

THE METALANGUAGE OF CORRUPTION IN CAMEROON- PART II: THE REGISTERS OF HEALTH, JUDICIARY AND FINANCE

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ABSTRACT: *Across the world, corruption has become almost endemic in many countries. Although very few people admit to be involved in it, no continent is exempted from the ill practice. This paper, which is the second of a series of two, examines the coded language used to ask for / give bribe in three sectors in Cameroon. Health, judiciary and finance, which are the domains concerned, count among the most corrupt sectors of the country according to the National Anti Corruption Commission 2010 Report. The data analysed was obtained through questionnaires administered to some state agents of the three domains (N=150). Like in the previous sectors already studied (Safotso 2015), the findings reveal that, in addition to the general coded expressions used to ask for / give bribe in all the administrations in Cameroon, there are many specialised words and expressions that Cameroonians use in Cameroon English, Cameroon Pidgin English and Cameroon French when they indulge in corrupt practices in the sectors of health, judiciary and finance.*

KEYWORDS: Coded Language, Bribery, Corrupt, Health, Judiciary, Finance

INTRODUCTION

Corruption is now discussed everywhere in the world, even in the sectors in which no one could imagine it can happen. The recent Sepp Blatter's Affair (in 2015), which led to his resignation as FIFA's President is still fresh in many memories. The yearly classification table of corruption perception index by Transparency International every year includes new countries so far unsuspected of such practices. The reaction of the governments of the most corrupt countries is always the same: they accuse the German based NGO (Non Governmental Organisation) of biased judgement or unfounded allegation. This is because no one accepts to be involved in bribery.

On Transparency International classification table for 2016, countries from all continents were concerned by the phenomenon. For example, Russia was ranked 131st most corrupt country out of 176 selected; Cameroon was 145th. From several perspectives, a number of studies have been conducted on corruption to show its rampant ravages. Tanzi (1998) studied it around the world, focusing on its causes, consequences, scope and cure. Ruud (2000) sees it as everyday practice in all the sectors in local Indian society. Studies on corruption and economic growth include Aidt (2009), Torsello (2010), Mohammed (2013), Rotimi & Ubasaju (2013). Mohammed points out that "the challenges of corruption remain a major devastating issue facing Nigeria since the colonial period" (p.119). Rotimi's & Ubasaju's findings showed that corruption impairs and impacts economic growth in Nigeria. As solution to curb the phenomenon, they suggest that public anti-corruption initiatives and public education campaigns /programmes be strengthened and motivated to address the cause rather the effects of corruption. Some researchers have looked at the issue from political

angle (Kawata 2006; Rothstein & Eek (2009) to show its damage in the political sphere. Torsello & Venard (2015) explored it from an anthropological standpoint.

In Cameroon, which topped the world's most corrupt countries in 1998 and 1999, the situation can be said to have remained the same from 2013 till now. In 2013, out of 177 most corrupt countries, Cameroon was ranked 144th. In 2016, it was 145th on 176. To date, one of the major studies conducted on the problem is that of Friedrich-Ebert (1999) which examined it sector after sector. Other studies on the phenomenon in Cameroon include Ndangam (2006), Peh & Dori (2010), Cerutti *et al.* (2012), Mua (2015). Those studies either examine the behaviour of people who practise it, or its impact on national economy. Yet, corruption and bribery are practised using a particular language, i. e. there are specialised words and expressions that people use to indulge in them, and they vary from one sector to another. In Cameroon like elsewhere, one of the striking features of the literature on corruption and bribery is the relative absence of the sociolinguistic perspective. Part I of this study (see Safotso 2015) looked at the metalanguage of corruption in the domain of general administration, transport and education. This second part from a sociolinguistic frame examines the specific language used to ask for / give bribe in the sectors of magistracy, health and finance.

