 (11.11%)
	o After learning CamE, we can also learn other varieties of English later if we care.	01 (11.11%)

As the table above shows, 63 respondents provided comments to why they agree or disagree that teaching CamE accent will cause more harm than good. Nine discrete comments were reported for the response *I strongly agree*. These comments mainly project the ideas that teaching CamE accent will limit students' job opportunities in the future both in Cameroon and abroad, and that what students want to learn and should learn is SBE, and not CamE accent. The respondents who chose the option *I agree* provided the highest number of comments (26). They explained that teaching CamE accent will limit learners to that variety of English only. They equally argued that CamE accent is not recognised worldwide, may not adequately prepare students to interact with traditional NSs and get international jobs, and that most students want to sound like NSs. Meanwhile, the majority of the 19 participants who selected the response *I disagree* explained that learners are already familiar with CamE and understand their teachers better when CamE is used in the classroom. Finally, 9 respondents chose the option *I strongly disagree*. While their explanations were discrete, a deeper look into these comments reveals the respondents' belief that because Cameroonians already speak CamE accent and are already part of our identity, it cannot harm Cameroonian students.

Survey Question 27 asked informants to give their opinions on the likelihood of CamE to become the model for language teaching and learning in the future. One hundred and twenty-six (126) valid responses were obtained and the results are shown in the chart below.
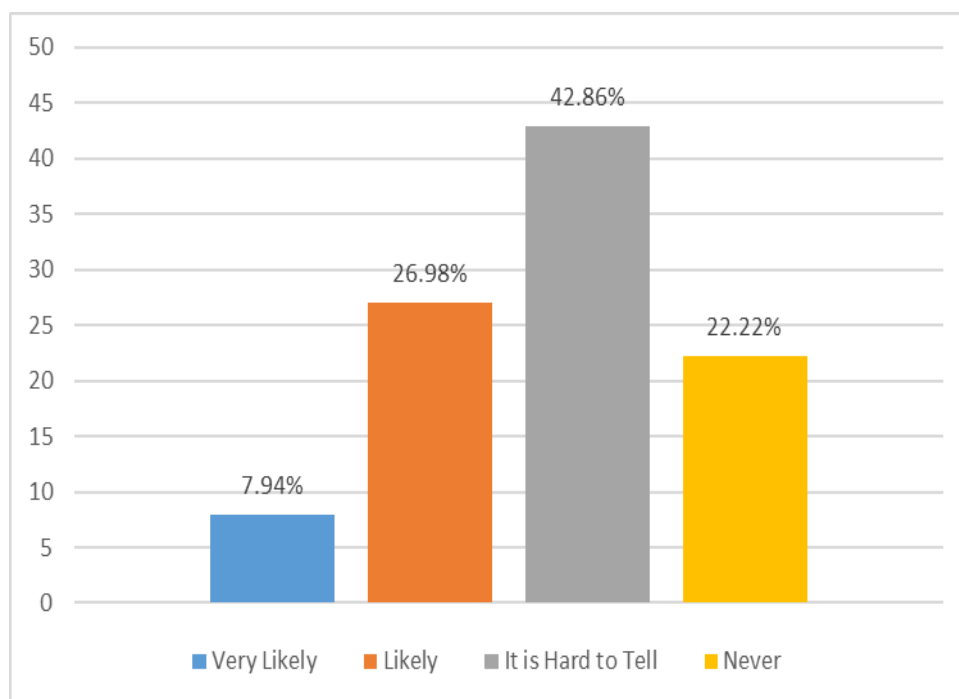
Chart 28: Teachers' opinions on whether CamE accent can become the model for English language teaching and learning in Cameroon

The above chart shows that 07.94% (10) of the respondents chose the option *very likely* while 26.98% (34) reported that it is *likely* that CamE accent will become the model for English language teaching and learning in Cameroon. This means that more than 34% of informants are optimistic about the likelihood of CamE accent to become the model for ELT practice in Cameroon. Meanwhile, 22.22% (28) answered *never*, meaning they are very pessimistic about the probability of that happening. In between, 42.86% (54) of the participants answered that *it is hard to tell*, meaning they are neither optimistic nor pessimistic on the possibility of CamE accent to become the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. The participants were equally asked to provide explanations for their responses. Their comments are presented in the table below.

Table 30: Teachers' explanations on the likelihood of CamE accent to become the model for language teaching and learning in Cameroon

Responses	Explanations	Occurrences
Very likely (N= 05)	o Educational policies are gradually changing. African countries are becoming aware of their talents and the beauty in the local varieties of English.	01 (20%)
	o Students and teachers have been exposed to this variety for a long time.	01 (20%)
	o Students are generally exposed to CamE accent and it is often at university that language students discover Received Pronunciation of some words.	01 (20%)
	o The outputs of the Cameroonian system of education are destined to a society where the local English language variety is used in a widespread manner.	01 (20%)
	o It is because learners are exposed to movies in which CamE is used and people who speak CamE accent.	01 (20%)
Likely (N= 12)	o Many teachers and students are already familiar with it.	01 (08.33%)
	o Cameroonian English teachers do not make any effort to practise speaking SBE, so they end up teaching what they think is right.	01 (08.33%)
	o CamE will be made obligatory when the State decides to make it the priority in language teaching.	01 (08.33%)
	o Interest in CamE is growing fast among Cameroonians.	01 (08.33%)

	o Many students are already exposed to it.	01 (08.33%)
	o CamE accent is what we have all been using for years. We only need to recognise it officially.	01 (08.33%)
	o Some people are pushing for it, so authorities may accept it.	01 (08.33%)
	o People are becoming conscious that we need to accept who we are and promote our own models.	01 (08.33%)
	o There is a wide exposure to CamE accent.	01 (08.33%)
	o Many teachers use SBE accent during sound practice, but resort to CamE immediately afterwards in other activities.	01 (08.33%)
	o CamE accent is used inside and outside the classroom in Cameroon.	01 (08.33%)
	o Cameroon may decide to preserve its identity in English language and promote CamE.	01 (08.33%)
It is hard to tell (N= 23)	o While we insist on SBE, some teachers and students stick to CamE to the point that it's hard to predict the future.	01 (04.35%)
	o Educated Francophones approximate SBE. The problem comes from Anglophone educators.	01 (04.35%)
	o Some people prefer foreign accents to show off, but many also prefer home products.	01 (04.35%)
	o Policy makers continue to believe that the best should always come from the West, which is not true. If	

		policy makers decolonise their minds, that will be good for us.	01 (04.35%)
	o	Cameroonians are getting exposed to other accents through the internet, media, etc.	01 (04.35%)
	o	We may lose our focus on communication.	01 (04.35%)
	o	There are still many teachers who don't even know CamE accent features.	01 (04.35%)
	o	Many colleagues believe that CamE lowers teaching standards.	01 (04.35%)
	o	Nobody has asked for CamE accent so far. So officially, it may not have a chance.	01 (04.35%)
	o	Government officials still promote SBE only.	05 (21.74%)
	o	It may have some success at the local level outside the classroom, but many teachers may not want to teach it.	01 (04.35%)
	o	Some Cameroonians, especially young people, prefer the American accent.	01 (04.35%)
	o	CamE is not considered standard. Even educational authorities prefer SBE.	01 (04.35%)
	o	There are so many ethnic groups in Cameroon, and people speak English with so many different accents that we don't know what CamE is really all about.	01 (04.35%)
	o	Our authorities are mostly interested in what the West	

	brings for us.	01 (04.35%)
	o Teachers are not in support of an accent such as CamE to be taught in class.	01 (04.35%)
	o There are no signs from education authorities that this will ever happen.	01 (04.35%)
	o Research is being conducted and when it will be published, we will know more about the issue.	01 (04.35%)
	o Cameroonians always try to imitate native speakers and Cameroon government officials recommend SBE.	01 (04.35%)
Never (N= 21)	o It is a sub-standard variety.	04 (19.05%)
	o Seminars and workshops are organised to promote Received Pronunciation.	01 (04.76%)
	o There are no books that show how to teach CamE accent.	03 (14.28%)
	o Teaching CamE accent is not what many teachers want.	06 (28.57%)
	o Many teachers do not support it.	01 (04.76%)
	o CamE has limited scope.	01 (04.76%)
	o It is not known by many people out of Cameroon. Its users there are few and there are no linguists capable of promoting and defending it overseas.	01 (04.76%)
	o Pedagogic inspectors and teachers do not promote it.	03 (14.28%)
	o It contains tribalised features.	

		01 (04.76%)

From the table above, 61 respondents provided comments to explain their answers. Five comments were reported for the response *very likely.* Though these comments were quite different from another, they all projected the idea that CamE accent is a local reality, and that both students and teachers are familiar with it. The 12 comments provided by the participants who chose the answer *likely* equally justified their answers with teachers' and students' exposure to and familiarity with CamE accent. Meanwhile, the participants who selected *it is hard to tell* provided the highest number of explanations (23), among which the most recurrent includes the idea that educational authorities promote SBE only (21.74%). The most recurrent element in the remaining comments is the belief by both educational authorities and many teachers that Western educational models are best for us. Finally, 21 respondents explained why they chose the option *never*. The analysis shows that the most common explanation (provided by 28.57% of respondents) was that many teachers do not favour teaching CamE accent. These reasons followed it: it is a sub-standard variety (19.05%); it has no books to tell teachers how to teach it (14.28%), and that pedagogic inspectors do not promote CamE in seminars (14.28%).

Survey Question 28 asked the informants who answered that it was possible for CamE accent to become the model for language teaching and learning in Cameroon how long this was likely to take. Their answers are listed below.

- o In ten years or so. (05 occurrences in the data)

- o In 5 to 10 years.

- o It won't last long since I think it is already the model.

- o After 2035 because the government is doing little to improve the work of teachers.

- o In about 20 years when the older generation will have given way to the youth of today.

- May be in 50 years. Then pedagogic documents will be available. Language is also an aspect of sovereignty and Cameroon will have linguistic independence by then as far as English is concerned.

- For as long as policy makers are serious about coordination.

- In a decade, we could reach that level because even teachers are influenced by their L1s and vernaculars.

- A long time from now because we still teach SBE.

- May be in 5 years because books written by Cameroonian authors are now used in the language class.

- It depends on the government, curriculum designers and the general mentality of Cameroonians with regards to what is standard and what is inferior.

- Forever because most Cameroonians fell comfortable with CamE accent.

- About 15 to 20 years: Cameroonians will come to realise that SBE is less worthy for their students because children don't experience the realities of things read or seen in today's textbooks.

From the above, 17 comments were made by the respondents who answered that it was likely or very likely that CamE accent would become the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. The analysis of these comments shows that the most recurrent time frame given by participants is that Cameroonian educational authorities may take 10 years or more to adopt CamE accent as the model for English language teaching and learning.

Survey Question 29 asked participants what they could say about the future of CamE. The analysis of the comments reveals that most participants expressed pessimism about the future of CamE accent as shown in the comments below.

- CamE is not good for devoted learners of English because they will feel uncomfortable when they have to converse with native speakers.

- At this point, the future is bleak.

- That future is not bright.

- Due to the reinforcement of SBE in schools, CamE may gradually die out, though not completely because old habits die hard.

- There is no hope for CamE because teachers and other ELT professionals are trained to make students acquire RP.

- Much still needs to be done with CamE. All teachers should be involved in teaching SBE, the right pronunciation.

- Scholars are calling for the adoption of CamE accent features, but I'm afraid they need to sit down and think twice before allowing such changes on a borrowed language.

- CamE will not prosper.

- It is home English in Cameroon. However, it cannot go the classroom as a model.

- It has no good future.

- It will remain local or may even die out as most educated Cameroonians aspire for SBE and not CamE.

- It will never become the model in Cameroon, so it will gradually disappear.

- It will never become a model officially.

- People will realise that learning SBE is the best option and they will abandon CamE.

- It may become limited in scope to studies at the university level because its chances to be accepted officially are slim.

- Its future is bleak because of the influence of Pidgin and other forms of English.

- Because of the strong interference of local languages, CamE may never prosper.

- It will in the long run destroy teachers' efforts to pass on standard knowledge.

- It may never be recognised officially.

o It may not become a pedagogical model.

o Educational standards are degrading and need to be revitalised. CamE does not help here.

o There is no future for CamE because English has its origin and authenticity. Cameroonians only copy from others. That's why there is no originality in CamE.

o People don't want it, so it won't prosper.

o Its days are numbered because the world is becoming a global village. This means that CamE will be extinct in the near future.

o It will die a natural death.

o The future of CamE is not bright due to its multiple sub varieties.

o Not many people would want it to become the model in schools even though it may gain some prestige.

o It will remain a rich topic for research, but it will not be recommended officially.

