

# Impoliteness in Social Media Interactions by Cameroonian Diaspora Activists

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**Abstract:** This study sets out to analyse Cameroonian diaspora activists' impoliteness in their various interactions on Twitter and Facebook. In Cameroon, the quest for power and control as well as the desire of politicians to win elections at all costs is overwhelmingly stronger than the will for the common good. These issues converge in shaping socio-political discourse by ardent users of social media, especially Cameroonian diaspora activists. The 2018 presidential election has strained by insecurity and violent extremism covering three Regions out of ten. Based on this premise, the study highlights the different conventionalized impoliteness formulae in Cameroon social media. Data for this study comprises 219 impolite messages collected from activists' tweets and Facebook profiles from the 3rd of December 2017 to February 2023. The data was collected through screenshots thank to android phone. To analyse the data collected from these two main platforms (hereafter Twitter and Facebook), the researchers applied a mixed method research. Culpeper (2010) conventionalized impoliteness formulae was adopted in this research paper to analyse the data. Results from the analysis unveil insults as the mostly used impoliteness formula followed by pointed criticism, explicitly associate with a negative aspect, pointed accusation, threats, unpalatable questions/presuppositions and message enforcers respectively.

**Keywords:** social media, Pragmatics, impoliteness, conventionalized formulae, Cameroon.2. Literature review

## 1. Introduction

The development of communication technologies in recent years has further increased the impact and the awareness of the volume and variety of online social interactions. New technologies like instant messaging added to highly popular social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Instagram, Facebook, Twitter and YouTube significantly help humans to communicate with one another beyond physical barriers. This in turn has advanced impact on how language is produced and interpreted in many fields of study (Psychology, psycholinguistics, communication studies, discourse analysis, anthropology, sociolinguistics, media studies, philosophy, law and Pragmatics). Some authors have proved that the digital environment is prone to disseminate peace within political discourse, offense or aggressive language, flaming political crisis through hatred as well as impoliteness (Fombo, 2021; Haugh 2013; Jinan & Abdullah 2022; Methven 2017; Nouhou 2022; Oliveira & Carneiro 2018, 2020; Ott 2017; Sawalda 2020).

From the viewpoint of aggressive language, it acts as strategies of impoliteness (Culpeper 2005; Kádár & Haugh 2013; Culpeper & Hardaker 2017). To Mills (2005:268), impoliteness is any type of linguistic behaviour which is assessed as intending to threaten the hearer's face or social identity.

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Accordingly, Aydinoglu (2013:476) lists some impoliteness triggers like anger, a show of power, a dispute, a threat to the face, great sorrow, strong disapproval, desire to provoke and the wish to entertain. Impoliteness can be positive (Saragi, Sidabutar and Saragih, 2023:1) and impoliteness is not always performed by rude behaviours but a simple utterance can also indicate the act of impoliteness (Ramdhany and Ambalegin, 2023:343). Today with the ease of communication, the rampant use of impoliteness strategies and formulae between interlocutors has been highlighted within and without the Cameroonian society (Culpeper 2005, 2010, 2011; Cashman 2006; Bousfield 2008; Tabe, 2023b). In spite of the significance of impoliteness strategies or formulae worldwide, the judgment of a peculiar behaviour, whether it is polite or impolite, is nonetheless complicated since the boundaries between politeness and impoliteness are not rigorously discrete.