METHOD

The data analysed was gathered through questionnaires administered to some staff of the ministries of justice, health and finance in the towns of Yaounde, Maroua, Bafoussam, Dschang, Buea and Bamenda, which are some of the major towns of Cameroon. In the Ministry of Justice, the services targeted were the law court and the judicial police. In that of health, the investigator mainly focused on the public hospitals, and in the Ministry of Finance he concentrated on the sectors of collection and taxation. The questionnaires that were administered to 50 staff members of each ministry concerned comprised four simple questions: (1) giving the coded words / expressions the agents hear at their various workplaces when people ask for bribe, (1) giving what those people say to service users when they do not directly understand what they expect from them, (3) listing the specialised words / expressions that service seekers employ when they give or try to give bribe, and (4) enumerating what service seekers who try to bribe say when the person to whom they address themselves do not understand or give the impression that s / he does not understand what they intend to do. Answers were expected in French in Yaounde, Maroua, Bafoussam and Dschang because they are located in the French-speaking area of Cameroon. In Bamenda and Buea, the subjects had to answer the questions in English or Pidgin English, as they are English-speaking localities. Due to the delicacy of the topic and the sectors in question, no interview or even informal talk was possible due to the fact that the National Anti Corruption Commission now has its members almost everywhere across Cameroon. Therefore, many subjects contacted found that discussing corruption with a stranger was very risky and suspicious. The data is analysed in the section below.

RESULTS

Given the complex linguistic landscape of Cameroon, the data is examined in the following three languages: Cameroon French (Zang Zang 1999, Biloa 2003), Cameroon English (Simo

Bobda 1994; Kouega 2000; Anchimbe 2004) and Cameroon Pidgin English (Feral 1976; Mbangwana 1983; Ayafor 2000). As a matter of fact, English, French and Pidgin English have developed stable local features in Cameroon. It is in those local varieties of language that Cameroonians indulge in corrupt practices. In the analysis, the standard British English version of the utterances is given to ease comprehension.

Specialised language used to ask for bribe

The analysis is divided into two sections: (1) the specialised words and expressions used to ask for bribe in Cameroon French, Cameroon English and Cameroon Pidgin English, and (2) the coded expressions used to give it in the same languages. Table 1, which follows, summarises the specialised expressions used to ask for bribe in justice in Cameroon French.

Table 1. Coded language used to ask for bribe in justice in Cameroon French

Utterances in Cameroon French	Standard British English version
Je veux le savon.	I want some soap.
Je ne veux pas salir ma veste.	I don't want to dirty my suit.
Mon costume se nettoie au pressing.	My suit is washed in a dry-cleaning.
Je veux d'adord me reposer quelque part.	I first need to have a rest somewhere.
Revenez un instant.	Go and come back in a while.
Si vous n'êtes pas prêt revenez demain.	If you are not ready, go and come back tomorrow.
Le dossier est en instance	The file is pending.
Tout dépend de vous.	All depends on you.
Mon téléphone est vide.	There is no airtime in my telephone
Il faut le carburant du juge.	There should be some fuel for the judge.

Many utterances in the table do not indicate anything relating to bribery. They look so neutral, and at times may be seen as a simple refusal to do the work, e.g. '*I don't want to dirty my suit*', '*The file is pending*', '*There is no airtime in my phone*', '*I need to have a rest somewhere*'. A naive service seeker may think that s / he has simply come at a wrong time when the files are dusty or when his / her file is still under treatment. S / he may also think that s / he has come when the agent in charge of the file is tired or when it is time for him to go and buy some airtime. *The file is pending* and *I need to have arrest somewhere* respectively mean 'I will treat you file only when you give me some money' and 'you should take me to a bar to buy me some drink'. The only utterances that clearly indicate that the agent is asking for some money are: '*I want some soap*', '*There should be some fuel for the judge*'. Table 2 below looks at the expressions in Cameroon English.

Table 2. Coded Language used to ask for bribe in justice in Cameroon English

Utterances in Cameroon English	Standard British English version
Give me fuel for the job.	Give me some fuel for your file to be treated
You have to pay for the mission.	The same as in Cameroon English
Something has to be paid for the	You must pay a bail.

bail.	
Prepare yourself for what has to be done in your favour.	You must pay for the favour I will do to you.
We will need some papers to treat your file.	The same as in Cameroon English
You have to see the person treating your case with something.	See the person in charge of your case with some money or something else.