From the above, twenty-eight participants provided pessimistic comments about the future of CamE. The analysis of the above comments reveals that the two most recurrent ideas are that CamE will disappear or die out at some point in the future, and that CamE will not/never be accepted officially as the pedagogical model for the English language classroom. Therefore, the above comments suggest that the future of CamE is not bright.

Not all respondents, however, provided a negative assessment of the future of CamE. In fact, 19 positive or optimistic comments were also reported. These comments are listed below:

o It's getting on a good foot! Cameroonians are making great strides in using the English language although challenges are still enormous.

o It will be accepted more and more as part of Cameroonian identity.

o The future looks bright.

o I strongly believe that if CamE is taught in our schools, then we shall be real Cameroonians and not Whites in black skin. This will also valorise our culture.

o It is English anyway, and it will continue to achieve most of its communication goals.

o I believe that CamE will give Cameroonians a unique identity, but it should be taught alongside SBE. This will make our learners deeply rooted in their cultural identity yet open to the world.

o It represents our identity. We need to make it our official teaching model.

o It is effective because it makes students pass exams.

o It is gradually evolving.

o CamE will be recognised by more and more Cameroonians as part of our identity and then more people will accept it as a model.

o CamE is of impeccable quality and would likely spread out to other African countries.

o CamE is good for Cameroonians, so we must teach it in schools.

o It will be good because we won't stress up to learn Western culture again.

o CamE is already well-structured. Now only international acknowledgement is needed for CamE to fully carry its status of a newly standardised variety of English.

o I prefer when teachers use CamE accent instead because it is what makes students pass their exams.

o The future of CamE is bright because the population of Cameroon is growing and the numbers of Francophones who learn English is also on the rise.

o All is not lost. There is hope that CamE will be recognised even just at the national level.

o If CamE is well moulded, it could one day be given its place on the national platform.

o Pidgin will become the official lingua franca and CamE the target language.

The comments above mainly highlight the fact that CamE belongs to Cameroonians and represents their identity. Another major reason is that CamE makes students pass exams.

Apart from pessimistic and optimistic comments, four other comments that could be categorised as neutral were obtained. They are listed below.

o The future is orange because research is ongoing.

o CamE can have a future in informal settings, so it is there to stay.

o Policy needs to be reinforced to coordinate the evolution of CamE.

o CamE will contain several sub-varieties because of the interference of French and local languages.

The table below presents a quantitative analysis of the results of Survey Question 29.

Table 31: Teachers' perceptions of the future of CamE

	Number (N=51)	**%**
Positive	19	37.25
Negative	28	54.90
Neutral	04	07.84

Table 31 above shows that close to 55% of comments are pessimistic about the future of CamE, while 37.25% are optimistic and close to 08% are neutral. It is evident, therefore, that the majority of teachers do not believe that CamE is destined to a bright future.

The results of this section indicate that the probability of adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon from the perspective of teachers is not high. However, one cannot also say that these prospects are completely bleak. While evidence suggests that more than a third of all participants are not optimistic about the probability of CamE accent to become the pedagogical model in English language classrooms, it is also important to mention that more than 34% are optimistic, while about

43% of participants answered that *it's hard to tell* whether that could happen. These findings indicate that out of the 134 teacher informants, there is no clear cut majority on whether or not CamE accent will one day be recommended for the Cameroonian English classroom or not.

6.2 Prospects from the perspective of student teachers

Just like it was the case with the teacher questionnaire, the last four questions of the student teacher questionnaire studied the prospects of adopting CamE as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. Survey Question 27, for example, asked student teacher informants whether they thought teaching CamE accent would cause more harm than good to students or not. The results obtained from 114 valid responses are presented in the chart below.
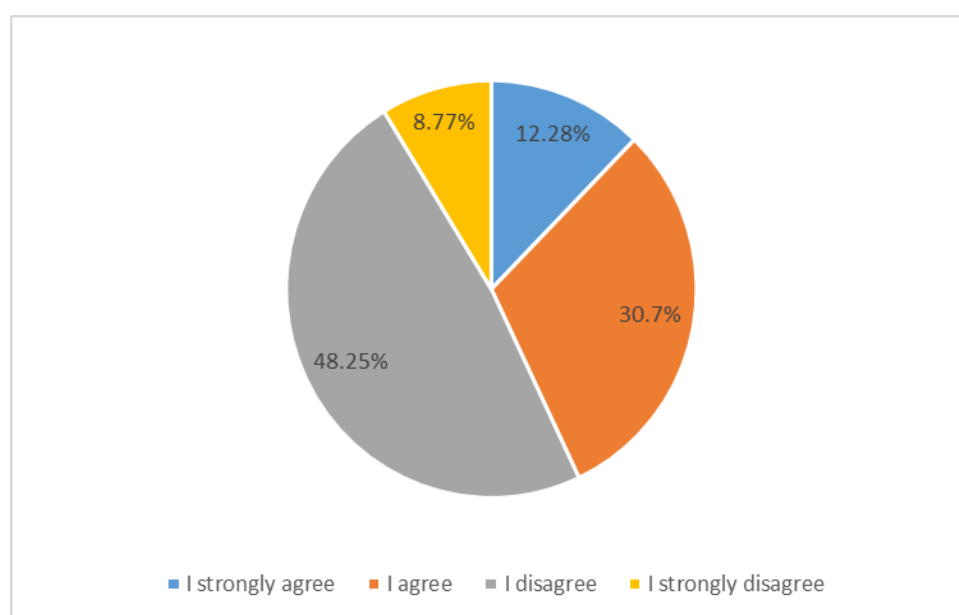
Chart 29: Student teachers' opinions on whether teaching CamE accent will cause more harm than good to students

As the chart above indicates, 48.25% (55) of the respondents selected the option *I disagree*, meaning that they did not believe that teaching CamE accent will cause more harm than good to students. In the same way, 08.77% (10) chose the response *I strongly disagree*. This means that more than 57% of the participants did not believe that teaching CamE accent could harm students. Meanwhile, 30.7% (35) selected the response *I agree*, and 12.28% (14)

I strongly agree. This means that about 43% of participants reported that teaching CamE accent would cause more harm than good to students.

These participants were also required to explain their choices. A total of 51comments were obtained from the data, and distributed as shown in Table 32 below.

Table 32: Student teachers' explanations on whether teaching CamE accent will cause more harm than good to students

Responses	Explanations	Occurrences
I strongly agree (N = 07)	o CamE accent is not standard. So students won't be able to use English adequately in all contexts in the future.	01 (14.28%)
	o Using SBE arouses envy in other Cameroonians.	01 (14.28%)
	o Cameroonian students may not complete their studies in Cameroon only, so teaching CamE accent only will limit them.	01 (14.28%)
	o Although Cameroonian students do well with CamE accent, this accent might not be intelligible to speakers of other varieties.	01 (14.28%)
	o Students will not be able to understand SBE and AmE accents.	01 (14.28%)
	o In Cameroon, there are many ethnic groups that have different ways of pronouncing English words. Teaching CamE accent will harm students further because they may not be able to come up with one accent only.	01 (14.28%)
	o CamE accent won't help students in formal contexts since all the important institutions in the world use the British accent.	01 (14.28%)

I agree (N= 19)	o It will be a disaster. We have to speak like native speakers.	01 (05.26%)
	o CamE accent will confuse students even more.	01 (05.26%)
	o It would limit Cameroonian students given that CamE accent is not standard and it is not used in about 99% of the world.	01 (05.26%)
	o CamE accent is not recognised as a language on its own and it is considered as English with a lot of infelicities.	01 (05.26%)
	o Students will not be able to cope with the demanding job market worldwide.	01 (05.26%)
	o Students will not be understood if they use CamE accent abroad.	01 (05.26%)
	o Learners should try their best to pronounce words like native speakers.	01 (05.26%)
	o Students will not be prepared adequately for the international job market.	01 (05.26%)
	o Students will have difficulties to communicate with people who speak other accents around the world.	01 (05.26%)
	o When students get used to CamE pronunciation features only, it would be hard for them to adapt to other accents or varieties of English in the world.	01 (05.26%)
	o It will harm students unless CamE is standardised.	01 (05.26%)

	o CamE accent is the result of interference of our L1 in the acquisition of English. As each student's L1 differs from that of another student, more harm will be done if CamE accent is taught officially.	01 (05.26%)
	o CamE accent is not much developed and doesn't have all the features of SBE. It is too narrow.	01 (05.26%)
	o If they learn CamE accent, students will mix English further with the features of their mother tongues.	01 (05.26%)
	o Speaking CamE accent will reduce students' opportunities to study abroad, and they won't have a good knowledge of the language and how to pronounce words.	01 (05.26%)
	o Because the emphasis in teaching CamE accent is not to acquire native-like pronunciation, students will face difficulties when they communicate with native speakers.	01 (05.26%)
	o CamE is mostly influenced by Pidgin. This is why students will not benefit from it and will not be proficient in SBE.	01 (05.26%)
	o CamE is not a major variety of English known worldwide.	01 (05.26%)
	o CamE is not suitable for students in search for scholarships or jobs.	01 (05.26%)
I disagree	o CamE accent will help students to communicate well in	

| (N= 22) | Cameroon. | 01 (04.54%) |
		01 (04.54%)
	o It does not cause any harm but instead keeps students away from AmE and SBE pronunciation features.	
		01 (04.54%)
	o It is not easy to speak SBE accent. The main purpose of teaching English is to make students interact in real-life situations. Students cannot do this effectively in their society without CamE.	
		01 (04.54%)
	o Cameroonians already speak CamE and it has caused no harm to them.	
		01 (04.54%)
	o Teaching CamE will expose students to many accents.	
		01 (04.54%)
	o CamE accent needs to be taught so as to expose learners to its pronunciation features.	
		01 (04.54%)
	o CamE prepares our young learners for their future contribution in the world.	
		01 (04.54%)
	o CamE does not have any negative impact on students' English. Instead it promotes English.	
		01 (04.54%)
	o The first goal of language teaching is communication. CamE is rightly serving that purpose though it is context-specific.	
		01 (04.54%)
	o Students should be exposed to several varieties of English so that they can use them according to the audience.	

		o I think it does not really matter which accent you use. The problem is at the level of where you find yourself and to whom you are talking to.	01 (04.54%)
		o Teaching English language does not aim at making students British people.	01 (04.54%)
		o Language is a means of domination. It is high time we reacted to this domination by using CamE in our schools.	01 (04.54%)
		o Teachers should let students know about CamE, but focus should be on SBE.	01 (04.54%)
		o It all depends on the environment in which our students find themselves. If they learn in Cameroon, teaching them CamE is not harmful.	01 (04.54%)
		o I disagree because British people do not all use SBE, which is not different from the case of Cameroonian speakers of English.	01 (04.54%)
		o CamE is important in our context as we use it in our daily interactions.	01 (04.54%)
		o Since learning equally involves illustration and examples, drawing from our context through the use of CamE is better.	01 (04.54%)
		o Students tend to understand the subject matter better since they are familiar with the accent.	01 (04.54%)
		o It is neither good nor bad. It will widen students'	

	knowledge on each of the varieties taught.	01 (04.54%)
	o I think that our students need to know their own variety of English alongside SBE which will also help them succeed in the professional world.	01 (04.54%)
	o English remains in constant contact with Cameroonian mother tongues. Meanwhile if it is too strange, students will be reluctant.	01 (04.54%)
I strongly disagree (N= 03)	o We don't really teach CamE accent. Instead, our students speak English with influences coming from their respective linguistic backgrounds.	01 (33.33%)
	o A standard variety depends on a specific context. Therefore, CamE can also be considered standard in Cameroon.	01 (33.33%)
	o Teaching CamE will enable us to identify easily as Cameroonians. We should be proud of our accent.	01 (33.33%)

The above table shows that for the response *I strongly agree*, 07 comments were obtained, but the participants proposed a variety of explanations including the following: CamE has no prestige; CamE is sub-standard; it may not be intelligible to other speakers of English around the world; and it may limit learners' opportunities to Cameroon only. Nineteen comments were produced by the participants who chose the option *I agree*. These respondents explained, among other things, that with CamE, students will face difficulties to communicate effectively with speakers of other varieties of English and will miss opportunities to get international jobs. Meanwhile, up to 22 respondents disagreed. They explained that CamE is useful and adequate in the Cameroonian context, and that there is no proof that it has harmed its users yet. Finally, 03 participants strongly disagreed; just like the

respondents who chose the option *I disagree*, they highlighted the importance of the context in their explanations. In fact, while two found CamE accent appropriate for the Cameroonian context, the third respondent saw it as marker of identity and symbol of differentiation from other accents.

