

THE LANGUAGE OF PROSTITUTION IN CONTEMPORARY CAMEROON

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ABSTRACT: *This paper examines certain usage peculiar in the domain known as prostitution. Like all other living languages, prostitution is one of the sectors in Cameroon whose language is slowly but steadily developing and impacting users and Cameroon in a not too minimal proportion. The study is inspired by the understanding that prostitution in Cameroon is a shady area reflected in its language partly because of lack of legality; though respect for African taboos. It is a practice endowed with virtue and ills; consequently cannot be extricated from human concerns. Rather than conceal its rich linguistic repertoire or permanently frown at, this study suggests that the domain could be accorded some recognition and opened up to humanity in order to dispel ignorance and encourage informed practice and generate conscience. The paper is, therefore, a lexico-semantic presentation of the language of prostitution as assuring signs of the multi-linguistic vibrancy of the Cameroonian linguistic paradigm. In order to achieve the objectives, a number of Tests were designed to ascertain the presence, acceptability and usage, growth, protection and sustainability then the merits and demerits of the language. Most importantly, this study is useful to the government in identifying a code used in this trade. At the end, it was realised among other findings that it is estimated in the distant future, the Language of prostitution may be on a horizontal scale with some Cameroonian Languages. Also, in the absence of a regulatory instrument, it is supposed that while prostitution is not practiced by everybody, speakers are all promoters and protectors of its language, therefore, assurance for sustainability and stability especially in the youths whose inquisitiveness and linguistic creativity is constantly on the rise. Irrespective of the repugnant nature of the language of prostitution, one would bear with us that a language remains a language no matter its characteristics. But if any one were to accord any inferiority to the language of prostitution in Cameroon, it would be because of its relatedness to sex for money and favour; a taboo. Otherwise, it communicates, directs, informs and educates as any other Language as famous as English Language; reasons its merits always override demerits.*

KEYWORDS: Prostitution, Language Use, Context

INTRODUCTION

The concept of prostitution defines one (male or female though largely female in this context) who works as a prostitute by having or selling sex or her body for money or for any other form of remuneration; even though sex just for variety cannot be disregarded. Unlike some countries of the world where the practice is regulated, prostitution remains unregulated and severely scorned in Cameroon. It is poverty driven and fashionable among students, pleasurable on the entire social strata including, in a commendable and compelling proportion, financially desperate house wives. Considering, therefore, that prostitution falls in an area where usage is deemed taboo because of its affiliation to sex, there is an obligatory vocabulary coinage or borrowing of concepts which have the appealing ability to mitigate shock and inconvenience in listeners. It is a worldwide practice with a language peculiar to its users. It would appear different cultures have different perceptions of prostitution portrayed through their various

ways of communication and legal structures. Generally, a prostitute is regarded as a whore, sex machine, harlot, slut, bitch, lecher, escort girl, street walker, lady of pleasure, rent boy, gigolo, gent of the night, toy boy, fast picker, call girls just to mention these. While these appellations certainly do not reflect the Cameroonian ecology, Cameroonian speakers employ ecological symbols to paint a picture of the prostitute. These include *hair* as in “Biabia bank”, *taste* as in “sugar daddy”, “sugar mummy”, “biscuit bone”, and *money* as in “money eye”, *animal* and *size* such as “Mboma”, exploitation and *materialism* such as “dry cleaners”, *water* as in “mammy water”. These ecological symbols make for clearer understanding between speaker and audience. More of this in the brief presentation below:

Overview of language usage and context in Cameroon

From a functional standpoint, languages in Cameroon could be considered in two major groups. These, in no order of preference are the primary languages that are further classified into three categories: official or received languages; two in number: English for the Anglophones and French for the Francophones. The next category is the home languages or the mother tongues and finally Pidgin English. The importance of each language is expressed in the various applications accorded it by its speakers. Cameroonians make use of these languages each day in their daily transactions. While French and English could be noted as languages of education, employment, media and government administration, the home languages are largely confined to certain outskirts and village areas where usage and custody is mostly in the hands of the elderly. It is a form of self-identification, self-pride and ancestral link. Unlike the official languages, home languages play the important role of phatic communion and of traditional rites at the local level. They are very important because they are the only forms of self-expression to some speakers without which communication is stifled.

The secondary group refers to pockets of linguistic forms like mbokotok, Camfranglais and the language of prostitution confined to certain pockets of users. This usage is popular among students, the idlers and a little cross section of the educated.

