The Morphosyntax of Camfranglais and the 4-M Model

ABDOULAYE LAZIZ NCHARE
New York University
(May 2010)

Abstract

This paper investigates the morphosyntactic features of borrowed verbs attested in written French-based code-switching (CS) as used in online forums by bilingual Cameroonians residing in Europe and the USA. I focus on the structural rather than the functional aspect of online CS. I discuss the distributional features of inflected and non-inflected borrowed verbs in order to determine which structural pattern of CS is predominant in the corpus. My objective is to contribute to the empirical and descriptive study of CS among Cameroonian internet users. The assumptions adopted in this paper are based on Myers-Scotton's (2002, 2008) 4-M model of morphemes classification in CS data. I seek to uncover a number of constraints that account for when Embedded Language (EL) elements in bilingual speech may take Matrix Language (ML) inflection and when they may surface as bare forms. This question is especially relevant with regards to verbs. While Myers-Scotton does invoke the congruence hypothesis, her writings do not work this out sufficiently. In the case of Camfranglais (the term used to describe the data I am investigating), there is a further interest because CS ordinarily entails a ML-EL pair but here there is a ML (French) and multiple EL's, specifically English, Pidgin, Duala, and Ewondo. The findings of this study are consistent with 4-M model predictions (at least for finite verbs and present participles) in that all grammatical morphemes and word order are that of French, the dominant language that sets the morphosyntactic frame of the clause in Camfranglais. However, the congruence hypothesis does not explain why bare forms overwhelmingly occur in Camgfranglais data. Using quantitative data concerning the structural distribution of EL verbs in Camfranglais, I show that the model proposed here has more explanatory power than the 4-M model in regards to the existence of bare forms.

Key words

Borrowed Verbs, Code-switching, 4-M model, Congruence, Matrix Language, Embedded Language, Morphosyntax, Bare Forms, Inflected Forms, Constraints.

Introduction

This paper analyzes and discusses a number of morphosyntactic properties of both inflected and uninflected other-language verb forms observed in Camfranglais in the context of Myers-Scotton's (1997, 2002, and 2008) model of codes-switching (CS). It is standard assumption in the literature to describe bare forms (i.e., morphologically uninflected lexical items in a syntactic slot shared by a language pair in CS) as instances of exceptional or ungrammatical ways for incorporating foreign materials into the recipient language (Jake and Myers-Scotton, 1997, Picone, 1994). While Myers-Scottton (1997, 2002) does invoke the congruence hypothesis to explain the existence of bare forms in CS data, her writing does not work that question out sufficiently. Quantitative analysis of actual EL verbs attested in Cameroonian bilinguals' written

discourse in online forums, in contrast, reveals that the production of bare forms occurring overwhelmingly in Camfranglais corpus is highly systematic, admitting only few exceptions. In the case of Camfranglais, there is further interest because CS ordinarily entails a ML-EL pair but here there was an ML (French) and multiple EL's, specifically English, Pidgin, Duala, and Ewondo. In this analysis, I present patterns of bare verbs demonstrating how the congruence hypothesis is fraught with difficulty, until a comparison with inflected verbs allows for a more satisfactory reanalysis, one that characterizes the lack of French inflections on EL's verb inserted into the matrix frame as a uniform phenomenon that can be better explained using specific linguistic factors (e.g., structural, morphological and phonological factors). Specifically, surface manifestation of EL verbs missing French inflections for infinitives and past particles transgresses the morphosyntax of both French and ELs, and therefore, is not working in compliance with the ML hypothesis which argues that all grammatical morphemes come from the ML. Consequently, Cameroonian bilinguals who transfer verbs from a number of language sources into syntactic contexts calling for French conjugation morphemes are expected to comply with French well-formedness.

I will adopt Myers-Scotton's (2002) 4-Morpheme (4-M) model of morpheme classification viewed as 'a hypothesis about morpheme types and how they differ both at abstract levels and surface distributions' (Myers-Scotton, 2008:21) reconciled with a version of Chomsky's (1995: Chapter 4) account of inflected forms in UG to explain the existence of bare forms in Camfranglais. I maintain Myers-Scotton's (1993a) claim that 'code-switching and borrowing are two poles on a continuum of more or less similar processes' (Stolz, 2008:15). It is very difficult to make a distinction between CS, language mixing, and borrowing. However, for this study, I will use CS interchangeably for switching, mixing or borrowing. From a purely theoretical perspective, the most important fact about Camfranglais is that all inflectional morphemes come from French, the ML which builds the morphosyntactic frame of all bilingual clauses in our corpus. However, uninflected EL verbs (i.e bare forms) attested in infinitival and participial phrases are unusual cases under the 4-M model. The focus of this study is to determine whether or not bilingual speakers produce all EL verb forms with relevant French inflections in contexts where the 4-M predicts them. It is my ultimate goal to characterize relevant factors or constraints that determine the behavior of both inflected and bare bilingual verbs and the resulting ramifications for CS theory.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 1, I offer some definitions of key terms used in the paper in combination with an overview some linguistic features of Camfranglais with reference previous research devoted to those features. Section 2 revisits the key assumptions of the 4-M model that are relevant to the analysis of switched verbs. In Section 3, I look at the empirical findings. Section 4 discusses the congruence hypothesis and some phonotactic constraints using quantitative data. In the final section, I reflect on the implications of these findings in regards to Myers-Scotton's model of CS.

1. Definitions

Stein-Kanjora characterizes "Camfranglais" as 'a mixture of *Cam*eroonian languages, French (fr.: *Fran*cais); English (fr.: An*glais*), Pidgin English and even other European languages such as Spanish or German, French being clearly the syntactic base.' (2008:118). It is important to point that Spanish and German are not widely used in Cameroon although they are taught in high schools. Camfranglais can also be traced back to Ze Amvela (1989) who is the first author to use that term to describe a new speech variety taking place in Cameroon. In his view, Camfranglais is 'the mixture of French, English, and the national languages spoken in Cameroon' (Bandia, 1994:99). In general terms, I argue that in Camfranglais, all grammatical morphemes, word order, and functional elements are typically French. In regards to its function, Camfranglais is viewed as 'the language of fun, leisure time and complicity, a language that invites word play and the creation of neologisms' (Stein-Kanjora, 2008:120). It is a standard view that Camfranglais is a speech variety typically used to break with both local and western traditional norms and values by opposing and rebelling against their colonial linguistic norms. Similar views are expressed by Ewané (1989) who argues that Camfranglais 'signals rebellion against authority and societal expectations. It is often associated with opposition to authority figures.'

In this analysis, I use the terms incorporation and integration interchangeably to denote all cases of productive use by bilingual speakers of lexical items (with or without ML's grammatical morphemes) from one EL source in a bilingual clause. The ML here is French whereas the other language sources such English, Pidgin and Duala or Ewondo are ELs. The distinction between code-switching and borrowing is highly controversial, especially for single-other language items incorporation in the matrix frame without any French materials (e.g., tense, mood, phi feature

etc). However, according to Poplack and Meecham (1998), borrowing and CS are fundamentally different processes. Borrowing patterns are generally in line with the morphosyntactic properties of the ML whereas switches pattern conform those of the EL. Poplack and Meecham argue that frequency is not relevant in the distinction between borrowing and CS and non-frequent (integrated) items are characterized as 'nonce borrowing'. But Myers-Scotton's (2002, 2008) approach adopted here does not make such a distinction. Under her approach, lone EL items are theoretically not a problem because they should be distinguished extra-linguistically based on frequency in the corpus or exclusion in the dictionary.

1.1 The Context of the Study: Information Technology and the Emergence of a New Cameroonian Online Speech Community

The internet was officially introduced in Cameroon in 1998. It is estimated that 3,8 % of around Cameroon's population of 19 millions had access to the internet by September 2009, with virtually no access in rural areas (US Census Bureau, 2009). Demographically, the English-speaking part of Cameroon (North-west and South-west) represents only 20% of Cameroon's population. 57% of Cameroon's population live in urban centers, 40% of which is located in the two major French-speaking cities (Douala and Yaoundé) where more than 90% of all the internet connections are concentrated (BuddComm, 2007). Pidgin English is also part of the linguistic landscape of Cameroon. Around 5% of Cameroonians are native speakers of Pidgin whereas roughly 50% of Cameroonians speak it in some form. (Kouega, 2007:15). Those who have access to the internet are members of Cameroon educational system (higher school and university teachers and students), the business community and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Within this segment of that population, a significant amount of Cameroonians have migrated to Europe and North America to look at better economic and educational opportunities. As soon as they reach their new countries of residence, the internet becomes an important medium of socialization and information about both their homeland and their host societies. As Fielding (2009:78) puts it, 'The Internet thus serves as an important agent for socialization, as information about both home and host societies is shared, and communication is facilitated amongst members of the Diaspora themselves. This digital forum has fostered multiple forms of group-belonging and cultural participation across national borders and enabled recreation and sustenance of social relations of various sorts.'

In this study, I am interested in looking at the speech behavior of bilingual Cameroonians across six websites[1] which typically serve as good information resources both at home and abroad. Through debates and various exchanges in various forums attested in those websites, a new online Cameroonian speech community has emerged and its members connect instantly across continents in a way that affects their language attitudes. The use of the internet in such a multilingual context implies contact and new patterns of social interaction. The internet is therefore an ideal site for investigating CS. For many people, although they are bilingual in French and English, French is still generally preferred to English. I argue that French is preferred due to various reasons such as poor command of English, lack of ability to speak or write in Cameroonian indigenous languages and the stronger presence of French-speaking moderators in various forums. This contact situation also prompts us to reflect on the very idea of Camfranglais speakers' identity on the internet, as a community of speakers united by shared Cameroonian cultural values and bilingualism. Questions remain on whether French and English can be considered as a L1 for many Cameroonians. Although Biloa (1999) views French and English as languages with no native speakers, it is important to mention that there are Cameroonians (although very few) whose first language is French. This is supported by Bitjaa Kody's (2004:03) remarks that argue that 'the use of local languages is progressively abandoned in urban and rural areas to the advantage of French, which has become the language of integration in the urban centers and the main vehicular language in the Francophone provinces of Cameroon.' Still, for many of them, French is still a foreign language, generally rated negatively for political reasons. That is why people generally identify themselves with either their ethnic group or their nationality, not French. It is the inclusion of local Cameroonian languages that makes Camfranglais so appealing in terms of the investigation of CS. Camfranglais is widely spoken in major Cameroonian urban centers such as Yaounde, Douala, Buea where states universities are located. The circle in figure 1 highlights the areas where Camfranglais is widely spoken in Cameroon. Mainly spoken in urban centers in Cameroon, the core of the Camfranglais speech community consists of adolescent male and female and also young adults living either in Cameroon or in the Diaspora. Camfranglais symbolizes as Stein-Kanjora puts it 'the adoption of an urban identity, marking its speakers as modern, up-to-date and streetwise Cameroonians.'

[1] The description of those websites on Cameroon can be found at the website of Stanford University which URL is http://www-sul.stanford.edu/depts/ssrg/africa/camer.html.

(2008:122). Moreover, youths outside of urban areas are also attracted by Camfranglais for the same reason as its primary audience. In this respect, referring to Camfranglais as the mirror of Cameroonian urban culture is not an overstatement.