Survey Question 28 asked informants about the likelihood of CamE accent to become the pedagogical model in ELT in the future. The results indicate that out of the 108 valid responses obtained, the majority of informants remained undecided as evident in the chart below.
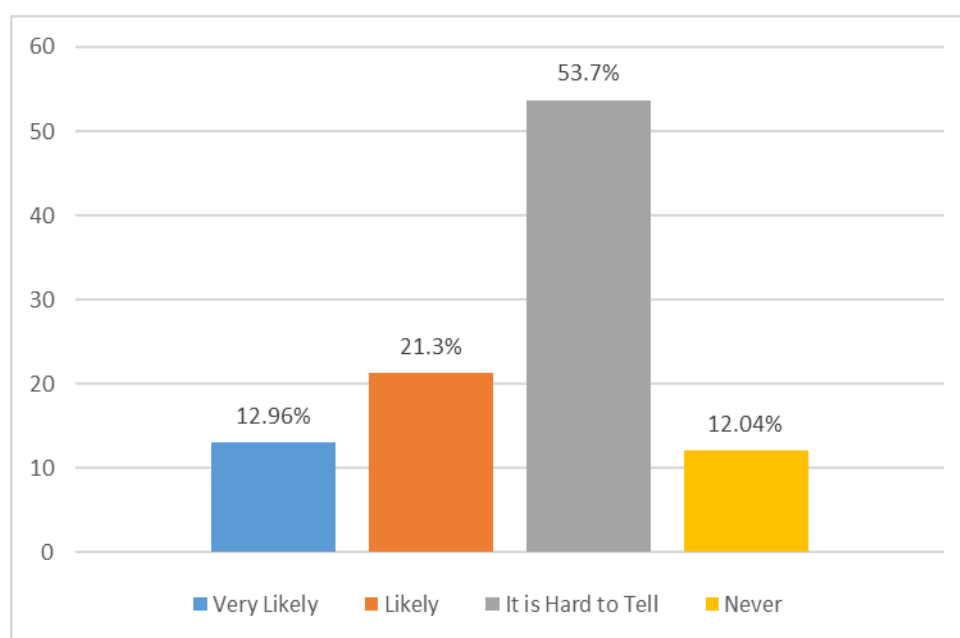
Chart 30: Student teachers' opinions on whether CamE accent can become the model for English language teaching and learning in Cameroon

The above chart shows that when asked whether CamE accent will become the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon, 53.7% (58) of the participants preferred the response *it is hard to tell*. Meanwhile, 12.96% (14) chose the option *very likely* and 21.3% (23) found it *likely*. This means that more than 34% of participants expressed optimism about the possibility of CamE accent to become the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. In the meantime, 12.04% (13) said that will *never* happen.

The participants were equally asked to explain their answers to Survey Question 28. A total of 47 comments were collected from the data. Table 33 below presents those explanations and their distributions.

Table 33: Student teachers' explanations on the likelihood of CamE accent to become the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon

Responses	Explanations	Occurrences
Very Likely (N= 07)	o The more CamE accent is used for teaching, the more it will be widely used and regarded as a prestigious accent.	01 (14.28%)
	o More and more Cameroonians express themselves today in CamE.	01 (14.28%)
	o Teachers claim that they use SBE, but what they actually use is CamE.	01 (14.28%)
	o CamE is commonly used by both teachers and students.	01 (14.28%)
	o At some point, each variety of English will undergo codification and standardisation.	01 (14.28%)
	o SBE must not be the variety of English spoken everywhere around the world. English must satisfy the needs of the people who speak it in a particular context.	01 (14.28%)
	o CamE has become the L1 of some of our students.	01 (14.28%)
Likely (N= 09)	o People are exposed to it.	01 (11.11%)
	o It is good to promote CamE.	01 (11.11%)
	o Teachers are not really teaching SBE pronunciation. They do not pronounce words like the British, but like	01 (11.11%)

	Cameroonians.	
	o CamE belongs to Cameroonians.	01 (11.11%)
	o It is in the process of becoming standard as linguists are working on it.	01 (11.11%)
	o Students are more likely to use it than SBE.	01 (11.11%)
	o CamE is gradually gaining ground as a variety of English. Research is currently going on in a bid to standardise it.	01 (11.11%)
	o Cameroonian scholars are working in order to reach that goal.	01 (11.11%)
	o The English spoken in Cameroon has a local flavour; it is influenced by French, Pidgin and local languages.	01 (11.11%)
It is hard to tell (N= 24)	o CamE contains many sub varieties, for example Nso'o and Bafut, and it will take a lot of time to standardise it.	01 (04.16%)
	o CamE accent has not yet been praised or admired outside the country.	01 (04.16%)
	o This is due to the fact that CamE is gradually dying. Most Cameroonian speakers of English tend to adopt foreign accents.	01 (04.16%)
	o CamE has not yet been recognised at the international level. And there are many African varieties of English. Nothing tells that the Cameroonian variety will emerge.	01 (04.16%)
	o Most teachers do not use it in their lessons as they consider it inappropriate.	01 (04.16%)
	o We are more exposed to SBE in school.	01 (04.16%)

		o CamE is not a recognised variety of English. Perhaps it could become the model in the future.	01 (04.16%)
		o We have been following SBE for a long time, and it won't be easy to change that.	01 (04.16%)
		o Most people learn English now for their business inside and outside the country.	01 (04.16%)
		o Because of the promotion of bilingualism and the emergence of Cameroon in 2035, I don't think CamE will be allowed officially in the educational system.	01 (04.16%)
		o We can promote CamE, but we don't need to use it as a model in education.	01 (04.16%)
		o CamE contains features of many varieties such as British and American English, as well as features of many Cameroonian languages.	01 (04.16%)
		o Many people speak CamE accent, but the government recommends SBE only.	01 (04.16%)
		o CamE still has to go through a lot of things before it is gains some prestige.	01 (04.16%)
		o It is because every Cameroonian claims that he speaks correct English. Also, CamE accent has not been codified yet.	01 (04.16%)
		o If students and teachers insist on using the Cameroonian variety of English, they may succeed in making pedagogic inspectors to recommend it for the classroom	01 (04.16%)

	in the future.	
	○ It will take a while for CamE accent to be documented and standardised.	01 (04.16%)
	○ CamE accent differs from one region to another. It becomes difficult to reconcile those accents to have a standard one.	01 (04.16%)
	○ Though it is known that we are independent, we are still facing a new form of colonisation where we still think that colonial languages and other things foreign are best.	01 (04.16%)
	○ It is the government that decides on the language to be taught in school, so all depends on them and their motivation.	01 (04.16%)
	○ It is difficult to teach SBE.	01 (04.16%)
	○ Education policy makers might not like to lower the standards of education.	01 (04.16%)
	○ It depends on those in charge of the implementation of educational policies in the country.	01 (04.16%)
	○ English and French are our official languages. We should try to master both languages at least at an acceptable level.	01 (04.16%)
Never (N= 07)	○ Teachers are trained to teach SBE only.	01 (14.28%)
	○ It's a far-fetched dream because CamE is considered more or less than a patois out there.	01 (14.28%)
	○ Cameroonians are unanimous on the fact that SBE is the	

	best accent.	01 (14.28%)
	o There is no need to adopt CamE even if it is still English. We can teach our local languages instead.	01 (14.28%)
	o It is not a prestige variety and it is neither beautiful nor pleasant.	01 (14.28%)
	o It is not a prestige variety and it is a mixture of SBE and local language features.	01 (14.28%)
	o The world is evolving and SBE is the language people use in the modern era.	01 (14.28%)

From the above table, 07 participants explained why they believed it is *very likely* that CamE accent will become the model for future educational practices. The analysis of these comments reveals that the choice of the option *very likely* by these respondents was motivated by the fact that the majority of Cameroonians already uses CamE accent. Also, Table 33 shows that 09 comments were provided for the response *Likely*. The participants who chose this answer equally explained that the familiarity of students and teachers with CamE accent increases the possibility of that accent becoming the model in future ELT practices. Another plausible explanation was that an ongoing standardisation process will likely result in CamE accent becoming the model to be used in classrooms in Cameroon. Meanwhile, 24 participants responded that *it is hard to tell*, and provided a variety of explanations including the fact that CamE has not been standardised yet, the fact that policy makers promote SBE only, and the fact that CamE accent is plural or multilithic. Finally, the 07 respondents who chose the answer *never* mainly explained that CamE accent has no prestige.

Survey Question 29 asked the informants who answered *very likely* and *likely* in the previous question to indicate how long it could take for CamE accent to be accepted as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon and why. Their answers are listed below:

o It is hard to tell it.

o In 30 years. All Cameroonians must agree first, including the government that selects pedagogic materials.

o In about 20 years. If CamE is adopted, SBE will keep falling.

o Not long from now. It is true that SBE is the model in many countries around the world. But it is not everywhere English is used that it does completely satisfy the needs of people.

o In the nearest future because a lot of work has been done on it and it is still ongoing. With time, CamE is going to be known worldwide.

o It will take a while for sure.

o In the nearest future.

o Ten to twenty years (02 occurrences in the data)

o I am not very sure about that. It takes a lot of time for a language or accent to become a model.

o It can take a decade to become a model for educational practices because by that time, it will have been codified.

o In 20 years to come or more, if more and more Cameroonians continue to use it.

o In 20 years because Cameroonian linguists have not yet standardised CamE.

o In 5 years because most of us are exposed to CamE and it is difficult to change someone's accent.

From the above, 13 responses were provided by the informants, and the most common estimate was that it could take at least 10 years for CamE accent to become the model in ELT in Cameroon because it has not been standardised yet. Meanwhile, some informants answered that this could happen in the near future instead, because work is currently ongoing on the standardisation of CamE accent.

The last question, Survey Question 30, asked informants to provide their thoughts about the future of CamE in general. Just like in the case of teachers, student teacher informants expressed three types of prospects: optimistic, pessimistic and neutral.

Optimistic prospects generated positive comments and hope on the probability that CamE accent will become the pedagogical model in ELT in Cameroon. Such comments are listed below.

o There is hope that CamE becomes the local standard, given that it is part of Cameroonian culture. Accepting CamE means accepting Cameroonian culture.

o I think CamE will excel because less and less students read their books and are interested in improving their spoken English.

o There is hope for CamE.

o There is hope in the sense that most trainers are Cameroonians. So as native speakers of CamE, those trainers will diffuse it.

o CamE has a bright future as more linguists are interested in this variety of English.

o The future is bright for CamE. It is equally the case in all places where spoken English is not British English.

o The future of CamE is promising.

o CamE has come to stay.

o It is very bright.

o It is promising.

o It will improve over time.

o CamE is gaining grounds because of works beings carried out on it.

o It will become the model for teaching English.

o Cameroonians should learn SBE because it is the English of globalisation.

- CamE will flourish, flourish and flourish, and I think that White people will also learn this variety of English.

- We must speak CamE and SBE because both are important at certain levels.

From the above, 16 comments expressed optimism about the likelihood of CamE accent to become the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon.

Pessimistic or bleak prospects derive from negative comments from some of the participants. For instance, some of these comments stressed that CamE accent was not to be used in the classroom, as shown below.

- It is going to be forgotten in the future.

- I think the future of CamE is not a fruitful one.

- It is likely to depreciate.

- CamE has no future except for dreamers. It is simply a speck in the wheel of fortune. Some Cameroonians denigrate it.

- It will overwhelm students.

- CamE is gaining grounds in the Anglophone system of education but it is high time we blocked it and came back to SBE.

- It is likely to disappear.

- The future of CamE may likely be bad. CamE may fade away if students are able to speak SBE accent which their teachers teach them.

- The future of CamE is problematic as French and Pidgin English keep having a strong influence on its usage.

- It does not have a chance in the classroom.

- There is so much work to do on CamE given that it contains many sub-varieties and local languages affect it negatively.

- o CamE will be used by Cameroonians only in Cameroon, and nowhere else.

- o In order for Cameroonians to be more formal, it is better that they use SBE rather than CamE accent.

- o It will be a serious problem for us in the future.

- o Cameroon English could be regarded as a symbol of linguistic independence, but its future is limited to Cameroon only.

- o It will be maintained at the level of social interactions and not be integrated in the official syllabuses.

From the above, sixteen of the comments provided by respondents expressed pessimism about the probability of adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon.

Neutral comments were those that projected neither brilliant nor bleak prospects for CamE. Such comments are listed below.

- o If Cameroonians consider CamE as the local standard, they will use it at all levels and recognise it officially.

