

Language Use and Rituals in the Apostolic Church in Cameroon

Jean-Paul Kouega

ABSTRACT

This paper examined language use and rituals in one Protestant Church with a Pentecostal orientation known as the Apostolic Church, in a bid to work out the language policy of this church. The data came from some 25 churches whose pastors, church officials, choir leaders and congregants were contacted on the sites of these churches. The instruments used were a questionnaire, informal discussions and participant observation, and the frame used was the structural-functional model (Kouega 2008). The findings revealed a number of interesting facts. First the main service in these churches comprises some 11 major parts, which are occasionally referred to by different names. These parts were found to be realised in two languages, i.e., English and French, with any information passed on in the one language being systematically translated into the other language. Pidgin English was heard in two main contexts, i.e., during Testimonies when low education church members want to share the good things God has done for their life, and then during calls for financial contributions, lest these low education people might take back home what they brought for the growth of the church. Once in a while, indigenous languages were heard in songs.

Keywords: Apostolic Church, Cameroon, language choice, language in religion, multilingualism, Pentecostal Faith.

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J. P. Kouega*

Department of English, University of
Yaounde I, Yaounde, Cameroon
(e-mail: jkouega@yahoo.co.uk)

**Corresponding Author*

I. INTRODUCTION

Through the description of language use in the Apostolic Church, this study attempts to work out the language management strategies adopted by this church to cope with the multilingual context in which it evolves. Three questions were set to guide the analysis. These are: 1) What is the structure of an Apostolic Church service? What languages feature in this structure? What factors motivate the choice of these codes out of the multitude of languages cohabiting in the country? The objective of the study is to attempt to uncover the language policy of this church, as it is not published anywhere. The work is broken into three sections labelled: background to the study (I), literature review (II), research design (III), analysis and discussion (IV). These are taken up in turn.

II. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

This section considers the historical evolution of Cameroon, its current language situation, and the development of the Apostolic Church in the country.

Before colonization, Cameroon included a total of four major communities. As Kouega (2007) reported, the Muslim Fulbe occupied the northern half of the country, the Sudanese the highlands in this area, the Bantu communities the southern half of the country, and the Semi Bantu the north-eastern part of this southern half. In the colonization years, all western colonisers visited the territory, but the Germans eventually took full possession of the country from 1884 to 1914. When the First World War erupted, French, English and Belgian forces allied to fight the Germans and eventually won the war. German possessions were therefore shared among the victors. One fifth of Cameroon went to Britain and four-fifth to France. This de facto division of the country was confirmed by the League of Nations. These two shares were renamed West Cameroon (the British portion) and East Cameroon (the French portion). Thus, from 1922 to 1946, West Cameroon was the League of Nations mandated territory under British rule, while East Cameroon was the League of Nations mandated territory under French rule. The British portion was run from Nigeria, which was a powerful British colony in Africa. This means that anything that existed in Nigeria could potentially be transferred to the British part of Cameroon, as the development of the Apostolic Church in Cameroon outlined below will confirm. When the Second World War broke out, the western forces combined again and defeated the Germans again. As a result, Cameroon League of Nations Mandated Territories were renamed the United Nations Organisation Trust

Territories and this appellation went on from 1946 to 1961. In 1960, East Cameroon obtained its independence from France and was named the Republic of Cameroon. In 1961, part of West Cameroon became independent by forming a federation with the already independent Republic of Cameroon. As a result, the country's name changed to Federal Republic of Cameroon. In 1972, the country's name changed again to the United Republic of Cameroon, and finally, in 1984, the country was renamed Republic of Cameroon. Since then, that is the name by which it is known.

Cameroon is a multilingual country where several languages of various statuses co-exist (Kouega 2007). First, the country can boast of having two official languages, English and French, both of which are extraneous to the territory. Secondly, three major lingua francas, i.e., Beti, Fulfulde, and Pidgin English, and eight minor lingua francas, i.e., Arab Shuwa, Basaa, Bulu, Duala, Hausa, Kanuri, Mungaka, and Wandala are used in various localities of the country. Cutting across these are a created language, i.e., Camfranglais and a religious language, i.e., Arabic, used by the Muslim faithful. Finally, there are over 250 lesser minority languages which are co-extensive with the various tribal communities in the territory.