The State of research in the domain of language usage in Cameroon

Even though considerable effort has been deployed in the domain of English language usage in Cameroon (see for example Mbangwana (2002), Sala (2003), Atechi (2006), Mforteh (2006, 2007), Atanga MM (2003, 2005, and 2016), Simo Bobda (1994:38) still expresses the worry that analyses on Cameroon English Phonology “are brief statements of works whose purpose is to provide a wide panorama of English across the globe rather than detailed description of a given variety” while Wolf (2001) regrets that the amount of Literature and number of empirical works on Cameroon English is small and limited to Phonology and Lexico Semantics, which Anchimbe (2006) blames on negligence and paucity of research in Cameroon English

Works on Language and gender

Atanga (2002:100) observes that the names or titles attributed to men indicate power, and achievement in society. They indicate that these men have carried out valiant deeds or are honoured as royals. The female titles on the other hand show that when a woman is honoured enough, she is good to be a wife (honourary) to a person or societal body. This is a way to limit the woman from aspiring to high positions in society through the use of language.... because women do not bear names or titles that indicate leadership, they psychologically do not think of leadership positions and do not aspire for them or work for them. Similarly, Atanga M M (2003) discusses the way language treats the female in what he calls *Language as a Deterrent*

to *Women Emancipation*. He examines Cameroon English and the Bafut language in a bid to bring out the various aspects of Linguistic Bias. He holds that on the several claims put forth by women for emancipation, linguistic bias seems to occupy a prominent place emphasising that Language has always placed her as a subordinate to the man. He observes that Language treats the man as the head, the leader, and the commander while the woman is the follower, the subordinate or the assistant.

Works on linguistic bias

Mbangwana (2001) presents in an elaborate manner domains in Cameroon English where language expresses its bias nature against women and in the naming of business establishments. These domains which are local and world-wide include the manner in which business names or titles for example, are presented to reflect the monopoly of male proprietorship thereby tilting usage to the advantage to the masculine world. Finally, he expresses the need for language to be representative at the level of usage between the sexes.

Atanga M M (2005, 2016) focuses on Aspects of Linguistic Bias in Cameroon English where he examines several domains of Cameroon English to find out how linguistic bias has implanted itself as a dividing rather than a converging too land concludes that linguistic bias is a real problem to the unity of the two Cameroons while emphasising that linguistic bias between the sexes represents quite a thorny issue where in areas like the law, the women have found themselves in male robes while in other situations, the language has put them to scorn where loud sounding puppet words like “queen” have been used to deceive them.

Studies on language and politics

Mforteh (2006) presents examines how usage has been able to peat incumbent leadership and political aspirants. According to him, the incumbent as well as the new crop of leaders developed a style of discourse that incited, exhorted, educated, and assured Cameroonians. This new style of discourse gleaned from their different dispatches which do not only give their followers a vision of a new Cameroon in which things would change for the better but the lexical choice reveals that the leaders sought to project their views while refusing those of their rivals. He concludes from the scathing lexical choice that the 1990-2000 was politically, economically, socially, morally and intellectually turbulent. It brought in a new breed of leaders with varying ideals, goals and ideologies as expressed in their lexes. He thinks that these emerging leaders though limited in material and finance, were rich in persuasive language because they used different words and expressions to achieve their objectives as easily perceived from their manifestoes, logos, speeches and press releases.

Research on language and language policy

Chiatoh (2006) examines the problem of language and language policy in an emerging state like Cameroon. According to him, Cameroon, faced with the problem of national languages, and because of its bi-cultural colonial identity inherited through British and French rule, opted for an official bilingual policy based on the use of French and English as two equal languages; but that in making these linguistic choices, Cameroon, either consciously or unconsciously discarded the language of the people (in favour of a stranger’s language) thereby distorting their linguistic and cultural identities and marginalising them in decision-making. This situation is further compounded by the systematic reduction of English to a low status language with those who have this as their first official language treated as such. According to Chiatoh, the discriminatory treatment of national languages on the one hand and English language on

the other constitutes the basis of the prevailing social imbalances, underdevelopment and political activism in Cameroon. Finally, he expresses the need for balanced treatment of all languages in a nation particularly national languages and English as the language most discriminated against. He stresses that in a country fragmented by linguistic and cultural diversity like Cameroon, language planning and management should integrate and not disintegrate the citizens and lastly that imbalanced promotion on languages and pervasiveness to discriminatory and divisive linguistic attitudes only helps in laying the foundation stone for injustice.

