

Word-formation and Impacts of Hate Speech on Cameroon Social Media Landscape¹

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ABSTRACT

Hate speech has become a threat to national peace and unity. It continues to be an issue of key social significance, yet its lexical and discursive aspects have been widely evident, its morphosyntactic traits have been hitherto overlooked. It has led to conflict both online and offline. This study aims at investigating the word formation aspects of hate speech on Cameroon social media landscape. Critical discourse approaches of Fairclough (1993, 2003) and Van Dijk (1998) were used to show the relation between texts, discourses and social structures, to show how ideologies and power relations manifest themselves in surface discourse structures and to unveil and explain the word formation processes used by hate language producers to expose the target persons. Data for this study was collected from 165 Facebook posts and 107 Twitter tweets through a screenshot technique. Analyses were done qualitatively and quantitatively, and the findings revealed that hate speech is disseminated through two major word formation processes: compounding and blending. Facts gleaned from data show that 55.9% hate speech are compounding, 121% are blends. This resulted in over 275 word formation aspects of hate speech used by hate speech producers on social media to reach their targets. This led to a conclusion that, the word formation aspects of hate language revealed through the data are not disseminated to enrich the linguistic vocabulary of English language, but were disseminated with the intentions to provoke, insult, and mock the target persons and above all to distort peace and unity in Cameroon.

Keywords: *Word formation, Hate Speech, Facebook, Twitter, Cameroonians*

RÉSUMÉ

Le discours de haine est devenu une menace pour la paix et l'unité nationales. Il continue d'être une question d'importance sociale clé, cependant, ses aspects lexicaux et discursifs ont été largement évidents, ses traits morphosyntaxiques ont été négligés jusqu'à présent. Cela a conduit à des conflits en ligne et hors ligne. Cette étude vise à étudier les procédés de formation des mots du discours haineux dans le paysage des réseaux sociaux au Cameroun. Les approches discursives critiques de Fairclough (1993, 2003) et Van Dijk (1998) ont été utilisées pour montrer la relation entre les textes, les discours et les structures sociales, pour montrer comment les idéologies et les relations de pouvoir se manifestent dans les structures de discours de surface et pour dévoiler et expliquer les processus de formation des mots utilisés par ceux qui tiennent le discours haineux pour exposer les personnes cibles. Les données de cette étude ont été recueillies sur 165 publications Facebook et 107 tweets Twitter grâce à une technique de capture d'écran. Les analyses qualitatives et quantitatives ont révélé que le discours haineux est diffusé suivant deux processus majeurs de formation de mots: la composition et la soudure. Les faits tirés des données montrent que 55,9% des discours haineux sont composés, 121% sont des soudures. Cela a produit plus de 275 procédés de formation des mots du discours haineux utilisés par les producteurs de ces discours sur les réseaux sociaux pour atteindre leurs cibles. Ce qui permet de conclure que les procédés de formation des mots du langage haineux révélés par les données ne sont pas produits pour enrichir le vocabulaire linguistique de la langue anglaise, mais dans l'intention de provoquer, d'insulter et de se moquer des personnes cibles et surtout de perturber la paix et l'unité au Cameroun.

Mots-clés: *Formation des mots; Discours haineux; Facebook; Twitter; Camerounais*

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INTRODUCTION

The advent of the internet in the 1960s- Advanced Research Agency Network (ARPANET) brought a number of changes in as far as language use is concerned. The advent of platforms like Facebook and Twitter has intensified the use of language for different purposes in Cameroon, not living out hate language. Another platform that has facilitated communication, even though not used as a source of data collection for this study is WhatsApp created in 2009 (Nkemleke & Leinyuy, 2020). People now do things with words, Austin, (1962) Speech Act Theory. Language is not powerful on its own, it gains power when people make use of it (Wodak, 2002:10). Hate language and freedom of expression are two sides of the same coin since both provoke action and reaction. Hate language has to be understood in the historical, social and political context in which it occurs (Pen Myanmar, 2015:3). Word formation process has to do with the creative ability of adding affixes to root words. In Cameroon today, hate language disseminated on social media has also included such creative ability. Under such condition, hate language on social media platforms has become an issue found on the desks of Cameroonian leaders today. With all these, there is no doubt that social media has become a place where people express their views using all forms of word formation features which cannot be expressed on a face-to-face basis. From 2016, with the Anglophone crisis and other socio-political atmospheres in Cameroon, social media has facilitated hate language producers to disseminate posts and tweets using different word-formation features that have not only called for action, but also many reactions. Based on this note, this study is set out to investigate and to show how different word formation processes are used by hate language producers to expose the target persons on Facebook and Twitter.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Over years in Cameroon, the country's global media sector has changed due to the globalisation of electronic media. What were dominated by public service or governmental broadcasters in the years ta years have been free to individual citizens who log in and off at any moment. Citizens have obtained access to the public sphere and influence government actions and policies. Today, social media has dominated in the traditional era and this has made citizens to get information about government action just a click away; a chance that has been exploited by the citizens in Cameroon to challenge government decisions and highlight its weak points (Joachim, 2017).