Regarding the Apostolic Church, it can be classified as a Protestant Church with a Pentecostal orientation. It was founded in Wales around 1904 by the preacher Daniel Powell Williams, who is said to have been called to the pastorate through prophecy; his congregation became an independent church in 1916. From Wales the Church moved to the United Kingdom and then spread to many countries of the world. In 2014, that is, close to a century since its creation, the church was reported to have over 15,000,000 members distributed into over 100 countries. The church was planted in Nigeria in 1918, and the country today hosts the largest national Apostolic Church in the world totalling close to five million members in 2009. The church was already established in Nigeria when part of Cameroon became a League of Nations Mandated Territory run by Britain as was outlined above. It then moved to Cameroon in 1949, barely three years after the country became a United Nations Organisation Trust Territory. It was planted in Victoria – a coastal town that was renamed as Limbe - by Evangelist Oyoyo from Cross River State, Nigeria. Today, there are about 1,000 assemblies in Cameroon run by over 450 pastors.

Apostolic churches have in common a total of 11 tenets (<http://www.taccam.org/missions/>) which are their doctrinal standard and which are not to be subjected to any change “in any way whatsoever”. Below are reproduced half of these tenets, together with their rank in the list:

- (1). The unity of the Godhead and the Trinity of the Persons therein.
- (3). The virgin birth, sinless life, atoning death, triumphant resurrection, ascension, abiding intercession of our Lord Jesus Christ; His second coming and Millennial Reign upon earth.
- (7). The sacraments of baptism by immersion, and the Lord's Supper.
- (9). Church government by apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers, elders and deacons.
- (11). The obligatory nature of tithes and offerings.

III. REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAME

This section considers works on multilingual practices, language choice and language use in multilingual religious contexts. Several researchers have looked into language use in religion in multilingual Cameroon. Ndzotom (2011, 2018) focused on mainstream Protestant churches while Baimada (2013, 2018) concentrated on the Muslim faith. Emaleu (2017) worked on the Catholic Church while Afutendem (2015) took up three Christian churches, i.e., the Roman Catholic Church, the Presbyterian Church, and the Full Gospel, a Pentecostal Church. Other works on these faiths include the following: Kouega (2016), Kouega and Baimada (2012), Kouega and Ndzotom (2011a, b, 2012), and Kouega and Emaleu (2013, 2018).

These works have used the same frame, i.e., Kouega's structural-functional model (2007), which first segments a church service into its respective parts and then checks what languages are used to realise each part and for what reason these languages are chosen in a multilingual context. The Catholic Church was found to use various languages including: French and English, the country's two official languages; Latin, a liturgical language; a number of Cameroonian indigenous and vehicular languages like “Beti”, Basaa, Pidgin English, “Bamileke”, Bafia, Banen, Mundang etc., and one African language i.e., Igbo. These languages were chosen: because there was at least one priest who spoke them in a given parish, because there were devoted catechists and chaplains who spoke them, because the communities speaking those languages were fully involved in the activities of their parish, and because there were religious materials in those languages. Mainstream Protestant Churches used French, English, and the various heritage languages of the localities in which they were planted like Akoose, Basaa, Duala, Mungaka, etc. The Muslim faith used Arabic as the liturgical language of Friday Prayer services; in addition, Fulfulde, a dominant lingua franca among Muslim faithful, was used especially during Sermons and Announcements. As for Pentecostal churches, they were found to give preference for French and English, the official languages of the country, with no room left for indigenous languages. Characteristically, translation from

the one language to the other in all contexts was found to be systematic. These languages were said to be chosen because the pastors wanted each and every church member to go back home with a good understanding of the word of God, with the assumption that their followers were educated people speaking either French or English or both.

Other works in Cameroon and elsewhere used different frames. Examining religious communities in urban centres, Bitjaa-Kody (2001) found that they had five patterns of language use. First, there were monolingual congregations like the Protestant Church of Nkolndongo in Yaounde; second there were bilingual congregations like Apostolic churches which operate in French and English or Presbyterian churches which used one official language like French and one indigenous language like Basaa or Bulu. Third there were quadrilingual congregations which alternated Arabic, Fulfulde, French and English and, lastly, highly multilingual congregations which combined the official languages and a selection of indigenous languages. Describing the Catholic Church in Ghana, Albakry and Ofori (2011) found that English was used monolingually and in combination with indigenous languages. These languages, which were code-switched, code-mixed, or translated to and into, included Ga, Akan-Twi, Fante, Ewe, and Haoussa. For example, the Prayer of the Faithful was conducted mainly in English in most churches (80%) and was delivered in both English and the local languages in a few churches (20%). In the same vein, Announcements were made in English in churches located in upper-class neighbourhoods (30%) and in English and the local languages in churches located in both middle-class and lower-class areas (70%).