Contrary to Cameroon French where most of the expressions to ask for bribe in judiciary are neutral, in Cameroon English, they are more straightforward, e. g. '*you have to pay for the mission*', '*Something has to be paid for a bail*', '*Give me some fuel for the job*', etc. This is maybe due to the nature of English which a quite straightforward language. Unlike the speakers of other languages around the world, English-speakers generally express themselves in a straightforward way, even in a delicate domain like that of bribery. The numerous expressions in Cameroon French and Cameroon English testify to the high frequency of bribe in exchange of favourable judgement in Cameroonian judicial police stations and law courts. The table that follows examines the coded language used to ask for bribe in the sector of health in Cameroon French.

Table 3. Coded language used to ask for bribe in health in Cameroon French

Utterances in Cameroon French	Standard British English version
Lance-moi / nous.	Throw me / us something.
Rends-moi / nous joyeux.	Make me / us happy.
Tant pis si tu ne veux pas bien parler avec moi.	Too bad if you refuse to talk well with me.
Il faut du garrot / savon / carburant / frais de taxi / jus.	We need some tourniquet / soap / fuel / taxi fare / juice.
Fais un geste.	Make a gesture.
Fais un geste qui sauve.	Make a saving gesture.
Nous attendons une motivation.	We are waiting for a motivation.
Donnez notre enveloppe.	Give our envelope.
C'est comment ? Il faut mouiller la gorge.	What's wrong ? We should moisten our throats.
Je suis fatigué.	I am tired.
Ma blouse est sale.	My blouse is dirty.
Il faut du savon pour laver les mains.	We need some soap to wash our hands.
Si tu ne fais rien j'irai faire autre chose.	If you don't do anything, I will go and do something else.
Je ne touche à rien si rien n'est fait.	I won't touch anything if nothing is done.

Donnez mon jus /taxi.	Give me my juice / taxi money.
Donne mon / notre transport / déjeuner	Give my / our transport / lunch.
J'ai beaucoup à faire.	I am very busy.
Ce n'est pas moi qui travaille aujourd'hui.	I am not the one on duty today.
Parlez vite. Je n'ai pas toute la nuit / la matinée.	Talk quickly. I am not on duty all night / morning.
Il n'y a pas de petit faro pour les pauvres ?	Is there no money to throw to the poor ?
Il faut faroter.	You must be spendthrift with us.
La gorge est sèche.	The throat is dry.
Chacun mange où il est assis.	Each one eats where they are seated.
Tout travail bien fait mérite une bière.	All work well done deserves a bottle of beer.

Like in the domain of justice, the word 'money' is hardly mentioned in the utterances to ask for bribe in the sector of health. The expressions used are either neutral or discouraging, e.g. *'Make a gesture', 'Make us happy', 'My blouse is dirty', 'I am tired', 'I am very busy'*. A patient who is not familiar with this kind of language may think that the nurses want him / her to make some movements and to smile to them for a better treatment, or that s / he should wait for a while before being attended. Some of the utterances are rude and even ridiculous, e. g. *'I won't touch anything if nothing is done', 'Too bad if you refuse to talk well with me', 'Give my juice / taxi money', 'Is there no money to throw to the poor ?'*. This denotes the low behaviour of many medical doctors and nurses in Cameroonian hospitals. Many of them think that as their salaries are low, they must compensate them by forcing patients to give them bribe. Table 4 below lists the expressions used in Cameroon Pidgin English.

Table 4. Coded expressions used to ask for bribe in health in Cameroon Pidgin English

Utterances in Cameroon Pidgin English	Standard British English version
Mekam I hehep you.	Make me help you.
Shake you skin.	Search yourself.
Put hand fo you pocket.	Put your hands into your pocket.
Kam fo pp (private practice).	You can come for private attendance.
Mekam things go quick quick.	Make things go fast.