The first and for a long time only television station, Cameroon Radio Television (CRTV) in the 1980s and 1990s served as the official and sometimes only means of communicating information, which was more of orientating the democratic process in the country. With the end of the cold war and the fall of the Berlin War, there was a wind of democratization in the nation and the re-introduction of multipartyism (since 1966 marked the banning of multipartyism and the imposition of the one-party system) into mainstream politics. This wind of liberty led to the creation of the National communication Council in 1991, having as mission, the role of advising government and guiding the usage of mass media communications in the democratic process (Mokam, 2012).

The concept of freedom of expression was consolidated in the preamble of the 1996 constitution that guaranteed the right to freedom of thought with the advent of Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) in the early 2000s in Cameroon². However, with the spread of Social Networking Services (SNS), which was first adopted by the youths for entertainment, but gradually started becoming a major instrument of information, political awareness and an arena of language manipulation. The large usage of the new media as a mean and as a threat by some users, made the government to take some pre-emptive actions to criminalize some cyber deviances (hate speech) that could pose a threat to the stability of Cameroon. Nevertheless, hate speech through word formation processes have been part of this cyber deviances in Cameroon social media landscape from 2016 with the outbreak of the Anglophone crisis and other social-political events that have posed more threat to the current regime as top issues are released before official release.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) facilitated our comprehension of the word formation aspects of hate language on social media since it explains how ideology, inequality and power relations manifest themselves in surface discourse structures (Fairclough, 1992, Van Dijk, 1998). This study employed Critical Discourse Analysis in order to show the relation between texts, discourses and social structures and to explain the discourse features in the word formation used by hate language producers to expose the target persons. These social issues (ideology, inequality and power) bring together CDA and hate speech in an obvious and relevant ways. Besides, to show how linguistic features used on texts are related to social power. Fairclough (1992: 25) states that there are always three dimensions

of discourse: 1) the text (which can be spoken or written), 2) the process of production and interpretation of the text (this can be through any media), and 3) the social conditions surrounding the production and interpretation of the text.

These three dimensions are important in our analysis since we are analysing written text, which are surrounded by a socio-political events with the objective of sorting out the word formation features used to produce the texts. Nevertheless, they are literary shaped by power and ideology constructed upon social identities, social relations and beliefs. Moreover, based on Fairclough (1992: 26) three stages in critical discourse analysis, we describe the properties of the text produced by hate speech producers, interpret the processes of production and interpret the text by showing the different word formation processes and explain the interaction and the social context as well as their social effects on the target persons. These help us to identify the vocabularies, grammar, textual structures as claimed by Fairclough, (1992: 110-111). Fairclough (1995: 271-80) summarised the main tenets of CDA as follows : CDA addresses social problems, Power relations are discursive, Discourse constitutes society and culture, Discourse does ideological work, Discourse is historical, The link between text and society is mediated, Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory, Discourse is a form of social action. These features and tenets guided the researcher to investigate the bottom line of hate speech as a social phenomenon.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Hate speech continues to be an issue of key social significance, yet while its social and discursive aspects have been widely studied, its grammatical traits have been somehow overlooked. The book on the grammar of hate by Beliaeva (2022) sought to address this gap by bringing together a global team of scholars to explore the morphosyntactic features of hateful and aggressive discourse. Drawing on thirteen diverse cross-linguistic case studies, it revealed how hate is expressed in political discourse, slang, and social media, and towards a range of target groups relating to gender, sexual orientation, and ethnic identity. Based on ideas from functional and cognitive linguistics, each thematic part demonstrates how features such as morphology, word formation, pronoun use, and syntactic structures are manipulated for the purpose of expressing hostility and hate. In a similar study, Knoblock (202) carried out a study on ill-meaning use of morphological blending. the study investigated factors that may trigger the use of lexical blending as verbal aggression and aimed to explore derogatory meanings of blends referring to people. It was hypothesized that blending a personal name with another word enhances the likelihood of inducing derogatory meaning. Sample texts containing blends are extracted from the Now corpus and the Web corpus and analysed for the presence of emotionally coloured lexical elements. The results of the study suggested that the context of blends differs from the context of their non-blended counterparts, and reveal specific features in the use of blended words with human.