Figure 1. Areas where Camfranglais is widely spoken in Cameroon

1.2 Formal properties of Camfranglais

At first glance, the most important feature of Camfranglais is its vocabulary. Grammatical morphemes such as pronouns, conjunctions, tense affixes, quantifiers are overwhelmingly French. Camfranglais is therefore neither the French of France, nor the version spoken by the academicians in the Francophonie[2]. It is also different from the versions of regional French spoken in Cameroon referred to as 'Standard Cameroonian French' and 'Cameroon Popular French' (Echu, 2003:03). Structurally, the grammar of Camfranglais is built on French syntax. Inside the clause, a number of lexical items (e.g., nouns, verbs, adjectives) may come from the official languages (French and English) or a local Cameroonian language (Duala[3], Ewondo[4] and Pidgin). In regards to its syntax, the sentence word order in declarative sentences in generally SVO. The order of elements at the phrasal level also corresponds to that of French. I argue that the abstract knowledge of basic French morphosyntactic rules is a requirement to be able to speak Camfranglais. However, at the phonological level switches may conform to French phonotactics or to that of the ELs. The examples[5] in (1) and (2) roughly illustrate the morphological properties of switched verb paradigms discussed in the paper.

(1) a. *Vous* KNOWez *que* les **nga**s *sont tres dangereuses*
2pl know-2pl.PRES that det.PL girls are very dangerous
'You know that girls are very dangerous'

[2] *Francophonie* is an inter-governmental organization for French-speaking countries created in Niamey in 1960 by Leopold S. Senghor, Habib Bourguiba, and Hamani Diori, (formerly Agence de cooperation Culturelle et Technique, ACCT). (For more information on the organization and many of its activities, see its official website: http//www.francophonie.org)

[3] Duala (classified as A.20 by Ethnologue (2009) is a Bantu language family spoken primarily by 87,700 people (1982, SIL) in the Littoral Province of Cameroon. Phonologically, just like other Bantu languages, it is characterized by a contrastive tone and open syllables. Morphologically, it is an agglutinative language with a rich noun class system.

[4] Ewondo (classified as A.70 by Ethnologue (2009) is also a Bantu language and is spoken by 577, 700 people (1982, SIL) in the Center and South Provinces of Cameroon. Both its phonological and morphological features are very similar to Duala's. Both Duala and Ewondo belong to the same language family called "Sanaga" where Duala is classified as A.24 and Ewondo also called Bulu classified as A.72. (Schadeberg, 1980:316).

[5] Kouega (2003b) uses italics to indicate what he refers to as "Camfranglais terms" whereas the remainder are "Standard French words". But in this analysis, I use the italics for *French*, capital letters for ENGLISH, bold for **Douala,** Capital and underling for PIDGIN ENGLISH, and BOLD and underling for **Ewondo.**

b. *Je ne* KNOW*ais pas moi* MOP

1sg NEG know-IMP NEG me kiss

'I did not know how to kiss'

c. *En plus elle* **tcha***yera son mougnon*

Moreover 3sg.fem take-3sg-FUT her sweetheart

'Moreover, she will take her sweetheart'

(2) a. *Je voulais vous* ASK *une question*

1sg want-1sg-imparfait 2pl ask det. question

'I wanted to ask you a question.'

b. *Tu n'as pas arrêté de la* LOOK *de toute la soirée*

2sg NEG have NEG stop to her look for all det. afternoon

'You did not stop looking at her all this afternoon'

c. *L'Italie est comme tu l'as* LEP *à ta* LAST VISIT

Det. Italy be-3sg.Pres like 2sg it have-2sg leave at your last visit

'Italy is the way you left it during your last visit'

d. *On t'a* DO *quoi pour que tu nous fasses tant* SOFA?

One you have-Pres do what for that 2sg us do-2sg-Pres-Subj. so much suffer

'What have we done to you so that we make us suffer so much?'

It can be seen from these examples that Camfranglais owes much of its vocabulary to English and Pidgin although French dominates the grammatical frame of the whole clause. The examples in (1) illustrate how EL verbs get inflected with French tense suffixes and those in (2) illustrate EL bare forms (i.e borrowed verb-root like stems which surface without French morphology). In (1), English verbs such as KNOW (1a&b) and the Duala verb **tcha** 'take' (1c) inflect with French tense suffixes, i.e *–ez* {2pl; present}, *-ais* {3sg; *imparfait*}, and *-era* {2sg; future}. English verbs such ASK, LOOK and Pidgin verbs such as LEP (<*Eng. left*) and SOFA (< *Eng. suffer*) in (2) all surface as bare forms where one would expect the French infinitival suffix *–er* [e] (2a&b) on the verb roots. Bare verbs occur after a modal verb, a phrasal verb as in (2a, b and d) or (b) an auxiliary as in (2c&d) where the French past participle suffix *–é* [e] is

missing on the Pidgin verb root LEP (<*Eng. left*) and the English verb DO. It is important to mention that Camfranglais is a very unusual scenario because unlike the classic cases of codes-switching discussed in African contexts where the ML, i.e the language building the morphosyntactic frame of the bilingual clause is always that of the indigenous languages, French is the dominant language with more than one dominated languages inserted to it.

2. Theoretical Assumptions

2.1 Myers-Scotton's Framework

In this analysis, I adopt the assumptions of the 4-Morpheme (4-M) model) proposed by Myers-Scotton (2002, 2008) to account for the distribution of French inflectional morphemes in the corpus. The 4-M model is designed to handle and explain morpheme distribution in all language types. At the outset, let me start with some terminology. It is now customary in the 4-M model to use the terms 'Matrix Language' to refer to 'the principal language in CS' (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, p.47) or 'the language that builds the morpho-syntactic frame of the clause' (Myers-Scotton, 2002:26) and 'Embedded Language' to refer to 'the non-dominant language' that provides 'content morphemes in mixed constituents'(Myers-Scotton, 2007:03). In other words, the EL is 'the language from which the borrowing occurs' in CS (Bratman, 2006:06). It is necessary to mention that Myers-Scotton's assertion that the ML can be straightforwardly identified has been challenged by many people (Gardner-Chloros and Edward, 2004; Muysken, 2000), but in the present case, i.e Camfranglais, the status of French as the ML is not in doubt. The 4-M model implies two basic oppositions: (a) the ML versus the EL and (b) system morphemes versus content morphemes (Myers-Scotton, 2002:15). The first opposition implies the languages involved in the bilingual clause are neither equal nor interchangeable. That is, the ML is grammatically dominant and determines word order and the constituent structure of the bilingual clause, whereas the EL is the less dominant. The EL only contributes content morphemes to the bilingual clause without setting the grammar of the clause. The second opposition follows from the asymmetry principle which states that 'not all morphemes participate equally in codeswitching within a bilingual CP' (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2000:02). In other words, the distinction between the structural role of the ML and the EL is sorted out by the Morpheme Order and System Morpheme Principle repeated in (3) and (4).

(3) The Morpheme Order Principle

In a mixed constituent consisting of at least one EL word and any number of ML morphemes, surface word order (and morpheme) order are from the ML.

(4) The System Morpheme Principle

In ML + EL constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their constituents (i.e. which participate in the sentence thematic role grid) will come from the ML. (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 244).

Another important concept in the 4-M model is the concept of 'EL islands' characterized as 'constituents that show structural dependency relations and are well-formed in the Embedded Language, not in the Matrix language' (Myers-Scotton, 2002:67). I will leave aside the discussion of EL islands in this analysis because all EL verbs patterns considered here do not involve any EL island. One of the crucial assumptions of the 4-M model is the division of all morphemes attested in CS into four types, namely: (i) content morphemes; (ii) early system morphemes; (iii) late bridge system morphemes and (iv) late outsider system morphemes. The following are definitions of each type of morpheme:

- **Content morphemes** are characterized as morphemes 'that either assign or receive theta roles'. (Myers-Scotton, 2006:244). They include lexical categories like nouns, verbs, adjectives, prepositions, all of which have lexical and semantic content.
- **Early system morphemes** are functional elements that depend on content morphemes to surface. Myers-Scotton argues that they 'flesh out the meaning of the lemmas of the content morphemes that call them' (Myers-Scotton, 2006:268). Unlike content morphemes, they neither assign nor receive theta roles. Early system morphemes include plural affixes, most determiners, and verb satellite prepositions like *up* or *in* from English verbs like *stand up*, *walk in*.
- **Late system morphemes** are functional elements that carry grammatical information and indicate structural relations between elements within a constituent (such as gender, number, or case agreement) or a clause (person, tense, aspect, and mood). They are argued to receive information about their form from their maximal projection (Myers-

Scotton, 2002:75). Late system morphemes subdivide into (a) *bridge system morphemes* and (b) *late outsider system morphemes*.

The distinction between bridge system morphemes and late system morphemes brings up an important question about the nature of each of these morphemes. On the one hand, *bridge system morphemes* refer to invariant 'associative elements' (Myers-Scotton, 2008:25) that are used to 'satisfy the well-formedness conditions *within* the constituent in which they occur, joining together phrases to form a larger constituent' (Myers-Scotton, 2008:29). Examples of bridge system morphemes include connectors or linkers like *of* or *-s* in English possessive constructions. On the other hand, *late outsider system morphemes* refer to functional affixes that encode relevant agreement relationships (i.e tense, mood, aspect, person, number, case) between 'content morpheme heads' (Myers-Scotton, 2008:31). These morphemes include object clitic pronouns, reflexives, and case features (i.e nominative, accusative, dative and genitive in a language like German). They are also claimed to 'rarely transfer across languages' (Myers-Scotton, 2008:24).

Myers-Scotton's recognition that both the MLF model and the 4-M model imply the idea of the uniformity of the bilingual clause structure resulted in what she refers to as the Uniform Structure Principle defined as follows:

> A given constituent type in any language has a uniform abstract structure and the requirements of well-formedness for this constituent type must be observed whenever the constituent appears. In bilingual speech, the structures of the Matrix Language (ML) are always preferred. Embedded Language (EL) islands (phrases from other varieties participating in the clause) are allowed if they meet EL well-formedness conditions, as well as also meeting those ML conditions applying to the clause as a whole (e.g., phrase placement). (Myers-Scotton, 2008:25).

The Uniform System Principle (USP) is crucial in that it is claimed to be universal and able to predict cross-linguistic distributions of morpheme types in CS corpora. In the present study, I focus on the distribution of French late outsider morphemes that are supposed to inflect EL verbs under the 4-M model. The examples in (1) endorse the 4-M model predictions in that (a) morpheme order in all bilingual clauses comes from the ML, i.e French and (b) all late system outsider morphemes attested in those examples also come from the ML. (Myers-Scotton, 2002:59).