- o The earlier we focus on which language or accent to promote, the better for us.

- o It is hard to tell.

- o CamE will continue to adopt more words from other languages.

- o It is difficult to standardise CamE. Policy makers still need to work hard for it to become autonomous. Until then, we still need to rely on British and American norms.

- o Youths today are educated and ambitious. They will prefer to use whatever accent or variety is imposed on them to show that they know and can accommodate.

- o It will valorise the Cameroonian intellectual community, but Cameroonians will no longer be able to compete with others because they will no longer master SBE.

o A lot of work needs to be done on CamE as it is influenced by both Pidgin and our mother tongues.

o Indeed, CamE has a future, but its rapid vulgarisation requires codification through the publication of textbooks and dictionaries. This vulgarisation depends also on the political and economic influence of the country at the international level.

o It has a long way to go before it is considered as appropriate for the classroom.

The ten comments above neither express pessimism nor optimism about the future of CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. However, they mainly address the issue of standardisation, which is of primary importance in the development of non-native varieties of English.

The table below provides a quantitative analysis of Survey Question 30.

Table 34: Student teachers' perceptions of the future of CamE

	Number (N=42)	%
Positive	16	38.09
Negative	16	38.09
Neutral	10	23.81

Table 34 above shows that student teachers are divided on whether CamE is destined for a bright future. In fact, there are as many positive comments (38.09%) as negative comments about the future of CamE. Also, 23.81% of comments are neutral, further illustrating how undecided the respondents were on the issue.

The findings of this section indicate that the prospects of CamE accent to become the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon are neither bleak nor particularly brilliant. Indeed, about 57% of the informants did not believe that teaching CamE accent would harm students because it is useful and appropriate for the Cameroonian context. Also,

about 34% of participants expressed optimism that CamE accent will become the model in ELT in Cameroon on grounds that Cameroonians are already familiar with this accent, whereas 53.7% remained undecided mainly because CamE accent is not codified yet, and pedagogic inspectors promote only SBE accent features. The participants who answered that CamE accent was likely or very likely to become the model variety for the Cameroonian classroom claimed that it might take 10 years or more for this to happen. Finally, the results indicate a balance in terms of positive and negative comments related to the future of CamE.

6.3 Prospects from the perspective of national pedagogic inspectors

The informants were asked their opinion regarding the suggestion made by some student teacher informants in this study to expose learners not only to SBE accent features, but also to features of other accents such as CamE, NigE and AmE. Their answers are listed below.

- When you teach, tell your students what the pronunciation in the dictionary is, and then also tell them how Cameroonians often pronounce that word, if at all it is different. I think that is enough already.

- That's risky and may confuse some students, especially Francophones. I advise to teach only what is in the dictionary.

- I think we shouldn't overdo things. Maybe SBE and CamE, but not the other accents. Students can discover them by themselves if they are interested.

- Apart from the pronunciation recommended in the dictionary, it is equally good to show how the majority of people pronounce in Cameroon. That can help students communicate better.

- I think that we don't need to overload students with too many things. Teaching pronunciation using a dictionary is what teachers should do.

- It is not a good idea. I am for SBE only. Too much information may be given in that case, which may confuse students.

- We need to be careful with that idea. SBE already poses problems to learners. Things could be worse if we have to include CamE and some other accents.

The above comments show that three (42.86%) informants were in favour of teaching the SBE pronunciation of words alongside their variants in mainstream CamE speech. However, the other four (57.14%) informants argued that teaching two or more accents might only confuse students and that teachers should limit pronunciation teaching to what is prescribed in the dictionary. Remarkably, none of the informants suggested exposing students to other varieties of English such as AmE or NigE.

Finally, NPIs were asked in Item 15 of the interview guide if they thought CamE accent could be recognised officially as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. Their comments are listed below.

- o I don't think so. CamE is not even codified yet.

- o The English we speak every day cannot be the model for now because it is not codified. Even if that is not done, I do not even see how we can talk of teaching it. For now nothing indicates at our level that this is going to happen anytime soon.

- o Maybe someday if is codified and there are pedagogic materials. But today, it's SBE that is recommended. So teachers should focus more on it.

- o What we call CamE accent is not codified yet and I do not thing it will be easy to codify it. Our context is so diverse that some educated people still have their own particular tribal features. For example, I have some colleagues who still pronounce words in a way that betrays their origins.

- o There is no easy answer for that question. The mother tongues that we speak influence our pronunciation. Our policy says SBE, but our context sometimes imposes our own accent.

- o I am not sure that will ever happen.

- o This will likely not happen. It will not be wise to adopt CamE because it is not recognised outside the country.

From the above comments, it is evident that the prospects of adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon from the perspective of NPIs are not

bright. In fact, 06 (85.71%) informants did not believe that CamE accent will become the model for teaching and learning English in the classroom because it is not codified. One informant, nonetheless, acknowledged that the context of use of English sometimes imposes the local variety to the detriment of SBE.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the prospects for adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon are not brilliant, but are nonetheless encouraging and illustrate an improvement in the perception of CamE accent by Cameroonians. In fact, a thin majority of teachers (52%) and student teachers (57%) either agreed or strongly agreed that teaching CamE accent will cause more harm than good to students for the following reasons: it is sub-standard and has no prestige, it is not recognised worldwide, it may not adequately prepare learners to interact with NSs and other NNSs of English, and it may not help students get international jobs. Meanwhile, up to 34% of teachers and 34% of student teachers indicated that they were either optimistic or very optimistic that CamE accent would become the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. Finally, the frequency of negative comments about the future of CamE from all groups of informants was slightly higher than that of positive comments.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

7.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings obtained in Chapters Four, Five and Six. Its general structure is similar to those of the chapters mentioned above; this means that attitudes towards CamE accent are discussed first, followed by the challenges and then the prospects. However, unlike Chapters Four, Five and Six which systematically presented results from the perspectives of teachers then student teachers and, finally, NPIs, this chapter adopts a comparative approach to the discussion of findings. This means that the attitudes, challenges and prospects from the perspectives of the three groups of informants are discussed simultaneously and compared to find out whether there are any major discrepancies in the results obtained from each group of informants.

7.1 Attitudes towards CamE accent

While the attitudes of teachers and trainee teachers towards CamE were studied at three levels, including the perceptions of CamE accent, beliefs and opinions/practices related to pronunciation training/instruction and accent preferences, those of NPIs were studied at two levels only, namely the perception of CamE accent and beliefs and suggestions related to pronunciation teaching. The findings revealed mitigated attitudes towards CamE accent. In fact, while the results indicate that the perception of CamE accent by teachers and student teachers is positive, the beliefs, opinions and practices of these informants related to pronunciation instruction and training, and their accent preferences as well are motivated by pragmatic and utilitarian reasons. The same holds true for NPIs, as their perception of CamE accent is positive, but their beliefs and suggestions to pronunciation teaching clearly target native-like speech.

7.1.1 Perceptions of CamE accent

The results obtained in the previous chapter indicate that Cameroonian ELT professionals perceive their English accent as a variety spoken by Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonians, irrespective of their level of education. For the overwhelming majority of informants from the three groups, CamE accent stands on its own, is different from SBE and AmE accents, and represents the Cameroonian identity in the use of English.

Teacher and student teacher informants were asked to choose among four options, the definition of CamE accent they thought was the most appropriate, or provide their own definitions. While the majority of teacher informants (63.16%) and student teacher informants (56.25%) were of the same belief that CamE accent referred to English pronunciation features of educated Cameroonians (both Anglophones and Francophones), both groups of informants differed considerably on two other issues related to the same question. In fact, 21.43% of the student teachers defined CamE as tribalised English pronunciation features against 09.02% of teachers, while 14.29% of student teachers said CamE referred to the English pronunciation features of educated Anglophone Cameroonians against 24.06% of teachers. These findings contradict the definitions of CamE accent provided by Sala (2003) and Simo Bobda & Mbangwana (2008) who hold a more restrictive view of CamE accent as the English pronunciation features of educated Anglophones only. That 21.43% of the student teacher informants viewed CamE accent as tribalised English pronunciation features compared to 09.02% of teachers could be explained by the fact that trainee teachers' experiences with English are mainly theoretical, as they study CamE accent through a descriptive approach in the Sociolinguistics class and have a limited experience of English language teaching in classrooms, whereas field teachers tend to integrate the realities of the field to their perception of CamE accent.

A few informants from both groups, including 03 teachers and 02 student teachers, gave their definitions of CamE accent. The common trait in those definitions was their inclusiveness, as they all viewed CamE accent as English pronunciation features of both educated and uneducated Cameroonians. These definitions further contrast with those provided by Sala (2003) and Simo Bobda & Mbangwana (2008).

All groups of informants were equally asked whether CamE accent was a distinct variety of English spoken by Cameroonians. The findings revealed that 55.97% of teachers and 69.91% of student teachers agreed, and 27.61% of teachers and 23.01% of student teachers strongly agreed. Meanwhile, 13.43% of teachers and 07.08% of student teachers disagreed, and 02.99% of teachers and no student teacher informant strongly disagreed. These results indicate that the overwhelming majority of informants view CamE accent as a variety of English on its own. This perception is reinforced by the fact that the majority of informants either agreed or strongly agreed that CamE accent is different from SBE and AmE accents. In fact, about 95.5% of teachers and 98% of student teachers either agreed or strongly agreed that CamE accent is different from SBE and AmE accents. Also, 71.43% of NPIs equally answered that they thought CamE accent was different from traditional NS accents, even though they were divided on whether SBE was superior to CamE. That almost all of the informants agreed or strongly agreed that CamE accent is different from traditional NS accents is not surprising, as Cameroonian professional users of English are more and more conscious and honest that they do not speak English like NSs, and, therefore, can proudly acknowledge that they sound Cameroonian and not British or American (see Ngefac 2009; Ngefac & Bami 2010). Also, as previous research works (see Foote 2015) have shown that language users are extremely sensitive to variations in accent. The above findings clearly indicate that participants in this study are aware of the existence of Englishes and the issues that these varieties pose for teaching, learning and policy-making in ELT.

7.1.2 Beliefs and opinions/practices related to English pronunciation instruction/training

While the researcher investigated teachers' and NPIs' beliefs and practices related to pronunciation teaching, he examined student teachers' opinions on pronunciation instruction during their training. Regarding the importance of teaching pronunciation in the Cameroonian English classroom, 95.5% of teachers and 100% of student teachers answered that pronunciation teaching was very important or important in language learning. Similarly, all NPIs (100%) answered that pronunciation instruction was more important in ELT in Cameroon today than it had ever been before. These findings indicate that all groups of informants believed that pronunciation instruction was of great importance in ELT.

Also, the overwhelming majority of informants answered that having a native-like accent was important for both students and teachers. In fact, more than 81% of teacher informants responded that having a native-like accent was of high importance to their students. In the same way, about 89% of student teachers said that as future teachers, they highly value the fact of having a native-like accent. This view, however, was not shared by the majority of NPIs, as 42.86% recognised that having a native-like accent has some degree of importance while 57.14% answered that a native-like accent was not "very necessary". That NPIs are divided on this issue is equally consistent with the fact that about half of these informants considered that CamE accent was not inferior to traditional NS models. These findings indicate that though ELT professionals in Cameroon are gradually developing positive opinions towards the local English accent, they still consider NS accents much more than CamE.

When asked to justify their answer choices, teacher and student teacher informants provided different explanations. For instance, while teachers believed that their students considered it *very important* to have a native-like accent for reasons such as overt prestige, effective communication with both NSs and NNSs, international recognition and the improvement of their speaking skills, student teachers thought instead that having a native-like accent will facilitate their students' acquisition of native-like speech, that teachers as role-models should use standard linguistic features, and that SBE and AmE are the accents that still guarantee the future success of students. In the same way, the teachers who answered that having a native-like accent was *important* provided explanations that ranged from the facts that native-like speech guarantees effective communication with both NSs and NNSs, and SBE is officially recommended for the classroom, whereas student teachers' reasons included the facts that a teacher's native-like accent facilitates students' understanding of words, encourages them to speak English "correctly" and helps them differentiate SBE with other accents. The difference in explanations was equally noticeable with the informants who answered that having a native-like accent was *not important*. For example, while teachers explained that communication was the main target of pronunciation instruction, student teachers explained that there was no obligation in sounding like a NS, and that the influence of ethnic languages made it difficult for Cameroonians to speak English with a British or an American accent. The differences in explanations listed above indicate

that teachers and student teachers differ markedly in their conceptualisation of the importance of having a native-like accent.

