



A FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO ANALYSING LINGUISTIC CREATIVITY IN CAMEROONIAN POPULAR THEATRE

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ABSTRACT

This article set out to catalogue text-level linguistic creativity in Cameroon popular theatre. Using an eclectic framework of text criticism; discourse and register analysis and text linguistics theories and approaches, examples drawn from the Cameroonian popular theatre scape were analysed in a five-step procedure, in view of either translating or acting. Three categories of text level linguistic creativity were described, namely text-level indirect syntactic neologisms; text-level indirect semantic neologisms and text-level indirect phonological neologisms.

Key words: *linguistic creativity, text-level creativity, popular theatre*

1. INTRODUCTION

Cameroonian theatrical linguistic creativity occurs at various levels and employs a certain number of procedures. Fofié, (2007:17) has averred that Cameroonian theatrical linguistic creativity is not a chaotic enterprise but one that respects set down principles and is located at the level of the word, sentence, and the text. However, the focus of this article is linguistic creativity at the text-level.

2. CONCEPT OPERATIONALISATION

Three key concepts have been operationally defined below are linguistic creativity, text-level creativity and popular theatre.

- **Linguistic creativity:** For Yule (1985:19), *linguistic creativity/open-endedness* and *productivity* arises when “new situations arise or new objects have to be described”, and as such oblige language users to “manipulate their linguistic resources to produce new expressions and new sentences” against the backdrop of the infinite potential number of utterances in any human language. For Guilbert (1975 :80) linguistic creativity is:

la formulation d'un segment linguistique, doué d'un contenu sémantique défini, en vertu des possibilités offertes par le système linguistique. C'est donc un acte spécifiquement linguistique. [the formulation of a linguistic segment endowed with a defined semantic content, owing to the occasions offered by the linguistic system. It is, therefore, a specifically linguistic act.] (My translation).

- **Text-level creativity** refers to a situation where word-piling engenders phrases which are also combined to give 'Camfranglais' texts wrapped in explosive humour (Fofié 2007:35). As is the case with

the word- and especially the sentence-levels, Cameroonian popular drama/theatre text-level creativity occurs at the *syntactic, semantic* and *phonological* levels.

- **Popular theatre:** Four definitions shall be examined in a bid to better discern the substance of popular drama/theatre. The first is Mayer's (in Jeyifo, 1984:3) who defines popular drama/theatre as "that drama produced by, and offered for the enjoyment of the largest combinations or groupings [of people] possible within a society". Okpewho, for his part (1992:272) avers that popular drama/theatre is *the enactment of themes of essentially popular concern.... The basic thrust of popular drama is to explore the concerns of social life, whether lofty or lowly, in a light-hearted style that offers entertainment and to a sufficiently large cross section of the people.*

Thirdly, *The community's toolbox* considers popular drama/theatre essentially as:

a tool to develop awareness through the use of local media such as dance, song, drama and mime. Popular theatre is different than traditional theatre because rather than mirror and mimic the culture, it shows the contradictions, leaving the audience with unanswered questions upon which to reflect and hopefully seek answers. Popular theatre is not meant to produce a masterpiece; it is a tool to better understand a situation (Web: [www.tools @ participation](http://www.tools@participation), accessed 10/01/2007).

Finally, and on a more serious note, Prenki and Selman (2003:8-9) add tonic to the three definitions above by positing that popular drama/theatre is:

a process of theatre which deeply involves specific communities in the society and conditions in which many live. It seeks radical change. It questions the social and political structure and presumes that there is a more egalitarian social making possible. It seeks to be part of social movements which pursue justice and equality. [...] is used as a form of resistance, and as a tool for strategizing for change.

In these four definitions, two perceptions of the same object are distinguishable. The first is that popular drama/theatre may just enact themes of essentially popular concern (Okpewho 1992:272) for the enjoyment of the "largest combinations or groupings of people possible within a society" (Mayer, in Jeyifo 1984:3) or simply by creating "awareness through the use of local media such as dance, song, drama and mime" (*www.tools @ participation, 2007*). But contrary to that first perspective, popular drama/theatre "questions the social and political structure and presumes that there is a more egalitarian social making possible" (Prenki and Selman 2003:8-9). This perception provides an appropriate backdrop to understanding Cameroonian popular drama/theatre.