As this review shows, little is known about language use and rituals in the Apostolic Church anywhere, which is the object of the present inquiry.

IV. RESEARCH DESIGN

The setting of this study, the instruments used, the research assistants, the informants, the method of data analysis, and the difficulties encountered in the data collection process are considered in turn below.

This study took place in the premises of Apostolic churches in the city of Yaounde in Cameroon and the instruments used were a series of interviews, a set of questionnaire, and participant observation. The research assistants were 50 students majoring in sociolinguistics who volunteered to take part in a sociolinguistic fieldwork exercise. They were paired up and each pair was asked to locate one Apostolic Church in the city of Yaounde. To minimise cost, the main researcher encouraged these assistants to choose churches which were closest to their places of residence, as they were required to visit the chosen premises three times at regular intervals during the data collection process.

During the first visit, they were to meet potential informants, i.e., pastors, elders, choir leaders and marginally the faithful. They were to gather all relevant available information on their chosen churches: snapshots of billboards, the size of the churches, the number of church services offered in a week, the main worship day, and the main church service on the main worship day. On the second visit that was to take place two weeks later, the assistants were to fill in a copy of the questionnaire with information about the structure of a church service and the parts that make up an ordinary church service, the languages that are used in each part, the activities of the pastors, the elders, the choirs and the faithful during each part of the service, and finally, the attitude of the members of the chosen Apostolic church toward other Christian denominations. On the third visit that was to also take place two weeks after the second visit, the assistants were to sit through a main church service and check the information that were provided by the informants during the second visit. Besides filling in gaps in their questionnaire copy, these assistants were to comment on the difficulties they went through during these three visits.

In short, the 50 assistants were paired up and they brought back 25 filled questionnaire copies. The data analysis procedure consisted in bringing together the answers to each item of the questionnaire and working out the general trend for the churches visited.

V. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Details about the churches like their location in the area of study and their weekly programmes are considered first (A). Then the structure of the church services and the languages used to realise the parts of a service are dealt with (B). These are taken up in turn.

A. *Location of the Churches and Their Weekly Programmes*

During the first visit, the research assistants were to gather as much documentation about their chosen churches as possible by providing answers to a series of eight questions (Q1 to Q7). First, Apostolic churches were found in all neighbourhoods of the city of Yaounde: Bastos, Etougebe, Obili, Nsimeyong, etc. The biggest of these churches were said to house over 1000 people and the smallest about 100 people.

The billboards in some church premises indicated the parts of a church service and their duration, as the illustration below shows:

Opening prayer – 3 mins
Praises – 20 mins
Hymn – 5 mins
Testimonies – 10 mins
Bible reading – 5 mins
Choir – 10 mins
Worship – 30 mins
Welcome of guests – 5 mins
Tenets – 3 mins
Announcements – 25 mins
Dedication – 20 mins
Tithes and offerings – 30 mins
Local needs and others – xxxxx
Prayer for offerings – 3 mins
Choir – 10 mins
Message – 60 mins
Closing hymn – 5 mins
Closing prayer – 5 mins

Another useful piece of information found on billboards was the weekly activities of the churches, like this example:

Monday: Women's meeting

Wednesday: Midweek service with deliverance, healing, prophetic service

Thursday: Prayer band meeting (prayer for the spiritual growth of the church, the nation, the sick, bereaved families, generational curse breakthrough, etc.)

Friday: Bible study

Saturday: Choir practice/rehearsals

Sunday: Main service day

The informants reported that their churches can be regarded as a Christian denomination with a Pentecostal orientation. Some of these churches were said to be independent, with the pastors being the highest authority while others were reported to be branches of an older Apostolic church based in Kumba. These Kumba-based churches were said to be categorised hierarchically into Groups, Fields, Assemblies and Districts, with the District being the smallest unit, the Assembly being a main church, the Field being made of many Assemblies and the Group including many Assemblies. There seem to be two main Fields in Yaounde, the Obili Field and the Bastos Field, each of which includes many Assemblies. Lastly, the informants noted that on the main service day, their churches had only one service, with very few offering more than one service.

