

Appraisal of Neologisms in Crisis Periods in Cameroon Media Landscape Between 2016 and 2021



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Abstract

This research work examines the Cameroon media landscape that has been operating inside the socio-political pandemonium called *Anglophone Crisis*. This has exacerbated to a full-fledge war since 2016 between the separatist fighters and the national state and security forces. This "Anglophone crisis" that broke out following a strike action by Cameroon Anglophone lawyers and teachers in the two English-speaking regions of Cameroon has produced new words and expressions that are entering into mainstream usage of English in Cameroon. Social actors, both national and international, have taken different media platforms to provide different and conflicting accounts of the crisis and this is done in new language. What are the various categories of neologisms that have emerged during the crisis and what are the impacts of these neologisms on the Anglophone crisis? What explains the emergence of neologisms during crisis (in Cameroon) and how do neologisms contribute to the deeper understanding of the Anglophone problem? The Framing Theory, propounded by Entman, (1993) which holds that language use is a function of the expectations of the user is used to analyse the collected data from the Cameroon media landscape. The diverse neologisms that have emanated and surfaced from the Anglophone crisis could be linked to identity, radicalism and provocations and constitute new forms entering mainstream Cameroon English.

Keywords: *Neologisms, Anglophone Crisis, Cameroon Media, landscaping, new Englishes*

Background of the Study

Cameroon, situated in the Central African sub-region has a population of Cameroon of 27,466,383 as of Thursday, November 25, 2021, based on Worldometer elaboration of the latest United Nations data. The country was administered by Germany, France, and Britain before 1960. Germany first colonized Cameroon in 1884 but lost it as a colony after World War I. In 1916, Cameroon was split between the British and the French into British Cameroon and French Cameroon. The Anglophone armed conflict which is a transformation from the Anglophone identity problem escalated in 2016 but can be traced back to colonial time. This socio-political pandemonium has exacerbated to a full-fledge war by 2021 between the separatist fighters and the national state and security forces. This turbulence also called "the Anglophone crisis", "Anglophone problem",

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"Ambazonian war" broke out following a strike action by Cameroon Anglophone lawyers and teachers in the two English-speaking regions of Cameroon (i.e. Northwest and Southwest regions) calling for, amongst other things, increased use of English language in common law courts and the non-amalgamation of the English sub-system of education into the French education system in the country (MacLean, 2018). This is because common law is practiced in the Anglophone regions while Civil Law is practiced in the French-speaking regions of Cameroon. Clearly, therefore, the imposition of Civil Law tradition in the Common Law courts in the two Anglophone regions and the gradual erasure of the Anglo-Saxon sub-system in education are the major factors that fanned the flames of this mayhem. But this crisis that has exacerbated to a full-blown war today can also be traced back to the history of independent Cameroon and to what many describe as the marginalization of Anglophone Cameroonians, who represent 17% (4.5 million) of Cameroon's total population of 25 million (World Bank, 2018). This has, therefore, received identity-based movements which date back to the 1970s. Generally, little understood by most, the Anglophone problem commences with the independence period. A poorly conducted reunification based on centralization and assimilation led the Anglophone minority to feel politically and economically marginalized and that their cultural differences were significantly being ignored. Having lived through untold sufferings, wanton killings, internet shutdowns, injustice, lockdowns, and many school years lost, many are now demanding separation or at least federalism. Therefore, this socio-political upheaval has amplified random killings, kidnappings, and the propagation of hate speech thus leading to neologism in Cameroon English language. Many social actors like activists, European countries, international bodies, the United States of America, Canada, Switzerland, and prominent politicians have taken different media platforms especially various social media such as Facebook, WhatsApp, and Twitter, to provide different and conflicting accounts of the crisis and different measures to be used or which have been used to bring an end to this bedlam. In fact, the chief motivation of this study has been the creativity exhibited by the perpetrators of the crisis or the people affected by it via the use of neologism in the course of their everyday's interaction, trying to narrate their ordeal, educating others about the causes of the crisis, flaming the crisis, criticizing the crisis or proposing solutions for the crisis.