METHODOLOGY

The theoretical and procedural frameworks for functionally describing the text-level linguistic creativity of Cameroonian popular theatre are as follows:

- **Theoretical framework:** Borrowing from Crisafulli's reflection (2002:26) and in keeping with the interdisciplinary approach, an appropriate translation approach requires the application of an eclectic systematised heterogeneous framework of theories, approaches, principles, and strategies. The theoretical framework has three dimensions, namely:
 - **Text criticism approaches/theories** such as Cultural approaches (Robinson 1988:11), the intercultural approach (Kim, in Kim and Gudykunst 1988:18), Deconstructionist approaches (Belsey 1980: 109), Sociological approaches (Scott 1962:126), Semiotic approaches (Pavis 1976, Ubersfeld 1978, Elam 1980, Zuber-Skeritt 1988, Koustas, 1988, Culler 1989) Formalistic approaches (Scott 1962:179).
 - **Discourse and register analysis approaches** of the 90s as found in the Hallidayan model 1978, House's 1997 revisited model, Baker 1992:217, Hatim & Mason 1990/1997.
 - **Text linguistics approaches** (concerned with the transfer of source language text to an optimally equivalent target language text and requires the syntactic, stylistic and text pragmatic comprehension by the translator of the original text (Wilss 1982:113).

- **Procedural framework:** In a bid to effectively analyse the excerpts that make up the corpus of this article, some tools and frameworks were used. They include the conceptual, contextual, theoretical, and data manipulation/procedural frameworks. An arsenal of text criticism, discourse analysis and text linguistics approaches and strategies, as well as an analysis and interpretation grid was also resorted to. From these auxiliary tools and frameworks, the synoptic chronological methodological excerpt analysis and interpretation grid that follows was crafted.
 - **Step 1: Specification of the discourse level of excerpt**
 - **Step 2: Identification of the excerpt** which includes the Excerpt and the author/source
 - **Step 3: Description of the excerpt**, which entails underscoring the knotty zone, identifying the lexifier language(s), stating the cultural provenance of the item, identifying the grammatical function
 - **Step 4: Analysis and interpretation of the excerpt in four steps** including identifying the item's cultural referent and significance; describing, analysing and interpreting aesthetic peculiarities; identifying auxiliary linguistic and contextual aesthetic peculiarities that have a direct bearing on the specific word, sentence or text being analysed; and describing and naming of dominant aesthetic effect.
 - **Step 5: Indicating other artists who have resorted to similar type of neologism:**
In the final step, other Cameroonian popular drama/theatre artists from the body of artists consulted who used the same device and for which the same strategy apply are cited.

3. PRACTICAL DEMONSTRATION

Text-level linguistic creativity of Cameroonian popular theatre is analysed below at the indirect syntactic, indirect semantic and indirect phonological levels, in that order.

3.1 Text-level indirect syntactic neologisms

In the text-level syntactic neologism, the structure of an essentially French sentence is loaded with English, Pidg

1) Identification of the excerpt

Excerpt: Ça c'est très petit problème ; ici c'est malam. Tu wa entrer fasé, tu wa rentrer avec le soulire. Moi ze n'aime pas seulement tu wa venir avec désordre. Zewa essayer soigner toi. Ça c'est pas probelème. Seulement, avant zewas soigner toi, on wa commencer par le visite dans ce warwite (marmite). Zette encore quelque soze a terre.

Excerpt author/source: Jean Miché Kankan, *La vérité de Mallam*.

2) Description of the excerpt

Underscoring knotty area: ***Ça c'est très petit probelème; ici c'est Mallam. Tu wa entrer fasé, tu wa rentrer avec le soulire. Moi zen'aime pas seulement tu wa venir avec désordre. Zewa essayer soigner toi. Ça ce n'est pas probelème. Seulement, avant zewas soigner toi, on wa commencer par le visite dans ce warwite (marmite). Zette encore quelquesoze à terre.***

Lexifier language: French

Cultural provenance: Socio-ecological culture: linguistic

Grammatical function: Major grammatical categories are involved

In the text-level syntactic neologism, the structure of an essentially French sentence is loaded with English, Pidgin English or national language. In addition, grammatical categories can be placed without due respect for standard (French) phonological, morphological and syntactic constraints, leading to a "destructuring" and "disorganisation" of the (French) Language (Fofié 2007:30-33). The case for analysis here is extracted from Jean Miché Kankan's *La vérité de Mallam*.