In Cameroon, the fathers of reunification set up the Federal Constitution in 1961 with two co-occurring linguistic groups (French and English), each of which is firmly attached to their colonial cultural heritage which envelop education, judiciary, politics and other social aspects. However, the dismantling of federalism by the first Head of State by name Ahmadou Ahidjo in 1972 is believed to have been the major setback which exposed the marginalization of Anglophone Cameroonians and waned the efficacy of Cameroonian citizens' rights and duties. In 2016, the Anglophones stood up and expressed their anger against the government which is described as a political failure. The socio-political situation in 2018 has been strained by insecurity and violent extremism covering three Regions out of ten (Far-North, North-West and South-West). The Far-North Region of Cameroon has been experiencing assaults by Boko Haram insurgency since 2014, while the North-West and South-West socio-political situation slipped to secessionist's propaganda, civil disobedience, destruction of public buildings and school boycott. Activists are those people in the diaspora whose agenda is to stand against the government in place and align with those who espouse cessation of the country by fueling the war through their messages. This paper therefore aims to identify and analyze the different types of conventionalised impoliteness formulae in Cameroon social media. The following research question will illuminate the analysis:

- ✓ What are the conventionalized impoliteness formulae in Cameroon Social Media?
- ✓ What is their socio-political impact?

## 2. Theoretical orientation

This study adopted Culpeper (2010) conventionalized impoliteness formulae for the analysis. Culpeper (1996:350) holds that impoliteness is a communicative strategy designed to attack face and thereby cause conflict and disharmony. Considers the term impoliteness as a negative attitude towards specific behaviours occurring in specific contexts (Culpeper 2005, 2010 & 2011). The impoliteness attitude is backed up by expectations, desires and beliefs about social organization, including how one person's or group's identities are mediated by others in interaction. It is somehow embedded in contradictory discourse that are in turn viewed negatively when they conflict with how one expects them to be, how one wants them to be and how one thinks they ought to be. To a certain extent, such behaviors mostly have emotional drawbacks at least on one participant, since they are presumed to cause offense towards the target. Various factors can exacerbate how offensive an impolite behaviour is taken to be, including for example whether one understands a behaviour to be strongly intentional or not (Culpeper 2010:3233).

Culpeper (2010) has identified the 8 types of conventionalised impoliteness formulae. They are presented below:

(1) *Insults* which are personalised negative vocatives as in [you] [fucking/rotten/dirty/little/, personalised negative assertions such as [you] [are] [so/ such a] [stink/stupid/bitchy/bitch/gay/nuts/fussy/ugly/etc.], personalized negative reference as in [your] [stinking] [mouth/arse/corpse/guts/trap, etc.] and personalised third-person negative references (in the hearing of the target) like [the] [daft] [bimbo].

(2) *Pointed criticisms/complaint* as in [that/this/it] [is/was] [absolutely/extraordinarily/unspeakably/etc.] or [bad/rubbish/crap/horrible/terrible/etc.].

(3) *Challenging or unpalatable questions and/or presuppositions* such as why do you make my life impossible? Which lie are you telling me?, what's gone wrong now?. Condensation (see also the use of "little" in Personalized negative references) as in [that] [s/ being] [babyish/childish/etc.].

(4) *Message enforcers* as in listen here (preface), you got [it/that]? Do you understand [me]? (tag).

(5) *Dismissals* as in [go] [away], [get] [lost/out] and [fuck/piss/shove] [off].

(6) *Silencers* as in [shut] [it] [your] [stinking/fucking/etc.] [mouth/face/trap/etc.] -shut [the fck] up.

(7) *Threats* such as [I'll/I'm/we're] [gonna] [smash your face in/beat the shit out of you/box your ears/bust your fucking head off/straighten you out/etc.] [if you don't] [X].

(8) *Negative expressives* (e.g. curses, ill-wishes) [go] [to hell/hang yourself/fuck yourself] - [damn/fuck] [you]

Some shortcomings that may be found from Culpeper's (2010) model is his imprecision when it comes to listing the specific strategies that every superstrategy can include. Culpeper does not offer a thorough list with explanatory examples, but he only lists a few actions, closing the lists to 8 conventionalised impoliteness strategy. In the same light, Bousfield (2008) claims that the imprecision of the model can be taken as a weakness, since it leaves him exposed to criticism. Bousfield's (2010) approach to impoliteness and rudeness is also a milestone which provide an expansion of the framework in the field. The author presented a detailed classification with twelve possible scenarios in which impoliteness can occur, leaving in turn this classification open to further research. He points out that impoliteness will depend on the various contexts and variables that can influence the outcome.