Research on Home Languages and Cameroon Pidgin English

At the level of Home Languages, Grimes (2002) in Neba et al (2006) puts the number of Home Languages at 286. Home Languages are icons of identity, emblems of tribal group circles and codes for interpersonal communication (Anchimbe 2006:50) and powerful symbolising codes which are presently facing extinction especially with the influence English and Pidgin English in the country. It is worth noting that the loss of language is not simply the loss of a linguistic system. It is the loss of an entire culture, its wisdom, its tradition and its unique approach to people and to the world in which we live.

Commonly known as no man's language, Pidgin English is widely spoken by a cross section especially of the Anglophone Cameroon. It is the language of the market, church, political campaigns and social cohesion. See Atechi (2011), Chia (2009), Simo Bobda (2003) for more. Anchimbe (2006) informs that the birth of the language was as a result of contact in the coastal regions between the Portuguese traders through English Privateers. Echu (2003) opines that language is widely used not in the North West and South West Regions but also in the Littoral and west Regions and presently, it is perceived exclusively as a lingua franca of the English speaking population but as a language which has a national dimension. According to Tarh (2007), there is an inclination to have Pidgin English implemented as a language of instruction in schools. Neba et al. (2006) are of the opinion that Pidgin English should be taught in school as another other languages the less developed Cameroon Pidgin English remains the more of a negative influence on the learning of Standard English. However, banning the language is not the solution to the problem. Similarly, Ngefac (2006) stresses the need for to be adopted as a pedagogical language in cities and other urban areas in Cameroon. Simo Bobda and Wolf (2003), Sala (2003), and Ngefac (2006) postulate that the gap between Pidgin English and Standard English is systematically reducing though largely impossible because structural interchange between Pidgin English and English seems to operate mainly through borrowing.

Finally, Atechi (2011) discusses the rate at which school authorities are on the necks of students begging them to put down Pidgin English; that indications are that the language as a significant impact on the linguistic landscape of Cameroon; that the language is not facing death but on the contrary, it is gaining grounds and asserting itself as a force to reckon with in the linguistic make up of Cameroon.

Research on the emergence of some pockets of linguistic forms in Cameroon

According to Ngefac (2010), the existence of Kamtok (Pidgin English) has given birth to other languages like Camfranglais and Mbokotok. Ngefac (2010) observes that Mbokotok has a structure that is neither French nor English. Most of its lexicon is created, though it also borrows from French, English, Kamtok and the indigenous languages. One major difference between Mbokotok and the other restructured languages is the fact that it is highly coded and

its intelligibility is significantly limited to in-group members. He concludes that a majority of those who identified themselves as speakers of Mbokotok asserted that it is the language of “struggling people with a common background”

Sample data as collected on the field.

English words with local meanings:

Small thing	Biscuit bone
Sugar mummies	Dry cleaners
Sugar daddies	Money eye
Fast man	Womaniser
Sniper	Queen of the night

Usage of Pidgin English extraction

Biabia bank	Mami water
Choppers	Biabia meat
Woman rapa	

Usage with mother tongue background

Akwara	Njumba
Ashawo (Nigerian origin)	Nkandi
Wolowos	Ngondere
Nkanda	Njonji
Nyangi	Nkolo Yaa moh
Mboma	Woman rapa

Usage with place tags

Nyangi Quarter	Old town women
MininFirm	Mobil Nkwen

Njumba market (market where one could buy a prostitute)

Sample synonyms for sex

Blow	Nail	Yaa moh
Inject	Screw	Pump
Hammer	Mount	One round
Comb	Fork	Fast one
Make a call	Telephone	Network

Sample usage as it is on the field

Summarily, a ‘small thing’ is a girlfriend. The concept is made up of the adjective ‘small’ and the noun ‘thing’. The expression “Biabia (hair) bank” refers to prostitutes. A biabia

bank, it is said, is an account where its operator has the right to credit but cannot make withdrawals. Below are some practical examples in use:

- Once married, avoid going out with “small things”.
- Bros, this is my biabia bank

A “Sugar Daddy” refers to elderly men who deceive young girls with money in exchange for sex. “Sugar Mummies” are rich elderly women, rich divorced women, and most single but wealthy women, who use their wealth to seduce younger boys for sex. A practical example in usage includes:

- I met one “Sugar Daddy” today who almost killed me with love.
- That boy has one “sugar mummy” who is keeping him well.