Another interesting finding in this section relates to the goal of English pronunciation instruction. In fact, 62% of the teacher participants either agreed or strongly agreed that the goal of English pronunciation instruction was to help learners acquire native-like accent features. A much higher percentage (more than 96%) of student teachers answered that they considered that the goal of the course *Advanced English Speech and Usa*ge was to train them to acquire SBE pronunciation and usage features. Meanwhile, 57.14% of NPIs answered that the goal of pronunciation teaching should be intelligibility, or the ability to communicate effectively in English. What is intriguing here is that while teachers and student teachers answered that nativeness is the target of pronunciation teaching probably with regards to the fact that SBE is the officially recommended model, NPIs who are custodians of ELT policy in Cameroon instead chose intelligibility as the goal for pronunciation instruction despite the government's prescription of SBE as the model in ELT in Cameroon. The question then is, what could have motivated this volte-face on norms? Is it because these informants know that native-like models such as SBE and AmE accents are unrealistic and unattainable in postcolonial multilingual settings? If that is the case, why is SBE still recommended as the model for the English classroom in Cameroon?

Whatever the case, the above findings are very interesting because they denote a major weakness in ELT policy in Cameroon. In fact, the lapse here is that both the government (MINESEC) and departments of English in teacher training colleges have set an unattainable target (SBE or RP) for pronunciation teaching. The reality here is that both teacher trainers and field teachers hardly speak SBE, so it is hard to fathom how these professionals can train future teachers in teaching a language variety which they themselves do not speak. For Ngefac (2011), this situation is similar to the blind leading the blind.

When asked about their practices related to pronunciation instruction, the teacher informants replied that the three strategies they mostly use include: approximating SBE pronunciation and asking students to repeat (83.58%), pronouncing the sounds normally as they do every day (28.38%), and using an audio recording from an electronic dictionary (26.86%). The recommendations made by NPIs to teachers are that teachers should target the

SBE pronunciation model prescribed in dictionaries, prepare their lessons well at home and use a variety of techniques such as tongue twisters, reading contests, and spotting out the word with the odd sound. That the overwhelming majority of participants chose to base their teaching on SBE pronunciation features is not surprising, as SBE is the only accent that all Cameroonian ELT professionals including teachers, student teachers, teacher trainers and pedagogic inspectors were 'trained' to teach. Therefore, ELT professionals in Cameroon continue to prioritise nativeness over intelligibility as far as pronunciation teaching and learning is concerned. Such a finding further reveals the confusion of informants, who essentially have positive attitudes towards CamE accent, yet conceptualise pronunciation instruction from the lenses of NSs.

From the above, the participants' beliefs, opinions, practices and suggestions related to teaching pronunciation, or the training they received in teaching pronunciation are socially and culturally constructed, like other beliefs, opinions and practices. They are grounded in the history of Cameroonians with English and their daily experiences of using English orally in different communicative situations in their country. Pronunciation is one of the first things people notice when we speak English. So the majority of informants in this study, like many other NNSs, know that having a "good" or "correct" pronunciation is an asset, and, therefore, value the fact of having a native-like accent. Also, the findings equally revealed that an unattainable target to pronunciation teaching, namely SBE, was set by educational authorities, and both teachers and student teachers strongly believe in it. This is rather unfortunate as some scholars including Kirkpatrick (2007) and Ngefac (2011) have demonstrated, with reference to clear examples taken respectively from the contexts of Hong Kong and Cameroon, that it is unrealistic to promote NS models in non-native ELT settings. Meanwhile, teacher training and teacher professional development should make ELT professionals understand that NS norms should not be imposed on NNS learners in non-native English settings. Cook (1996: 194-195) as cited in Wong (2018) illustrates this point when he argues that

> People cannot be expected to conform to the norm of a group to which they do not belong… however, teachers … and people in general have often taken for granted that L2 learners represent a special case that can be properly judged by the standards of another group…. L2 users have to be looked at in their own right as genuine L2 users, not as imitation native speakers.

This means, as far as pronunciation teaching is concerned, that intelligibility should be emphasised in non-native English settings instead of nativeness. In other words, teachers should be aware of the fact that English language learners in Cameroon need not be compared with native speakers in England or the USA. Nonetheless, should a comparison be made, language learners in Cameroon should be measured against successful language users in their own country and not native speakers.

7.1.3 Participants' accent preferences

The researcher studied teacher and student teacher participants' accent preferences in order to better understand their attitudes towards CamE accent on one hand, and towards the adoption of CamE accent as the pedagogical model in ELT in Cameroon on the other hand. The findings clearly revealed Cameroonian ELT professionals' preference for traditional NS accents, notably SBE. In fact, when asked which English accent they would like their students to speak, 61.6% of the teacher informants answered that they would prefer their students to sound British while 19.2% chose CamE accent for their students, and 19.2% also chose an accent that combines features of SBE, CamE and AmE. Trainee teachers were instead asked which accent they would like to speak as teachers. The results indicate that 58.62% said they would like to speak SBE, while 02.59% said they wanted to sound Cameroonian and 33.62% answered that they wanted their accent to comprise features of SBE, AmE and CamE.

Also, both groups of informants were asked to rate English accents according to their preferences for the English language class. The results revealed that SBE and AmE were rated by teacher and student teacher informants respectively as *very good for students* and *good for students*. Meanwhile, CamE was rated neither good nor bad for students while both groups of informants rated NigE accent as not necessary for students and not good at all.

Finally, both groups of informants selected the following descriptions for traditional NS accents: *beautiful and pleasant, associated with prestige*, and *prepares for international jobs*. Meanwhile, descriptions such as *easy to understand, easy to teach* and *prepares for jobs in Cameroon* were preferred for CamE accent.

That teacher and student teacher participants preferred SBE over CamE accent shows that despite a positive perception and gradual acceptance of their accent as different from traditional NS accents, Cameroonians cannot do without SBE because they derive benefits from it as it prepares them for better careers than CamE accent, and because they still consider it as "the yardstick for intelligibility" (Golombek & Jordan 2005: 520).

To summarise this section, it can be said that the results on the attitudes of teachers, trainee teachers and NPIs towards CamE accent revealed three major points: first, Cameroonian ELT professionals have a positive perception of the variety of English that they speak; they view it as autonomous, i.e. different from traditional NS varieties, especially SBE and AmE, and as a symbol of their Cameroonian identity. Second, they believe that having a native-like accent is of considerable importance. Third, they prefer SBE over CamE accent mainly for pragmatic and utilitarian reasons related to their job requirements, quality of education and the future career plans of their students. This is a paradox common to many, if not all non-native contexts, as despite a positive perception of the variety of English they speak, NNSs continue to believe that SBE and AmE accents are superior to nativised varieties of English. Rajadurai (2005: 6) captures the situation when she contends that "[Outer Circle] speakers express pride in their own accents and varieties, and yet at the same time, espouse a preference and yearning for the native-speaker accent and for traditional old variety norms". These findings further project the idea that utilitarian motives govern the attitudes of Cameroonians towards CamE accent, as they continue to believe that success in the education and careers of their children still depends heavily on SBE and AmE norms, even though we are aware that we speak a different variety of English (see Simo Bobda 2002).

The above findings equally reveal that Cameroonian ELT professionals continue to view traditional NS accents and even NS teachers as superior to the local English accent and teachers. What needs to be understood here by these informants instead is the fact that the concept of "native speaker" in WEs scholarships has changed significantly and refers today to broader categories of English language users than it used to do before (see Smith 2016). Therefore, it will be legitimate to refer to Prof. Randolph Quirk as a native speaker of British English, Prof. Larry Smith as a native speaker of American English, Prof. Yamuna Kachru as a native speaker of Indian English, Prof. Ayo Bamgbose as a native speaker of Nigerian

English, and Prof. Ngefac Aloysius as a native speaker of Cameroon English. They can all be considered as legitimate informants of the English they speak in their home countries. Then, it is certain that if English learners are taught the language following models they are familiar with, they will likely have a positive perception of the variety of English they speak, and positive attitudes in general towards learning that variety of English in the classroom.

7.2 Challenges to the adoption of CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon

Challenges to adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon were studied from three perspectives: challenges related to the informants' attitudes and beliefs, challenges related to pedagogical materials, and those related to the training of English teachers.

7.2.1 Challenges related to attitudes and beliefs

The findings of this study revealed several challenges to adopting the CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon that relate to the attitudes and beliefs of the three groups of informants. For instance, though the majority of teacher informants (78.36%) acknowledged that CamE is the accent they mostly use outside the classroom and about 61.5% of them did not agree with the claim that their colleagues use SBE accent in the classroom, 59.69% of teachers did not prefer teaching CamE accent instead of SBE accent, and 64.52% did not believe that teaching CamE accent is in line with the goal of CBA to prepare students for the international job market. In the same way, about 59% of the teachers would not like their child to be taught CamE accent instead of SBE accent, among whom 16.81% said they would report the teacher to authorities. These results clearly indicate a rejection of CamE accent as the model for the Cameroonian classroom.

The results obtained after analysing the data provided by student teachers were slightly different. For instance, there was no clear majority regarding the questions on the accent(s) that these informants mostly used in formal interactions and could effectively teach in the classroom. In fact, while 41.3% chose SBE as the accent they mostly use in formal interactions, 31.9% chose CamE and 23.28% preferred a combination of both SBE and CamE. Also, while 48.28% of the informants selected SBE as the accent they can effectively use in the classroom, 43.1% preferred CamE accent instead. That the majority of informants

neither chose CamE as the accent they use in formal occasions nor claimed that they could effectively teach CamE accent to their students constitutes an attitudinal challenge to the adoption of the local English accent as the model for ELT practice in Cameroon. One would have normally expected the majority of informants to claim that they can effectively teach CamE accent in their classrooms. Instead, the results of this study indicate that a considerable part of educated Cameroonians still do not trust CamE accent enough to carry the weight of Cameroonians' education and career plans.

WEs scholars, however, would probably rejoice with these findings, as they clearly indicate an important change in attitudes towards CamE accent. In fact, not up to 50% of student teacher informants chose SBE as the accent they can effectively teach in the English language classroom, whereas more than 43% of the same respondents claimed that they could teach CamE accent effectively. For Schneider (2011:220), we should not take for granted the gradual positive change of attitudes towards nativised varieties of English: "[…] this positive attitude towards local Englishes, their adoption as carriers of regional identities, also marks an important step toward their ultimate acceptance". Indeed, who could have imagined 15 years ago that so many student teachers would acknowledge that they mostly use CamE accent in formal interactions, and that CamE is the accent they can effectively teach in the classroom? The corollary of the above findings is that CamE accent is gaining grounds among Cameroonian ELT professionals and is gradually being accepted as a marker of the Cameroonian identity in English language use.

However, there is a persistent lack of trust towards CamE accent. In fact, while 59% of teachers answered that they would not appreciate if they discovered that a colleague had been teaching CamE accent to students instead of SBE, a whopping 76% of student teacher informants had the same attitude, and among them, 15.04% said they would report their colleague to authorities for un-teaching their children. The informants gave the following main reasons for their reluctance to accept CamE accent as the pedagogical model in ELT in Cameroon: CamE has not been standardised yet; it is not the officially recommended accent; it is limited in use to Cameroon only and it is not the accent of the international job market.

The above findings indicate that attitudinal challenges to adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon have strong utilitarian roots. In other

words, those challenges mostly derive from the belief that CamE accent may not provide the same educational and professional opportunities that SBE accent could provide, and, therefore, it should not be used as the model in classrooms. These findings tend to epitomise the overall attitudes of Cameroonians towards learning English. In fact, most Cameroonians, especially those from a French-speaking background, are attracted to English-medium schools mostly because of the international job opportunities such an education can provide (see Kuchah 2016, 2017). But even more, Cameroonian parents who can afford quality English medium instruction for their children generally go for it with the hope that their offspring will end up acquiring a native or a near-native command of SBE.

7.2.2 Challenges related to pedagogical materials

The findings revealed that teachers, trainee teachers and NPIs view pedagogic materials as another challenge to adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. First, neither student teachers nor field teachers believed that today's officially recommended textbooks and other ELT materials expose students to, and facilitate the teaching of CamE accent features. In fact, 65.02% of teachers and 60.91% of student teacher informants either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the claim that the officially recommended textbooks expose learners to CamE accent features in their pronunciation lessons. These informants disagreed with the argument that pronunciation lessons in English language textbooks are based only on SBE accent features. Likewise, 63.88% of teacher informants reported that they disagree or strongly disagree with the claim that the recommended ELT materials facilitate teaching CamE accent features. In the same vein, all the NPI informants rejected the claim that some of today's officially recommended textbooks encourage the use of CamE accent features. Finally, 77.69% of teachers did not believe that teachers' guides suggest that students be exposed to CamE accent features in pronunciation lessons.