B. Structure of Church Services and the Languages Reported to be Used

During the second visit, the research assistants were to get the informants to indicate the different parts of a church service and the languages that were used in each part by providing answers to some 11 questions, labelled Q8 to Q18. In addition, during the third visit, these assistants were to sit through a church and check the information they were given by the informants during the second visit. To begin with, Q8 asked the informants to describe the structure of a church service by naming the elements or parts of the service. Some informants reported that the main service in their church had four parts labelled introductory prayers, songs of ministration, the word of god or preaching, financial collection and announcements while other informants mentioned as many as 12 parts, with different names being used to refer the same contents, and some parts being merged by some informants. The 11 most frequent parts mentioned by the informants were the following:

Opening prayer
Praise and worship (also called worship time)
Hymn (also called chorus time, worship, singing of the hymnal)
Bible reading (also called word of God, Day's message)
Preaching (also called predication, Word of God)
Testimony (also called testimony time)
Tithes and offerings (financial contributions)
Choir ministration

Welcoming of visitors

Announcements

Closing remarks (also called closing prayers, benediction)

These elements are considered in turn.

Opening prayer

It is made by the Pastor, and the message falls in line with the Bible reading message of that day. In one church, the Pastor read Saint Paul's Letter to the Colossians (1:25-27).

Praise and worship

Elders and the faithful sing and occasionally dance to the tune of music played by the choir.

Hymn

The choir together with the faithful sings songs extracted from the Hymnal.

Bible reading

The Pastor reads a Gospel passage and the faithful follow in their own Bible.

Preaching

The Pastor interprets the message of the Bible reading passage. In one church, the Scriptural message came from Exodus 14:13-14; the Pastor focused on total dependence on God for our physical and spiritual battles. He used the case of David and Goliath and that of Moses and Pharaoh of Egypt.

Testimony

The faithful unveil the good deeds which God has graced them with. Each of the blessed people moves forward to testify the goodness of God in their lives and business. Then the Pastors and the Elders raise their hands to pray over them.

Tithes and offerings

The faithful are encouraged to present God with what they have been able to gather. People line up and move to the altar with envelopes containing their tithes, which are expected to be one tenth of their earnings as recommended in Malachi 3:9-10. After this, the Pastor and the Elders raise their hands and pray over them, invoking God to ensure that these givers' businesses prosper.

Choir ministration

The choir sings a song that serves as a transition to the next issue.

Welcoming of visitors

Visitors are encouraged to come out as the choir sings a welcome song to receive them.

Announcements

They are made by Elders, who generally present the church activities that will be carried during the week, including the various weekly meetings

Closing remarks

The Pastor ends the worship service with prayers for guidance and providence.

It should be noted here that, while most Pentecostal churches include deliverance, healing, and prophetic service in their Sunday service, the Apostolic Church tends to do these on week days, as the sample week programme above shows.

Q9 asked the informants to draw a list of the church service parts and the languages used to perform each activity. The languages cited and the parts of the services are recorded in Table I.

As can be seen, English is the dominant language, and simultaneous interpretation into French is somewhat systematic. Pidgin English, a dominant lingua franca in Cameroon in general and in Anglophone Cameroon in particular, is heard in specific service parts, i.e., Testimonies, Tithes and offerings, and lastly Announcements.

Q10 checked whether there was a choir in the churches and how many there were. It was reported that all churches had a choir, with most of them (80% of 25) having only one choir.

TABLE I: LANGUAGES USED IN EACH PART OF THE CHURCH SERVICE

Parts	Languages used
Opening prayer	English and French (i.e., prayer in English, simultaneous interpretation in French)
Praise and worship	English and French
Hymn	English
Bible reading	English and French
Preaching	English and French
Testimony	English, French, Pidgin English, and a few indigenous languages
Tithes and offerings	English, French, and Pidgin English
Choir ministration	English, French, and other languages (Cameroonian, Nigerian, etc.)
Welcoming of visitors	English and French
Announcements	English, French and Pidgin English
Closing remarks	English and French

TABLE II: NUMBER OF CHOIRS IN EACH CHURCH SERVICE

Number of choirs	1	2	3	Blanks	Total
Number of choirs	20	2	1	2	25
Total (%)	20 (80%)	8%	4%	8%	100%

Q11 looked into the parts of the church services and the activities carried out by the pastors, the Church leader, the choirs, and the faithful, and the languages used to perform these activities.