The forgone theoretical consideration is consider relevant to this paper. From this viewpoint, these conventionalised impoliteness formulae are considered relevant for data analysis in this research paper. The items in the formulae such as insults, pointed criticism, explicitly associate with a negative aspect, pointed criticism, threats, unpalatable questions and presuppositions, message enforcers amongst others, which appear in the data collected from Cameroonian diaspora activists will be under scrutiny.

### 3. Methodology

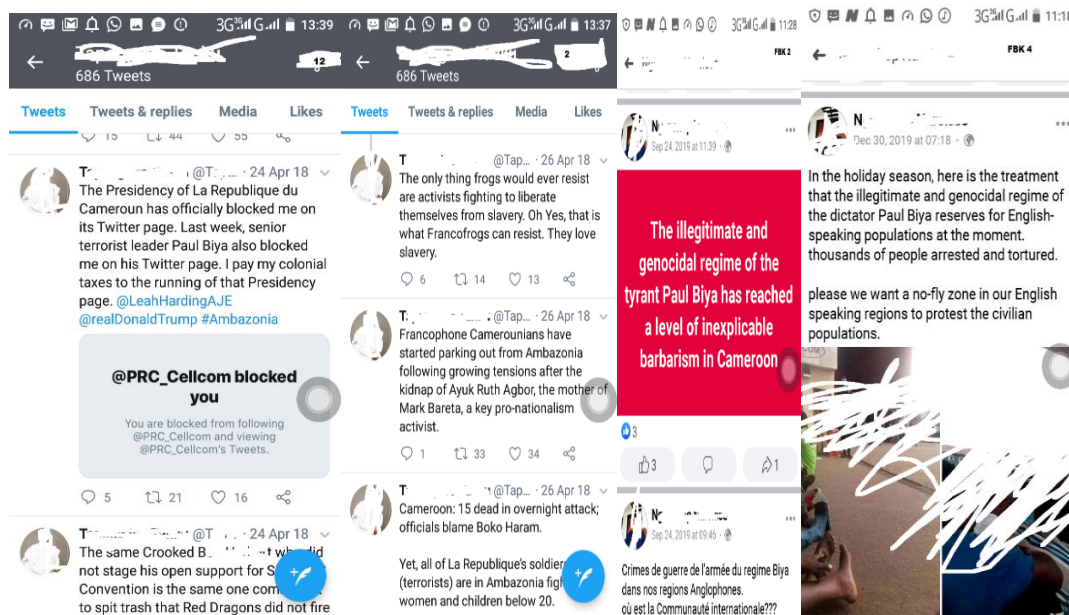
Data collection for the present study was conducted on Twitter and Facebook through screenshots thank to smartphone. The researchers preferred these social networks for data collection because these platforms are widely used by Cameroonians and provide easy accessibility. It is worth noting that the researchers master the profile of each informant. The corpus is drawn from 26 participants' profiles who are mainly writers and political analysts. In the process of data collection, all the informants are meticulously followed by the researchers so that their messages related to impoliteness are snapped and stored in a file. The primary data constitutes 219 impolite tweets and Facebook posts collected from both Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonian diaspora activists' accounts from the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December 2017 to the end of February 2023. That is why some of the excerpts are in French and followed by their translated version in English before the analysis. Messages related to impoliteness were extracted from screenshots and coded in this manner: Facebook (FBK 01 to FBK 166) and Twitter (TWT 01 to TWT 53). This codification follows 166 transcribed impolite messages obtained from Facebook and 53 impolite tweets transcribed from Twitter respectively. The quantitative and qualitative approaches were used for data analysis. For confidentiality, it is worth to note that all names on the chats have been deleted. The composition of the corpus is detailed in Table 1 below:

**Table 1: Corpus composition**

Platform	Number of messages	Participants	Year(s) of collection
FBK	166	09	2017-2023

TWT	53	17	2017-2023
<b>Total</b>	<b>219</b>	<b>26</b>	

Table 1 shows that the data comprises 166 FBK chats and 53 TWT that were collected from 2017 to 2023 with a total of 219. Statistics from this table show clearly that information is collected from 09 FBK users and 17 TWT users, which gives 26 informants. The data are quantified and analysed following the identification of the relevant pragmatic features of impoliteness formulae. Figure 1 below presents some samples of screenshots that were collected.



