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Morpho-phonological adaptation and the development of secret languages: The case of Chamtok in Mutengene, South-West Cameroon

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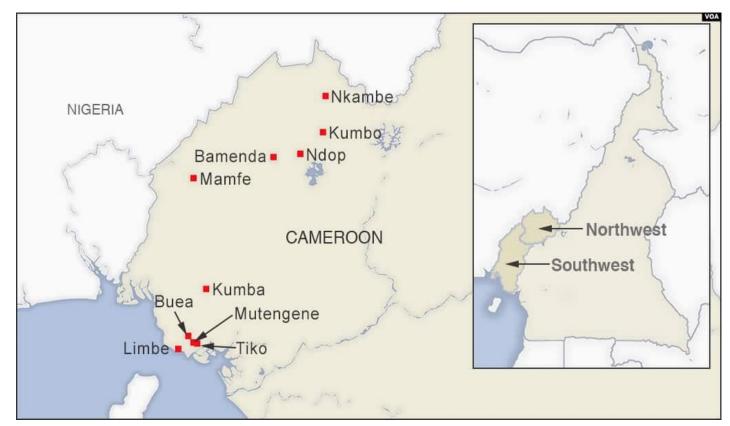
Chamtok

A secret language (argot, language game, cant, ludling) created by modifying Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE) and used by some Mutengene girls to exclude non-group members from their conversations.

- mobonibi Chamtok (1)Gibi mibi səbəm a. gi moni CPE mi som give **English** me some money 'Give me some money'
 - b. obokebe wubu dobon fibinibis Chamtok oke wu don finis CPE ok 3pl AUX finish English 'We have finished'

Mutengene, South-West Cameroon

- Road junction town (to Buea, Limbe, Tiko)
- Several petty businesses
- High crime wave
- Town and inhabitants nicknamed
 Cham, e.g., Chamboys, Chamgirls



Road map

- Secret languages/argots/language games
 - How they originate
 - Their functions
- Cameroon Pidgin English
- Chamtok
 - How it originated
 - Its functions
- Conclusion

- Widely documented globally, e.g. Pig Latin, Verlan, Gibberish, etc.
- Pig Latin, English and several other languages (Cowan 1989)

Rule: (1) the initial onset of a word is moved to the end of the word and the diphthong "ay" <u>/ei/</u> is added after the consonant.

```
(2) pig = "igpay"
latin = "atinlay"
banana = "ananabay"
```

Pig Latin, English and several other languages

Rule: (2) When a word begins with a consonant cluster both sounds are moved to the end of the word and the diphthong "ay" <u>/ei/</u> is added.

```
(3) friends = "iendsfray"
smile = "ilesmay "
blood = "oodblay"
```

Pig Latin, English and several other languages

Rule: (3) When a word begins with a vowel simply add "way, "hay", or "yay" at the end.

```
(4) eat = "eatway"
  omelet = "omeletway"
  are = "areway"
```

Korakistika, Greek (Manning 2012)

Rule: Insert "k" and the vowel of the original syllable after each syllable:

(5) Kalimera = "Kaka liki meke raka"

 Yäwof q'uanq'ua ('bird language'), Amharic (Cohen 1939)

Rule: Duplicate each syllable, replacing the initial consonant with "z" in the duplicate:

(6) säbbärä = "säzäbbäzäräzä"

· Păsărească (birds' language), Romanian

Rule: After each syllable, add 'p' and repeat last vowel:

(7) maşină = "ma<mark>pa</mark>şipină<mark>pă</mark>"

Jeringonza or Jeringozo in Argentina, Spanish

Rule: Each vowel is reduplicated with a separating 'p':

(8) No sabe nada = "Nopo sapabepe napadapa"

 System of manipulating spoken words to render them incomprehensible to an untrained listener.

• Used primarily by groups attempting to conceal their conversations from others, e.g. children and teenagers to avoid understanding by adults.

 Some language games such as Pig Latin are so widely known that privacy is virtually impossible, because many people have some understanding of how it works and the words can sound very similar to their English counterpart.