2.2 The Existence of Bare Forms

Insertions of EL verbs that lack French inflectional morphology (bare forms) as shown in (2) suggest an empirical issue to be addressed. The 4-M model predicts that all system morphemes should come from the ML. However, bare forms attested in (2) where one would expect relevant French inflections (e.g. infinitives and past participles) need to be accounted for. Myers-Scotton (2002:21) accounts for the existence bare forms in CS by stating that they are 'compromised strategies' which result from the lack of congruence between the language pairs present in a bilingual clause although she does admit that 'what constitutes sufficient congruence is not well defined independently of what does occur' (Myers-Scotton, 2002:110). In this respect, she argues that 'congruence and constraints go hand in hand' and 'congruence has to do with what features must be checked and the results of checking that must obtain in order for certain elements to occur in certain codeswitching patterns' (Myers-Scotton, 2002:97). There are several divergent definitions of congruence in the linguistic literature. My clarification is based on Muysken's (2000:118) original definition adapted in Deuchar (2005). Deuchar proposes the following definition of congruence: 'similarity or equivalence between the grammatical categories of two languages, viewed from both a paradigmatic and syntagmatic perspective'. (Deuchar, 2005:256). If the congruence hypothesis is true, it follows that CS will be (a) more frequent when there is 'both paradigmatic and syntagmatic congruence' between the language pair involved in a bilingual speech, (b) less frequent when there is only one type of congruence but not the other and (c) impossible where both kinds of congruence are not attested (Deuchar, 2005:257).The discussion of the congruence hypothesis is given in the next section. The arguments put forward in the remainder of this paper are meant to answer the following questions:

(a) What explains the existence of bare forms in bilingual data where the 4-M model predicts French inflectional morphemes (e.g. infinitive, past participle)?
(b) Is there any correlation between the phonological shapes of the EL verb stems, specifically whether the EL verb is vowel-final or consonant-final, with the selection of French inflectional morphemes?
(c) Do bare forms only result from a lack of congruence between French and an EL?

(d) Is the surface realization of the ML system morphemes somehow dictated by French morphosyntactic well-formedness constraints imposed on the EL verbs?

2.3 Structural Constraints

In this section, I introduce two competing principles that seek to explain the distribution of both bare EL verbs and inflected ones in the corpus. As we have seen, Myers-Scotton's 4M model expects that EL forms will receive all the ordinary inflectional markers expected by the ML. Consequently, bare forms are seen as arising from typological conflicts (lack of congruence) between the EL and the ML. Typologically unrelated languages often show very little surface similarities. This is true for French and at least two language sources involved in Camfranglais (e.g., French is inflectional while Duala and Ewondo are agglutinative languages). However, the data discussed this paper suggest EL bare forms constitute puzzling patterns that require further explanation. A significant portion of bare EL verbs surface in two specific syntactic environments: infinitival and participial forms. This suggests that a structural constraint may be at work, which we will formulate below as the Matrix Language Agreement Constraint.

2.3.1 Congruence

Building on the idea that convergence[6] leads to 'congruent lexicalization' (Muysken, 2000:122), I hypothesize that language sources exhibiting more similarities with French in terms of morpheme order are more likely to take French inflectional morphemes. The congruence hypothesis is defined in (5).

(5) **Congruence Hypotheses**

If an EL verb is congruent with French (both paradigmatically and syntagmatically), then its morphological integration[7] into French sentence structure is highly possible (i.e the EL verb will not resist the insertion of the expected French inflectional morphemes).

[6] The concept of convergence used is this context is similar to what Bullock and Toribio (2004:91) characterize as 'enhancement of structural similarities found between two linguistic systems'.

[7] The notion of morphological integration used here can be understood as the adaptation of borrowed verbs into the matrix language (i.e French) in a way that satisfy the morphosyntactic well-formedness of that language. (see Myers-Scotton, 2006:224 for a fuller discussion of this notion)

For this analysis, I look at the congruence hypothesis in terms of the indication of temporal expression in the EL sources as compared to French, the ML. The issue here is the following, for any bilingual clause, what linguistic devices in the competing verbal systems shared by Cameroonian bilinguals need to be congruent to French's to enhance CS? Compared with French system of tense marking, I would argue that English is more like French, in a sense, because, French is originally a Latin language with German and English influence whereas English is a Germanic language with Latin and French influence. Like French, English uses inflectional morphemes to indicate if a lexical verb is plural or singular, if it is past tense or not, participial or gerund, though French has a richer morphology. The only exception between English and French is that English uses the auxiliary *to* in order to mark the infinitive whereas French uses the suffix *–er* [e]. I would argue that French is more a synthetic language tending towards analytic, rather than solely synthetic alone (as Latin was). French verbal morphology is classically synthetic in nature than that of English. The implication then, under the congruence hypothesis, is that there is a lack of congruence between English and French infinitival verbs. Consequently, one would expect very few or to some extent no English verb with a French inflectional affix for infinitives. This is also true for past participles, because French past participles are derived from the infinitival suffix.

The remaining language sources (i.e Duala. Ewondo and Pidgin) indicate temporal expressions in a different way. Specifically, Duala and Ewondo which are Bantu languages formally expressed their tense-mood-aspect distinction by means of affixes (both prefix and suffix) and auxiliaries. From a syntactic point of view, Duala and Ewondo tense prefixes are better analyzed as auxiliaries. Essono (2000:478) argue that they both have a symmetric tense system, centered around the present tense, where three future tenses mirror three past tenses. All those tenses, unlike in French are indicated by auxiliaries. Moreover, infinitives are marked by a nasal prefix which generally assimilates to the adjacent consonant. The form generally used for the infinitive is the same for both present and past participle in Ewondo and Duala (Essono, 2000). Pidgin has similar properties with Ewondo and Duala in terms of the indication tense, aspect and mood. Pidgin lacks any suffix to encode any tense in a way that French does. Its relative poverty in terms of inflectional morphology is what sharply distinguishes it from French. Under the congruence hypothesis then, one would expect Duala, Ewondo, and Pidgin to display less French inflections because they are paradigmatically less congruent to French.

Since the typological difference is very small between English and French, one would expect that bilingual Cameroonians will assign French inflectional affixes to English-origin verbs more readily than they will assign French affixes to verbs from other language sources which are less congruent to French.

2.3.2 Structural constraint

Observations regarding the distribution of French tense inflections and bare forms in Camfranglais suggest an alternative account based on syntactic contexts. I will formulate this as the ML Agreement Constraint, defined in (6).

(6) The ML Agreement Constraint (MLAC)

a. Any EL verb which occurs in a syntactic context where there is no strong feature [+finite] to be checked (Chomsky, 1995) should be marked as a bare form.
b. Any EL verb which occurs in a syntactic context where there is any strong feature to be checked (e.g., tense, mood, aspect, adjectival present participle etc), the ML inflectional morpheme should be spelled out overtly on the EL.

Note that this constraint assumes the EL verb forms are inserted in Camfranglais without any specification as to tense, mood, aspect, or person-number. This is consistent with Myers-Scotton's prediction that all system morphemes should come from the matrix language. The data considered here contain no counter-examples to this principle. All the inflections that are found on EL verbs come from French.

The MLAC is proposed here as a reconciliation of Myers-Scotton's approach, emphasizing ML as the source of system morphemes, and the Chomskyan concept of feature-checking as the source of agreement and inflection. We will argue that the forms which commonly are found without inflection in Camfranglais (infinitivals and past participles) are cases in which no strong feature is present to be checked, while the Camfranglais EL forms that occur predominantly with inflections are precisely the finite forms which must undergo feature checking.

The following sections of the paper present the data that will be used to test the congruence hypothesis and the MLAC. What is important for our present purpose is how Myers-Scotton's approach accounts for the data. More importantly, I look at the factors which explain the existence of bare forms in context where one would expect the inflected forms.

2.4 Methodology and Data Collection

I will assume that the majority of data I am describing here is that of French-speaking Cameroonians living in Europe or in North America where the access to the internet is more affordable and reliable than in Cameroon. This obviously does not mean that Cameroonians back home do not CS on the internet as well, but the proportion of internet users in Cameroon is very slim compared to that of the Diaspora.

2.5.1 Participants

The subjects of this study are anonymous writers engaged in online forums where they 'digitally hang out' to discuss their experiences about their homeland and their new country of residence (Fielding, 2009). The fact that thousands or even millions of mainly young Cameroonians nowadays live abroad has enormously increased the number of chat forums where anonymous bilinguals can share their experience about their life. Because of the anonymous natures of participants in those forums, I was not able to have any information about their native languages, their languages of education, their age, their gender, their city of origin, their education level, their city of residence, etc. Nonetheless, I assume them to be native born Cameroonians, black, male and female and migrants united as a speech community by the idea of being connected to their homeland via the internet. The corpus consists of chat log files recorded from 2003 to 2009. Data was obtained from 7 Cameroonian forums over the course of a year, from April 2008 to April 2009. For this analysis, I have considered 1221 EL verbs, all of which were drawn from a survey of the writing habits and attitudes of bilinguals who use codeswitching in their speech in the following forums: (a) *Bonaberi.com*: http://www.bonaberi.com/; (b) *Grioo.com*: http://www.grioo.com/ (c) *Cameroon-info*: http://www.cameroon-info.net/ ; (d) Affection.org: http://www.affection.org/ (e) *Camfoot.com*: http://www.camfoot.com; (f) *Camer.be*: http://www.camer.be/ and (g) *Facebook*:

http//www.facebook.com/. Were excluded from this analysis any specific forums where people were overtly encouraged to use Camfranglais.

2.5.2 Data Collection

The data consist of transcripts of 1221 bilingual sentences collected in different places throughout various discussion files on the internet. Of all those sentences, I looked at whether EL verbs were (a) finite (i.e inflected for present, imperfect and future tense); (b) infinitival (i.e those inflected with French infinitival suffix *–er*); (c) participial (e.g. present participle taking the French suffix *–ant* and past participle taking the French suffix *–é*). The following are the factor groups that were examined: (i) inflected or not inflected (e.g. is the EL take the target French inflection or not), (ii) the language source of EL verbs (e.g. English, Pidgin English or Douala/Ewondo), (iii) the final segment of the EL verb stem (e.g. consonant or vowel), (iv) the phonetic form of the French suffix, (v) the tense of the finite EL verb (imperfect, present, future), (vi) the number agreement feature, and (vii) if the EL verb is in English, whether it was regular or irregular.

In this study, I am looking at CS primarily from a formal and structural perspective. I will make a number of points. First, the data described here show that sentences consisting of more than one language always have French as the ML. Although there are reasons to assume that many Cameroonian languages may participate in Camfranglais, only two indigenous languages (Duala and Ewondo) were identified as ELs in the corpus. It was impossible to associate CS to any sociological attributes (see Labov, 1972 for an extended discussion of the variationist model) because information on how people code-switch based on their age, gender, educational background and social status was not available. In the light of such limitations, I decided to focus only on linguistic factors to determine what features are most likely to influence the distribution of EL verbs in the corpus. I have opted to work on online data because I was not in contact with actual speakers of Camfranglais. Online data obviously has the advantage that the corpus is easily collected and saved on the websites so that one can return and collect more data if more information is needed.