**Figure 1: Sample of data**

The impolite expressions such as insult, pointed criticism and associate with a negative aspect features in the samples of screenshots above. More data are found in the appendix. The use of quantitative and qualitative approaches helped to answer the research questions set at the introduction. To calculate the percentages, the researchers counted each type of impoliteness under both platforms and provided the total number. The percentage was calculated on the basis of these total numbers. Example: insults were 89 occurrences and the total number was 219, the calculation was done as follows:  $89 \div 219 \times 100 = 40.64\%$ .

The titles which constitute the subsections of the analysis are framed following the pragmatic features in Culpeper's (2010) conventionalized impoliteness formulae. The transcribed conventionalized impoliteness formulae related to insults, explicitly associate with a negative aspect, pointed criticism, threats, pointed accusation, unpalatable questions and presuppositions and message enforcers are presented and analysed in turn.

#### 4. Data analysis

Facts gleaned from the data show instances of impoliteness formulae in the online interactions of Cameroonian diaspora activists. Table 2 shows the types of impoliteness formulae with their frequencies.

**Table 2: Types of impoliteness formulae and their frequencies**

Impoliteness formulae	Frequencies
Insults	89 (40.64%)

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Explicitly associate with a negative aspect	52 (23.74%)
Pointed criticism	44 (20.09 %)
Threats	21 (9.59 %)
Unpalatable questions and presuppositions	07 (3.20%)
Message enforcers	06 (2.74%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>219 100</b>

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A primary quantitative analysis of the corpus as seen in Table 2 shows a total of 219 conventionalised impoliteness formulae. They are grouped into those containing insults which are the most preferred in use and account for 40.64%, while explicitly associate with a negative aspect follows with 23.74%. Pointed criticism amounted to 20.09 % as the third formula used, then threats is the fourth formula with 9.59 %. The last two are respectively unpalatable questions and presuppositions with 3.20% and message enforcers with 2.74%. The highest frequency of insult terms shows the determination of the activists to stand against government personalities and fuel the crisis during 2017-2023 period. This communication strategies reveals the activists' strong negative feelings towards the stakeholders and specifically the ruling system in Cameroon. The least frequency of message enforcers reinforce the idea that the activists do not believe in those ruling the country. Details on each of the impolite formulae are given in the following subsections.

#### 4.1. Insults

Insults are words or verbal attacks on other people. They are expressions that are used to increase the intentional force of communication. Insults may denote the physical, mental or psychological qualities of the target. They both function to hurt the person directly through a particular word or phrase. Some insults use animal imagery such as pig, dog, bitch, son of a bitch, jackass, and sow. Some others are based on social deviations such as whore, slut, bastard, homo, fag, queer. Words can be used to call someone's name, usually in the form of personal name, title or term of endearment. They can be called as 'personalized negative vocatives'. Insults were the most frequent in the data and amounted to 40.64%. Consider the following extracts:

- (1) French : si Bayala vous dit bisoux avec sa voix de crapaud-la, vous allez faire quoi, 1) la gifler, 2) fuir, dire bisoux aussi. (FBK 01, June 17, 2019).

English: if Bayala greets you with **her frog voice**, what will you do? 1) Slap her, 2) run away, 3) greet her too.

- (2) [...] **terrorist Ekama** was poisoned in Douala but died in Buea last night. (TWT 01, October 27, 2019).