The idea of “Biscuit Bone” concerns girls in their teens that go for elderly and physically stronger men. These men are perceived by Halle Awa (1996) as a disadvantage and a risk to young girls for such girls are weak and can be broken down by such men. Today experience seems to show that even though such girls may be physically weak, they have such complicated minds and very firm and effective exploitative mechanisms (financial and material) that make them even more powerful and dangerous than any physically strong man on the globe.

- That “biscuit bone” has stolen my money while I was asleep
- That “small thing” though young, is pepper my brother

“Mbomas” are rich old people. Literally, a *Mboma* to be a snake as big as can swallow a human being. People who fall in this category are considered to be as rich as the size of that snake such that they can use money to overwhelm any type of girl they want. When this occurs, people say:

- That “*Mboma*” has swallowed that girl
- That “mboma” has eaten her up

The concept of “womaniser”, “woman rapa” and “woman eye” point at men whose eyes, discussions, money and attention are focused on women. They pursue women for sexual gratification. Usage like the following is common:

- Bro, that man though married is a terrible “womaniser”
- Paul, though a polygamist, is such a “woman eye”

The ‘*Queen of the night*’ is a daffodil that emits such attractive fragrance only at night when everyone is supposed to be in bed rather than in the day when people are active and can enjoy the fragrance. This is therefore a queen whose beauty is only expressed at night.

The word “*njumba*” or *ngondere* refers to one’s prostitute or an illegal love relationship. So, People often say:

- This is my njumba

- I am going to the njumba market.

Approach and methodology

This study is designed on the understanding that critical pragmatics (AE Erol, 2013), critical ethnography (Thomas, J. (1993) and Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough Norman, 1995) are all important components of language oscillating in our absolute understanding of language to facilitate living in our various worlds. Critical pragmatics is intended to decipher exactly how speakers of language say more than what is said when they speak and the effect this has on listeners. This is not far from the conception of Scholars in the tradition of Critical Discourse Analysis who perceives social practice and linguistic practice as interwoven and focused on investigating how societal power relations are established and reinforced through language use, while ethnography is focused four maxims of communication namely: quantity, quality, relation and manner. The fact that the three schools of thought above are linked by language and society as the common denominator is necessary to form a concrete base for this paper.

Data collection instruments

There were three major data collection instruments in this paper as follows: the primary data consisted of jottings or diary keeping and tape recorders while the secondary data made up of Tests. The first research instrument used was jottings or diary keeping which included a system of empirical data collection used sometimes on confidential, careful and painstaking processes like in conversations, songs, radio and television broadcasts and most particularly in social gatherings for the extraction of information. This technique was very effective because it captured Linguistic concepts as people expressed themselves in natural settings; ignorant of being observed, therefore, no enticement, no embarrassment, and no constraints, no need for linguistic embellishment, or reservation or fear on the part of the speakers who simply speak naturally and that gave the possibility to select natural or virgin data. This technique is discrete and safe. In order to get a natural verbatim usage, the tape recorder was also used, especially in areas where the presence of the researcher was suspected, in order not to destabilize and create artificiality, anxiety in the speakers and their setting of interaction. This technique ensured discreteness. From the data collected from these techniques, Tests were constituted to investigate the existence and usage, growth and sustainability, then the advantages and disadvantages of the language of prostitution in Cameroon.

Selection of respondent

The Tests were administered to some two hundred students of diversified backgrounds with multi-expressive abilities and tendencies because the school is a melting pot for both positive and negative codes from the four corners of the national territory. Aspects of language acquired by the students from the different sources become easily disseminated among themselves, and before long, the entire student body is caught up in a linguistic dynamism. The Tests were administered to students of the Universities of Bamenda and Buea with the understanding that they represent the voice of the society in the domain of the research.

Test Material

The Tests were as follows: Test I was to determine the presence and usage of the language of prostitution in Cameroon. Test II had to do with determining the growth and sustainability of the language of prostitution in Cameroon while Test III was focused on the Merits and demerits

of the language of prostitution in Cameroon). Each Test was divided into several options (a-b), (a-d) or (a-f). Below is the scoring of each test.