Cameroon Pidgin English

- Kamtok (literally 'Cam(eroon) talk')
- Origin unclear but significant spread between 1850 and 1884 when coastal Cameroon was virtually under the control of the British (Todd 1982, Menang 2008)
- Influenced by English phonology and vocabulary.
- Lingua Franca in English-speaking regions of Cameroon and beyond

Cameroon Pidgin English Phonology

• 6 vowels: i, e, u, o, ɔ, a

- 4 diphthongs: ai, au, oi, ia (possibly a fifth, ei)
- (9) bai 'buy' vs. ba 'bar' kau 'cow' vs. ka 'car' noise' vs. nos 'nurse' bia 'beer' vs. bi 'bee'
- 21 consonants: p, b, t, d, k, g, m, n, ŋ, f, v, s, z, ʃ, h, tʃ, dʒ, l, w, r, j.
- Tone? bábà 'barber' vs. bàbá 'father

Chamtok

- Data sources
- ✓ Speaker intuitions
- ✓ Discussions between speakers (WhatsApp)
- Recorded on Android Phone in .M4a format
- Annotation in ELAN
- Some analysis in PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink 2001)

Chamtok: Host language

Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE)

```
(10)
            Gibi
                  mibi
                        sobom
                                     mobonibi
                                                       Chamtok
      a.
            gi
                  mi
                                                       CPE
                                     moni
                        som
                                                       English
            give
                  me
                                     money
                        some
            'Give me some money'
```

Chamtok b. dʒɔbɔ tibiŋk ɔbɔf εbεnibi tobopibik naba tink of topik **CPE** dzo εni na **English** think of topic just any now 'Now, just think of any topic.'

Rule 1. Reduplication of CV portions of syllables, preventing monosyllabic words

```
maban /maman/
(11)
                             Chamtok
                              CPE
            man
            'man'
      b.
           fubud /fufud/
                              Chamtok
           fud
                              CPE
            'food'
           dribink /dridink/
                              Chamtok
           drink
                              CPE
            'drink'
```

Rule 1. Reduplication of CV portions of syllables: Disyllabic words or longer

fabadaba /fafadada/ (12)Chamtok fada **CPE** 'father' kabakubulebet /kakakukulelet/ b. Chamtok kakulet **CPE** 'calculate' tubumoborobo /tutumomororo/ Chamtok **CPE** tumoro 'tomorrow'

Rule 2. Replacement of reduplicated consonant by the voiced bilabial plosive /b/, resulting in the omnipresence of /b/ in all words,

(13)	a.	fabadaba / fafadada / fada 'father'	Chamtok CPE
	b.	kabakubulebet /kakakukulelet/ kakulet 'calculate'	Chamtok CPE
	C.	tubumoborobo /tutumomororo/ tumoro 'tomorrow'	Chamtok CPE

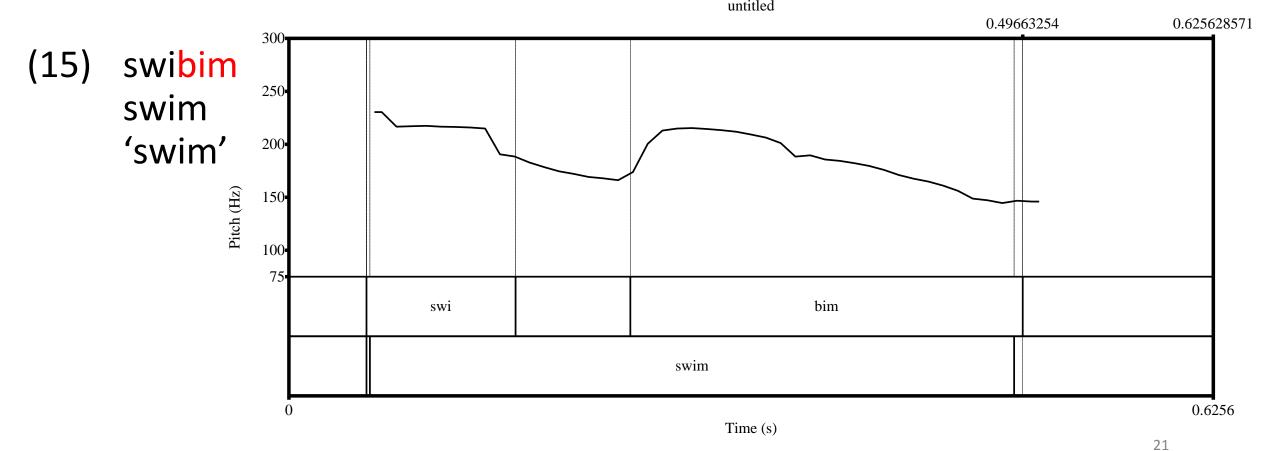
Rule 3. Codas shift rightwards

```
(14) a. fibinibif dibi sεbεk∫ɔbɔn Chamtok finish di sek∫ɔn CPE
'Finish this section!'
```