Slangs, a form of word formation process used through social media platforms applied the use of hate speech to denigrate the target persons. Mettello (2022) generally considered slang as an unconventional vocabulary characterized by connotations of novelty, informality, and even derogatoriness or offensiveness. As such, it can be used as means of social exclusion and verbal aggression. The derogatory character of slang is particularly evident in its innovatory lexicon, as well as in the metaphorical extensions of its vocabulary. This study adopts a morphopragmatic approach to analyse slang words. In particular, it focuses on the usage of the suffix -o in offensive and aggressive contexts with nefarious intent, as in the words sicko, lesbo, or commo. The study is both dictionary-driven and corpus-based. Data selected from Green's Dictionary of Slang have been collected in order to investigate how the -o suffix is utilized in hate communication to denigrate, dehumanize, and marginalize groups or individuals. Contextualized examples from COCA are analysed from the quantitative and qualitative viewpoints with the aims to: 1) identify the genres and environments where the -o suffix finds its preferred application, 2) investigate the most common collocational patterns where slang -o words convey a pragmatic meaning [aggressive], and 3) show the specific connotational meanings/pragmatic effects contributed by the -o suffix.

Still within morphological perspective, Mettello (2022) claimed that lexical and discourse strategies of hate speech have widely been studied hitherto, there is limited research devoted to the contribution of grammatical and morphological aspects to verbal aggression. The paper provides a corpus-assisted analysis of slang morphological means used in verbal aggression. She focused on four compound families (X-ass, X-brain, X-face, X-head) often used in slang to form compound words referring to specific groups, such as homosexuals, fools, or ineffectual people. The paper adopted a morphopragmatic approach to investigate three pragmatic meanings/functions – namely, derisive, critical, and offensive – of slang words in situations of conflict. The combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses of data drawn from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) showed the frequency of the morphological processes, their privileged genres and contexts, as well as their negative potential and face-threatening power.

In an analysis of interpersonal meanings of lexicogrammar of hate speeches on the comment sections of some selected YouTube channels of New Zealand mass shooting incident, Diah, Oikurema, and Pratiwi (2020) investigated the lexicogrammar of hate speeches of SFL's interpersonal meaning, i.e., MOOD and modality. This study employed qualitative approach, using content analysis method, the study analysed as many as 20 comments. The result shows that declarative MOOD is the most frequently used, serving the functions of giving statements, of indirect directive, and of threat. The other MOOD types used are imperative as well as interrogative that functions as a rhetorical question to assert a proposition. In terms of modality, modulated clauses outnumber modalized clause. The use of MOOD types in expressing hate speech responding to the incident indicates that the writers position themselves as superior toward the target people, i.e. the victims; whereas the type of modality used shows that the writers play as an authority and deprive others' rights.

Rhyming is also prevalent in word formation as in the case of derogatory hate compounds. In a study conducted by Szabó & Benczes (2019) on mind your rhyme: Insult and derogation in English rhyming compounds, they aimed to further explore the connection between form and meaning in relatively recently appeared meaningful rhyming combinations and to investigate to what degree the identified semantic domains are prevalent in contemporary language use. They hypothesized that there would be a (much) higher proportion of combinations carrying negative senses. To validate this, they categorized the data collected online into three larger categories: a) those that carry a positive sense; b) those that carry a negative sense; and c) those with a neutral sense. The largest group was comprised of compounds that conveyed a negative sense. These included uttering insulting or defaming combinations to further strengthen the messages. They equally concluded that rhyming can largely be associated with a derogatory and deteriorating sense.

Diverting from word formation and hate speech, Mettello and Wolfgang (2018) also dealt with novel English analogical compounds, i.e. compounds obtained via either a unique model (e.g. beefcake after cheesecake) or a schema model: e.g., green-collar based on white-collar, blue-collar, pink-collar, and other X-collar compounds. The study aimed, first, to inspect whether novel analogical compounds maintain the same degree of morphosemantic transparency/opacity as their models, and, second, to find out the role played by the compound constituents in the constitution of compound families, such as X-collar and others. The study proposed a scale of morphosemantic transparency/opacity for the analysis of compound constituents. In particular, the compound constituents in data base (115 examples) were analysed in connection with: 1) their degree of transparency (vs. opacity, including metaphorical/metonymic meaning), linked to their semantic contribution in the construction of the whole compound's meaning, and 2) their part-of-speech. Against the common assumption that productive word formation rules mostly create morphosemantically transparent new words, or that rule productivity is closely connected with transparency, the study of the database demonstrated that novel analogical compounds tended to maintain the same transparency/opacity degree as their models. It also showed that, in nuclear families and subfamilies of compounds, the part-of-speech of the constituents, their degree of transparency/opacity, and their semantic relation are reproduced in all members of the analogical set.