TABLE III: PARTS OF THE CHURCH SERVICES AND THE ACTIVITIES OF EACH PARTICIPANT

Parts	Pastor	Church leader	Choir	The faithful	Languages
Opening prayer	Prays	Leads the prayer	Prays	Pray	English or French
Praise and worship	Sings and may occasionally speak in tongues, moving from one spot to the other	Prays and sings with the choir	Sings, waving hands occasionally	Sing with the choir	English, French
Hymn	Sings with the choir	Signs with the choir	Sings and dances	Sing and dance with the choir	English, French
Bible reading	Listens	Calls up the chosen reader and listens carefully	Listens carefully, occasionally taking notes	Listen carefully, reading from their Bible	English, French
Preaching	Explains the Bible passages	Listens quietly and carefully, occasionally saying "We hear you, Sir", "Oh, yes, Sir!"	Seated, listening quietly	Seated, occasionally shouting "Oh, yes!"	English, French
Tithes and offerings	Encourages the faithful to bring their contributions	Helps the faithful to be orderly	Sings as offerings are collected	Dance, moving to the altar to drop their offerings	English, French, occasionally other languages
Choir ministration	Sings with the choir	Sings with the choir	sings	Sing with the choir	English, occasionally other languages
Welcoming of visitors	Listens to the presentations and reassures the visitors	Calls up the newcomers and visitors and welcomes them with a word of encouragement	Listens carefully	Listen carefully and welcome them, embracing or shaking hands with them	English, French, Pidgin English, occasionally other languages
Announcements	Makes the announcement	Listens carefully	Listens carefully	Listens carefully	English, French, occasionally Pidgin English
Closing remarks	Closes the service	Listens carefully	Listen carefully	Listen carefully	English, French

Q12 considered the transition from one part of the service to the next. It was reported that transitions were marked by a varieties of activities: singing by the choir, music from the piano or guitar, a round of applause, waiving with the right hand, and repeated shouts of "Amen! Amen!"

Q13 focused on the approximate number of Apostolic churches in the city of Yaounde. The informants had no idea how many there were; some pastors said they could be 30, others said they could be 50. From a cursory count made by the research assistants, there can be at least 100. An inquiry at the Ministry of Territorial Administration – the Government Department in charge of the issue - revealed that it is difficult to tell because authorization is granted to a denomination and not the individual churches under that denomination. Q14 asked the informants how many churches there were in Cameroon and they responded that they did not know nor could they make a guess. Q15 inquired about the existence of annual conferences bringing together the leaders of Apostolic churches. It was reported that such

conferences and conventions do exist, but they bring together the faithful, not the leaders. The common gatherings include the following: women's conferences, men's conferences holding twice a year in Limbe and Bamenda, field conventions and group conventions.

In Q16, the informants were asked to comment on how the Apostolic Church differs from other churches or denominations. The question was to be asked only if the informant was in a good mood and has been highly cooperative throughout the exercise. Some pastors responded that they were not out to judge other churches as they believed "God is present everywhere"; they only pray that all churches preach the truth and follow the example of Christ, as the focus is heaven and not the name or practices of a denomination. In short, it is the Judgment Day that matters. Other pastors and Church Elders pointed out a number of divergences. First they differ from the Catholic Church on a number of key points including the following:

- they pray using books and rosaries;
- they worship Mary, the mother of Jesus;
- they bowed down to the statues of figures like Mary, Jesus, and angels, which can be likened to idol worship;
- they baptize babies who cannot confess their sins, some of whom may change their faith when they grow up;
- they baptize by sprinkling water on the forehead of converts while the Apostolic faith immerses them in a river, like John the Baptism did for Jesus.

Other churches including Pentecostal ones were criticized in the same way:

- they use anointing oil, which Jesus never did;
- the faithful are allowed to wear indecent clothes, like women putting on trousers, chains, make-ups, and complex hairstyles; such worldly practices are in stark contradiction with the Scriptures, as Romans 12 outlines: "Therefore, I urge you, brothers and sisters, in view of God's mercy, to offer your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and pleasing to God—this is your true and proper worship".
- some pastors press Christians to pay tithes before receiving blessings from God.

In Q17, the informants were to explain the factors that motivated the use of certain languages in church.