The table above shows that in Cameroon Pidgin English, there are few expressions to ask for bribe in health. Nevertheless, they are rich and coded enough, and can only be understood by specialists. *'Make me help you', 'Search yourself', 'Put your hands into your pocket', etc.*

are so neutral that one can hardly imagine that they have to do with money or bribery. Some naïve patients may comprehend them as an exercise meant for check up. Yet, those who are familiar with the corrupt practices will understand those statements as '*Give me some money to treat you*', '*Give me any money that you have*' and '*Remove some money from your pocket and give me*'. The following table summarises the language used in Cameroon English.

Table 5. Coded expressions used to ask for bribe in health in Cameroon English

Utterances in Cameroon English	Standard British English version
Comply with us.	Obeys our instructions.
Do as we tell you.	Do what we are asking you to do.
If you don't do as we told you your patient will die.	If you don't do what we asked you to do, your patient will die.
Do something to be attended quickly.	The same as in Cameroon English
Give me something to see the doctor.	Give me something to see the doctor for you.
Give our taxi fare.	Give us some money for taxi.

Although, the utterances contained in the table do not make any mention of money, they clearly ask for it in a euphemistic way. Patients who are used to that type of language always understand it. For example, '*Do something to be attended quickly*', '*Give me something to see the doctor*', '*If you don't do as we told you, your patient will die*' simply mean '*Give us some money to be attended quickly*', '*If you refuse to give us the money we asked for we will let your patient die*' and '*Give me some money to introduce you to the doctor*'. The expressions used to ask for bribe in finance in Cameroon French are tabulated below.

Table 6. Coded Expressions used to ask for bribe in finance in Cameroon French

Utterances in Cameroon French	Standard British English version
Votre dossier est incomplet.	Your file is incomplete.
Votre dossier est mal monté.	Your file is poorly compiled.
Ça dépend de vous si vous voulez que votre dossier soit bien traité.	Well treating your file depends on you.
Les caisses sont vides.	The treasury coffers are empty.
Votre déclaration du mois est minoré, allez la revoir.	Your monthly statement is undervalued. Go and revise it
Faites un geste, si non je vous redresserai.	Make a gesture. Else, I will make you pay your real tax.
Si vous agissez bien je pourrais spécialement faire quelque chose pour vous.	If you behave well, I may do a special favour to you.

A look at the table above shows that, as with the language used in judiciary and health in Cameroon French, the statements are indirect and discouraging. In fact, '*Your file is incomplete*' '*Your file is poorly compiled*' or '*The treasury coffers are empty*' have nothing to

do with incomplete file, poorly compiled file or empty coffers. The agents in charge of tax collection are simply asking for bribe. In that domain in Cameroon, whether a file is complete or not, well compiled or not, if the service seeker does not disburse some money for the tax collectors they will find a reason to reject it. In the sector of taxation, a declaration such as *'Make a gesture. Else, will make you pay your real tax'* is very threatening to all businessmen. It means that if they do not bribe the agent in charge of their file he will overestimate the amount of taxes to be paid. He can even go back to some unpaid taxes. Table 7, which follows, explores the expressions employed in Cameroon Pidgin English.

Table 7. Coded expressions used to ask for bribe in finance in Cameroon Pidgin English

Utterances in Cameroon Pidgin English	Standard British English version
Kola no de.	Is there no cola nut for me ?
You get you kola fo ma bag.	You have your cola nuts in my bag.
I min say you brigam mone.	I mean you bring some money.
You dossier go take tam.	Your file will take time to be treated.
You go lif me na empty ?	Are you going to leave me empty.
Gombo no dé ?	Don't you have some bribe for me?
Ya me no masa.	Sir, understand what I am telling you.
You don bring my mimbo?	Have brought my wine ?
Washam me no ma man.	My dear wash me.
You know say I no di waka with chop kam fo office	You know that I don't come to the office with food.
You know say I no di chop stone dem.	You know that I don't eat stones.
You don kam fine ?	Have you come well prepared ?
Askam thing weh pipo de do here.	Ask what people do here.
Askam fo outside.	Go outside and ask.
Understand massa.	Sir, understand.
Talk fine.	Speak well.