3. Empirical Findings

The research reported on here is designed to formulate a model of CS through the elicitation of all EL verb forms in Camfranglais in a way that predicts when an EL verb is bare and when it is inflected. I assume that the appearance of regular rules of French verb morphology on EL verbs of Camfranglais are to be interpreted as an indication of a consistent application of French productive rules of conjugation on the part of bilingual speakers. This section addresses the question regarding the status of verb group conjugation in French in regards to CS. One might be tempted to ask, given three groups of conjugation in French, how bilingual speakers decide on which French verb suffixes of the three conjugation groups get licensed to inflect the EL verb entering the bilingual clause. In 3.1, I offer a quick overview of French verb conjugation groups. In section 3.2, I discuss the observed EL inflectional patterns in Camfranglais corpus and their morphological distribution. The questions I wish to address here are: (a) what are the language sources of bare forms in Camfranglais? (b) How do we explain French inflectional loss on certain EL verbs types (e.g., infinitives and past participles) and its maintenance on other types (e.g., finite EL verb, present participles and infinitival and past participial denominal EL verbs)?

3.1 A Quick Survey of French Verb Conjugation Groups

In the domain of verb inflection, French typically distinguishes three conjugation groups, with verbal infinitive ending in in –er, -ir and -(oi)re. The first group includes verbs ending in *-er* (pronounced [e]) in the infinitive (e.g., *chanter* 'to sing'). It is known as the largest group (approximately 4000, Grévisse & Goose, 1980). It is also highly regular, with practically no stem allomorphy. Only one verb ending in *-er*, *aller* 'to go,' is reported to be irregular. Most of the loan verbs in standard French fall under this group (e.g., *chatter* 'to (web-)chat'), neologisms (*tchorer* 'to steal'), denominals (*fumer* 'to smoke') and onomatopoeia (*ronronner* 'to purr') (Royle, 2008). The participle is formed by adding to the verb stem the suffix -é (pronounced [e]) (e.g., *chanté)*. The data examined here suggest that all EL verbs in Camfranglais are systematically regularized into French first group of conjugation, no doubt because that group is the largest, and likely constitutes the unmarked form in French. Thus, Cameroonian bilinguals who are more familiar with the conjugation of those verbs overwhelmingly assign the

inflectional suffixes from the first group of conjugation to all EL verbs entering the matrix frame. A similar regularization strategy has also been reported in studies such as Grégoire (1937); Guillaume (1927,1973); Hiriarteborde (1973). Those studies report on conjugation errors made by French-speaking children in France. Thus, regular affixation rules displayed in the first of group of conjugation in French can be referred to as rule-governed forms. I will leave aside the other groups of conjugation because they are not relevant to the discussion of EL verb patterns (more details on the discussion of other groups of conjugation in French can be found in Say & Clahsen, 2002, Bescherelle, 1980; Grévisse & Goose, 1980). But, it is very important to note that irregular verbs in French are not irregular in the same way as they are in English. There is usually no confusion between the stem and inflection. Only auxiliaries and modals have forms where the stem and inflection are indiscernible from one another, as in English irregulars. The production of irregular verbs in French can be viewed as what Herschensohn referred to as 'rote-learned forms' that she claims to 'be stored differently in the mental grammar' (2009:23-24).

3.2 Observed Verb Patterns in Camfranglais

In the following, I review the basics of Camfranglais verb morphology in the light of the data from online forums. EL verbs in Camfranglais may surface as (a) bare forms, without any discernible French inflection or (b) inflected with French affixes attached to the EL verb. One of the central questions of this research is to explain the distribution of bare and inflected forms. As we will see, this choice is strongly determined by the morphosyntactic category of the verb form. The overall distribution of bare and inflected forms is presented in Table 1, organized according to the major inflectional categories of French verbs. The bare forms predominate in the infinitive and past participle, while inflected forms normally occur in finite verbs and present participles. Note that the table also distinguishes a group of forms labeled 'Inflected/0', which are forms without overt inflections in person/number categories that have a phonologically zero affix in French (this is further discussed below).

Table 1

Number and percent of verb types in the data

	# & %	Inflected	Inflected/0	Bare	Total
A- Infinitives	#	30	0	305	335
	%	(9 %)	0 %	91%	100 %
B- Past Participles	#	3	0	119	122
	%	(2%)	0%	98%	100%
C- Finite forms	#	266	472	0	738
	%	(36%)	(64%)	0%	100%
D- Present Participles	#	26	0	0	26
	%	(100%)	0%	0%	100%
Total	#	325	472	424	1221
	%	(27%)	(38%)	(35%)	(100%)

The EL verb patterns that have been the object of quantitative analysis in our study are presented in more detail below. The validity of the 4-M model as a theoretical construct depends on the potential for falsification of the two key principles in which the ML is the crucial element (Myers-Scotton, 1998:406). From the morphological point of view, we will argue that the data are consistent with Myers-Scotton's (2002) predictions that: (a) syntactically active morphemes come from the ML; and (b) the morpheme order is that of the ML. In all cases, there is a consensus that French plays the role of the ML. All tense inflections and auxiliaries come from French and word order in the clause is also that of French. However, the bare forms are not so clearly explained by Myers-Scotton's model. Essentially, she predicts that all morphological elements governed by outside morphemes should be present and derived from the ML, so their absence – i.e. bare forms – is not directly accounted for. We will argue that most of the bare forms in the corpus are consistent with the Myers-Scotton framework, provided that the theory is augmented by an adequate account of verbal derivation. The total sets of incorporations/integrations from the ELs into French in our corpus total 1221 relatively clear cases. The questions we wish to address are the following: (a) What accounts for the distribution

of bare vs. inflected forms in Camfranglais? (b) Do the EL verb patterns in our corpus support the congruence hypothesis? (c) What conclusion can be drawn in regards to the 4-M model?

3.2.1 Bare EL verbs

The debate over the status of bare forms in CS in recent years has been oriented around two poles. On the one hand, work by Poplack and others (e.g., Poplack (1990), Poplack and Meecham (1998)) makes an important distinction between code-switching and borrowing: inflected forms are treated as borrowed, while bare forms may be either code-switched or borrowed as 'nonce loans'. On the other hand, Myers-Scotton (1997, 2002, 2008) sees code-switching as encompassing a broad range of both inflected and bare forms, and characterizes bare forms as cases of grammatical integration of CS lexical insertions. Both approaches have acknowledged that bare forms or ∅ forms (i.e ∅ inflections) are potentially anomalous with respect to their theories and have sought to account for them in different ways. CS and borrowing are viewed as 'a continuum in progression in which code-switching precedes borrowing in time and is more restricted in its use' (Crespo and Moskowich, 2005:01), or as Pahta (2004:79) puts it, 'switching involves the use of two languages in one utterance, whereas the term "borrowing" is used of embedded elements that have been integrated into the host language.'

In this paper, I argue that borrowing and code-switching can be accounted for using syntactic structural constraints as well as morphological constraints. In this section, I discuss the breakdown of EL verb inflection in verb types regardless of language sources. The 1221 cases of switches were divided into different types of EL verbal forms as in Table 1. It can be observed that the percentage of bare forms is greater for infinitives and past participles. Infinitival forms occur in our corpus in contexts such as the periphrastic future (see examples in 7), verbal complements (see 8) of causative verbs (e.g., *faire* ' to make', *laisser* 'to let', *entendre* 'to hear', *causer* 'to cause' *voir* 'to see', *envoyer* 'to send', *emmener* 'to bring'), modal verbs (e.g., *pouvoir* 'to be able to', *vouloir* ' to want to', *devoir* 'must', *falloir* 'must'); and certain other conjugated verbs (e.g., préferrer 'to prefer', *aimer* 'to like', *venir* 'to come', *penser* 'to think', *savoir* 'to know', *croire* 'to believe'); and complements of certain prepositions like *pour, sans, de, à,* etc. (see 9).

(7) Infinitive forms in the **Periphrastic Future (PF)**

a. *La petite ne va plus te* LEP [871]
Det little (girl) NEG go.3sg.PRES NEG you leave
'The little girl will not leave you again'

b. *Elle va te* SCOTCH*er* [884]
3sg go.3sg.PRE you scotch
'She will scotch you'

The examples in (7) illustrate the periphrastic future. In the examples the English-origin verbs LEP (<*Eng. leave*) and SCOTCH occur in the infinitive. Here, the English verb LEP is bare whereas SCOTCH is marked with a French infinitival suffix *-er*.

(8) **Infinitives in verb complements**

a. *Je peux* **topo** *autre chose* [1144]
'I can talk about something else.'

b. *Tu veux me* BRING *au* **ngatta**… [1027]
'You want to bring me in jail…'

(9) **Infinitives after prepositions**

a. *Je suis prêt à* LEP *tomber*… [717]
'I am ready to drop it'

b. *Moi je* DOais *alors comment pour* COMMOT *avec les* **mbeng***uistes o pays* [93]
'How, was I doing to go out with people leaving in Europe back home?'

Past participles occur in contexts following auxiliary verbs in the perfect constructions such as the passé compose (see examples in 10) and the pluperfect (see 11).

(10) **Past Participles in the Passé Composé**

a. *Je lui ai* TELL *que je n'ai plus de* NIOUZ [917]
'I have told him that I have no more news'

b. *Tu es* GO *au pays tu m'as dit?* [937]

'Did you tell me that you had gone to the country?'

c. *J'ai moi encore* BANK*er* [989]

'I have banked it again'

(11) **Past Participles in the Pluperfect**

a. *J'avais* BRING une came *chez moi* [909]

'I had brought a Cameroonian at my place'

b. *Ils avaient* **kappa** *un certain virus* [81]

'He had contacted a certain virus'

c. *J'étais* WANDA [963]

'I was wondering'

As can be observed in (10), the *passé composé* in Camfranglais is formed using an auxiliary *avoir* 'have' or *être* 'be' conjugated in the present tense plus the past participle form of an EL verb (e.g. TELL, SHAKE, GO), which may surface as a bare form (which is typically the case of true verbs) or inflected form (which typically occurs with denominal verbs, as we shall show in section 3.2.4). The pluperfect in (11) is almost like the passé composé except that the auxiliaries are conjugated in the imperfect.

As Table 1 showed, most of the infinitives and past participles in this corpus were bare forms. Of 335 cases of switches classified as infinitives, 305 (91%) were bare. The percentage of bare EL past participles is even higher than bare infinitives. Of 122 cases of EL past participles, 119 (98%) were bare. There are a few inflected forms in these two categories, as shown in examples (7b) and (10c); some explanations for these forms will be discussed in section 3.2.4. But the dominant trend is for EL verbs in these categories to be bare. In fact, the infinitive and past participles account for ALL of the bare forms in this corpus. This contrasts markedly with the finite forms and present participles, where there were NO bare EL verbs occuring in the corpus (other than the 'inflected/0' cases).

This widespread occurrence of bare forms in nonfinite categories, does not have, as far as I can tell, a satisfactory explanation in Myers-Scotton's (1997, 2002, 2008) writings. It appears that loss of French infinitival and past participle markers is highly systematic in the processing of

EL verbs in Camfranglais (except, as we shall see, for those which are not derived from nouns). Under Myers-Scotton's approach infinitive and past participle inflections should be viewed as outsiders because they meet her definition of outsiders, which are described as morphemes that 'look outside the constituent in which they appear for information about their forms' (2008:28). The bare surface realization of infinitival and past participial EL verbs in (7-10) transgresses the morphosyntax of the ML and that of the ELs and, therefore, is not working in compliance with Myers-Scotton's prediction that outsider system morphemes which generally come from the ML should be licensed wherever they are expected. Examples in (7-10) illustrate a configuration of past participial EL verbs (i.e., a syntactic context which requires a past participle suffix on the EL verb root) and infinitival EL verbs (i.e., a syntactic context which requires an infinitival suffix on the EL verb root), in which the context outside the verb determines the inflectional morphology in French.