3) **Analysis and interpretation of the excerpt**

- a) **Broader context of production of utterance:** This text is produced as Kankan comes to consult Mallam, the diviner and tradi-practitioner. Kankan’s intention is to portray not only the deceptive nature of this group of people but also the gullible nature of the public towards them.
- b) **Immediate cause of the utterance:** This utterance follows Kankan’s enumeration to the tradi-practitioner and diviner of the many problems he encounters, including his wife and children.
- c) **Item’s cultural referent and significance:** The broader cultural context proves that in Cameroon, it is common practice to find diviners/charlatants selling their services in broad day light. That is the case with Mallam, one of the protagonists.

Mallam says the problems presented are a minor issue given that he is Mallam ‘himself’. He adds that people come to his shrine angry and go back smiling. The only thing he does not like is disorder. He adds that the patient will be treated, but on condition that they begin by consultating the pot, and for that, Kankan the patient must throw something (money) on the ground. It is thus clear that this text is talking about Mallam narrating his prowess to the visiting Kankan. Linguistically, from his accent and idiom, it is clear that he is from the northern part of Cameroon.

- d) **Description, analysis and interpretation of aesthetic peculiarities:** There are instances of deliberate non-communication-prohibiting aesthetic inappropriateness in this utterance, when viewed against the background of standard language norms.

Morphologically, words such as *probelème* (problème), *wa(va)*, *fasé* (faché), *ze* (je)*warwite* (marmite), *zette* (jette), and *soze* (chose) are deformed as can be seen from the right spellings in brackets. These deformations do not only usher in semantic difficulties but phonological ones as well. The semantic ones are, however, abated by the context and background of the speaker that allow for comprehension. Phonologically, Northern Cameroonians lack the [v], [m] and [ʒ] sounds and interchange the use of [l] and [r] as well as [m] and [w]. That is how they come about with:

- *W* instead of *va*;
- *Soulire* instead of *sourire*;
- *Ze* instead of *je* or again *zette* instead of *jette*;
- *Pr(l)obelème* instead of *problème*; and
- *Warmite* instead of *marmite*.

Apart from these morphological and semantic incongruities, syntactic lapses also abound. In addition to the misspelled and mispronounced words, the following extracts are aggramatical:

Aggramatical Utterance	Identification of syntactic Error	More acceptable utterance
<i>Ça c’est très petit problème</i>	Article (<i>un</i>) absent before <i>petit</i>	<i>Ça c’est un très petit problème</i>
<i>Tu wa entrer fasé, tu wa rentrer avec le soulire</i>	Conjunction (<i>et</i>) missing in lieu of comma after <i>fasé</i>	<i>Tu wa entrer fasé et tu wa rentrer avec le soulire</i>
<i>Moi ze n’aime pas</i>	Absence of comma after <i>moi</i>	<i>Moi, ze n’aime pas</i>
<i>Moi ze n’aime pas seulement tu wa venir avec désordre</i>	Absence of <i>que</i> after <i>seulement</i> , eliminate <i>wa</i> , conjugate the verb <i>venir</i> in present tense, and add <i>le</i> to <i>désordre</i>	<i>Moi, ze n’aime pas seulement que tu wavenir vienne avec le désordre</i>
<i>Zewa essayer soigner toi</i> and <i>Seulement, avant zewa soigner toi</i>	Absence of <i>de</i> before pronoun <i>toi</i> , position and function of <i>soigner</i> and <i>toi</i> inverted.	<i>Zewa essayer de toi te soigner</i>
<i>Ça ce n’est pas probelème.</i>	Absence of <i>ce</i> , <i>n’est</i> and <i>un</i>	<i>Ça ce n’est pas un problème</i>

In the same vein, the relationship between *le* and *visite* is syntactically incorrect.

- e) **Auxiliary linguistic and/or contextual peculiarities:** Apart from the syntactic incongruities found in the text, the phonological ones that clearly indicate that the speaker is a Fulfulde from the Northern part of Cameroon and help to contextually situate the text and aid comprehension.
- f) **Description and naming of dominant aesthetic effect:** The desire to portray the *oralised* ideosyncrasy of the people of the northern part of Cameroon as well as the indigenised native idiom of the utterance, anchored in the Fulfulde mother tongue accent of the speaker are very *humorous*.