When the English-speaking parts of Cameroon began posing the problems in 2016 it was seen as subversive. Government crackdown by using guns, tear gas and live bullets led to deaths and many arrests and detentions. Words related to the struggle were banned in media and the carrying of the Ambazonian flag was regarded as crimes tried only in the special military tribunal which was set up for the purpose in disregard of regular texts.

The Cameroonian Constitution provides for freedom of expression, freedom of the press, and of communication by saying that the freedom of communication, of expression, of the press, of assembly, of association, and of trade unionism, as well as the right to strike, shall be guaranteed under the conditions fixed by law. The 2014 Law on the Suppression of Terrorist Acts, which was enacted to support the fight against terrorism and growing threats from the jihadist group Boko Haram, has been used as a tool to suppress journalism and opinion critical of the government under the guise of preventing the spread of fake news and threatening national security. In January 2018, the Minister of Justice-Laurent Eso issued a directive to magistrates to "commit, after clear identification by the security services, to legally prosecute any person residing in

Cameroon who uses social media to spread fake news". Article 4 of the 2010 Communications law states that every citizen "has the right to benefit from electronic communications services". The same law establishes a Universal Service Access Fund, aimed at ensuring equal, quality, and affordable access to services (Articles 27-29). Whereas internet and mobile telephony have registered growth, access and affordability remain a challenge, especially among rural and poor communities.

Cameroon's media landscape ranges from audio, print, audio-visual, and digital communication to multiple radio stations, television channels, billboards, movies, documentaries, the Internet, newspapers, magazines, arts, music, and social media which are various channels through which individuals openly express their thoughts, feelings, and emotions. Despite the fact that information on social media suffers inexplicably, it continues to have a significant impact on the Anglophone crisis and on the English language used in Cameroon within the context of the crisis; with new terms being generated as well as many old words taking on new meanings. In addition to the threat of or direct acts of violence leading to school disruptions, other factors such as social media misinformation, false alarms, and panic have led to the further disruption of school activities.

The information and Communications Technology (ICT) sector in Cameroon has evolved considerably since 2010, despite the persistence of the digital divide and affronts to freedom of expression online. The country's digital landscape was boosted by the launch in May 2016 of the National ICT Strategic Plan 2020, which recognized the digital economy as a driver for development. Multimedia, often known as the fourth power, continues to have a significant impact on the use, diffusion, and normalization of new terms in various aspects of Cameroon's social life. The media has the ability to sway the public and influence people's opinions. Furthermore, it has the ability to reach a big audience all around the world in a relatively short amount of time. Journalists and other media practitioners infuse these words and expressions into the mind of their listeners during their investigations.

The Problem of the Study

The people from the English-speaking regions of Cameroon are termed Anglophones and they constitute less than 20% of the population. The Anglophone crises affecting them can be termed a *Language crisis* which has produced and is producing neologisms that are changing the face of English in Cameroon and its environs. This chapter identifies new coinages and neologism which have become popular within the context of the Anglophone crisis. We examine the ideological, as well as socio-political undertones of these neologisms used during the crisis and lastly, investigate how the meanings of these neologisms contribute to the understanding of the Anglophone problem (crisis) or express different perspectives towards its resolution. The scientific gap we fill is creating awareness of how language grows and how societal phenomena can shape and reshape the meaning of words and expressions. Investigation of crisis through the rhetorical lens may yield a more sophisticated level of understanding when explaining the language used by the media when reporting on a crisis.

Research Questions

This research is designed to answer the question: what are the various categories of neologisms that have emerged during the crisis and what are the impacts of these

neologisms on the Anglophone crisis? What explains the emergence of neologisms during a crisis (in Cameroon) and how do they contribute to the deeper understanding of the Anglophone problem?

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

According to the International Crisis Group, the turbulence plaguing the two Anglophone regions of Cameroon since 2016 emanates from sectoral grievances morphed into political demands, leading to strikes and riots. The movement grew to the point where the government's repressive approach was no longer sufficient to calm the situation; forcing it to negotiate with Anglophone trade unions and make some concessions. The government has also taken several measures to end the chaos such as creating different appeasement commissions, calling a major national dialogue, offering them a Special Status, instituting the reconstruction plans for the war-stricken regions, fulfilling some of the recommendations of some trade unions, civil societies and international bodies.