The above findings clearly indicate that today's officially recommended ELT materials neither expose students to CamE accent features nor facilitate and encourage teaching such features. Instead it is clear that the features promoted in those ELT materials are those of SBE accent only. In other words, textbook authors, pedagogic inspectors and editors are still to bridge the paradigm gap between the fields of SLA and WEs as far as

pronunciation teaching is concerned. These results corroborate the claim made by Belibi (2013) that despite calls for the adoption of CamE as the local standard in ELT, there are no pedagogic materials so far that clearly provide teachers with information on how to teach grammar or pronunciation from the perspective of CamE as the model for the English classroom in Cameroon. It is not difficult to understand the situation at this level: no author wants to publish an English language textbook for secondary school students that has no chance to be recommended by NPIs and other education experts on grounds that it does not follow the official prescription of using SBE features only. Meanwhile, the fact that we live in a postcolonial multilingual setting where English is used differently is enough for us to represent that aspect of our identity in ELT materials. Students in the Cameroonian context can learn English through authentic materials such as audio and video materials featuring conversations between educated English –speaking Cameroonians. They can also listen to local and international news in English on radio or TV so as to get a wider exposure to English accents used for national and international communication.

7.2.3 Challenges related to the training of future English teachers

The findings here demonstrate that despite their exposure to CamE accent during their training, student teachers still do not trust the local variety of English enough to let it become the model for the classroom.

First, the majority of student teachers claimed that they were exposed to three or more English accents during their training; in fact, SBE was selected by 78.45% of the informants, CamE by 62.93% and AmE by 38.79% of the informants. Despite that large exposure to CamE accent as acknowledged in the previous sentence, more than 63% of the informants either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the claim that their trainers recommend the use of CamE accent in the classroom. This is certainly because SBE is the officially recommended model for the English language classroom. If the trainers did not recommend the use of CamE accent, then they certainly did recommend SBE. This contradicts another finding, which is that 66% of the student teacher informants either agreed or strongly agreed that their trainers use CamE accent in their lectures. Then, how can teacher trainers recommend that teachers-in-training use SBE accent when they themselves do not use it in their lectures? This is another instance of the blind leading the blind as demonstrated in Ngefac (2011).

NPIs equally acknowledged shortcomings in the training of teachers regarding pronunciation instruction when they all opined that Cameroonian English teachers neither speak SBE accent nor teach its features effectively in the classroom. In fact, none of the seven informants answered that she believed that Cameroonian English teachers speak SBE and teach it effectively in the classroom. They provided the following points to justify themselves: some certified French-speaking English language teachers have poor oral skills; too many teachers avoid teaching pronunciation because they do not have the skills to do it effectively; and many teachers do not prepare pronunciation lessons before stepping into the classroom. When asked what could be done to remedy this situation, 57.14% of NPIs answered that English teachers need more professional development programs in pronunciation teaching. Given that Cameroonian teachers and other professional users of English have not been able to speak SBE since the English language arrived in Cameroon, there is a high probability that these professional development programs would not yield the expected fruits.

Another challenge related to teacher training is that the majority of student teacher participants (76.72%) answered that they would prefer their trainers to use SBE accent in their lectures for a variety of reasons including the facts that it is a prestige variety, it is recommended for the classroom and students will speak it if teachers can speak it first. Also, for 78.5% of the student teachers, teaching CamE accent does not align with CBA's goal to prepare learners for the international job market for two main reasons: it is not recognised outside Cameroon and it limits opportunities to get international jobs.

The above findings indicate that Cameroonian ELT professionals among whom teachers, student teachers and teacher trainers hardly speak SBE accent, which is the model recommended for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. Instead, these professionals mainly use CamE accent features both in formal and informal contexts. This is not surprising, as it remains a sociolinguistic fact that RP is only spoken by about five per cent of the population in Britain, which is the birthplace of English. Then, instead of an obstinate focus on and prescription of SBE features, teaching and teacher training should emphasise building learners' awareness on the fact that English is plural, and that the methodology used to teach it, and the decision to focus more on a particular skill or sub-skill instead of another all

depend on the context in which teacher training takes place and the language is being used and taught. Smith (2016: 16) echoes this point when he argues that

> […] we must continue to align the method/technique of teaching with the student's purpose for studying with the textbook, the teacher's language competence, the school's objectives, and the amount of time given each week for instruction.

From the above discussion and quote, it is evident that Cameroon's officially recommended English textbooks do not align with teachers' language competencies, teaching methods and even the amount of time dedicated for English instruction each week. Given that the weekly hour load for teaching English ranges from three to four hours only in French-medium and English-medium schools respectively, it is difficult to fathom how English instruction in Cameroon will result in students' acquisition of SBE accent features.

As far as teaching methods are concerned, the findings further reveal that teachers lack the skills to teach English pronunciation as their pronunciation lessons lacked variety and creativity. In fact, teachers reported doing most often only one type of teaching activity (approximating SBE pronunciation and having students repeat) in their pronunciation lessons, while their next two most used activities were equally very similar (I pronounce as I do everyday and students repeat after me; and making students listen to an audio recording of NS pronunciation in my phone and haing them repeat). Several other studies carried out in different sociolinguistic contexts including Murphy (2014), Baker (2011) and Breitkreutz, Derwing & Rossiter (2001) corroborate these findings, as they have equally shown that many teachers in ESL and EFL contexts feel ill prepared to teach English pronunciation. This should not be surprising at least for two reasons that have been discussed in the literature review: first, teachers here are struggling to make their students reach an unattainable target, which is native-like speech, when they have not been able to get there themselves, and second, most teachers continue to approach pronunciation instruction from a native speaker's perspective. Meanwhile, using more context-appropriate methods that take into account the parameters raised in the above quote by Smith is likely to produce better results in terms of frequency of teaching pronunciation lessons and student motivation to reach an attainable target. In the end, the question remains: if ELT professionals do not speak RP, the variety of English they are supposed to teach in the classroom, and are poorly equipped to teach English

pronunciation, then why continue to recommend the teaching of SBE accent features when the end result seems so obvious?

7.3 Prospects for the adoption of CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon

The aim of investigating prospects for the adoption of CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon was to find out whether current debates in the ELT field and, especially the calls— even by NS scholars— for setting attainable targets in ELT in Outer Circle and Expanding Circle contexts have an impact on the ELT industry in Cameroon, notably in areas such as policy making, course book design, teacher training and professional development, and teacher cognitions. The findings reveal that these prospects are neither bright, nor completely bleak. For example, teachers and student teachers' answers diverged on whether they thought teaching CamE accent will cause more harm than good to students. In fact, while about 52% of teachers either agreed or strongly agreed with the claim that teaching CamE accent will cause more harm than good to students, about 57% of student teachers either disagreed or strongly disagreed with that claim. In the same way that the informants' opinions diverged on the issue, their explanations equally diverged. For instance, while teachers who agreed explained, among other things, that CamE is not recognised worldwide, is not what students want to learn and does not adequately prepare students to interact with NSs and get international jobs, the student teachers who disagreed explained instead that CamE serves communication purposes and is appropriate for the Cameroonian context, and that there is no evidence that it has harmed students so far. The fact that field teachers have more teaching experience, and are more cognizant of the communication problems of Cameroonians when they interact with NSs than student teachers may account for this divergence in opinion between the two groups of informants.

An important size of teachers (42.86%) and more than half of student teachers (53.7%) reported that it is hard to tell whether CamE accent will become the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. This means that close to half of these ELT professionals were indecisive on whether CamE accent would become the local model in ELT. In the meantime, about 34% of teachers and 34% of student teachers were optimistic that CamE accent will become the local model for English classrooms, while 22.22% of teachers and 12.04% of student teachers said that will never happen. However, the

overwhelming majority of NPIs (85.71%) expressed pessimism about the prospects of CamE accent to become the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. These findings indicate that student teachers are more optimistic than the other two groups of informants on the prospects of having a local accent as model for the English classroom in Cameroon. Nevertheless, the teacher and student teacher informants who were optimistic that CamE accent will become the model for language teaching and learning in Cameroon added that this may take 10 years or more before it becomes a reality.

Another interesting finding was that 42.86% of NPIs expressed a clearly favourable opinion about teaching SBE accent features alongside CamE accent features. Meanwhile, among the other 04 NPIs, two found the idea interesting, but cautioned that too much information may further confuse learners, and the remaining two opposed the idea. This is a positive result, as it indicates that ELT policy makers in Cameroon understand the need to expose learners to non-native varieties of English, and to CamE in particular, and may be ready in the future to promote CamE accent features for teaching and learning the English language. Aya Matsuda (2003: 721) highlights the relevance of exposing learners to different varieties of English in the quote below:

> The limited exposure to English varieties in the classroom may lead to confusion or even resistance when students are confronted with different types of English users outside of class […]. Even if one variety is selected as a dominant target model, an awareness of different varieties would help students develop a more comprehensive view of the English language.

Finally, the majority of teachers and a considerable size of student teachers expressed pessimism about the future of CamE because it is likely to disappear and is not meant for the English language classroom. This result again shows that utilitarian reasons mainly rule attitudes towards CamE accent. Informants' attitudes towards CamE accent would have certainly been positive if that variety of English carried some prestige in Cameroon and beyond, and if it provided them with the same opportunities as SBE.

7.4 Major differences among the informants

Because our three groups of informants did not always have similar cognitions regarding the main issues investigated in this thesis, this section recalls and discusses the significant differences among the informants revealed in the findings.

- More than 21% of student teacher informants considered CamE accent as tribalised English pronunciation features, while 09% of field teachers only did the same.

- More than 81% of field teachers and 89% of student teachers reported great importance to having a native-like accent, whereas 57.14% of NPIs thought that having a native-like accent was not necessary.

- Field teachers explained that a native-like accent was either very important or important for the following reasons: a NS accent confers overt prestige and international recognition; it makes communication with NSs and NNSs effective; it is recommended for the classroom, and it improves students' speaking skills. Meanwhile, student teachers provided these responses: a native-like accent will facilitate learners' acquisition of native-like speech; teachers have to use NS accent features because they are role models; NS accents guarantee the future success of students.

- While 96% of student teachers claimed that the goal of the course Advanced English Speech and Usage was to help them acquire native-like accent features, 62% of field teachers reported that the goal of pronunciation teaching was to make learners have a native-like accent. In the meantime, 57.14% of NPIs answered that intelligibility should be the goal of pronunciation teaching.

- About 59% of field teachers would not like their child to be taught CamE accent instead of SBE against 76% of student teachers who reported that they would have the same attitude.

- While 52% of field teachers either agreed or strongly agreed that teaching CamE accent will cause more harm than good to students, about 57% of student teacher informants either disagreed or strongly disagreed.

- About 42.9% of field teachers reported that it is hard to tell whether CamE accent will become the local model in ELT. Meanwhile, the percentage of student teachers who said the same was higher at 53.7%.

- While 85.71% of NPIs expressed pessimism about the prospects of CamE accent to become the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon, 22.22% of field teachers and 12.04 % of student teachers only had a similar opinion.

The major differences listed above reveal two things about the cognitions of our informants in relation to the issues raised in this investigation. First, student teachers are more inclined to follow NS norms than field teachers and NPIs. This is evident in their consideration of CamE accent, the importance they accord to having a native-like accent and their overall conceptualisation of the goal of pronunciation teaching. Second, student teachers tend to be less pessimistic than field teachers and NPIs about the prospects of CamE accent to become the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon, which denotes a positive change in attitudes towards the local variety of English in future English language teachers. In the end, the differences among informants listed above reveal that work experience (in terms of number of years on the field and position) tends to have a significant impact on teacher cognitions related to CamE accent and the teaching of English pronunciation. In fact, the findings here indicate that the insistence on upholding NS norms is stronger in student teachers and decreases over the years, before it resurfaces when the teacher leaves the classroom to become a pedagogic inspector.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the main findings of this study. It has shown that field teachers, trainee teachers and NPIs prefer traditional NS varieties, especially SBE over CamE for three main reasons: it is already the recommended model for the English language classroom in Cameroon; it has more prestige; and it provides opportunities for jobs at the national and international levels. However, the informants acknowledged that CamE accent is unique to Cameroonians, easy to understand, easy to teach and prepares for the local job market. Also, it was found that the challenges related to the adoption of CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon are closely related to the fact that SBE is the current model for the Cameroonian classroom. Indeed, it is because SBE is the current model that ELT professionals prefer it for the classroom, that NPIs promote it, that course book writers promote its features in course books only, and that teacher trainers recommend

and train students in its use. It is, therefore, certain that there would be changes in attitudes towards CamE accent if it was standardised and adopted as the model for the English classroom in Cameroon. Finally, it was shown that the prospects for adopting CamE accent as the local model in ELT are equally closely related to the attitudes investigated above. In fact, a significantly high correlation was found between the attitudes of stakeholders and their vision of the future of CamE accent. In fact, because there were less positive attitudes towards CamE accent, there were equally fewer brilliant prospects for its adoption as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This general conclusion is divided into three sections. First, it presents a summary of the major findings of this study. Second, it discusses the sociolinguistic and pedagogic implications of those main findings, and third, it provides suggestions for further research.