On a similar trend, Tabe (2018) in E-morphology on Cameroon social media aimed at examining how Cameroonians form words in social media (SM) contexts. The study explores the kind of morphological processes they adopt and the extent to which these word formation processes occur in the platforms under study (e-mail, Facebook, and Yahoo Messenger). Analysis of 230 informale-mails and chats revealed that Cameroonians espouse and alter some of the English word formation mechanisms to suit the context of SM. The following morphological processes were found in the data: accent stylizations, clipping, borrowing, neologisms, clitics, onomatopoeia, substitution, abbreviations, compounding, conversion/inflection, reduplication, hybrid, blending, slang, and smileys. Facebook tops the lead in terms of the number and frequency of occurrence of the word formation processes, as all are found in it with some reaching 100% frequency. Anchimbe (2010) illustrated how Cameroonians living in the diaspora indirectly construct their identity in online interactions as Anglophones from the North West and South West Regions of the country. Tabe (2016) explored the forms of linguistic humour in Cameroon social media and found indicators of humour like flouting of Gricean maxims, spelling variations and sound devices.

The related literatures above showed that most of the research on word formation online are not done from hate speech perspective, which is the approach of this study. Hate speech has not yet received sufficient attention as a scientific object of study in word formation and hate speech. Herring (2011, p. 4) affirmed that quite fewer studies on computer-mediated language talk about morphology, not to talk of hate speech. Besides, observations on the use of language on some Cameroonian internet platforms (Tabé, 2011; 2012, pp. 219-230) revealed a lot of morphological creativity and modifications not from hate speech perspectives. This study on word formation and hate speech therefore stands the chance to fill this gap by showing how words are not only used on social media as a model of word creation and humour, but as a strategy to create a tensed atmosphere.

DATA AND METHOD

This study was conducted using qualitative approach. The researcher collected data manually, through Facebook and Twitter platforms, which allowed access to posts and tweets that match the scope of the study. The data was collected by scrolling through the profiles of individuals on Facebook and Twitter, primarily focusing on English language posts and tweets. Not every post or tweet was screenshot, only those that contained hate words or those that had the Characteristics of hate language, and in English language were screenshot and mostly those that appeared from January to December 2019. No application programming interfaces (APIs) or automated search engines were used to collect the data for this study. Instruments used included android phones and computers and the techniques used to collect data included mainly scrolling and screenshot. Two hundred and seventy-five (275) samples were screenshot from the two social media platforms. The sample screenshots were disseminated using Facebook and Twitter. The sample data was cropped to remove sensitive parts for security reason. The general data statistics are shown on the table below:

Table 1: Statistics of word-formation aspects of hate language

Platforms	Compounded aspects	Blended Aspects	Total number of word formation aspects per platform
Facebook	84 (50.9%)	81 (49.1 %)	165 (100%)
Twitter	67(62.7%)	40(37.3%)	107 (100%)
Total number of each aspect on social media	151(55.9%)	121(44.1%)	275(100%)

As seen on the table above, compounded aspects of hate language on Facebook recorded 84 samples and Twitter 67. This gave a total number of 151 on both Facebook and Twitter. On the other hand, blended aspects of hate language on Facebook recorded 81 samples and Twitter recorded 40, which gave a total number of 121 from both platforms. However, the total number of compounded and blended aspects of hate language on Facebook recorded 165 samples, meanwhile, 107 samples were recorded on Twitter. This gave a total number of 275 on both Facebook and Twitter.

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

The presentation and analyses made in this paper showed two major word formation categories as shown on the table above: Compounding and blending, which were found to be the most used word-formation processes by hate speech producers. Each of this categories also had sub types, which are also presented analysed in the following sub sections.

Compounded aspects of hate language

Compounding words together can create action or lead people to action. Compounding is one of the word formation processes, which seems to have been used by hate language producers to create new words whose meaning, sometimes may not be traced back from its constituents. In relation to what the data collected for this study revealed, Compound can be written as a simple word (*blockhead*) or with a hyphen (*diaper-wearing*) or separate (*blood sucker*). It may also consist of combining two member words, for example a *blood sucking demon*, *heartless demented grandpa*. These examples were identified under different types of compounds such as exocentric compounds, endocentric compounds and copular as shown on the table below:

Table 2: Different types of compounds and their statistics

Categories	Number of posts/tweets	Percentage
Exocentric compounded aspects	91	60.2%
Endocentric compounded aspects	38	25.1%
Copular compounded aspects	22	14.5%
Total	151	(99.8%)