The utterances in the table look so trivial that one may think that they are by someone addressing their friend. It is hard to believe that this kind of language is spoken in a public office to service seekers, e. g. *'Is there no cola nut for me ?'*, *'Have you brought my wine ?'*, *'My dear wash me'*, *'You know that I don't eat stones'*. Other statements such as *'You know that I don't come to the office with food'*, *'Ask what people do here'* mean 'give me some money to buy some food' and 'people will tell you that you should give some money for your file to be treated'. This kind of language is the evidence that in taxation in Cameroon, corruption is almost institutionalised. The table below looks at the language used in Cameroon English.

Table 8. Coded Expressions used to ask for bribe in finance in Cameroon English

Utterances in Cameroon English	Standard British English version
I hope you have come well.	I hope you came prepared.
Nothing for me?	Have you brought nothing for me?
I mean that you have brought some kola for me.	The same as in Cameroon English
You know we are Cameroonians.	The same as in Cameroon English
You need to see me.	The same as in Cameroon English
What have you brought to me ?	What have you brought for me ?
Anything for the poor ?	The same as in Cameroon English

The utterances above are either neutral or straightforward. For instance, '*You know we are Cameroonians*' and '*You need to see me*' look so informative that no one can understand that they are used to ask for something. Yet, they respectively mean that 'You know that in Cameroon they don't treat any file for free' and 'You need to give me some money before I treat your file'. The straightforward statements include '*Nothing for me ?*', '*What have you brought to me ?*'. They indicate that there is no fear and shame to indulge in corrupt practices in the sector of finance in Cameroon. The section which follows examines the language service seekers use to give bribe in the three domains so far in question.

Specialised language used to give bribe

Like in the preceding section, in the present section, the coded language used to give bribe is analysed in Cameroon French, Cameroon English and Cameroon Pidgin English. The following table lists the expressions used to give it in justice in Cameroon French.

Table 9. Coded expressions used to give bribe in justice in Cameroon French

Utterances in Cameroon French	Standard British English version
Monsieur est un prêtre.	The gentleman is a priest.
Monsieur est un religieux.	The gentleman is a religious man.
Le carburant pour la voiture	Fuel for the car.
Rafrâchissez-vous la gorge avant que je n'arrive	Quench yourself before I come back.
Allons nous reposer quelque part	Let's go and have a rest somewhere.
Prenez quelques unités.	Take some airtime.

Compared to the high number of utterances meant to ask for bribe in justice in Cameroon French, it can be remarked that the number of expressions used to give it in the same domain is reduced. This is an indication that many service users are forced to give it by state agents. Those who willingly indulge in it are not many. Nevertheless the few expressions used to give it are also quite coded, e.g. *'The gentleman is a priest'*, *'Quench yourself before I come back'*, *'Let's go and have a rest somewhere'*. These statements can be understood as giving bribe only by people who are used to receiving it. The language used to give bribe in Cameroon English is examined below.

Table 10. Coded expressions used to give bribe in justice in Cameroon English

Utterances in Cameroon English	Standard British English Version
This is for your fuel.	The same as in Cameroon English
Take this for your transport.	The same as in Cameroon English
Please, have this for a beer.	Please, take this for a bottle of beer.
I brought you an envelope for your fuel.	The same as in Cameroon English
This is just a token and it's my wish.	This is just a token, and it's my wish that you should take it.
This envelope is just to show you my gratitude.	The same as in Cameroon English

Like in the two other sectors under investigation, the table above shows that Cameroon English is quite straightforward in asking and giving bribe. Utterances such as *'This is for your fuel'*, *'Please, have this for a beer'*, *'This envelope is just to show you my gratitude'* are quite direct, although they do not make any mention of money. They respectively mean *'This money is for you to buy some fuel'*, *'Please, take this money to buy yourself a bottle of beer'* and *'This envelope contains some money for you'*. As a matter of fact, Cameroonian judicial officials are easily inclined to accept bribe to drop charges, reduce prison sentence, or release culprits. The following table summarises the coded language used to give bribe in health in Cameroon French.