Summary of findings

This thesis investigated the attitudes, challenges and prospects related to the adoption of CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. The data was collected via questionnaires distributed to both in-service and pre-service teachers, and interviews conducted with national pedagogic inspectors of English.

As far as attitudes are concerned, the findings have revealed that Cameroonians have a positive perception of the variety of English they speak, but prefer SBE accent and to some extent AmE accent over CamE accent for utilitarian reasons, as they believe that these accents provide access to quality education and better job opportunities both at the national and international levels. This certainly explains why the majority of informants answered that they strongly value having a British-like or an American-like English accent. Finally, though Cameroonians consider the variety of English they speak as autonomous and different from both SBE and AmE accent, they do not favour it becoming the local model in learning and teaching English.

This study investigated three main challenges to adopting CamE accent as the pedagogical model in ELT in Cameroon. These include challenges related to beliefs, attitudes and practices, challenges related to pedagogic materials, and challenges related to the training of English language teachers.

Looking at the first type of challenges, the findings have revealed that attitudes towards CamE accent are not generally positive. These attitudes are characterised by the informants' lack of trust in CamE accent to guarantee the quality of their education and future career plans. In fact, the majority of informants opposed the idea of teaching CamE accent as the model for the Cameroonian English classroom because it is limited in use to Cameroon only, it is not recognised worldwide and may not adequately prepare learners for the

international job market. Instead, they preferred SBE accent as the target model for both students and teachers.

Since pedagogic materials only reflect educational policies, and because the current ELT policy in Cameroon targets SBE at all linguistic levels, the officially recommended pedagogic materials in use today equally promote SBE pronunciation features only. This means that nothing is done at the level of the government to promote even a few features of CamE that could serve both as symbols of Cameroonian identity and markers of difference with other varieties of English. Then, without pedagogic materials that expose learners to CamE accent features, it is simply hard to fathom how this variety could become the model for the English language classroom.

The training of English language teachers was viewed as another major hindrance to the adoption of CamE accent as the local model in ELT. Given that teacher trainers are Cameroonians who speak educated CamE accent, and considering the fact that this accent is different from SBE, it is clearly difficult to imagine how these teacher educators can train future teachers to speak and teach SBE accent effectively, an accent which they clearly do not speak themselves. In the discussion section, we viewed this as an instance of setting an unattainable and unrealistic goal in ELT. The fact that trainers do not recommend using CamE accent features, but frequently use such features in their lectures illustrates the unrealistic nature of having SBE accent as the model for the classroom in Cameroon.

Finally, prospects for the adoption of CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon are neither bright nor completely bleak. In fact, while the majority of teachers and a considerable size of the student teacher informants expressed pessimism about the future of CamE, an important size of teachers and more than half of student teachers answered that it is hard to tell whether CamE accent will become the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. About a third of informants in each group of informants expressed optimism that CamE accent will become the model in ELT in Cameroon. Also, while a little more than half of teachers agreed that teaching CamE accent will cause more harm than good to students, more than 57% of student teachers disagreed that teaching CamE accent will cause more harm than good. Last, the findings revealed that national pedagogic inspectors and teachers are more pessimistic than student teachers on the

likelihood of CamE accent to become the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon.

Sociolinguistic and pedagogic implications

The evidence presented in this study shows that the attitudes of the major stakeholders in the ELT industry in Cameroon towards CamE accent on the one hand, and towards adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon on the other hand, are mainly governed by pragmatic and utilitarian reasons. In other words, there are more positive attitudes towards SBE accent because it is officially recommended for the classroom and can provide better educational and career opportunities than CamE. Following that logic, it could be hypothesised that if educational authorities recommended CamE accent as the model for Cameroonian classrooms, then it would certainly enjoy more prestige at the local level and, therefore, generate more positive attitudes from its users. That more than 78% of teachers testified that they mostly use CamE accent outside the classroom, 31.9% of student teachers testified that they mostly use CamE accent in formal interactions, and 43.1% of student teachers acknowledged that CamE is the accent they can effectively teach shows that this indigenised variety of English is gaining grounds among educated Cameroonians, especially among some of the major stakeholders in the ELT industry in Cameroon.

Also, that more informants considered CamE accent as easy to understand, easy to teach and as the accent that prepares for jobs in Cameroon ahead of SBE and AmE accents shows that this indigenised variety of English equally enjoys a positive perception among Cameroonian teachers and student teachers. Then, if teachers and trainee teachers can testify without complex that these descriptions apply effectively to CamE accent, why would NPIs and other educational authorities not consider giving it a chance to become the local pedagogical model, since from all indications, this variety of English tends to suit both the Cameroonian context and professionals better than SBE and AmE accents? Unfortunately, as some respondents to our questionnaire argued, Cameroonian education policy makers are only interested in policies or curricular reforms that are based on Western models which they very often attempt to transpose to the Cameroonian educational context.

Nevertheless, the fact that the overwhelming majority of informants highly value having a traditional native-like accent and prefer SBE accent for the classroom should not be taken for granted because we want to promote the local variety of English at all costs, even in these times when Outer Circle Englishes receive increasing support from scholars in the field of English applied linguistics at international conferences. What needs to be done is a process of decolonisation of minds that will result in the acceptance by more Cameroonians of the local variety of English. It will not be wise, indeed, to impose CamE accent as the local ELT model today when 81% of teachers still believe that having a British-like accent is either very important or important for their students, and 62% of these teachers believe that the goal of pronunciation instruction is to help learners acquire native-like pronunciation, and when 89% of student teachers believe that having a British-like or an American-like accent is either very important or important. This decolonisation of minds should consist of three bold steps.

First, CamE accent needs to be standardised. This study has revealed that one of the main reasons informants did not prefer CamE accent for the classroom over SBE or AmE accent was that CamE accent has not been standardised yet. An important aspect of the standardisation process of CamE that needs to be developed considerably is codification, that is the description of the features of that variety of English in dictionaries, spelling manuals and grammar textbooks. It is very likely that when Cameroonians are aware that there are textbboks that promote features of the variety of English they speak, they will certainly become more favourable to idea of making CamE accent the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon.

Second, decision makers in the ELT field need to set more realistic goals for teachers, for example, recommending CamE accent features—which these professionals can teach effectively— as the target for pronunciation instruction instead of SBE accent features. In fact, a considerable portion of teacher and student teacher informants in this study answered that CamE accent should be used in the society, but not inside the classroom because it is not the officially recommended target for pronunciation instruction. Then, it could be hypothesised that if Cameroonian users of English know that the variety of English they speak is the new local standard, they will become more proud of their own accent, and more favourable to its use in the classroom. Codification, once again, is of capital importance for the future of CamE accent. Indeed, as Bamgbose (1998: 1) argues, despite the gradual

acceptance of non-native varieties of English and the recognition of their functions in their contexts of use, these Englishes still suffer from a negative perception because of their lack of codification:

> In spite of the consensus on the viability of non-native Englishes, there are issues that still remain unsettled. These include the status of innovations in the nativization process, the continued use of native norms as a point of reference, the ambivalence between recognition and acceptance of non-native norms, the adequacy of pedagogical models, and the overriding need for codification. Underlying these issues is the constant pull between native and non-native English norms. Innovations in non-native Englishes are often judged not only for what they are or their function within the varieties in which they occur, but rather according to how they stand in relation to the norms of native Englishes.

Third, CamE accent features should be promoted in teacher training colleges, schools around the country, and English language textbooks. Jenkins (2000: 160) highlights the potential of the reality of non-native Englishes for teacher education, curriculum design and course book writing in the following terms:

> There is really no justification for doggedly persisting in referring to an item as 'an error' if the vast majority of the world's L2 speakers produce and understand it. Instead, it is for L1 speakers to move their own receptive goal posts and adjust their own expectations as far as *international* (but not intranational) uses of English are concerned….[This] also drastically simplifies the pedagogic task by removing from the syllabus many time-consuming items which are rather unteachable or irrelevant for EIL.

As many informants in this study reported, students understand CamE accent more easily than SBE or AmE, and it makes them pass official exams. This clearly implies that CamE accent was already widely used in the classroom by teachers. Then, given that teachers are already familiar with CamE accent, why not give it the official status it deserves to have for contributing so much to the education of Cameroonians? How long would we continue to claim that SBE is the model for the classroom when teachers recognise that it is CamE accent instead that students understand and which makes them pass their exams? It is high time we accepted who we are and made the language variety we speak official, because, as Bamgbose (1996:16) argues, "the task of promoting local varieties of English cannot be left to generous

outside donors alone. It is a task that must be faced squarely in our various countries". Obviously, this is very much the responsibility of policy makers who have to change their attitudes on the issue, especially as they defend their preference and promotion of SBE on the grounds that it is best for students. May be the time has come to abandon unattainable ideals and do what is right for both teachers and learners. On the issue, Schneider (2011: 219) writes: "[…] attitudes will have to change significantly, especially on the side of political authorities and education gatekeepers— New Englishes would have to be endowed with overt prestige in the future".

Suggestions for further research

This work set out to investigate the attitudes, challenges and prospects of adopting CamE accent as the model for teaching and learning English in Cameroon. Future research could move towards making proposals for a CamE pronunciation syllabus, or a standard CamE accent, and studying the feasibility of each of those proposals as well. Also, the scope of the present study was limited to three groups of informants including trainee teachers, field teachers and national pedagogic inspectors. While those participants constitute some of the major stakeholders in the ELT industry in Cameroon, it is equally important to investigate the attitudes of other major stakeholders who are not directly involved in the ELT industry—such as high school students, educated English-speaking parents and English-speaking journalists— towards CamE accent on one hand, and towards adopting CamE accent as the local model in ELT on the other hand. Such investigations could provide more relevant data about Cameroonians' attitudes towards CamE accent, and a solid path towards a reform led by ELT professionals to choose more realistic pronunciation instruction goals.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire investigates English teachers' perceptions of Cameroon English accent. We would be very grateful if you could provide answers to the questions below.

PREFERENCES

Please choose one of the options listed below to indicate how you would prefer us to proceed with the information you supply.

☐ Give you credit if we cite you in our work.

☐ Use your responses but to keep your name and other identifying information confidential.

☐ Use your responses in our analysis but not to quote them in any work that may appear in press.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

 If you would rather not identify yourself, please use random initials and a number, e.g., AV38.

1.   Name: (optional) ….…..……….….………….…………………………………

2.   Gender: ☐ Male   ☐ Female

3.   Age: ☐ 20 – 30 years old   ☐ 31 – 40 years old

                 ☐ 41 - 50 years old   ☐ 51 – 60 years old

4. Teaching experience: ☐ 0 – 5 years   ☐ 6 – 10 years

                 ☐ 11 – 15 years   ☐ 15+ years

5. In which Region do you work? ……………………………………………………

6. In which subsystem do you teach?   ☐ Anglophone   ☐ Francophone

GENERAL QUESTIONS

7- Cameroon English is a <u>distinct variety of English</u> spoken by Cameroonians

I strongly agree ☐   I agree ☐   I disagree ☐   I strongly disagree ☐

8- Cameroon English accent refers to:

(a) English pronunciation features of educated Anglophone Cameroonians   ☐

(b) English pronunciation features of educated Francophone Cameroonians   ☐

(c) English pronunciation features of educated Cameroonians (both Francophones and Anglophones) ☐

(d) Tribalised English pronunciation features (Examples include Nso'o and Bafut varieties, among others) ☐

(e) Other ☐   Explain, please. ……………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………….

9. Cameroon English accent is different from British and American accents

I strongly agree   ☐   I agree ☐   I disagree ☐   I strongly disagree ☐

10- In your opinion, how important is pronunciation teaching in Cameroonian schools?
☐ Very important   ☐ Important   ☐ Not important

11- How important is it for your students to have a British-like or American-like pronunciation in English?
☐ Very important   ☐ Important   ☐ Not important

Explain, please:
…………………………………………………………………………………………………..
………………………………………………………………………………………………….
………………………………………………………………………………………………….