1. Exocentric compounded aspects of hate language

It is revealed from the table above that exocentric compounded aspects of hate language recorded the highest number with 91(60.2%) out of the total number of 151. Exocentric compounds are lexical combinations, which do not have a semantic head inside the morphological unit. Exocentric compounds are neither the determinatum nor the determinant that represent the basic meaning of the whole. For example *pickpockets* do not signify pockets that are picked or can be picked but rather have meaning attached to it by the producer or user of the combined speech. Therefore, such compounds are termed “exocentric” with *exo* denoting “outside” and *centric* coming from “centre”. This category of exocentric-compounded aspect of hate language as revealed on the data was composed of adjective plus adjective (adj+adj), adjective plus noun (adj+n), noun plus noun (n+n), cumulative exocentrics and exocentrics with structural oddities. Some examples from the data are shown below:

Table 3: Examples of exocentric aspects of hate language

Features	Examples
Adjective adjective (A+A)	<i>Pathological liar, Camerounian thuggish, jobless fools, Inconsequential fools, Worst hypocrites, Illegitimate dictator</i>
Adjectives nouns (A+N)	<i>Apprentice-prophet, Fake man, Badlock, Comedic revolution (sic), Tyrant Biya (sic), cankerworm, Blockheads, nocturnal animals, crooked chiefs, tight seat, fabricated leaders, fabricated mascots, truncated dialogue, Untrained illiterates, privileged slaves</i>
Noun noun (N+N)	<i>Shithole, Bag-gari, Beti-Bulu, Bulu-Beti, banana republic, Houseboy,numskull, Internetpresident, DictatorBiya, InternetRepublic,lame duck</i>
Comulative exocentrics	<i>Blood evil monster, Credit card thieves, Dracular blood sucking, stupid amba projects, foolish colonial SDO, light weight minded lunatics, USELESS presidential elections</i>
Exocentrics with structural oddities	<i>Biya's banned elections, Macron's puppet, Lazaru's commission,Lazarus' militias, misruling barons, the vice-rector of alma mater, cock-and bull story, mini-star, misruled, half-awake, half-alive hate of state</i>

The above word-formation process used by the producers were intended to channel the receivers toward violent action. The following excerpts from Facebook and Twitter illustrate:

(1) *One tiny Success Nkongho is giving sleepless night 2 millions of jobless, faceless, inconsequential foll (sic). Truth get power! (Facebook 17, 2019)*

Eru for those who have noticed that Chris Anus is a toothless bulldog, making empty threats.(Facebook 2019)

Shameless, tight seat, son of the bitch Paul biya sit on his diapers & watch honorable men respect the voice of the people in DRC. Biya's speeches & public appearances are scarce than dog tears to avoid public disgrace from shitting in public. Its badluck!(sic) (Twitter tweet, 2019)

The Evil Regime in Yaoundé knows no bounds. The World is watching. Mr Biya should be arrested for War Crimes...(Twitter 2019)

How do you put additional Five years to a life imprisonment? Banana republic...(Facebook 2019)

#DICTATORPAULBIYA is dick head. He thinks we #SoutherCameroonians are fools, Nonsense (Twitter 2019)

BETI-BULU CABAL YOU ARE ON CLAY LEGS!!! Facebook 2019

FELLOW CAMEROUNESSE, IT IS TIME TO TELL YOURSELVES “ENOUGH IS ENOUGH TO THE BETI-BULUHEGEMONY IN CAMEROON”. ARM YOURSELVES- with Amba Zonia First... (Facebook 2019)

Bulu #Cameroun has only Bulu Ambassadors. This happens when a country is reduced to a tribe. (Twitter 2019)

NO HIDDING PLACE FOR BLOODY EVIL MONSTER BIYA Facebook 2019

DON'T COUNT ON KING DRACULA BLOOD SUCKING BIYA! HIS SPEECH IS A NON-EVENT... Facebook 2019

We have one alternative to peace-DESTROY La Republique du **Cameroun's rogue state and danger regime**. Fund our self-defense against terrorist Paul Biya's war on us. Ambazonia must be liberated. We must buy bullets and guns in self-defense. (Twitter Jan 9, 2019)

Spokesman for Biya's demonic regime Rene Sadi talks against EU resolutions. The guys are having sleepless nights and they keep not getting it. Bunch of kleptomaniac numbskulls... (Facebook 2019)

The examples above showed that speakers made choice of words regarding vocabulary, grammar (word choice) and function words consciously or unconsciously. With regards to these examples, the producers consciously produced them to reach the target persons with an intention to use expressive words as weapons to arise action. The entire samples above implied meaning for which they are intent. In Fairclough's CDA approach of social practice, he mentioned that language shapes our social identities and interactions, knowledge systems and beliefs. The linguistic features used to disseminate the samples in the text above are driven ideologically to shape the regime's image as a whole. Fairclough sees this as 'linguistic turn' where there is a social principle that looks at how language is given a dominant role in social aspects. The producers, through their linguistic choices disseminated hate speeches, which are categorically and hypothetically perlocutive.