Test I

Determining the presence and usage of the language of prostitution

This Test provided a pool of options from where the respondents simply drew responses. Two hundred respondents were involved in this exercise to determine the presence or not of the language. Out of 200 respondents, 190 (90%) were in the affirmative and 20 (10%) were in the negative). Concerning the frequency of usage, 189 (94.5%) respondents confirmed that the language is effectively used by speakers while 11 (5.5%) were of the contrary. About the increase or decrease in usage, 155 (77.5%) of the resource persons were in the affirmative while 45 (22.5%) were in the negative. From the above reading, one could conclude that the language of prostitution in Cameroon is not just a reality but it is effectively used by speakers and this trend is on the increase. In tests like these, it is normal to have negative responses even on issues that are glaringly positive. Since the Tests were administered not only to language students, the chance for ignorance should not be cancelled. The 20% on presence, (5.5%) on usage and (22.5%) on the decrease is likely to be responsible for this.

1.4.3.2 Test II

Determining the growth and sustainability of the language Cameroon

This Test was designed to respond to the growth and sustainability of the language in Cameroon. In order to achieve this, three questions were asked: The first was to ascertain whether the language could one day compete with other existing languages like Pidgin English and English language. For this to be achieved, four responses were provided and respondents responded as follows: a) *sure; population multiplies with language* scored 70 (35%), b) *not very sure* 45 (22.5%), c) *No* scored 20 (10%) and d) *everything is possible* reported 65 (32.5%). The second question was concerned with the fact that since prostitution is a taboo zone, could its legalisation lead to a liberal use of words related to it. Four responses were also involved here. a) *Yes* scored 103 (51.5%), b) *No* was 30 (15%), c) *Rarely* 38 (19%) and finally d) *Never* with 19 (9.5%). The third preoccupation that concerned two questions was to determine what could be done to sustain and promote the growth if this language in Cameroon. Provisions were made from where respondents tapped replies as follows:

The first question here was to decipher what could be done to promote the growth of the language of prostitution in Cameroon. This question provided six options with a possibility for a respondent to add information deemed necessary but not provided by the options provided: a) *Government should legalize prostitution* 40 (20%), b) *the taboo surrounding prostitution should be overlooked* 30 (15%), c) *The language should be used as any other language* 30 (15%), d) *Possibilities should be opened to discussions not only on the negative aspects of prostitution but also on the positive aspects* 35 (17.5%), e) *all of the above* 65 (32.5%) and f) *None of the above* scored zero (0%)

There was also the need to find out what could be done to protect the sustainability of the language of prostitution in Cameroon. Six options were provided as well with one possibility for addition of information necessary but not provided. a) *Government must be*

committed in the legalization process 45 (22.5%), b) the language should not remain a subject of scorn and rejection by the community 45 (22.5%), c) Some sanctions may be prescribed for defaulters 25 (12.5%), d) speakers should be fully encouraged to use the language 20 (10%), e) All of the above 60 (30%), f) None of the above 05 (02.5%).

Judging from the last two questions above, there is the need to see the language grow; free from all biases, treated as all other languages, taboo free, scorn and rejection free. If this is done and usage is encouraged; coupled with government machinery as a tool of legality and prescription of sanctions for defaulters, then it is possible that this language could be a perennial asset to the Cameroonian linguistic platform.

Test III

Determining the linguistic Impact of the language of prostitution

The last segments of the Tests had to do with the linguistic impact of the language of prostitution. Here, note was taken of the positive and negative impacts. Talking about the former, six options were provided with a possibility of addition from the respondents. a) *It is a means of communication* 60 (30%), b) *It is peculiar to the domain of prostitution* 30 (15%), c) *It promotes the growth of languages in Cameroon* 25 (12.5%), d) *It is a way of promoting linguistic creativity* 38 (19%), e) *All of the above* 40 (20%), and f) *None of the above* 7 (3.5%). In the case of the latter, out of the 200 respondents, 48 (24%) were of the count that *the language is offensive* while 44 (22%) of them opted that the language is intelligible only to in-group speakers. 33 (16.5%) others felt that the language is largely euphemistic, gloomy; therefore less projecting. While 37 (18.5%) respondents opted for *all of the above* options, 2 (1%) of them chose *none of the above*. It is worth noting that negative and positive are birds of a feather. This is true in almost all circumstances and language is not an exception; especially that of prostitution that is largely disregarded. While this is true, no one can comfortably prohibit a language without an alternative. Because the more this happens, one with speakers is bound to grow in hiding and before long, it is spoken sometimes, unconsciously, by those who want to see it dead. Therefore, despite the negative nature of the language of prostitution in Cameroon, so far as there are users, the language remains and gradually grows with the multiplication of population.