On the basis of the facts discussed above, I argue that bare EL verbs can be seen as cases of verb complementation. In all the cases observed in our corpus, EL bare forms may occur as a complement of (a) the auxiliaries *avoir* and *être* (in the passé compose and the pluperfect), (b) other conjugated verbs such as causatives, modals, etc., and (c) certain prepositions. Since no bare forms occur in finite verbs (discussed in the next section), this suggests that verb complementation is the process implicated in the occurrence of bare forms. Note that verb complements are contexts in which no strong feature checking occurs according to Chomsky's Minimalist Program.

However, these results must be interpreted tentatively for two reasons. First, though a majority of EL infinitives (91%) and past participles (98%) are bare, it is tempting to argue that Cameroonian bilinguals react to EL infinitives and particles by stripping them with French expected suffixes. That is not the whole story, because there are a few exceptions to this generalization: 9 percent of infinitival and 2 percent of participial EL do add French infinitival or participial suffixes in the syntactic environments where we generally find bare forms. As we will see, denominal infinitival and participial EL verbs for instance always get inflected with French morphemes. I will return to the discussion of the morphosyntactic behavior of denominal EL verbs in section 3.2.4.

3.2.2 Inflected zero (i.e., bare forms in context that calls for ∅-inflection in French)

Apart from the non-finite contexts listed above, the present tense is another context in which we find superficially bare forms. As Table 1 showed, finite EL verb forms in Camfranglais typically occur with inflections, but there are numerous forms without overt inflections. These are found in the contexts labeled 'Inflected/0' in Table 1, which, in standard French, would have a phonologically null inflection, as shown in (12a-e):

(12) a. *Je lui* **topo** *en solo* [606]
'I talk to him in private'

b. *Tu ne* KNOW *pas k'il ya les* **mote** *qui se* CALL *comme ca*
'You don't know that they are folks who call themselves like that?' [1167]

c. *Ca ne me* HANDBOCK *pas*
'It does not bother me' [1158]

d. *Un camer qui* WHIT*ise quand il* SPEAK *le* FRENCH [611]
'A Cameroonian who speaks French like a white'

e. *Les banjoun* WHIT*isent tres souvent* [612]
'People from Banjoun (a town in Cameroon) speak often like while'

The status of present tense inflection on EL verbs in the above examples is not transparent for two reasons. Many participants write each EL verbs in the present tense the way they would pronounce it as in (10a-c), in which case there is no overt person agreement marker for first, second and third singular. In (10d-e), the French verb-forming affix *–ise* is attached to an English adjectival/nominal root, but in (10d), with a third singular subject, it would attract no affix in French. In the third plural (10e), which in French would receive a written affix *–ent* [ə] that gets no phonological realization, Camfranglais users may include the written third person plural inflection as in (10d) even though it is not pronounced, or omit it. Of the 738 cases initially identified as bare forms in the corpus, 472 (64%) were characterized as inflected zero because they occurred with subjects that get phonologically null verbal inflections.

3.2.3 Inflected EL Verbs

It is important to observe that regardless of the language source involved in CS, Cameroonian bilinguals systematically add a French suffix in contexts that receive an overtly articulated inflection: future tense, imperfect tense, and 1st and 2nd plural present tense. Any lack of congruence between ML and EL therefore appears to be overridden in these data by a structural necessity to inflect. Consequently, the data should be considered in light of our structural constraint, which was stated in (6) and is repeated here for convenience.

(6) The ML Agreement Constraint (MLAC)

a. Any EL verb which occurs in a syntactic context where there is no strong feature [+finite] to be checked (Chomsky, 1995) should be marked as a bare form.

b. Any EL verb which occurs in a syntactic context where there is any strong feature to be checked (e.g., tense, mood, aspect, adjectival present participle etc), the ML inflectional morpheme should be spelled out overtly on the EL.

Under our constraint in (6), the evidence for the grammatical option of [+/-tense] is manifested in verbal morphology of Camfranglais. As we saw in Table 1, in the Camfranglais data, there were no finite EL verbs that lacked French inflections (other than the inflected/0 cases). It is clear that the principle defined in (11b) is borne out by our findings. Cameroonian bilinguals uniformly inflected all EL verbs occurring in a context of imperfect, future or present participle. Of the 738 cases of inflected EL verbs classified as finite, none of them was bare. 266 (36%) were clearly marked with a French inflection as in shown in (7)-(9). Absence of inflections is only attributable to first, second, third singular and third person plural in the present tense where French does not display any overt agreement marker (at least in spoken French). For that reason, I have treated all EL verbs with no overt French inflection in the present tense as also inflected even though they appear as superficially bare forms in the corpus. Of 738 cases of switches classified as finite, 472 (64%) were marked as inflected-zero (i.e., finite with no overt inflectional affix). Such a distinction is crucial in that it clarifies the distinction between bare forms in contexts where we would expect an obligatory and overt inflectional suffix (e.g., future tense, imperfect tense, first and second person plural in the present tense, infinitives and past participles) and those where there is no overt inflection (e.g., first, second, third singular and third plural). The tendency to

mark EL verbs with a French tense affix is in line with the 4-M model which argues that the grammatical morphemes in CS are those of the ML and are expected any time the EL verb enters the matrix frame.

The following examples illustrate all types of inflectional patterns attested in the data.

(12) **Present tense**

a. *Connaissant le* ***kô*** *tel que nous* KNOW-*ons* [32]
Knowing det country such that 1pl know-1pl.PRES
'Knowing the country the way we know it'

b. *Si vous* KOMOT*tez* *avec un* **djo** [172]
If 2pl go out-2pl.PRES with a guy
'If you go out with a guy'

c. *Il me* CALL *et il me* TELL *que c'est* HOW [487]
3sg me call and 3sg me tell that it be.PRES how
"He calls me and asked me: 'how is it?''

(13) **Imperfect tense**

a. *Je ne* KNOW*ais* *pas moi* MOP [160]
1sg NEG know-1sg.IMP NEG me mouth
'I did not know how to kiss'

b. *Plus on* **djoum***ait dans la relation, moins elle* DO*ait*. [146]
More we enter-3sg.IMP into det. relationship, less 3sg do-3sg.IMP
'The deeper we got into the relationship, the lesser she did it'

b. *Les gars te* COMMOT*taient une lettre avec le dessin sur ca* [159]
Det. guys you come out-3pl.IMP a letter with det drawing on it
'Those guys would show you a letter with a drawing on it'

(14) **Inflected Future (IF)**

a. *Que* DOU*erez* *vous si un mouna* WATT *vs* CALL *"NEGER"* [46]
What do-2pl.FuterE 2pl if a boy n white 2pl call negro
'What will you do if a white boy calls you negro?'

b. *Elle* **tchay***era* *meme son* **mounion** [77]
3sg take-3sg.Future even her sweet heart
'She will even take her sweet heart'

In (12), the first and second person plural have a spoken inflection [ɔ̃] and [e] on the English verb KNOW and the Pidgin verb COMMOT (e.g., *nous* KNOW*ons* [nowɔ̃] (12a); *vous* COMMOT*tez* [kɔmɔte] (12b)). However, it is important to note that English verbs such as CALL and TELL in (12c) which are finite and surface without any overt inflection for present, are treated as covertly inflected. The reason for treating them that way is that although French does not have spoken inflections for first, second, third singular and third person plural in the present tense, it does have them in written forms. In (13), the English verb KNOW, the Duala verb **djoum** 'to enter' and the Pidgin verb COMMOT add French suffixes *–ait* (3sg, imperfect), *-ais* (2sg, imperfect) and *-aient* (3pl, imperfect).

In addition to the finite forms seen in the above examples, the data also show categorical presence of inflections in the treatment of present participles by bilingual speakers, such as the following examples illustrated in (15). All the 26 present participles attested in the corpus were inflected in a syntactic environment where a French present participle was expected.

(15) **Present participles**

a. *Le chevrier me dit oui en* LAPP*ant* [1006]
'The bar tender said yes while laughing'

b. *Je* **topo** *avec Bijou en* WETT*ant que le bureau la* OPEN [1008]
'I talk to Bijou while waiting for the office to be opened'

c. *Mon cousin qui est* WANDA*yant*. [1003]
'My cousin who is laughable'

In (15) where verbs such as LAPP (<*Eng. laugh*), WETT (<*Eng. wait*) and WANDA (*Eng. wonder*) are clearly marked with a French inflection, I claim that EL verbs are obligatorily inflected for the present participles because they call for a morphosyntactic process which consists of turning a verb into an adjectival present participle. Just like in English where verbs such *laugh*, *wonder*, and *wait* use a derivation rule adding a suffix *-ing* to form adjectival present participles, Camfranglais has a similar productive rule. I claim that EL verbs marked as present participles may have a verbal or adjectival reading depending on the context. All the examples in (15) are accounted for by the MLAC in (6) which basically states that the ML inflection should be overtly spelled out in syntax on any EL verb occurring in a syntactic environment where there is a need to check a syntactic feature. In (15), the preposition *en* 'while' and the auxiliary *est* 'to be' are triggers of the late outsider morpheme *–ant* which is overtly spelled out under (15).

The patterns of morphological integration discussed in this section are consistent with Myers-Scotton's 4-M hypotheses, namely : (a) the Morpheme Order Principle which claims that morpheme order within the bilingual speech comes from only one language source and this language source is identified as the ML; (b) the System Morpheme Principle which states that one type of system morpheme (e.g., outsider late system morphemes) must come from only one of the participating language and this language is identified as the ML. The examples discussed so far are also consistent with Myers-Scotton's idea that: (i) language sources involved in CS do not play equal role in structuring the bilingual clause; (ii) not all morpheme types in the bilingual constituent can come equally from the ML and ELs, and (iii) most importantly the System Morpheme Principle limits the occurrence grammatical morphemes that build the structure of the bilingual clause to coming only from the ML (Myers-Scotton, 2008). Under our approach, a straightforward way to account for the patterns in (12)-(15) is to view them as a matter of universal grammar principle: the presence of the strong feature [+tense] is a sufficient condition to inflect an EL verb. And bare forms are the surface realization of EL verbs which do not meet that condition.

3.2.4 Denominal EL Verbs

Consider next, another prominent finding in Camfranglais corpus, which concerns the alternation between inflected infinitival or past participles EL verbs and non-inflected ones. I have claimed that bare infinitives and participles result from the application of the principle in

(6), and any inflected infinitival or participial EL verb seem to be a counterexample to (6b). As it turns out, denominal EL verbs represent a separate class of verb that systematically adds a French suffix for infinitive or past participle to a noun to make it a verb as shown in (15).