2. Endocentric compounded aspects of hate language

Endocentric-compounded aspect of hate language recorded 38 (25.1%) as revealed on the statistics above. These are compound words which meanings are derived from their heads. The head expresses the core meaning of the compound and it belongs to the same lexical category as the same compound as a whole (Aronoff & Fudeman, 2011). Below are some of the examples of endocentric compounded aspects of hate language from Facebook and Twitter:

*(2). After 3 yrs of fighting with over 4000 of our people killed, over 263 villages razed, Biya invites people for coffee so they can discuss his 1996 decentralisation project. A National Dialogue with a **pre-written declaration** waiting for its to be read. A bunch of jokers... (Facebook 2019)*

***Spokes man** for Biya's demonic regime, Rene Sadi talks tough against EU resolutions. The guys are having **sleepless nights** and they keep not getting it. **Bunch of Kleptomaniac numbskulls**... (Facebook April 22, 2019)*

*The **canker worm** responsible for sufferings of the people of southern Cameroon is **FRANCE**. Southern Cameroons must follow the example of Rwanda, Algeria, Mali etc and vomit France & colonial policies@ Emmanuel macron...Twitter 2018*

From the examples above, it can be seen that exocentric compounds do have something in common with the first major category of compounds, namely the exocentric compounds. Besides, compare to exocentric compounded aspects of hate language, endocentric do morphologically satisfy the prerequisite of a compound to consist of two free morphemes as determinant and determinatum. However, they are hyponyms of their heads as their meanings may be derived grammatically. Moreover, the samples presented above have their semantic heads, but hate language producers use them as a way to address social problems. In a nutshell, the samples revealed to us that they are structured grammatically with intentions to provoke and create violence.

3. Copular Compounded Aspects of hate language

Copular compounds recorded 22 (14.5%) posts and tweets as revealed on the table above. Unlike other compounded aspects of hate language presented and analysed above, this category also included its own characteristics and features that made it different. These copulatives as revealed through the data, constituted its own features different from the other types analysed in previous types. Hate language producers, however, also used different word classes to coin their copulative combinations. These included; Adj+Adj=**ILLITERATE FOOLS, PRIMITIVE INTELLECTUALS, BIG FOOL**, Adj+V=**EVIL SCAM** like in:

*(3) A struggle piloted by **ILLITERATE FOOLS** and **THIEVES**, commanded by **FAKE** and **PRIMITIVE INTELLECTUALS**. It couldn't go anywhere (Facebook 2019)*

*Amba sponsors repeat after me: I AM A **BIG FOOL TO HAVE WASTED MONEY FINANCING AN EVIL SCAM THAT HAS KILLED PEOPLE UNNECESSARY** (FACEBOOK 2019)*

At a macro level as applied in CDA by Fairclough, the adjectival aspects for example in the samples above are used to create disturbance in the life of people at the socio-political level. People, especially those who are in power are injured with such aspects, their minds are bruised first, which may be followed by a debilitating effects on their bodies and self-images. Within this macro perspective, the use of the above adjectival injuries turn to be as well offensive as physical injuries, which attack both physical and mental. With this view, hate language producers have used these copular compounded aspects of hate language to exert their injurious words on the target persons and the receivers are silent through linguistic oppression. To this effect, the medium, the channel and the manner of dissemination are as powerful as physical injurious acts.

Blended aspects of hate language on social media

In as much as compounding words together can create action, blending words together can also do. In the categories presented and analysed above, we have seen compounding as combining two different words together to bring out new meaning. This is nevertheless similar to blending, which is combining different parts of words together to form new words with new meanings. However, the two word formation concepts are different in that; compounding involves the combination of two different words, why with blending, one or more forms of the words are shortened. The table below showed the statistics of blended aspects of hate language ranging from the different types identified on the data like blends with clipping, blends with overlapping blends through acronyms, shortenings, and blends with clipping and overlapping.

Table 4: Statistics of blended aspects of hate language on social media

Categories	Number of Posts & tweets	Percentage
Blends with clipping	74	61.1 %
Blends with Overlapping	28	23.1 %
Acronyms	10	8.2%
Shortenings	7	5.7%
Blends with clipping and overlapping	2	1.6%
Total	121	99.7%

1. Blends with clipping.

As revealed above, blends with clipping appeared the most with 74 (61.1%) disseminated by hate language producers to reach their target persons. There were a number of different patterns within this type of blended aspects of hate speech as illustrated below using sample Facebook posts and Twitter tweets.