4) Other similar examples

Other examples here include *Méésieur le chef de l'étaat, zesi venu pour vous remerrcier de ma re-élection à l'asse-e-emblènatiôn...nâle* (Cavaye Yegué Djibrille) in *Présentation de vœux de fin d'année* by Michékan l'Africain ; *Auzordui c'est grand zourr à norrauzordui...les temparéturr est à dégré terès terès haut* in *Le match* by Kaiser ; and *Arbitre de ballon, il n'est pas f'ranc. chaque fois que arbitre a sifflé cameloon y perdu. Or sourate de kworan y dit y faut etref'rancin Vive le sport* by Antonio.

Having finished with text-level indirect syntactic neologisms, this analysis will continue with text-level indirect semantic neologisms.

4.2 Text-level indirect semantic neologisms

According to Fofié (2007:34), text-level semantic neologisms are arrived at by tactfully turning, changing or deforming sentences to resemble certain other sentences with established forms and (especially) meanings. This sub-category of neologism is also common in the creative popular drama/theatre works of Cameroonian artists. From the many examples available, Dave K. Moktoï's *Pour le libéralisme alimentaire auto-ventré* provides the excerpt for analysis here.

1) Identification of the excerpt

- a Excerpt: Chers frères et sœurs de la province du pétrole jaillissant, chers camarades militantes et militants de notre grand parti gastronomique du mouvement pour le libéralisme alimentaire auto-ventré, vous savez je suis de ce coté ici la barrière grâce au coup de tête magique du guide éclairé dont le décret m'avait imposé démocratiquement à vous comme ministre-député avant l'avenement du multipartisme persécuté, pardon, sorry, précipité...
- b Excerpt author/source: Dave K. Moktoï, *Pour le libéralisme alimentaire auto-ventré*

2) Description of the excerpt

- a Underscoring knotty area: *Chers frères et sœurs de la province du pétrole jaillissant, chers camarades militantes et militants de notre grand parti gastronomique du mouvement pour le libéralisme alimentaire auto-ventré, vous savez je suis de ce coté ici la barrière grâce au coup de tête magique du guide éclairé dont le décret m'avait imposé démocratiquement à vous comme ministre-député avant l'avenement du multipartisme persécuté, pardon, sorry, précipité...*
- b Lexifier language: French
- c Cultural provenance: Socio-ecological culture: linguistic
- d Grammatical function: Major grammatical categories involved

3) Analysis and interpretation of the excerpt

- a) **Broader context of production of utterance:** Newrich is here addressing the population of one of his provinces of administration/areas of jurisdiction. These are incidentally militants of his political party. It reflects the flattery used by political leaders to people they claim to lead.
- b) **Immediate cause of the utterance:** He finds himself in front of his militants and is obliged to address them in the flattering terms they are used to hearing. In this short extract he raises the numerous problems that characterise Cameroonian political life.

- c) **Item's cultural referent and significance:** The broader cultural context proves useful to finding explanation for some of the social referents. Words like *la province du pétrole jaillissant*, *grand parti gastronomique*, *mouvement pour le libéralisme alimentaire auto-ventré*, *coup de tête magique & dont le décret m'avait imposé démocratiquement*, *du guide éclairé*, *ministre-député*, *du multipartisme persécuté*, and *multipartisme précipité* that Newrich is using in the address reflect the political life of the country.
- d) **Description, analysis and interpretation of aesthetic peculiarities:** Morphologically, there are no strange words. Syntactically, a few phrases are aggrammatical. *Vous savez je suis de ce coté ici la barrière grâce...* could have been more grammatically acceptable as *Vous savez que je suis ici à ce coté de la barrière grâce....* From both an aesthetics and semantic perspective, the rules of expectation have been flouted given that the second part of the sentence always leads to an unexpected fact. In the same vein, *dont le décret m'avait imposé démocratiquement à vous* would also be better as *dont le décret me vous avait démocratiquement imposé*.
- The text can semantically be described as an allegoric and figurative one whose meaning can only be gotten from beneath the words. A closer look at the diction depicts many social issues the artist wants to castigate. These includes *la province du pétrole jaillissant* (province with much petroleum deposits), *grand parti gastronomique* (party of ceaseless eaters and embezzlers), *mouvement pour le libéralisme alimentaire auto-ventré* (a party of self-centred grabbers and embezzlers ['food liberalism']), *coup de tête magique* and *dont le décret m'avait impose démocratiquement* (authorocratic ruling methods), *du guide éclairé* (supposed wise leader), *ministre-député* (accumulation of duty posts), *du multipartisme persécuté* (distorted multiparty rule), and *multipartisme précipité* (ill-timed introduction of multipartism). Unless one effects a deep analysis of these words, the message risks being missed. Phonologically, the accent here is one of an American, in a solemn sarcastic but very humourous tone.
- e) **Auxiliary linguistic and/or contextual peculiarities:** The context beefs up the message. Issues raised include the fact that Cameroon is a country where political parties actually eat and celebrate ("chop broke pot") more than they reflect; people do politics to swell their stomachs and not for development; the well-off literally construct "fences" to shield them from the common man's persistent misery; some persons are alledged to possess the power of being able to boot others from office by just swinging the head (coined as "headwinking") from one side to the other or; members of a political party can refer to their party head as *His Most Excellency*; leaders are hand-picked and imposed on people instead of being elected; and where multipartism is persecuted and practiced according to the whims and caprices of those in power.
- f) **Description and naming of dominant aesthetic effect:** The desire to portray the fact that politics in Cameroon is more like private business, where the often-hand-picked leaders feed fat, the highly **punned** and allegoric attitude when referring to all issues, as well as the artist's Americanised accent, all in a solemn sarcastic tone are **humorous**.