Table 11. Coded expressions used to give bribe in health in Cameroon French

Utterances in Cameroon French	Standard British English version
Cela restera discret.	It will remain discreet.
Dis donc, c'est entre nous.	It's only between you and I.
Juste un pot en signe de reconnaissance	Just a drink to express my gratitude
On se voit après.	We will see each other later.
On se prend plus tard	We will take each other later.
Je vous pris de prendre ce petit peu en signe de reconnaissance.	Please, take this little thing as the expression of my gratitude to you.
Ça c'est pour votre taxi / savon / jus	It's for your taxi / soap / juice.
Je te donnerai ton gombo.	I will give you your bribe.

Vous travaillez bien docteur, tenez.	Your work well, Doctor, take this.
Docta, je vous retrouve dans votre salle de garde.	Doctor, I will meet you in your staff room.
Docta, accordez-moi une minute. Tenez.	Doctor, give me a minute. Take.
Serre-moi la main, Docta.	Shake hand with me, Doctor.
Docta, j'ai glissé quelque chose dans la poche de votre blouse.	Doctor, I slipped something into your blouse pocket.
J'ai votre bière / cola, occupez-vous bien de mon malade.	I have your beer / cola nuts, take good care of my patient.

Like the language used to ask for bribe in Cameroon French studied in Table 3, the one used to give it is very colloquial. This maybe testifies to the quality of patients in Cameroonian public hospitals, and shows that medical doctors are miserable in Cameroon. In public hospitals, patients are generally poor. High and middle class Cameroonians treat themselves in private clinics and hospitals. Many of the utterances used can be understood only in that milieu, e.g. *'We will see each other later'*, *'Doctor, I will meet you in your staff room'*, *'Doctor, I slipped something into your blouse's pocket'*. Some are too direct and even insulting, *'I will give you your bribe'*, *'I have your beer / cola nut, take good care of my patient'*. The expressions in Cameroon Pidgin English are listed in Table 12 below.

Table 12. Coded expressions used to give bribe in health in Cameroon Pidgin English

Utterances in Cameroon Pidgin English	Standard British English version
Sista, tekam this small thing fo you credit.	Sister, take this little thing for your airtime.
Docta, helep me back back.	Doctor, help me privately.
Na we we no sista.	It's between you and me Sister, right ?
I beg tekam this fo one top.	Please, take this for a bottle of juice.
Tekam fo you lunch / breakfast / taxi / bike.	Take this for your lunch / breakfast / taxi / bike.

Although the utterances above do not specify what the patients are giving to doctors / nurses, they are quite straightforward. In many of them, the patients use the imperative 'take', e.g. *'Sister, **take** this little thing for your airtime'*, *'**Take** this for your lunch/ Breakfast / taxi / bike'*. Some nurses reported that some patients who are not courageous to talk discretely put a bank note in their medical book. Others force it into their hands, or drop it into their blouse pocket. The table below summarises the expressions used in Cameroon English.

Table 13. Coded expressions used to give bribe in health in Cameroon English

Utterances in Cameroon English	Standard British English version
Please, take this I don't want to stay long.	Please, take this. I am in a big haste.
Have this for your effort.	The same as in Cameroon English

Do manage with this small thing. It's just to thank you for your effort.	Do manage with this little thing. The same as in Cameroon English
This small envelope is not a bribe, it's from my heart.	Don't see this little envelope as a bribe, I give it with joy.
Take this for taxi fare / one beer.	Take this for taxi fare / a bottle of beer.

As in Cameroon Pidgin English, though some of the statements here are too direct, none of them mentions the nature of what is given. For example, '*Please, take this. I am in a big haste*', '*Do manage with this little thing*', '*Have this for your effort*' are quite vague to someone who is not used to that kind of language. In Cameroon English, patients also use a lot of imperative. This is perhaps to force the nurses / doctors to accept bribe. The utterances used to give bribe in finance in Cameroon French are listed in Table 14 below.

Table 14. Coded expressions used to give bribe in finance in Cameroon French

Utterances in Cameroon French	Standard British English version
Arrêtez votre poche.	Hold your pocket.
Je suis prêt, soyez diligent envers mon dossier.	I am ready, just treat my file fast.
Retenez 5 % / 10 % / 30 %, etc.	Keep 5 % / 10 % / 30 %, etc. of the payment.
Prenez ceci pour la souplesse de votre main.	Take this to make your hand lighter.
Envoyez l'enfant à ma boutique.	Send your child to my shop.
Voici quelques bons d'essence pour vous.	Here are some petrol coupons for you.
Voici ce que je vous ai gardé du voyage.	Here is what I kept for you from the journey.