Blends with clipping coined by joining the first part of the first word and the last part of the second word:

(4). *Praident* of a bilingual country. The Rwandan lady had to step in to translate Mo Ibrahim's question for him from English to French. This is the guy the *praienter* of the insight the *Praidency* brandishes as the God-sent leader of La Republeak. (Facebook Nov 12, 2019)

Blends with clipping coined by joining the whole first word and the last part of the second word:

(5). *Dogvernor Okalie be lie* loses his closest collaborator Stephen in a ghastly moto accident early this morning. The Bulu/beti fail (sic) to realize that bad roads kill them too! 37 years of Experience! (Facebook Aug 4, 2019)

IN THE INTERIM, THE FAKE BIYALOGUE CHARADE SHALL COME TO PASS, S. C. STOCK FOOD & POTABLE WATER! FORCES PLS ARM TO THE TEET! UBUNTU (Facebook 2019)

Blends with clipping coined by joining the first part of the first word and the whole second word:

(6). *Ambazophobia* who cheer killing each other are talking about xenophobia in South Africa! (Facebook Sept 5, 2019)

The way *ambaboys* are respecting the SDOs lockdown eh, hmm This method is bae! See *Ambafools* tearing apart online lol (Facebook Sept 7, 2019)

Blends with clipping coined by joining the first parts of both words:

(7). *Phobia* did not want his shame dielockers to claim that they asked him to release prisoners. The idiot believes he's Demi God! (Facebook Oct 3, 2019).

As seen from the examples above, the most common way used by hate language producers to create this kind of pattern was through the combination of different parts of words to create new meanings. All of these creative productions had common intentions to provoke, insult, instigate hatred, and to intensify action. Thus, confirming discourse is a form of social action. Moreover, the examples shown above had no intentions of adding the vocabularies of English language as whole, nor create a humorous linguistic environment, but an open intention to create a tensed atmosphere using Facebook and Twitter as channels to achieve objectives.

2. Blends with overlapping

As revealed on the table above, blends with overlapping followed blends with clipping as the most common types of blends with **28** (23.1 %) disseminated by hate language producers to express their feelings toward their target persons. Unlike the different patterns outlined in the first category above, blends in this category included just two patterns as revealed in the data. These included patterns formed with first or last part of the other word, first part of the first word and a completely second word in singular or plural. For example:

Blends with overlapping coined joining the first part of the first word and a whole second word in singular or plural.

(8). *Which & whose future are you talking about? If you can't be truthful about the southern Cameroons question, why should you ever expect those who consider you a stranger in their own country to hear your voice and act? #Biafrans, #enemy in the house, #Anglofools etc.sad! (Twitter tweet-anonymous date).*

Anglofools are the problems of Ambazonia. They should be considered as domestic terrorist and visited after the CPDM convention. (Facebook Sept 28, 2019)

Blends with overlapping coined by joining all of one form and the first or last part of the other word:

(9). *Two #comedy revolutions unfolding at the same time **Kamtozon** and ambazonia. In mutual sympathy for each other is now born the #Federal_Grassfield_Republic aka #Graffizonian. Wuna ashia yaa!...Foolish man politics...(Facebook Oct 12, 2019)*

Blends with overlapping coined with both first and second word:

(10). *Yewa Yanick use e tongue slaughter English today during **biyalock**. Sootee die deh big compound! The Queen of England must hear this! Yanick commit first degree murder!!!!(Facebook Sept 30, 2019).*

As revealed in the examples above, unlike the other samples in the previous blends, these examples revealed blends with overlapping coined by joining the first part, all of one form and both first and second word. Besides, whatever way the combinations were designed, their common goal was to create violence. Linguistically, blends are coined for the purpose of bringing out new words and new meaning, but in this context of hate language, they are coined to express different feelings toward the target persons.

3. Blends through Acronyms

Blends through acronyms were also found with 10 (8.2%) posts and tweets. The data under this type revealed an acronym **LRC** (La Republique du Cameroun) disseminated by different hate language producers to express their feelings and attitudes toward the Republic of Cameroon. These are some of the examples below:

(11). *Malicious Fascist gendarmes in **LRC** use helicopters bought by donations from UN & China to spray chemical weapons on civilians taking refuge in bushes in fear of **LRC** military. **LRC** criminal gendarmes burn corpses of victims to wipeout evidence. (Twitter 25 Nov, 2019)*

LRC MUST LEAVE OUR LAND FOR OUR YOUTHS TO RETURN HOME! WE DONT (sic) NEED YOUR STUPIDITY IN THE NAME OF HELP!!(Facebook Aug 27, 2019)

As the samples in the text above revealed, acronyms in its linguistic originality are used to coin new expressions or create new names of scientific discoveries, but in the context of hate language, they are used to threaten the targets, insult and to create a tensed environment. Even though these acronyms might have circulated in the offline settings in Cameroon since independence, social media has accelerated its use both positive and negative.