TABLE IV: FACTORS MOTIVATING LANGUAGE CHOICE IN CHURCH

Language	Factors	Percentage
English and French	Regular members are expected to be educated in either French or English or both	25 (100%)
Other languages including Pidgin English	Low education people are not interrupted when they choose to speak other languages but translation is always provided	25 (100%)

The 25 returns from the churches revealed that English and French were used because the congregants were expected to be educated people. In Cameroon, education is offered in French and English, the two official languages of the country: generally, Francophones are educated in French and Anglophones in English. This explains why in this church, whatever is said in English is systematically rendered in French and vice versa. In other words, these churches adhere to the country's language policy, which promotes English-French official bilingualism. They ignore the over 250 indigenous languages in use in the country and systematically translate into French or English, any message delivered in Pidgin English or in these indigenous languages.

Finally, in Q18, the informants were asked to name the various languages that were used in the church service they attended and to say what these languages were used for.

TABLE V: LANGUAGES USED IN CHURCH AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

Names of the languages used	Function of each of the languages used
English	It is the language in which the 11 main parts of church services were realised
French	It is the language in which the 11 main parts of church services were translated into.
Pidgin English	It was occasionally heard during testimonies, tithes and offerings, and announcements
A few indigenous languages	It was heard in songs once in a while.

Participant observation and informal discussions revealed that Pidgin English served two major purposes (Q19): to hear from people with low education who could not express themselves in English or French, and to pass on key pieces of information to low education people, these key pieces of information being Tithes and Offerings on the one hand, and Announcements on the other.

VI. CONCLUSION

This paper has examined religious rites and language practices in a sample of 25 Apostolic Churches in Cameroon. The main church service in this faith comprises some 11 major parts and the languages used to realise these parts are mainly English and French, with simultaneous translation from the one to the other. During Testimony the default languages are French and English, but occasionally, low education church members may express themselves in Pidgin English. When this happens, a church member who understands this language hurriedly steps in and translates the message into either English or French. In the same vein, when key messages are passed on to the congregants, Pidgin English may be heard again, especially when the subject matter is Tithes and Offerings on the one hand, or Announcements on the other. In short, English and French are used because it is assumed that all congregants are educated in these two media, which are the joint official languages of the country.

APPENDIX

Questionnaire/Interview/Observation (to be filled in by the research assistants)

Name of residential area in Yaounde: _____

Full name of the Apostolic Church: _____

Visit I

1. Locate an Apostolic Church and briefly describe how to get there from the University.
2. Go to the church premise at a time when you can meet a few people around. Read all posted information on billboards and get a snapshot of church activity programmes. Then try to get an appointment with a church leader (pastor, choir leader, elder, etc.
3. Try to find out around when the church was built, how big it is, how many people it can hold.
4. Is the church a member of a bigger church?
5. How many church services are offered in a week?
6. What is the main day of worship?
7. if there are many services on the main worship day, which is the main service?

VISIT II

8. How is this main church service usually structured? How many parts or elements of service are there in all? What is each part or element of service called? (e.g. sermon, Gospel reading, announcements, etc)? What do you call the first element you begin the service with? The second element? the third, etc. In all, how many elements are there in a service?

9. Draw a list of the parts/elements again and ask the Pastor/Elder to tell you what language is used in the first part, in the second part, in the third part etc. if two languages are used, explain how they are used.

Parts	Language (s)
1	
2	

10. Is there a choir? How many choirs are usually active in the main service?

11. Draw a table of the parts of a main church service and ask the elder to talk about the activities of the pastor, the faithful, the speakers, and the choirs during this service and the languages used to perform:

Name of Part	Who talks? What does he do or say? In what position?	The faithful What do they do or say? In what position?	What language is used?	Comment 1	Comment 2
1.					
2.					

12. What marks the transition from Part 1 to Part 2? Do the choirs sing?
13. How many churches like this one are there in the city (approximately)
14. How many are there in Cameroon (approximately)?
15. Do they organise annual conferences or any kind of forum?
16. (Depending on the mood of the interviewee) Ask interviewee to comment on the Catholic church in Cameroon, Protestant churches, Pentecostal churches, stressing on how they differ.
17. What factors were said to motivate the choice of the languages that were used in church?
18. Name the various languages that are said to be used in church services you attended and say what they were used for.

Names of the languages used	Function or indicate the part of the in which the language was used.
1.	
2.	

Visit III

19. Sit through a church service and check the informants' answers to Q8 through Q18.

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