However, the upheaval is getting worse as days go by. The Anglophone crisis is in part, a classic problem of a minority, which has swung between a desire for integration and a desire for autonomy, and in a part, a more structural governance problem. It shows the limits of centralized national power and the ineffectiveness of the decentralization program which started in 1996. A combination of under-development, tensions between generations, identity problems, and patrimonialism plaguing Cameroon in general and the Anglophone regions, in particular, has to tighten the gap of resolving the crisis. This has as well instigated the emergence of secessionist groups radicalizing the population with support from part of the Anglophone diaspora. A plethora of words in different spheres has been coined, used and has thus assisted in disintegrating the peace and social cohesion that characterized the country. Hence, stringent/rigorous measures should be infused/implanted to resolve the problem.

Tamfuh, (2020) investigates how and why Cameroonian citizen creates, coins, and form new words in English speech. His aim is to highlight the linguistic and cultural diversity of Cameroon as a motive to create and introduce new words into the vocabulary system, thus, enriching contemporary English used in Cameroon within the context of the crisis. Both quantitative and qualitative research was carried to obtain valid data typical of Cameroon society based on the sociolinguistic and ethnographic methods of inquiry and analyses using a combination of the critical discourse analysis, semantic-pragmatic, and speech act theories. After the analysis, he concludes that contemporary Cameroon English is enhanced through different linguistic techniques such as dialectal and cultural borrowing, self-explained compounds, neologisms, eponyms, and inflections which are of great interest to the English language learners and teachers of today. Soh (2020) explores the different narratives on the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon by two prominent retorts involved in the crisis. She scrutinizes the Facebook posts of Cameroon's President, Paul Biya, and a prominent Anglophone activist, Mark Bareta. Lyonga *et al* (2020) assert that media play a significant role in resolving conflicts. This is because media reports can act as an impetus to peace or spur/goad conflicts. Their findings prove that the dwellers have different interpretations of reality after consuming violent content through multi-media. While others become scared, some develop hatred for separatists and government as well as the feeling to join the armed struggle. They conclude by prying the attention of conflict stakeholders and media

practitioners to the effects of media messages on their audiences in creating, escalating, and promoting crisis situations.

Fikriah (2019) asserts that neologisms are words that just appear in the process of community development. He projects new words that have emerged as a result of community development and the different processes through which these words are formed. With the aid of Yule's (2010) word-formation theory and the theory of neologism from Newmark, Fikriah uses word-formation processes such as compounding, borrowing, blending, and acronyms to realize thirty-one neologisms, seven denotative words, and twenty-four connotative words. Safotso (2020) has worked on neologisms and [C]cameroonisms in Cameroon English (CamE) / Cameroon Francophone English (CamFE), collecting data from debates on national radio stations and TV channels, conversations among students and university lecturers on university campuses across Cameroon, casual encounters such as public gatherings or during journeys, and from students' essays. The findings show that, in CamE, most neologisms come from Pidgin English or French while Cameroonisms come from local languages. Tamfuh (2020) observes that pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary of the English language have undergone structural and semantic changes to the extent that the indigenization of Cameroon English is of great interest to many linguists and socio-linguists. Also, contemporary Cameroon English is enhanced via different linguistic techniques such as dialectal and cultural borrowing, neologism, eponym, and inflections among others and it is of utmost importance to erudite language users today.

A cross-examination of critical writings on neologisms and the Anglophone crisis has proven that much has been said on neologisms as well as the Anglophone crisis but no one has so far studied neologisms in the context of the Anglophone crisis to bring out the identitarian underpinnings of the crisis or other elements of the crisis that are embedded in these new words that are unbridled/rampant in most media platforms. Thus, the need for this research.