(16) a. *Vs me fet* SCIENC*er* *sur le* KAN KAN WE *du* **mboa** **[1097]**
2pl me make science-INF. on det. difficult way of country
'You make me think about the hard way about the country'

b. *Ca va* DOZ*er* *grave seulement.* [1137]
It go.3sg.PRES dose-INF. completely only
'It will only be extraordinarily awesome'

c. *Je vais* SQUATT*er* *le groupe ci* [1143]
1sg go.1sg.PRES squat-INF. this group here
'I will skip this group here'

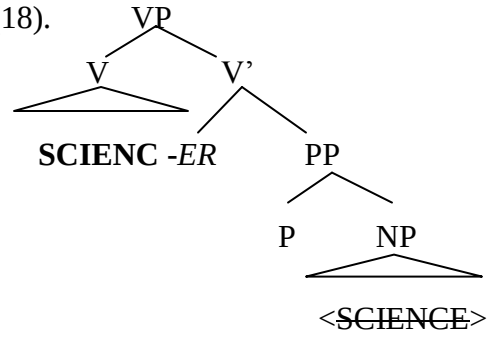
As we can see in (16), English nouns such as SCIENCE, DOSE and SQUAT (from English 'skateboard') are turned into verbs by adding the French verbalizing suffix *–er* to the noun. The evidence in (16) in conjunction with the fact that all denominal verbs also inflect for past participles, suggests that denominals form another class of verbs, distinct from those that never get inflected. An in-depth analysis of denominal verbs show that they actually support the MLAC defined in (6). The inflectional patterns for denominal verbs is consistent with Myers-Scotton's idea that outsider system morphemes should be licensed when the EL verb enters the matrix frame. My distinction of denominal EL verbs and non-denominal EL verbs here is inspired by Hale and Keyser's (1993, 1998, 1999) treatment of denominal verbs in general. Hale and Keyser argue for a syntactic decomposition of verbs that views the syntactic structure of denominal verbs as more complex than that of non-denominal verbs. They propose a special decomposition of denominal verbs which involves syntactic incorporation of nominal roots in the VP. Some examples of denominal verbs in English taken from Harley (2003:21) are repeated in (17) below; for more such verbs and important discussion, see Kiparsky (1997):

(17) a. *Location verbs*: bag, bank, bottle, box, cage, can, corral, crate, floor (opponent), garage, jail, kennel, package, pen, photograph, pocket, pot, shelve, ship (the oars), shoulder, tree.

b. *Locatum verbs*: bandage, bar, blindfold, butter, clothe, curtain, dress, fund, gas, grease, harness, hook, house, ink, oil, paint, pepper, powder, saddle, salt, seed, shoe, spice, water, word.

If Hale and Keyser's approach is right, it follows that a Camfranglais denominal verb such as SCIENC*er* in (16a) 'to think' will be derived as in (18) where the verb is base generated as a noun 'science' and moves into V to attach to the French suffix -ER.

(18).



The derivation in (18) is an instantiation of feature checking a la Chomsky's (1995; Chapter 4) Minimalist Program which states any lexical category overtly moves in syntax in any context where there is a [+strong] feature (e.g., morphological feature such as tense, case, phi feature etc). In regards to the example in (16a), the English-origin noun SCIENCE undergoes a movement as shown in (18) in order to check the [+verb] feature which is the verbalizing suffix –ER under the VP head. This movement is required to derive the verb from the noun. Therefore, the MLAC actually predicts the inflection in these forms vs. the absence of inflection in verbs that are already verbs in the EL, as the latter involve no derivation or movement.

Table 5 breaks down the contrast between denominal and non-denominal EL verbs in the corpus. The results in table 5 support our hypothesis that almost all denominal EL verb are systematically marked for the infinitive and past participles. Of the 1221 cases of EL verbs discussed, 46 (4%) were identified as denominal. Of those 46 denominal EL verbs, 32 (94.1%) were inflected whereas only 3 (5.9%) were bare.

Table 2

Number and percent of Denominal EL verbs incorporation into the ML

	Non-Denominal	**Denominal**		**Total**
A. General distribution of EL Verb Types	1175 (96%)	46 (4%)		1221 (100%)
B. Distribution of Denominals (# and %)	Inflected 43 (6.6%)	Bare 3 (93.4%)		Total 46 (100%)
C. Distribution of Denominals by Verb Types	**Finite**	**Pres.Part.**	**Infinitives**	**Past Part.**
# and % Inflections	10 Inflected **(100%)**	1 Inflected **(100%)**	29 Inflected **(93.5 %)**	3Inflected **(75%)**
			2 bare **(6.5%)**	1 bare **(25%)**

What accounts for the three bare denominals, given that all the other denominals were inflected? One of these was an infinitive and the remaining two were identified as past participial EL verbs. These cases are listed in (19a-c), constituting what seem to be apparent exceptions to the inflection rule of denominal EL verbs in the corpus.

(19) a. *Je te dis la* **djo** *a* **belêh** *la* **nga** AFTER NET *kelke mois*. [686]

'I tell you, the guy has made that girl pregnant after exactly few months'

b. *Tu viens* **falla** *les* **ngas** *que tu vas* **mbinda** *avec pour but de les* **mbélés** [917]

'You come to look at girls that you want to have sex with and impregnate them?'

c. *Elle veut* **bélêh** *sa nga avec le* **djembêh** *de son frère*! [270]

'She wants to impregnate her girlfriend with his brother's sperm'

All three of these cases involve a denominal verb meaning 'to impregnate' derived from the Duala noun **belêh** 'belly', occurring after the auxiliary *a* 'have.3sg' without the past

participle suffix –é [e] (19a), or a modal verb *veut* 'to want to' (19c); or the preposition *de* without the expected infinitive marker *–er* (18b). I argue that it is a general tendency in Camfranglais not to inflect any EL verb ending in a mid front vowel [ɛ] or [e] such as **belêh**. Similar cases have been observed in other corpora involving the verb **niè** 'to see'. Those verbs are typically pronounced as [bɛ.lɛ] and [ni.jɛ] respectively. This is a neutralizing context, in which the addition of an inflectional [e] to a root ending in the same or nearly the same sound will be essentially imperceptible.

4.1 Congruence Hypothesis

It is a standard assumption following Myers-Scotton (2002) that 'for an Embedded Language element to appear in a bilingual, mixed (Matrix Language + Embedded Language) constituent, it must be checked for congruence with its Matrix Language counterpart and/or with Matrix Language-specific *Generalized Lexical Knowledge* in the mental lexicon'. (Bolonyai, 2005:317). Drawing from the differential behavior of EL verbs from different language sources in regards to the ML tense inflections, it turned out that the difference in contribution in switches between English, Duala/Ewondo and Pidgin was very significant. The results of the quantitative analysis of inflected EL verb forms in the corpus are given in table 3.

Table 3

Overall breakdown of bare versus inflected EL verbs per languages

	Infinitives		**Past. Part**		**Finite**		**Pres. Part**	**Tolal**
English	194_{Bare} (21%)	$28_{Inflected}$ (3%)	87_{Bare} (10%)	$3_{Inflected}$ (0%)	$231_{Inflected}$ (25%)	$346_{Inflected/0}$ (38%	$18_{Inflected}$ (100%)	**907 (75%)**
Duala/Ew	22_{Bare} (10%)	$84_{Inflected}$ (39%)	76_{Bare} (36%)	$2_{Inflected}$ (1%)	$27_{Inflected}$ (13%)	$0_{Inflected/0}$ (0%)	$2_{Inflected}$ (1%)	**213 (17%)**
Pidgin	14_{Bare} (14%)	$42_{Inflected}$ (42%)	35_{Bare} (35%)	$0_{Inflected}$ (0%)	$5_{Inflected}$ (5%)	$0_{Inflected/0}$ (0%)	$5_{Inflected}$ (5%)	**101 (8%)**
Grand Total		**1221 (100%)**						

The quantitative analysis reveals the following result: Of the 1221 cases of switches, 917 (75%) were English verbs inserted into the matrix frame. Only 213 (17%) Duala/Ewondo verbs were inserted, while the remaining 101 (8%) came from Pidgin. The higher proportion of English verbs in the matrix frame, might occur, according to the congruence hypothesis, if it were the case that English is more congruent to French than the other language sources. Recall that the congruence hypothesis basically states that the higher the similarity between the language pair, the easier the morphological integration. How can this hypothesis be tested in the Camfranglais data? We begin by considering whether Camfranglais users are simply more familiar with English than they are with Duala, Ewondo, or Pidgin.

An alternative to the congruence hypothesis for explaining the predominance of English might be that Camfranglais users happened to have greater familiarity with English than with the other languages involved in CS, so that the higher frequency of English forms arises not from congruence but from differential knowledge of the source languages. In other words, they might

know some Cameroonian languages like Duala/Ewondo, but not enough or not well enough to compete with English as a source language in CS. However, this explanation seems highly implausible in the Cameroonian situation. It is likely that multilingual Cameroonian speakers are more familiar with Cameroonian languages than they are with English, especially Duala and Ewondo which are more widely spoken in urban centers than English is. It is unlikely that higher rate of use of English CS forms in Camfranglais could arise simply from wider knowledge of the language. If there are any social factors affecting these choices, I would argue that the preference for using code-switching and Camfranglais, specifically in online forums on the part of Cameroonian bilinguals, may have some ideological motivations (Wei, 2005). In a sense, people want to identify themselves as bilinguals in the official languages (i.e., French and English), which are associated with upward mobility, but at the same time, they also want to free themselves from all the stereotypes associated with the language of the colonial masters (assimilation to Western cultures, stigmatization of those with poor mastery of the official language etc). These societal factors may have some influence in the choices of EL verbs depending on a particular setting.

Returning to the congruence hypothesis, we must consider whether French is typologically closer to English than it is to Duala, Ewondo or Pidgin. Syntactically speaking, all of these languages sources involved in Camfrangais are SVO. But, morphologically, Duala and Ewondo are markedly different from English and French. Unlike French and English, where verbal inflections are typically suffixes, Duala and Ewondo make extensive use of prefixes (which may have the status of quasi-auxiliaries) to indicate all tense inflections, number agreement and the infinitive (see Essono, 2000 for detailed discussions of the indication of tense, number and noun classes). In addition, there is substantial difference in the nominal system. Each noun in Bantu languages in general and in Duala and Ewondo in particular belongs to a class. The class is indicated by a prefix on the noun. Plurality is indicated by a change of prefix. This is radically different from the system common to both English and French, where noun classes are restricted (to masculine vs. feminine in French) or nonexistent (in English), and where number is indicated by suffixes or determiners. In general, the morphology of Duala and Ewondo is relatively agglutinative, while English and French are clearly non-agglutinative. Therefore, from the standpoint of the Congruence Hypothesis, incorporating EL verbs into the essentially French

matrix of Camfranglais should be easier for verbs from English than for those from Duala or Ewondo.

Additional evidence for the idea that Duala and Ewondo differ from French and English comes from phonological data. Unlike French and English verbs which have extensive use of consonant clusters and codas, Duala and Ewondo verbs are typically made up of open syllables of the type CV (consonant-vowel). The morphological shape of Duala and Ewondo verbs discussed in the corpus is typically CV, VCV, CVCV(C), VCVCV, etc; that is, any combination of CV (with possibly a V-syllable at the start). In other words, a strong claim for Duala and Ewondo is that almost all verbs end in a vowel, precisely because closed syllables (CVC) are very rare. This tendency to avoid consonant clusters and vowel cluster is very important when words are imported from French or other non-Bantu languages into Duala and Ewondo. Here are interesting examples of loan words adaption in Duala and Ewondo which show how vowel clusters, consonants clusters and codas are systematically avoided.