4) **Other similar examples**

Other Examples here include *Pour promouvoir disons ses spécialités, ils sont allés à la foire des pays enfoirés. Ils ont dit merci à la Banque mondiale, la banque du sauvetage. Merci au FMI, entendu Fonds de misère internationale pour la libéralisation, pour la mondialisation du commerce international. Alors mesdames et messieurs, voici la publicité des pays pauvres très embêtés. Déballez! Déballez! Déballez! Je vends! je perds! Dernier marché! Venez me tromper.....in Déballez...Je vends, je perds* by Kouokam Narcisse ; *Chers amis microbes, streptocoques, staphylocoques, virus, bactéries bacilles, protozoaires simples et protozoaires flagellés, hermatozoaires, fibroïns, parasites, c'est un grand honneur pour moi de vous souhaiter la bienvenue.... D'abord, levons-nous et observons une minute de silence en mémoire de nos disparus. Que disais-je? Nos amis frères et sœurs ont connu les grands génocides de tout les temps. Ils ont été pourchassés et massacrés des années et des années par des bourreaux sans pitié... J'accuse les fascistes vaccinations...sérum, antibiotiques...* in *Chers amis microbes* by Essindi Mindja. Others can be found in *Dans le train spécial* and *Problèmes de famille* by Massa Kokari and in *Les profiteurs de Nsam* by TchopTchop.

The last sub-type of text-level neologism is the text-level indirect phonological

3.1 Text-level indirect phonological neologisms

According to Fofié (2007:49), phonological creativity in Cameroonian popular drama/theatre is achieved through the imitation of the pronunciation (voices) of high personalities, sometimes in three different languages, in a way that outclasses word-level creativity. He adds that:

il est question de la prononciation des mots tels qu'on les prononce dans la langue source. La double ou la triple prononciation d'un même mot dans une phrase ne manque pas. [...it is a matter of pronouncing words as they are pronounced in the source language. Double or triple pronunciation of the same word in a phrase is common.] (Fofié 2007: 50)(My translation).

The text-level phonological dimension will have to be more emphatic on displaying the differences between standard speech and non-standard or the abnormal one.

5.3 Text-level indirect phonological neologism

Text-level indirect phonological neologism has four sub-categories namely medley of some Western languages, medley of Western language and Cameroonian mother tongue (French-Fulfulde), medley of Cameroonian languages (Camfranglais) and Standard French Language voice calque. However, this article will demonstrate the first sub-category only - medley of some Western languages.

The excerpt below which is interested in phonological qualities of three Western languages is drawn from Dave K. Moktoï's *La grosse baleine intouchable*.

1) Identification of the excerpt

a Excerpt: Thank you! Thank you! Dankeshun! Merci beaucoup! Well, je go parler le vérité, tout le vérité, et rien que le vérité. En vérité, je ne voulais plus revenir sur le scène politique, pardon, soorry, sur le scène artistique internatioonal because le atmostphère est de plus en plus tendu.

b Excerpt author/source: Dave K Moktoï. *La grosse « baleine » intouchable*.