As a theoretical framework, this book chapter is hinged on the Framing Theory which was propounded by Entman, (1993). The theory essentially holds that language use is a function of the expectations of the user. People, therefore, choose to use language in a certain fashion depending on what they intend to achieve. To, this effect, the new words that have been coined within the context of the crisis in Cameroon as well as those meanings of which have been extended to new contexts are examined as representing frames (discourses). Framing as a concept and theory have been applied and used in different fields across the social sciences and the humanities to analyze a variety of texts. For the purpose of this study, it is applied following its usage in communication and language studies according to Entman, (1993). This does not, however, mean that the definition offered by Entman covers all the meanings of this concept as used in communication. It only highlights the fact that whatever way the term is used, the focal point is on the influence exerted on the human consciousness by a communicating text such as a novel, news report, a speech. To this effect, framing deals with how texts (written, spoken, and visual) are constructed to foster particular beliefs (understood here as ideologies) about given events and situations. Neologisms here are considered as communicating texts with ideological undertones. The new words come with a variety of meanings which also shape social practice. As revealed in the analysis below, words such as the *boys*, *amba*, *enabler*, *blackleg*, have varying ideological meanings to both the separatists and the government. The first two as used by the government is synonymous

with terrorist while the last two as used by the separatists are synonymous with the betrayer.

To convey emotions or signify astonishment, social actors on the side of secessionists, who are mostly young people use several scriptural styles (devoid of any meaning in writing) but which mean something specific to Internet users. Certain graphic processes are implemented such as the use of capitals to highlight an element or to shout in chats and in forums. While Anglophone Cameroonians have taken a particular position to identify themselves differently from the rest of the country, Francophone Cameroonians use some neologisms insultingly (such as *ambazozoos*, *ambazombies*, *anglofools*, les terrorists) to as well show their positions, Cameroonians, therefore, use these new words in line with the positions they have taken with regards to the current crisis and the identities they represent. Different actors push different motives to the public in support of the cause they are pursuing.

Methodology and Design

The corpus for this study is made up of recordings of oral productions, published works, paintings, and posters that were gathered as typical sampled expressions of the variety of English produced by social actors in the crisis, many of whom speak and understand Cameroon Pidgin English and use various Cameroon dialects. The Generals and Field Marshals in audio and video messages have produced in real-life situations such as casual discussions, interviews, radio and television debates, news broadcasts, documents, books, social media posts, newspapers, and magazines. Some activists paint roads and buildings in their colors and hoist flags, wear caps pins, and T-Shirts with their slogans on them. The most popular social media platform was Facebook with 37 posts, which allowed users to send out messages, post pictures, and videos and interact with the public. Twitter had 6 posts that were used to send short and targeted messages to thousands of followers and to interact with others. Youtube had 15 which were used to post videos and Flickr had 04 posts for pictures. Each platform was sampled and the new words isolated and their meanings deduced from the context of usage. In order to ensure reliability, the frequency of occurrence of each word considered in this study was determined so as to ascertain that the new word has actually entered mainstream usage. This was done by making sure each word was used severally and by different persons to convey the same meaning.

Findings and analysis

This section classifies the different neologisms used within the contexts of the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon and analyses them in accordance with their meanings and ideological orientations.

Classification of Identified Neologisms

Table 1. Pro-Separatists Neologisms (Anti-Government in Meaning)

| Neologism | Formation Process | Meaning |
|-----------|--------------------|--|
| Enablers | Semantic extension | Used to refer to those believed to be collaborating with the government and its forces against the separatists |
| Delete | Semantic | Used to mean “kill” a soldier or any one believed |

| | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|--|
| | extension | to be collaborating with the government and its forces against the separatists |
| Boys/The Boys (Boyses) | Semantic extension | Used to refer to separatist militia |
| Popcorn | Semantic extension | Sound of the gun |
| Groundnut | Semantic extension | Bullets |
| Struggle | Semantic extension | Used to refer to the socio-political crisis as a fight for freedom |
| Ground Zero (GZ) | Semantic extension | To refer to the war torn regions (North West and South West) |
| Blackleg | Semantic extension | Betrayer-Used to refer to any Anglophone believed to be working against the interest of separatists |
| Ghost town | Semantic extension | Used to refer to Monday which was declared a non-work day across Anglophone regions by separatists |
| Field marshal | Semantic extension | Used to refer to certain leaders of the separatist militias. |
| Laripoblik | Appropriation | Used to refer to Cameroon before the 1961 plebiscite |
| Ekelebe | Borrowing | Uniform officer (soldier, police etc) |
| Contri Sunday | Borrowing | Monday which was declared a non-work day across Anglophone regions by separatists |
| Nkumkumise | Eponym/Blend | To kill |
| Biyaamerun | Eponym/Blend | Used to refer to Cameroon as President Biya's country |
| Enter sosongo | Compounding | To flee or escape |
| Shit-no-wipe-las | Compounding | Supporters of the regime or those collaborating with the government and its forces against the separatists |
| Coffin revolution | Compounding | Used to refer to the incident in Bamenda where one of the proponents of the Anglophone movement (Mancho Bibixy) used a coffin to incite a strike |
| Takunbeng day 22/9/2019 | Borrowing | On this day in 2017 our women took to the streets worldwide with peace plants to demand the end to the gruesome massacres by LRC on GZ. |
| Freedom fighters | Compounding | Used to refer to separatists fighters |
| Restoration/Defense forces | Compounding | Used to refer to separatists fighters |
| General no pity | Compounding | Used to refer to one of the most dreaded ring leaders of one separatist militia |
| General cross and die | Compounding | Used to refer to one of the most dreaded ring leaders of one separatist militia |
| To reach Buea | Coinage | This expression is used to mean "achieve independence" |
| To be with ekema | Coinage | To die (only used to refer to the death or killing of uniform men or their sympathizers) |
| Nchang shoe boys | Coinage | Used to refer to separatist fighters |

Table 2. Anti-Separatists Neologisms (Pro-Government in Meaning)

| Neologism | Formation Process | Meaning |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|--|
| NOSO | Acronym | Coined from Nord Ouest et Sud Ouest; the French appellation of North West and South West regions |
| Ambazombies | Blending | Used to describe separatist fighters as acting without thinking |
| Separatists | Semantic extension | Used to refer to anyone who sympathizes with the separatist and in some cases used interchangeably with secessionists and terrorists |
| Amba | Clipping | Short form of ambazonian fighters or separatist fighters |
| Ambazonian | Coinage | Used to refer to separatists and their sympathizers with negative connotations of terrorism, rebellion etc |
| Terrorists | Semantic extension | Used to refer to separatist fighters |
| Secessionists | Semantic extension | Used to refer to separatists and their sympathizers with negative connotations of terrorism, rebellion etc |
| Separatists' bike | Compounding | Used to refer to motorbikes as owned by separatist fighters |
| Amba Camp | Compounding | Used to refer to places where separatist fighters live |
| Amba mother, father, wife etc | Compounding | Used to refer to relatives of separatist fighters or dear leaders based abroad |

Analyses and Discussions

This section analyses the different neologisms and reveals the ideological orientations of each of these new words. They are, therefore, classified and analyzed according to the process through which the new word was formed or gotten.

1. Borrowing and Semantic Extension

One way through which language users enrich the vocabulary is by borrowing words from other languages or using existing words in the same language to name things and concepts in new contexts. This is the case with the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon wherein existing English words have picked up new meanings and connotations. Some of these words like *Enabler*, *struggle*, *delete*, *separatist*, *secessionist*, *popcorn*, *groundnut*, *General no pity*, *General cross and die*, *contri Sunday*, *ghost town*, and *lockdown* have expanded their semantic nomenclature with varying ideological connotations. The *enabler* as used by separatists in the Anglophone crisis is synonymous with the enemy typically referring to those who are believed to collaborate with the government and its forces against the separatists. To this end, such a person has all the connotations that an enemy in war has and as such deserves to be treated as the enemy. People who have been tagged as *enablers* in the crisis have been either killed or kidnapped and huge sums of money paid to secure their release. Once such a person has been assigned the negative connotations of an enemy, their human nature is lost in the eyes of the separatists. Their *killing*, therefore, is tantamount to deleting a telephone message or contact. To this effect, the word *delete* is used to refer to the killing of both soldiers as well as their supporters. In like manner, the words *separatist* and *secessionist* used by the government, its forces, and their sympathizers are synonymous with *terrorists*. Such meanings have profound implications on the government's rejection of a negotiated settlement with the separatists

and its inclination towards warfare as a solution to the crisis. It also accounts for why those who are believed to sympathize with the separatists' course are arrested and tried in accordance with the law on terrorism.