(20) Loan words adaptation in Duala and Ewondo

(a) *Consonant clusters		**(b) *Vowel clusters**		**(c) *Codas**	
English	**Duala/Ew**	**English**	**Duala/Ew**	**English**	**Duala/Ew**
Mattress	màtàràsà	Flower	fàláwà	Bread	bɛ́rɛ́tɛ
School	sùkúlú	Hour	áwà	Cup	kúmbù

Importantly, Pidgin is more like Duala and English in terms of the phonology. Based on the above differences between languages sources involved in CS, I hypothesize that phonologically speaking, English verbs are easier to switch than Duala, Ewondo and Pidgin verbs because they are more similar to French's verb shape than Duala/Ewondo's are. I test this hypothesis in section 4.2.

There are two ways to look for Congruence effects in these data. First, it might be the case that loans from Duala and Ewondo resist inflection in French because of incongruence. In that case, in any given category in Camfranglais, we would expect to find a higher percentage of bare

forms. This hypothesis is clearly inconsistent with the data. As we have seen, all EL verbs in the corpus that occur in finite forms or present participles are inflected, regardless of what language they come from. The only contexts where any variation in inflection occurs are the infinitives and past participles, and in these categories, most forms are bare anyway, and the exceptionally inflected forms are mostly derived from nominals. These structural principles therefore over-ride any congruence differences between the language sources.

Even so, it is also possible that Camfranglais speakers could respond to congruence differences by preferring to insert Duala and Ewondo forms in those structural contexts that do NOT require inflection – i.e., the infinitives and past participles. There is some support for this in the data. As Table 3 shows, those two normally bare-form contexts account for only 35% of the English EL verbs, vs. 50% of the Duala/Ewondo verbs, and 40% of the Pidgin verbs.

Overall, the congruence hypothesis is weakly supported by these data. Speakers use more code-switches overall from English, the most congruent language, and they use English verbs more often in structural contexts which demand inflections. But incongruence does not explain the bare forms in Camfranglais: these are strongly determined by syntactic structure, and the syntactic constraint, summarized in the MLAC in (6), applies equally to all source languages in Camfranglais. Thus when inserted in a finite context, English, Duala, Ewondo, and Pidgin verbs will all bear appropriate ML inflection, without exception. Systematic use of French inflectional affixes on all finite and present particle EL verbs in the corpus regardless of presence or absence of congruence between the ELs and the ML significantly contradicts the congruence hypothesis. Consequently, lack of congruence as a source for bare EL verbs in Camfranglais is not factually supported by the data. I have shown here that, any time a Camfranglais user inserts an EL verb in a syntactic environment which calls for the present tense (at least for first and

second person plural); the imperfect, the future, the present participles, that EL verb always gets inflected as a result of the effect of the constraint in (11b), not the congruence hypothesis. Thus, I argue that the MLAC has more explanatory power than the congruence hypothesis.

4.2 Phonotactic Contraints

4.2.1 French Phonological Principles and the Inflection of EL Verbs

In this section, I look at whether there is any phonological influence of French upon the other language sources involved in Camfranglais. I assume that it is possible that three areas of French phonology, namely: (i) the syllabic shape, (ii) the avoidance of vowel clusters and (iii) the syllable contact law may partially have some influence on EL verbs entering the matrix frame. French onsets are claimed to respect the 'Sonority Sequencing Principle' formulated in (21) following Clements (1990).

(21). a. **Sonority Sequencing Principle**

'The most sonorous segment of the syllable is the nucleus. From the nucleus to the edges of the syllable, segments are not of increasing sonority.'

b. **Sonority Hierarchy**

Stops > Fricatives> Nasal> Liquid (l,r) > Glides > Vowels

With regards to the combination of EL verb with French tense inflections, the formation rules for lexical phonological structure have to specify the range of possible patterns and how they combine into syllables and larger units in order to meet French well-formedness constraints. Dell (1995:16) offers the following constraint that I repeat in (22) about French coda consonants.

(22). In French a coda contains at most one consonant. (Dell, 1995:16)

In his explanation of the constraint in (22), Dell argues that words like 'obstiné', 'extra' and 'exprès' under such a constraint will be syllabified as /op.sti.ne/, /ek.stra/, /ek.sprɛ/ because

onsets like /pst/, /kstr/ and /kspr/ are ruled out in French. (see Dell, 1995 for a detailed study of consonant clusters and phonological syllables in French). In this analysis, I assume that the same constraint also applies to EL verbs entering the ML. If that is the case, the issue then is how to account for the combination of French tense suffixes with a VC (V) syllabic shape to EL verb stems ending either in a consonant or a vowel. Since it is a general consensus that CV shape is more preferable in French than a VV or VCV shape, one would expect that verbs ending in a consonant will be easier to insert than verbs ending in a vowel. Table 4 summarizes our findings in this regards.

Table 4

Inflected EL verbs per languages and verb endings

Languages	**Verbs and %**	**…C##**			**…V##**		
English	**907** (75%)	**CInfl** 161 (30.2%)	**CInfl0** 199 (37.4%)	**CBare** 172 (32.4%)	**VInfl** 119 (31.8%)	**VInfl0** 147 39.2%	**VBare** 109 (29%)
Total		**Engl. C##: 532 (58.6%)**			**Engl.V##: 375 (41.4%)**		
Duala/Ew	**213** (17%)	11 (14.5%)	27 (35.5%)	38 (50%)	15 (11%)	57 (41.6%)	65 (47.4%)
Total		**Duala/Ew C##: 76 (36%)**			**Duala/Ew V##:137 (64%)**		
Pidgin	**101** (8%)	12 (14%)	35 (43%)	35 (43%)	7 (35%)	7 (35%)	6 (30%)
Total		**PidginC##: 81 (79%)**			**PidginV##: 20 (21%)**		
General Total	**1221 (100%)**	**120**	**238**	**203**	**100**	**191**	**156**

The results in table 4 suggest that there is no significant difference between bare forms and inflected forms in terms of verb endings at least for English and Duala/Ewondo:

(a) The statistical evidence for inflected English verbs ending in a consonant and those ending in a vowel is virtually the same in English. Of the 532 cases of switched verbs ending in a consonant in English, 161/532 (31.8%) were actually inflected whereas of the 375 cases ending in a vowel, 119/375 (31.7%) were inflected. Thus, English cases contradict our hypothesis.

(b) The statistical evidence for inflected Duala/Ewondo verbs ending in a consonant and those ending in a vowel suggests that there are more inflected verbs ending in consonants than those ending in a vowel. Of the 76 cases of Duala/Ewondo verbs ending in a consonant, 11/76 (14.5%) were inflected whereas 15 of 137 (11%) Duala/Ewondo verbs ending in a vowel were inflected.

(c) The statistical evidence for inflected Pidgin verbs ending in a consonant and those ending in a vowel disproves our hypothesis. There were more inflected EL verbs ending in a vowel than those ending in a consonant. Of the 81 Pidgin verbs ending in a consonant, 12/81 (14%) were inflected, whereas of the 20 cases of switches ending in a vowel, 7/20 (35%) were actually inflected. Let me point out that we have very few tokens to reach a statistically stronger conclusion

These results are significant, because they demonstrate that inflecting an EL verb is independent from phonological well-formedness imposed by the ML. Regardless of the phonological differences between the ML and the other language sources, bilingual speakers were able to inflect almost all EL verbs from any of the other three language sources (e.g., English, Duala/Ewondo and Pidgin) involved in Camfranglais whenever they appeared in a syntactic environment of French imperfect, first and second plural in the present tense, and

present participle. Consequently, I argue that Camfranglais is social phenomenon as well as a linguistic structured one. My assumption is that, perhaps it might be one of the strongest linguistic preferences on the part of Camfranglais speakers to give equal value and space to each language source involved in a bilingual clause in both the cognitive and cultural sense. Nevertheless, structural constraints seem to be a very important factor in determining which EL verb has to be inflected and which one has to be bare regardless of the language sources and the phonological shape of the verb.

4.2.2 The Gliding Rule

In this section, I indicate how vowel clusters are treated in Camfranglais. The results in table 8 show that all the 8 Duala/Ewondo verbs ending in a vowel systematically insert a glide to avoid a VV sequence forbidden in French. But in English, of the 99 cases involving a glide, 76/99 (77%) of the glides were actually inserted, whereas in Pidgin, 6/7 glides were inserted. One explanation in the difference in behavior in terms of the gliding insertion rule in Camfranglais is that, unlike Duala/Ewondo and Pidgin, English has vowel with inherent glides (at least for written English) as shown in (23).

Table 5

Number and percent of actglides

	Actual glides	**No glide**
English	76 (77%)	23 (23%)
	Total English glides: 99	
Duala/Ewondo	12 (100%)	0
	Total D/Ew glides: 12	
Pidgin	6 (86%)	1 (14%)
	Total Pidgin glides: 7	
Total	94	24

(23) a. *Je ne* NO*ais pas le groupe ci man* [1032]

'I did not know this group man!'

b. *Pardon* DO*ez je comprend aussi*. [149]

'I was doing the same thing'

c. *Le macho te* DO*ais la* **bahat** [139]

'The macho was bullying you'

d. *Je* GO*ais lui donner le gateau* [76]

'I went there to offer him some cake'

The results in table 5 suggest that all Duala/Ewondo verbs involving a gliding rule were actually realized. Out of 7 cases of Pidgin verbs involving a gliding rule, 6 (86%) were realized. Of the 99 English cases of gliding rule, 76 (77%) were actually realized. As can be observed in (23), English verbs such as NO (<*Engl. know*), DO and GO are all inflected without inserting a glide. I argue that English spelling in Camfranglais is without a doubt a complicated matter. It seems to me that the errors in the insertion of the glide in (23) result from the inconsistency in English spelling. English long vowels, including /uw, ow/ are normally articulated with a final glide. Sometimes they are spelled with a glide symbol (e.g., know), but sometimes not (e.g., go). Therefore, the lower percentage of spelled glides in English may simply arise from this variable spelling of glides in English. Bilingual's mispronunciation might also affect their ability to insert the glide. People sometimes write as if they were speaking to establish a more formal register which in turn affect the way they spell words.

5. Conclusion and Further Issues

This paper has addressed the issue of the distribution of both inflected and bare EL verbs in Camfranglais data using Myers-Scotton's 4-M model. As a background to this study, I have discussed some linguistic features of Camfranglais. French is unquestionably the ML which

builds the morphosyntactic frame of the bilingual clause and the other language sources (i.e ELs) involved in CS. It has been shown that all system morphemes in Camfranglais are that of French, the ML and they never switch. Therefore, in terms of the overall distribution of inflectional morphemes across source languages, the findings of this study are very consistent with the 4-M model at least for finite verbs (e.g. imperfect, present tense and future tense). However, another element of Myers-Scotton's model is not well supported here. I claim that lack or presence of (paradigmatic) congruence between EL verb paradigms involved in CS and those of the ML does not account for the existence of bare verbs in Camfranglais as predicted in Myers-Scotton (2002) and Deuchar (2005). Instead, I proposed a model based on syntax and feature-checking that helped to explain the distribution of switched verbs in Camfranglais; this model may also be applicable to similar cases of CS. The quantitative analysis shows that bare forms do not occur randomly, rather, they occur in contexts where there is no syntactic features to be checked as predicted in the Matrix Language Agreement Constraint (6). Phonologically, vowel complexes systematically adapt by inserting a glide in order to conform to the CV syllable shape favored in French at least for Duala and Pidgin.