In the table above, the service seekers do not make any mention of money, but their utterances are very significant. For example, '*Keep 30 % of the payment*' means that the agent in charge of the file will treat it against 30 % of the amount due to the service seeker. If the amount due is say twenty million CFA, the agent will illegally pocket six million CFA just for doing what s / he is normally there to do. In Cameroonians treasuries, the system of percentage is a practice that is well known by service users. It started in 1991 at the peak of the economic crisis and the first reduction of civil servants' salaries. Other statements such as '*Send your child to my shop*', '*Here are some petrol coupons for you*' are also quite meaningful. When the tax collectors receive petrol coupons, they are generally worth hundreds of thousands CFA, and when they send their children to a shop owner as requested, they are the ones who make the list of items to be collected. The following table summarises the expressions used in Cameroon Pidgin English.

Table 15. Coded expressions used to give bribe in finance in Cameroon Pidgin English

Utterances in Cameroon Pidgin English	Standard British English Version
Nothing pass arrangement.	There is nothing that cannot be agreed upon.
Just doam like Cameroonians dem.	Just do like all Cameroonians.
This small thing na fo Madam.	This little thing is for your wife.
This na fo you bia	This is for your beer.

Like in the sector of health, in that of finance, there are not many expressions used to give bribe in Cameroon Pidgin English. But the few existing ones are well understood by the bribers and the corrupt agents. For instance, '*Just do like all Cameroonians*', '*There is nothing that cannot be agreed upon*' respectively mean that the agent to whom bribe is given knows how Cameroonians behave in such circumstances, and that however the situation may be the two accomplices will come to understanding. The last table which follows enumerates some of the statements in Cameroon English.

Table 16. Coded expressions used to give bribe in finance in Cameroon English

Utterances in Cameroon English	Standard British English version
Take this for your transport / fuel / cola.	Take this for your transport / fuel / cola nut.
This is for your petrol / beer.	The same as in Cameroon English
Just behave like somebody who understands.	Just behave like someone who gets the message.
Are you not a Cameroonians ?	The same as in Cameroon English.
I need to see you privately	I would like to see you in private.
Make good use of your position.	The same as in Cameroon English
At break, refill your tank with this.	The same as in Cameroon English
Please take this, don't be alarmed.	Please, take this, don't worry about it.
I would like you to go back home with this token.	The same as in Cameroon English
Take this for your credit / to buy something for children.	Take this for your airtime / to buy something for your children.

As in magistracy and health, in the domain of finance, Cameroonians who give bribe use a lot of imperative. As already pointed out, it is to force the hesitating or resisting agents to take it and do what they want. Expressions like '*Take this for your petrol / beer*', '*Make good use of your position*', '*Take this for your credit / to buy something for the children*' rather look like instructions to the agent than a plea that s / he should treat the file.

CONCLUSION

In summary, it can be said that in Cameroon, in the domains of judiciary, health and finance a rich repertoire of coded expressions to ask for / give bribe has developed and is expanding continuously. State agents and service seekers openly ask for / give bribe using them. This paper cannot claim any exhaustiveness in such a complex and delicate domain, where a good number of people involved in the matter generally refuse to talk. Nevertheless, it can be observed that very few expressions cut across the three sectors studied. Apart from 'fuel' 'taxi money', 'beer', 'cola', 'credit', no other expression is found in two different domains. Each sector has its 'bribery language' which is understood only by the agents and service seekers of the sector. Simple and neutral expressions at times acquire very subtle meanings. In Cameroon where corruption is rampant in all the sectors despite the fight against it by the government and many non-governmental organisations, a fight of the phenomenon from the linguistic perspective may be one of the solutions. Knowing what people mean by what they say in various offices may help those in charge to curb corruption lay hand on those who indulge into it.

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