In the same light, the words *popcorn* and *groundnut* have lost their primary meaning as used by those who are witnessing the unfolding of the crisis in the North West and southwest regions. The two words are borrowed through analogy and onomatopoeia. The sound of the guns which has become a regular phenomenon in these regions is likened to the sound produced by popcorn when it is being fried. On the other, bullets which are often scattered in streets and in public places following shooting between the soldiers and separatist fighters are likened to groundnut. This is also used to express their disapproval of the presence of guns and bullets in these regions. It means, therefore, that the sound of guns and the presence of bullets have become as common as popcorn and groundnuts.

Other words such as *contri Sunday* (*ghost town*) are borrowed from Cameroon Pidgin English and the meaning extended to other contexts. *Contri Sunday* is a traditional non-working day in the North West region of Cameroon. This day, however, varies from tribe to tribe and is usually observed by all villagers as it is believed to be a sacred day dedicated to the gods. To this effect, anyone going out to work on the farm is considered to be desecrating the land and such an act is likely to annoy the gods. This expression was picked and used to refer to every Monday which was declared a non-working day across the North West and southwest regions of Cameroon at the onset of the crisis. The expression appears to be pragmatic than ghost towns because the local population can easily discern its implications. Disrespecting the declared ghost towns (*contri Sunday*) is interpreted by the separatists as a sign of contempt and those believed to do so have been kidnapped, property destroyed and some even killed.

2. *Compounding (Self-Explaining Compounds)*

One of the processes through which new words are formed within the context of the crisis in Cameroon is compounding. This process combines two or more words to form a new word with a new meaning. While some of these compounds are self-explaining (the meanings can be deduced from the meanings of the individual constituents) others are somewhat idiomatic. Self-explaining compounds tend to be descriptive in nature. This is the case with words used to describe people and their activities. The nouns used to name leaders of separatist militias tend to follow this process such as *General no-pity*, *General cross and die*, *General Satan*, and *Shit no wipe las*. The first two words are used to name self-styled separatist commanders of some factions in the North West region of the country. These compounds are self-explaining in that the expression *no pity* and *cross and die* both describe the attitudes of these so-called generals in the crisis. *General no pity*, therefore, is void of remorse while *General cross and die* is ready to kill anyone who trespasses or goes against their rules. These names are coined in relation to their attitudes and actions in the crisis. In the same way, *General Satan* means a commander who has the attributes of a devil. He is likened to Satan and means a general who is satanic and inclined to hunt for human souls. By virtue of this, such a general is bloodthirsty and hunts for soldiers to kill.

In the same light, *shit no wipe las*, is used to describe those believed to be collaborating with the government while pretending to be sympathizers of the separatists' course. There are some people whom the separatists believe they are

pretending to be sympathizing with them meanwhile they are spies or agents of the government and its forces. They are referred to as *shit no wipe las* which literary means "they have defecated and have not cleaned their anus" by virtue of which they are spies. Such people are also identified and killed because the appellation equally has the connotations of an enemy. The same is true for the *coffin revolution* which was coined immediately after the famous Mancho Bibixy who ignited a strike in Bamenda using a coffin to spur up the crowd in 2016. Thereafter, the expression was used to describe the incident and has since then been used to refer to this incident as a turning point in the ongoing crisis.