This study accounts for some of the principles governing the distribution of EL patterns and why certain forms are ruled out in Camfranglais. Many questions are yet to be answered regarding the nature of the phonological integration and/or adaptation of EL verbs. How bilingual speakers decide on which verbs to choose from the four competing language sources involved in Camfranglais corpus remained to be understood. Further investigations of additional sets of data are required to understand the scale of preference between lexical items from each language source involved in the corpus. Despite some methodological problems, a number of insights regarding the EL verb patterns have been gained. As it turns out, the Matrix Language

Agreement Constraint proposed here has more explanatory power than the congruence hypothesis. It is my ultimate goal to extend this proposal to other lexical categories (e.g. nouns, adjectives, determiners etc) as well.

REFERENCES

Bandia, Paul, F. 1994. On Translating Pidgins and Creoles in African Literature. In *TTR: traduction, terminologie, redaction* **7** (2). p. 93-114. Also available online at URL: http:www.edudit.org/documentation/eruditPolitiqueUtilisation.pdf

Bescherelle, M. 1980. Le Nouveau Bescherelle 1. L'art de conjuguer; dictionnaire de 12 000 verbes [The New Bescherelle 1. The Art of Conjugation; Dictionary of 12 000 Verbs]. Paris: Hatier.

Bickel, Balthasar & Nichols, Johanna. 2008. Inflectional Synthesis of the verb. In *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*, eds. Haspelmath, Martin & Dryer, Matthew S. & Gil, David & Comrie, Bernard. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, chapter 22. Available online at http://wals.info/feature/description/22. Accessed on December 22, 2009.

Biloa, Edmond. 1999. Structure phrastique du Camfranglais. In *Bilinguisme officiel et communication linguistique au Cameroun,* eds. G. Echu et A.W. Grundstrom (éds). New York, Peter Lang.

Bitja'a Kody, Z. 2004. La dynamique des langues camerounaises en contact avec le francais : Approche macrosociolinguistique, thèse de doctorat d'Etat en sociolinguistique, Universite de Yaounde I.

Bolonyai, Agnes. 2005. English Verbs in Hungarian/EnglishCodeswitching. In *Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism*, eds. James Cohen, Kara T. McAlister, Kellie Rolstad, and Jeff MacSwan. Cascadilla Press Somerville, MA 2005

Bullock, B., & Torobio, A. J. 2004. Introduction: Convergence as an emergent property in bilingual speech. In *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, **7** (2), 91-93.

Chomsky, N.1995. The Minimalist Program. MIT Press. Cambridge, Mass.

Clements, G. N. 1990. The Role of the Sonority Cycle in Core Syllabification. In *Papers in Laboratory Phonology I*, eds. John Kingston & M. Beckman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, MA, pp. 283-333.

Crespo, Begoña and Isabel Moskowich. 2006. Latin Forms in Vernacular Scientific Writing: Code-Switching or Borrowing? In *Selected Proceedings of the 2005 Symposium on New Approaches in English Historical Lexis (HEL-LEX)*, ed. R. W. McConchie et al., 51-59. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Dell, François. 1995. Consonant Clusters and Phonological Syllables in French. In *Lingua 95*: 5-26.

Deuchar, M. 2005. Congruence and Welsh codeswitching. In *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, **8** (3), 255-269.

Essono, Jean-J. Marie. (2000). L'ewondo. Yaounde. Presse de l'universite catholique de l'Afrique Centrale.

Fielding, Patience (2009). Language Use in the Negotiation of Linguistic and Cultural Knowledge of Online Diasporic Relations. In *L2 Journal*, **1** (1), Retrieved from: http://escholarship.org/uc/item/2wj240nd

Gardner-Chroros, P., & Edwards, M. 2007. Compound verbs in codeswitching: bilingual making do? In *International Journal of bilingualism*, **11** (1), 73-91.

Gardner-Chroros, P., & Edwards, M. 2004. Assumptions behind grammatical approaches to codeswitching: when the blueprint is red herring. In *Transaction of the Philosophical Society*, **102** (1). 103-129.

Grégoire, A. (1937). L'Apprentissage du langage. Paris: Droz.

Grevisse, M. and A. Goose. 1980. Nouvelle Grammaire Française. Duculot. 5. *Grevisse* M. (*1980*): Le Ban Usage. Duculot (11th Edition)**.**

Guillaume, P. 1927. Le développement des éléments formels dans le langage de l'enfant. *Journal de Psychologie, 24,* 203–229. [Translated by E. Clark (1973) The development of formal elements in the child's speech. In C. A. Ferguson & D. J. Slobin (Eds.), *Studies of child language*

development (pp. 240–251). New York: Holt, Reinhart, and Winston].

Hale, Kenneth, and Samuel Jay Keyser. 1998. The basic elements of argument structure. In *Papers from the UPenn/MIT Roundtable on Argument Structure and Aspect*, MIT Working *Papers in Linguistics 32*, ed. by Heidi Harley, 73-118. Cambridge MA: MIT, Department of Linguistics and Philosophy, MITWPL.

Hale, Kenneth, and Samuel Jay Keyser.1993. On argument structure and the lexical expression of grammatical relations. In *The view from Building 20*. Essays in honor of Sylvain Bromberger, ed. by Kenneth Hale and Samuel Jay Keyser, 53-110. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Harley, Heidi. 2003. Merge, conflation, and head movement: The First Sister Principle revisited. Talk presented at NELS 34, Stony Brook, NY: State University of New York, November 7-9, 2003. [The handout is available online from http://linguistics.arizona.edu/~hharley/PDFs/HarleyNELS2003.pdf.]

Hawkins, R. 2001. Second language syntax: a generative introduction, Oxford: Blackwell.

Herschensohn, Julia and Arteaga Deborah (2009). 'Tense and Verb Raising in advance L2 French'. In French Language Studies 19, 281-318. Cambridge University Press.

Hiriarteborde, A. 1973. Sur la généralisation de quelques marques grammaticales dans le langage d'enfants de 3 ans 1/2 [On the Regularization of some Grammatical Inflections in the Language of Children Aged 3 and 1/2 Years-Old]. *Études de Linguistique Appliquée*, *9*, 101–124. Jackendoff, R. (2002). Foundations of language. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jake, J., & Myers-Scotton, C. 1997. Codeswitching and compromise strategies: Implications for lexical structure. In *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 1, 25-40.

Kouega, Jean-Paul. 2007. The language situation in Cameroon. In *Current Issues in Language Planning* (CILP), **8**(1), 1-94.

Kiparsky, Paul. 1997. Remarks on denominal verbs. In *Complex Predicates*, ed. by Alex Alsina, Joan Bresnan, and Peter Sells, 473-499. Palo Alto, CA: CSLI Publications.

Labov, Willliam. 1972. Sociolinguistic Patterns. Philadelphia: University of Pensylvania Press.

Lewis, M. Paul (ed.) (2002). Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Sixteenth edition. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International. Online version: **http://www.ethnologue.com/**. Website consulted on December 16, 2009.

Lobé Ewané, Michel. 1989. Transfert et interferences. Cameroun: Le Camfranglais. In *Diagonales 10*: 30-34.

Moravcsik, Edith .1975. Borrowed verbs, Wiener Linguistische Gazette 8:3-30.

Myers-Scotton, C. 2008. Explaining outsider system morphemes in language contact. In *Journal of Language Contact*. THEMA (2). p.21-41. online version http://www.jlc-journal.org.

Myers-Scotton, C. 2007. Explaining Outsider System Morphemes. Paper presented at the symposium *Language Contact and the Dynamic of Language: Theory and Implications.* in Leipzig from May 10 to May 13, 2007.

Myers-Scotton, C. 2006. Multiple Voices: An Introduction to Bilingualism. Oxford: Blackwell.

Myers-Scotton, C. 2002. Contact Linguistics: Bilingual Encounters and Grammatical Outcomes. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Myers-Scotton, C. 2000b. Testing the 4-M model: introduction. In *International Journal of Bilingualism* 4, 1 (special issue): 1- 9.

Myers-Scotton, C., Finlayson, R., and Calteaux, K. 1998a. Orderly mixing and accommodation in South African codeswitching. In *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 2.395-420.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1993a). Duelling languages: Grammatical structure in codeswitching. New York: Oxford University Press.

Myers-Scotton, C. and Jake L. 2000a. Four types of morpheme: Evidence from aphasia, code switching, and second-language acquisition. In *Linguistics 38*.1053-1100.

Muysken, P. (2000). Bilingual speech: A typology of code-mixing. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pahta, P. 2004. Code-Switching in Medieval Medical Writing. In Taavitsainen, I. & P. Pahta eds. 73–99.

Picone, Michael. 1994 “Code-intermediate phenomena in Louisiana French”, In *CLS 30-I: Papers from the Thirtieth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, Volume 1: The Main Session*, Beals, K/Denton, J./Knippen, R./Melnar, L./Suzuki, H./Zeinfeld, E., eds., 810 Chicago/Chicago Linguistic Society, 320-334.

Poplack, S. 1990 Variation Theory and Language Contact: Conceptions, Methods and Data. In *Papers for the Workshop on Concepts, Methodology and Data*. Strasbourg: European Science Foundation. 33–66. Raumolin-Brunberg, H., M. Nevala, A. Nurmi & M. Rissanen (eds.) (2002) *Variation Past and Present. VARIENG Studies on English for Terttu Nevalainen*. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique.

Poplack, Shana and Meechan, Marjory. 1998. Introduction: How Languages Fit Together in Codemixing. In *International Journal of Bilingualism* 2, 127-138.

Royle, Phaedra, 2008. Variable effects of morphology and frequency on inflection patterns in French preschoolers. In *Applied Psycholinguistics* (2008) 29:341-365. Cambridge University Press

Say, T., & Clahsen, H. 2002. Words, rules and stems in the Italian mental lexicon. In *Storage and computation in the language faculty*, 93–129, eds. S. Nooteboom, F. Weerman, & F. Wijnen.), Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Stein-Kanjora, Gardy 2008. Parler comme ca c’est vachement cool! or How Dynamic Language Loyalty Can Overcome ‘Resistance From Above. In *Sociologus,* vol. 58, n^{o}2, pp. 117-141.

Stolz, Thomas. 2008. Romancisation worldwide. In *Aspect of Language Contact: New Theoretical, Methodological and Empirical Findings with Special Focus on Romancisation Processes. Empirical Approaches to Language Typology* [EALT] 35. Stolz, Bakker, Palomo (eds). Mouton de Gruyer. pp. 1-42.

Wei, L. 2005. Starting from the right place: introduction to the special issue on conversational code-switching. In *Journal of Pragmatics, 37*, 275-279

Ze Amvela, Etienne. (1989. Reflexions on social implications of bilingualism in the Republic of Cameroon. In *Epasa Moto, A Bilingual Journal of language, letters and culture, Buea, Cameroon*: *The Buea University Center*. **1**(1), 41-61.