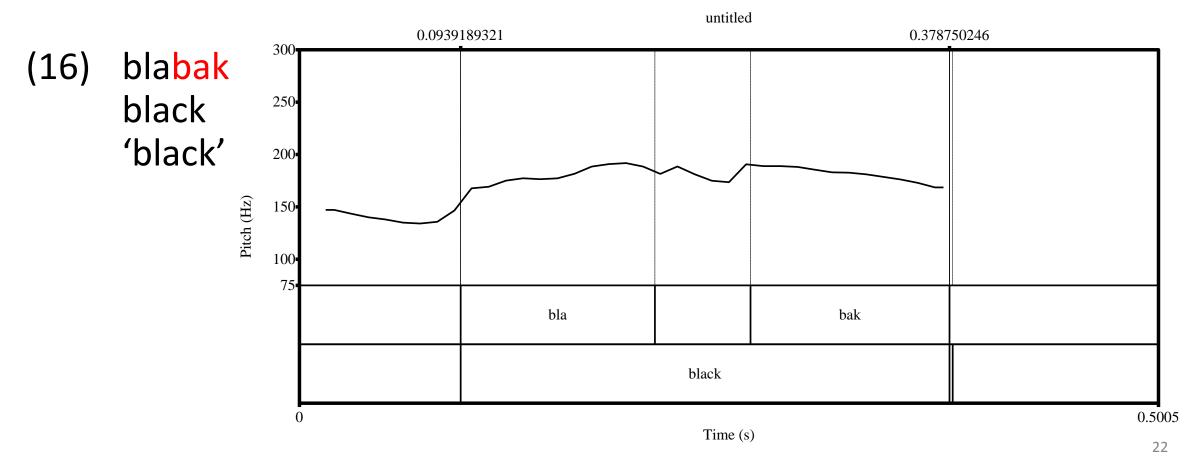
b. mebe wubu dibiskabas faba **k**idiqcdct Chamtok wubuſ diskəs topik **CPE** wuſ wu me **English** for which 3PL discuss topic let

'On which topic should we discuss?'

Rule 4. Words generally ending in a HL falling melody



Rule 4. words generally ending in a HL falling melody



Chamtok: Functions

- ✓ Restricted to girls
- ✓ Exclude non-group members (parents, friends, men) from conversations
- ✓ Making secret plans
- ✓ Extortion situations

Future of Chamtok

✓ Critically endangered like many other secret languages across Cameroon

```
Chamtok
(17)
      wibi fəbə sebekaba debe təbək sebe mebe wubu təbək naba ibinglibi
                Seka
                                                                                   CPE
                          de
                                 tok
                                                        tok
                                                                   English
       Wĺ
                                           me
                                                              na
                                                  wu
                                       say make we talk only English
                                                                                   English
                Saker
                          they
                                 talk
           for
       we
      When we were in Saker, they said we should speak only English.'
```

Of 104 secret languages listed in Wikepedia, only 4 are hosted by African languages

✓ Need to document and preserve

Conclusion

- ✓ A girls secret language in Mutengene, South-West Cameroon
- ✓ Based on Cameroon Pidgin English
- ✓ Used to exclude non-group members (parents, friends, men) from conversations, making secret plans, and for extortion
- ✓ Critically endangered

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Taban kyubu tan kyu 'Thank you'