3. Coinages or Neologisms

Neologism is the process of either coining new words or combining existing words in a new fashion to describe new phenomena. This has been one of the processes through which new words and expressions have come into existence in Cameroon English within the context of the Anglophone crisis. Coinage of words may as well be created without necessarily using compounding nor borrowing and without employing any other word parts already in existence. According to O'Grady and Guzman, "coinage or manufacture is a new word created from names" for instance Ambazonians, *nchang shoes*, and county drafts. Words such as *Biyaameroun*, *Biyaist*, *nkumnkumise*, *to reach Buea*, and *nchang shoe boys* are some of these neologisms that sprang up during the crisis. These words express a variety of ideological meanings ranging from rejection, acceptance to approval. The words *Biyaameroun*, *Biyaist*, *nkumnkumise* are all used in relation to the current president of Cameroon, Paul Biya with negative connotations. *Biyaameroun* is a blend from Biya and Cameroon used to refer to Cameroon as Biya's country or property due to his long rule at the helm of the nation. It also expresses the rejection by the separatists of this long rule as well as his authority over them. This leads sympathizers of this course and those who simply show disapproval for this long rule to refer to those who support Biya's regime as *Biyaist*. In like manner, *nkumnkumise*, means to kill a soldier or their spies or collaborators. In the separatists' understanding, president Biya has been "killed" since they no longer consider his rule over them as legitimate. To this effect, killing those who support his regime is likened to being killed as their leader. The word is gotten from anti-Biya proponents who refer to him as *nkunkuma* to mean one who never changes or is stagnant.

Expressions such as *reach Buea* and *nchang shoe boys* are also some of the coinages used by the separatists. Buea used to be the headquarters of the then German territory of Kamerun before later becoming the headquarters of the South West region to date. The proponents of an independent Anglophone Cameroon have always looked up to Buea as the capital of such a country and this has been the same with the advocates of the so-called Ambazonia. By looking up to Buea as the capital of Ambazonia, the fight to achieve such independence is understood as a journey to Buea. *To reach Buea*, therefore, means to achieve independence wherein Buea symbolizes freedom for them. *Nchang shoe boys* are used to refer to separatist fighters. At the onset of the crisis, most of these armed groups wore "nchang" shoes (boots made out of rubber-like material). Supporters of the regime against these boys used this expression to mock the armed groups in comparison with soldiers to show the strength of the soldiers of these groups. The expression was, ironically, picked by the separatists who used it to show their ability and readiness to fight the soldiers. Its meaning, therefore, improved over time to refer to these boys in a

rather positive manner as those without proper ammunition capable of fighting and defeating the regular forces.

4. Acronyms, Clipping, Blending and Borrowings

Some of the new words used during the Anglophone crisis are acronyms, clipping, and borrowings. The acronym NOSO has become famous especially by pro-government advocates in the ongoing crisis. The word is gotten from the initials of the French appellation of North West and South-West regions of the country. It is used as a short form and also to refer to these regions as a war-torn zone. Others such as *amba* (the short form or ambazonian fighter), *ambazombies* (Blended form of ambazonia and zombies), *ekelebe*, (borrowed from a Nigerian language to refer to uniform officers-soldiers, and police officers) express different meanings. The word *amba* is used to mean separatist fighter with negative connotations as those attributed to terrorists and their activities. This is also true of the blend, *ambazombies* which is used to describe separatist fighters as ambazonian zombies, thereby assigning onto them the qualities and traits of a non-human being. This word is used by anti-separatists and proponents of the regime against the separatists' ideology. Once they are referred to as zombies they are attributed all the negative traits of terrorists and are treated as such.

The most interesting aspect of the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon is the way social actors try to incorporate social media into their fighting strategies. The target audience is mainly Cameroonians abroad and the international community, and significantly the international media which would later serve as an echo chamber for their aspirations and offered the kind widespread and free publicity.

From examining and analyzing the data we can say Cameroon uses a rough blend of British and Nigerian English and a cluster of home languages, accompanied by some onomatopoeia words within the great influence of the French Language which is predominantly spoken in the country. Pidgin English and Cameroon francophone English are intermixed with a multiplicity of mother tongues and other deviant forms as a result of increasing global interactions. The catchy expressions have unique peculiarities that relay understanding amongst a vast group of social actors in the crisis in the country.

Conclusion

This paper analyses new words used within the contexts of the Anglophone crisis against the backdrop that these words express the dynamics of the ongoing socio-political crisis in the country. During a crisis, new words are invented to name new phenomena or to name existing phenomena in a new fashion. The analyses demonstrate that existing words have picked new meanings while some have been formed through different processes to convey a variety of meanings. Existing words have picked new ideological meanings which only reveal the socio-political dynamics of the crisis. Given that words and the language used by speakers of any language also is a social practice some of these words can help explain the actions of the proponents of the crisis. The creation of new words and their usage, therefore, express and reveal the dynamics of the crisis.

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