12- The goal of English pronunciation teaching in Cameroon should be to help students to acquire a British-like or an American-like proficiency

I strongly agree ☐   I agree ☐   I disagree ☐   I strongly disagree ☐

13- How do you generally teach pronunciation? (Tick all options that apply)
I try to approximate Standard British pronunciation and students repeat after me   ☐
I invite a colleague whose pronunciation is better than mine   ☐
I invite a traditional native speaker to my classroom   ☐
I use a recording from an electronic dictionary   ☐
No need to bother! I pronounce the sounds as I do every day ☐
Other ☐   Explain, please:
…………………………………………………………………………………………………..
………………………………………………………………………………………………….

14- I want my students to sound
☐ British   ☐ American   ☐ Cameroonian   ☐ All of the above

15- Please, place a tick in the cell corresponding to the accent that applies to each description

Accent / Description	American English	Standard British English	Cameroon English	Nigerian English
i. Beautiful and pleasant				
ii. Easy to understand (intelligible)				
iii. Associated with prestige				
iv. Easy to teach				
v. Prepares for the job market in Cameroon				
vi. Prepares for international jobs				

16- Please, place a tick in the cell corresponding to the accent that applies to each description

Accent \ Description	American English	Standard British English	Cameroon English	Nigerian English
i. Very good for our students				
ii. Good for our students				
iii. Neither good nor bad for our students				
iv. Not necessary for our students				
v. Not good at all for our students				

17- Which of these English accents do you often use out of the classroom? (Tick all options that apply)

☐ Standard British English

☐ General American

☐ Cameroon English

☐ Nigerian English

☐ Other (specify, please)

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

18- Which English accent is officially recommended for the Cameroonian classroom?

☐ Standard British English (SBE)

☐ General American

☐ Cameroon English

☐ Other (specify, please) ……………………………………………………………………

19- The colleagues at my school use Standard British English accent in their classrooms

I strongly agree ☐   I agree ☐   I disagree ☐   I strongly disagree ☐

Explain, please ……………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………….

20- **Would you prefer teaching Cameroon English accent instead?**   Yes   ☐   No ☐

Why? ……………………………………………………………………………………….…

……………………………………………………………………………………………….

21- **The competency-based approach (CBA) aims at preparing students for "a smooth insertion into a more demanding job market worldwide" (Ministerial Order on implementing CBA, 13 August 2014). Do you think that teaching Cameroon English accent is in line with the above goal of CBA?**

Yes   ☐   No   ☐

Why**?** ……………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………

22- As a parent, what would you do if you learned that your child is being taught Cameroon English and not Standard British English?

☐ I would be happy because it's high time we taught our local variety of English as standard.

☐ I would not like it, but I would let it go

☐ I would report that teacher to authorities for un-teaching children.

☐ Other. Explain, please.

………

………·

23- The officially recommended English language textbooks in use today expose learners to Cameroon English accent features in their pronunciation lessons.

I strongly agree ☐   I agree ☐   I disagree ☐   I strongly disagree ☐

Explain, please

....

………·

24**- Do teachers' books suggest that they expose learners to Cameroon English accent features during pronunciation lessons?**

Yes   ☐   No   ☐

25- **Today's officially recommended English language teaching materials facilitate the teaching of Cameroon English accent features.**

I strongly agree ☐   I agree ☐   I disagree ☐   I strongly disagree ☐

26. Teaching Cameroon English accent will cause more harm than good to our students

I strongly agree ☐   I agree ☐   I disagree ☐   I strongly disagree ☐

Explain, please ……………………………………………………………………………………….

………·

27. Cameroon English accent will become the model for teaching English pronunciation in Cameroon for educational practices in the nearest future.

Very likely ☐   Likely ☐   It is hard to tell ☐   Never ☐

Why? …………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………·

28. If you accept that Cameroon English accent will become the model for educational practices in the nearest future, indicate how long this is likely to be and explain why

………

……

29. What would you say about the future of Cameroon English in general?

………

………

……

Thank you!

APPENDIX B: STUDENT TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire investigates student teachers' perceptions of Cameroon English accent. We would be very grateful if you could provide answers to the questions below. Your answers would be used in a PhD project and in work that may appear in press.

PREFERENCES

Please choose one of the options listed below to indicate how you would prefer us to proceed with the information you supply.

☐ Give you credit if we cite you in our work.

☐ Use your responses but to keep your name and other identifying information confidential.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

 If you would rather not identify yourself, please use random initials and a number, e.g., AV38.

1. Name: (optional) …………………………….……………………………………………

2. Gender: ☐ Male   ☐ Female

3. Specialization: ☐ Bilingual Series   ☐ English Modern Letters

4. Level of study:

……………………………………………………………………………………………

5. Name of your institution:

……………………………………………………………………………………………….

6. Are you   ☐ Pre-service   or   ☐ In-service?

7. If you are in-service, how many years have you taught already?

……………………………………………………………………………………………….

GENERAL QUESTIONS

8- Cameroon English is a <u>distinct variety of English</u> spoken by Cameroonians

I strongly agree ☐   I agree ☐   I disagree ☐   I strongly disagree ☐

9- Cameroon English accent refers to:

(a) English pronunciation features of educated Anglophone Cameroonians   ☐

(b) English pronunciation features of educated Francophone Cameroonians   ☐

(c) English pronunciation features of educated Cameroonians (both Francophones and Anglophones) ☐

(d) Tribalised English pronunciation features (Examples: Nso'o and Bafut varieties, among others) ☐

(e) Other ☐

…………………………………………………………………………………………….

10- Cameroon English accent is different from British and American accents

I strongly agree ☐   I agree ☐   I disagree ☐   I strongly disagree ☐

11- In your opinion, how important is pronunciation teaching in your training?
☐ Very important   ☐ Important   ☐ Not important

12- How important is it for you, as a future teacher, to have a British-like or American-like pronunciation in English?
☐ Very important   ☐ Important   ☐ Not important

Explain, please:
……………………………………………………………………………………………..
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………

13- The goal of the *Advanced English Speech and Usage* course is to help students acquire Standard English pronunciation and usage features
I strongly agree ☐   I agree ☐   I disagree ☐   I strongly disagree ☐

14- As a future English language teacher, I want my accent to approximate
☐ Standard British English   ☐ American English   ☐ Cameroon English
☐ All of the above

15- Please, place a tick in the cell corresponding to the accent that applies to each description

Accent \ Description	American English	Standard British English	Cameroon English	Nigerian English
i. Beautiful and pleasant				
ii. Easy to understand (intelligible)				
iii. Associated with prestige				
iv. Easy to teach				
v. Prepares for the job market in Cameroon				
vi. Prepares for international jobs				

16- Please, place a tick in the cell corresponding to the accent that applies to each description

Accent \ Description	American English	Standard British English	Cameroon English	Nigerian English
i. Very good for our students				
ii. Good for our students				
iii. Neither good nor bad for our students				
iv. Not necessary for our students				
v. Not good at all for our students				

17- Which of these English accents are you exposed to during your training? (Tick all options that apply)

☐ Standard British English

☐ General American

☐ Cameroon English

☐ Nigerian English

☐ Others (specify, please) …………………………………………………….........................

18- Which of the above accents do you use in formal interactions?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………….

19- Which English accent is officially recommended for the Cameroonian classroom?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

20- Which English accent can you effectively use in a classroom?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

21- Our trainers recommend that we use Cameroon English accent in the classroom

I strongly agree ☐   I agree ☐   I disagree ☐   I strongly disagree ☐

22- Our trainers use Cameroon English accent in their lectures

I strongly agree ☐   I agree ☐   I disagree ☐   I strongly disagree ☐

23- Which English accent would you prefer your trainers to use? Why?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

24- The competency-based approach (CBA) aims at preparing students for "a smooth insertion into a more demanding job market worldwide" (Ministerial Order on implementing CBA, 13 August 2014). Do you think that teaching Cameroon English accent is in line with the above goal of CBA?

Yes   ☐   No   ☐

Why? ……………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

25- What would you do if you discover that a colleague has been teaching Cameroon English and not Standard British English features to his/her students?

☐ I would be happy because it's high time we taught our local variety of English as standard.

☐ I would not like it, but I would let it go.

☐ I would report that teacher to authorities for un-teaching children.

26- The officially recommended English language textbooks in use in secondary education expose learners to Cameroon English accent features in their pronunciation lessons.

I strongly agree ☐   I agree ☐   I disagree ☐   I strongly disagree ☐

Explain, please ....

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

27- Teaching Cameroon English accent will cause more harm than good to our students.

I strongly agree ☐   I agree ☐   I disagree ☐   I strongly disagree ☐

Explain, please ………………………………………………………………………….……

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

28- Cameroon English accent will become the model for educational practices in the future.

Very likely ☐   Likely ☐   It is hard to tell ☐   Never ☐

Why? ………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

29- If you accept that Cameroon English accent will become the model for educational practices in the future, indicate how long this is likely to be and explain why

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

30- What would you say about the future of Cameroon English? ………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

Thank you!

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW GUIDE WITH NATIONAL PEDAGOGIC INSPECTORS

TOPIC: CAMEROON ENGLISH ACCENT AS THE MODEL FOR TEACHING AND LEARNING ENGLISH IN CAMEROON: ATTITUDES, CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT 1

1. Could you briefly introduce yourself?

I taught English for 16 years. Then I was a Regional Pedagogic Inspector for 5 years before I became National pedagogic inspector three years ago.

2. **Could you tell me which accent is officially recommended to teach English in Cameroon?**

SBE or RP is officially recommended to teach English in our country.

3. Could you explain why that accent was selected?

This comes from our colonial history with Britain. It is only normal that after independence, we decided to have this accent as the model for the classroom.

4. **How important is pronunciation teaching in English language teaching in Cameroon?**

It is important because it is well-stated in the new syllabus that teachers should equally pay attention to accuracy; that is good grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation. If you check that syllabus, you will see that teachers are recommended to do speech work regularly in context, and not in isolation.

5. How important is it for Cameroonian English teachers to have a native-like (Standard British English) accent?

It is not very necessary. You do not have to be another person when you get into the classroom. However, you must use the right grammar and vocabulary.

6. What is the target of pronunciation instruction in English language teaching? Is it native-like (SBE) accent or is it intelligibility in English?

The target is Standard British English, but as the teacher, you need to be yourself.

7. How would you recommend teachers to teach English pronunciation to secondary and high school students?

When you do speech work, check your dictionary. Then try to pronounce the words as it is prescribed in the dictionary. But when you are out of class, be yourself.

8. Let's talk a bit about the English spoken in Cameroon which has been referred to as CamE accent. Do you think that CamE accent is different or very different from SBE accent?

I think educated CamE is not very far from SBE accent.

9. Given that SBE is the model today, does that mean CamE accent is inferior or sub-standard?

If we have to compare, then CamE accent is below SBE.

10. Given that SBE accent is what is officially recommended, do you think that Cameroonian English teachers use and teach it effectively in the classroom?

No, the problem today comes from Francophone English teachers. Some graduate from ENS and can barely speak English fluently. Also, there are many part-time teachers who have not received training, but who teach students. Imagine that in places like Akonolinga, the majority of English teachers are part-timers. Students pick up all their errors, and therefore, you cannot expect these students to speak good English in the future.

11. Do you think that the textbooks and other pedagogic materials today facilitate the teaching of SBE pronunciation features?

Yes, textbooks today have lessons on speech work. Today, for example, there are lessons on sounds, stress placement and intonation in textbooks from 6e to 3e.

12. Some of the teachers wrote in the questionnaires that some of the officially recommended textbooks encourage the use of CamE accent features. What do you think about that?

That is not true. The course books we recommend are those that follow SBE norms. Anyways, everybody is allowed to have an opinion these days.

13. Given that Cameroonian teachers do not speak SBE and hardly teach it, which measures are taken at your level/ should be taken to adapt the goals of pronunciation teaching with that reality?

We advise teachers to teach pronunciation from 6e to Tle. To do it effectively, they must prepare lessons before going to class. So they must check their dictionaries for correct pronunciation.

14. Some teachers recommend that secondary and high school students be exposed not only to SBE accent, but to other accents as well, including Cameroon English, Nigerian English and American English. What is your opinion about that?

When you teach, tell your students what the pronunciation in the dictionary is, and then also tell them how Cameroonians often pronounce the words. I think that is enough already.

15. Given that the majority of Cameroonian teachers have difficulties speaking SBE, do you think that there is a chance some day in the future for CamE accent to be officially recognised as the model for teaching and testing English in Cameroonian schools?

I don't think so. Our English is not even codified yet.

Thank you very much for your time and invaluable responses.

Index