2) Description of the excerpt

a Underscoring knotty area: ***Thank you! Thank you! Dankeshun! Merci beaucoup! Well, je go parler le vérité, tout le vérité, et rien que le vérité. En vérité, je ne voulais plus revenir sur le scène politique, pardon, soorry, sur le scène artistique internatioonal because le atmostphère est de plus en plus tendu.***

b Lexifier language: French-English-German

c Cultural provenance: Socio-ecological culture: linguistic

d Grammatical function: Major grammatical categories involved.

3) Analysis and interpretation of the excerpt

a) **Broader context of production of utterance:** In this text, Dave K. Moktoï is on stage making a speech to his audience about his artistic tours. It constitutes a social criticism and mimicks the speech style of Americans coming to Cameroon.

b) **Immediate cause of the utterance:** The artist is prompted by the desire to expose several issues plaguing the Cameroonian society, amongst which is rampant censorship in the society at the time of production.

c) **Item's cultural referent and significance:** The broader cultural context reveals that Cameroon's multilingual background emanating from its history includes the use of languages like French, English, Spanish, German, Portuguese, etc. Depending on the situation, any of these languages can be used in combination. The use of those languages here is not haphazardous but deliberate, given that the

speaker himself was a trilingual (French- English and German) Cameroonian-trained High School Teacher, at the time of the production.

On the issue of press censorship, Cameroon's budding democracy in the 90s came with lots of problems. It coincided with the advent of the economic crisis in Cameroon and the new-found desire to talk using the more than two hundred political parties, and where all information came under serious administrative scrutiny. Very often, newspapers reached the kiosk with some pages completely obliterated. This phenomenon was also experienced by artists who had some of their presentations simply banned by administrative officers. It is the above atmosphere that led to the conception of this text.

- d) **Description, analysis and interpretation of aesthetic peculiarities:** Most of the words in this text are rightly spelt. However, *soorry* and *internatioonal* are deformed by prolongation in the desire to sound like a Westerner. Syntactically, there is aggramaticality as phrases like *levérité* and *le scène* are grammatically incorrect from the point of view of wrong articles preceding the nouns. In effect, the right article in both cases was supposed to be the feminine article *la*. Code-mixing also accentuates the aggramaticality as phrases such as *je go parler* and *le scène politique, pardon, soorry, sur le scène* and *scène artistique internationale* because have certainly violated syntactic rules of the text which is dominated by French. Semantically, Moktoï is thanking his audience very much in the English, French and German languages, and promising to tell the truth and nothing but the truth. There is therefore no semantic incongruity per se.

Since the major concern of this excerpt is phonological, it should be stated that the blending of English, German and French words (*thank you, dankeshun* and *merci* respectively) and pronunciation in an accent other than one of these three languages but a borrowed American one is significant. The aggramaticality resulting from the code-mixing (***Well, je go parler le vérité, tout le vérité, et rien que le vérité***) adds to this phonological quality and results in explosive humour.

- e) **Auxiliary linguistic and/or contextual peculiarities:** The contextual indicators of Cameroon's multiple historical and colonial experiences and heritage, as well as press censorship help the analysis.
- f) **Description and naming of dominant aesthetic effect:** The authorial intention is the linguistically **hybridised** 'thank you message' in the English, German and French languages, the veiled reference to censorship, in an Americanised accent and the general disguised sarcasm of the author. All these engender **humour**.

4) **Other similar examples**

Other similar examples here are found in *Campaingne évangélique* by Tchop Tchop, and in Michékanl'Africain in which bilingual dialogue in Western languages is effected. But the most suitable example is found in *Lediscour du sous-préfet* by Daniel Ndo. In attempt to translate the Sous-prefet's utterance *First of all, we will be allocating a plot to each member of the community and we are happy to note that everybody is in good health*, Otsama instead says *Là, j'aientendu seulement « first » et « plot », je me damand epourquoi M. le Sous-prefet n'a pas ajouté flic et flac pour terminer par floc*, which is very unrelated to the subject.

The second type of indirect phonological neologism is that which mixes a Western language and Cameroonian mother tongue.

Conclusion

After presenting and defining the major concepts that underpin this research, text-level linguistic creativity was described and grouped in three categories drawing examples from the Cameroon theatre scape. These categories include: text-level indirect syntactic neologisms; text-level indirect semantic neologisms and text-level indirect phonological neologisms that have been functionally described in this article.

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