CONCLUSION

This study set out to investigate the presence, usage, growth and sustainability of the language of prostitution in Cameroon, and secondly its merits and demerits in an emerging society like Cameroon. It was noted in the first Test that the presence of the language is real and usage no doubt about. The practice of prostitution in Cameroon because of the lack of any regulatory instrument; its language can only be on the rise, is gradually but surely invading and implanting its tentacles on human life and all sectors of society. By so doing, it is gaining protective sustainability as the more usage by speakers becomes apparent, the love for it and the growth of vocabulary to take care of emerging situations in the domain. It is estimated in the first segment of the Tests that in the distant future, the Language of prostitution may be on a horizontal scale with some Cameroonian Languages. Also, in the absence of a regulatory instrument, it is supposed that while prostitution is not practiced by everybody, speakers are all promoters and protectors of its language, therefore, assurance for sustainability and stability especially in the youths whose

inquisitiveness and linguistic creativity is constantly on the rise. Irrespective of the repugnant nature of the language of prostitution, one would bear with us that a language remains a language no matter its characteristics and the users. But if any one were to accord any inferiority to the language of prostitution in Cameroon, it would be because of its relatedness to sex for money and favours. Otherwise, it communicates, directs, informs and educates as any other Language as famous as English Language; reasons its merits always override demerits. Finally, it is proper that rather than keep the language of prostitution in constant suppression through scorn and rejection, it is advisable to have it open for any reason. Therefore, inasmuch as it constitutes assuring signs of the linguistic vibrancy in a contemporary Cameroon, it also most importantly, gives parents the courage to discuss sex education with their children at home as well as stir general debates and discussions on the domain, thus, igniting sex education in schools and before long, the taboo surrounding sex and prostitution in Cameroon becomes an old story and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases marginalised.

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APPENDIX

1. What is prostitution?
 - a) Sex for money
 - b) Sex for convenience
 - c) Sex for favours
 - d) Sex just for its sake.
 - e) None of the above
 - f) All of the above
2. Who is involved in prostitution?
 - a) Everybody
 - b) Only women
 - c) Only men
 - d) All of the above
 - e) None of the above.
3. Is the government against prostitution?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
4. Can we talk of a language of prostitution in Cameroon?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
5. What is language of prostitution?
 - a) Language of sex eg beans for vagina, plantain or cassava for penis etc
 - b) Another terminology for the woman eg small thing, wolowos, chopper, dry cleaner
 - c) Another concept for men eg womanizer, akwara, woman rapa
 - d) Add if any.....
6. Do speakers often use this type of language?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
7. Why do speakers use the language of prostitution if all?
 - a) To insult
 - b) To express disappointment
 - c) To misrepresent a reputation
 - d) It is a language, therefore, a way of talking
 - e) All of the above
 - f) None of the above
8. Is the use of this type of language increasing or decreasing?
 - a) Increasing
 - b) Decreasing
9. If you choose (a), are you suggesting that this language may grow to compete with others like Pidgin English or English Language?
 - a) Sure; population multiplies with language.
 - b) Not very sure
 - c) Never
 - d) Everything is possible

10. Being a taboo driven people, do you think that if prostitution is legalized in Cameroon, words related to it will be used freely?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Rarely
 - d) Don't know
11. What can be done to promote the growth of the language of prostitution?
- a) Government should legalized prostitution
 - b) The taboo surrounding prostitution should be overlooked
 - c) The language should be used as any other language
 - d) Possibility should be open to discussions not only on the negative aspects of prostitution but also the positive aspects.
 - e) All of the above
 - f) None of the above
 - g) Add if any.....
12. What can be done to protect the sustainability of the language of prostitution in Cameroon?
- a) Government must be committed to (a) in 11 above
 - b) The language should not constantly receive scorn and rejection as it is always the case with Pidgin English, Mbokotok and Camfranglais.
 - c) Some sanctions may be prescribed for defaulters of (b) above
 - d) Speakers should be fully encouraged to use the language
 - e) All of the above
 - f) None of the above
 - g) Add if any.....
13. What is the linguistic impact of the language of prostitution on Cameroon?

Positive impact

- a) It is a means of communication
- b) It is peculiar to the domain of prostitution
- c) Promotes the growth of languages in Cameroon
- d) It promotes linguistic creativity in its speakers
- e) All of the above
- f) None of the above
- g) Add if any.....

Negative impact

- a) The language is offensive
- b) It is intelligible only to the initiated
- c) Usage is basically euphemistic therefore gloomy, thereby, less projecting.
- d) All of the above
- e) None of the above
- f) Add if any.....