4. Shortening

Shortening was also revealed with 7 (5.7%) posts and tweets disseminated by hate language producers to reach their targets. The shortening may include the reduction of the first or second syllables of different word classes. The data revealed shortenings of first syllables of the different classes of words. The samples in the text below are examples of shortenings disseminated by hate language producers to project their hate contents and expose the targets:

(12). *He knows what's at stake if certain truths are exposed. He is just another stooge that might be put in place by #France just in case i.e. if #Bulu #Beti #Northerners #Doualas #Bassas would allow a #Bami 2rule this shithole country. I know he would end up just like #Frudi #PersonalNonGrata.* (Twitter tweet)

Illiterates are easily manipulated, 95% of Amba fighters have no FSLC, that's why diaspora is taking advantage of their illiteracy! (Facebook Dec 13, 2019)

*The banana republic is going hay wire tonight in Doual. Fire is a tool for destruction now as tyres and a Bonaberi police station have been razed. All **anglos** in dla please hide before they tag you as the fire perpetrators...* (Facebook Jan 28, 2019)

In the samples above, hate language producers used the shortenings in this context as a strategy for incitement. All the shortenings revealed in the examples targeted people from different parts of the country. In this context, it is a word formation aspect of hate speech used to disseminate hate contents online, which showed that in certain situations discourse constitutes society and culture.

5. Blends with clipping and overlapping

Blends with clipping and overlapping were also revealed with 2(1.6%) posts and tweets used by hate language producers to reach their targets. There are many variations of patterns to this word formation like; in some cases only one phoneme overlapped, while in others, larger units were involved. As revealed on the data, only one phoneme was clipped and overlapped. Hate language producers in order to insult their targets disseminated the following case as revealed below:

(13). *Cameruin.So, this is the Vice-rector of my alma mater. A regime that promotes feymania, scaming, intellectual vandalism. It is not by coincidence that this appointment is coming at a time when the necropolitical regime has acknowledged its responsibility in the massacre of children in Ngarbuh. And this is one of those who defended the Biya militia claiming it is a "rpublican" army. A veritable pseudo-intellectual mercenary who initially disguised himself as a critic of the regime only to turn around and follow the treacherous footsteps of his father. Vraiment, ce pays!* (Facebook post)

From the example, one interesting thing that can be drawn by looking at the example above is that, unlike other cases, the blend is made by using the first part of the first word and the last part of the second word. This means that these words follow the common pattern for blends with clipping.

CONCLUSION

This study investigated the word formation aspects of hate language on social media. The English language is constantly witnessing a change with the development of the internet. New words are coined in many ways with different intentions and these have led to a mass increase in the aggressive speech and subsequently the dissemination of hate speech on social media. This study identified two main sources of this mass increase in the English vocabulary and the subsequent dissemination of hate language; compounding and blending, the different compounded words used on social media by Cameroonians to disseminate hate language. The compounded aspects of hate language identified were categorised into three sub-categories; the exocentric compounded, the endocentric compounded and the copular-compounded categories. Among these three compounded word categories, the exocentric-compounded categories as revealed through the data, recorded the highest number and percentage of aspects of hate language. This was followed by the endocentric and the copular-compounded categories respectively.

The second and the last part of study analysed the second word formation aspect of hate language on social media. These were blended aspects of hate language. Unlike the compounding, blended aspects of hate language were also categorised into five sub-categories; blends with clipping, blends with overlapping, blends through acronyms, shortening and blends with clipping and overlapping. Among these five categories of blended aspects of hate language, blends with clipping and blends with overlapping as revealed through the data recorded the highest number and

percentage of hate speech on social media. This was followed by blending through acronyms and shortening, and only few cases of blends with clipping and overlapping were identified. From the presentation and the analysis, the study concluded that, the word formation aspects of hate language revealed through the data were coined not to enrich linguistic vocabulary of English as a whole, but were rather coined with the intention to provoke, insult, and mock the target persons and intensify the target situation. Thus, concluding that power relations are discursive.

Based on the above conclusion, this study therefore recommended that a media watch dog like the National Communication Council should work hand in hand with other media outlets to monitor the social media contents in Cameroon in order to fetch for rapide solutions to such an alarming use of language online. This could be possible through blocking platforms and profiles of producers identified with such language, or signaled warnings. Monitoring social media contents during important events in the country such as elections and crisis situations. To achieve these, a lot of technological now-how, personnel and machines have to be put in place.

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APPENDIX