- (3) French : Bandin Mongamou est un malade mental ... par l'armée du dictateur... (FBK02, January 18, 2020).

English: Bandin Mongamou **is a crazy man** ... by the dictator army

- (4) Cameroon's President **terrorist Paul Biya** calls for secret urgent meeting... (TWT 03, June 7, 2018).

The examples above are cases of personalized negative vocatives. Matsuda (1993) and MacKinnon (1996) argue that words can assault, injure and wound. Butler (1997:4) also notes that their "formulations suggest that linguistic injury acts like physical injury". These point of views are confirmed in these cases noted above. From the first sample, the informant calls his target with name and liken her voice to that of a frog 'her frog voice'. The addresser used a very provocative sentence to express his impoliteness attitude towards the target. From examples (2) and (4), the participants overtly consider the target as 'terrorists'. It is worth to note that the people insulted here are stakeholders, consequently, it is unkind to say such a thing towards them especially on social media platforms. In example (3), the target is described as 'a crazy man' which is said to be a very negative assimilation, being therefore an impolite address. Sentences may be used to express negative feelings about someone. The samples below are cases of personalised negative assertions:

(5) French: [...] ce dictateur Paul Biya est la pire des espèces que la terre ait connue... (FBK 12, February 23, 2020).

English: This dictator Paul Biya is the worst species that the earth ever knew...

(6) [...] most of the youths see the 86 years old dictator as sitting on their future. (TWT 08, 11 February, 2019).

(7) French: [...] au dernier jour d'un tyran il deviendra fou ... (FBK 10, November 20, 2019).

English: [...] a tyrant will become mad on his last day ...

(8) If Cameroon dictator Paul Biya was a medical doctor, babies in wombs would have preferred dying before seeing daylight. (TWT 15, April 18, 2018).

The use of the demonstrative 'this' in example (5) and the quantifier 'most of' in the sixth sample stresses a high degree of impoliteness. The informants are using a hyperbolic communication in sample (5) and the expression 'sitting on their future' in example (6) to express their negative feelings towards the target, thereby making chaos for 'most of the youths' of this generation and the world. These kinds of strong beliefs fall also in line with what is said in example (8), qualifying the target as a monster 'babies in wombs would have preferred dying before seeing daylight'. In example (7), the informant is eager to determine the end of a person as if he was God 'a tyrant will become mad on his last day'. Following Aydinoglu (2013:476), this is a clear indication of humans' aggressive nature. All the messages from (5) to (8) are prompted by the North-West, South-West socio-political troubling situations.

#### **4.2. Explicitly associate with a negative aspect**

Explicitly associate with a negative aspect is a negative impoliteness output. Following Elkholy and Ahsani (2023) views on negative impoliteness, the speaker shows himself or herself in the wrong side of decisions. This type of impoliteness is used 23.74% in frequency. In what follows, some facts reveal that the informants align with what is happening in the Anglophone part of the country, that is, recurrent acts of violence, destruction, killing and claim of secession:

(9) Long live Ambazonia, short live the fight! (FBK 03, January 20, 2018).

(10) No Ambazonian should worry, as I am 100% a proponent of the ground game as a means, and of secession and restoration as the goal. (FBK 11, June 4, 2018).

(11) What Amba boys are doing, keep doing it. (FBK 23, December 16, 2020).

(12) [...] thank you Amba boys! Thank you! (FBK 05, December 16, 2018)

(13) My people, fight, fight, fight. (FBK 19, May 1<sup>st</sup>, 2019).

(14) To my ambazonian friends, whatever you are doing in Ambazonia is excellent, keep doing it. Focus. (FBK 26, October 23, 2021).

It is crystal clear from example (9) to (14) above that all the speakers strongly stand for the fight against the state defense forces. They abusively consider those who protest against the state unitary as citizens of the so called 'Ambazonia' as they say 'Long live Ambazonia', an imaginary country. They show it explicitly through messages such as 'No Ambazonian should worry', 'To my ambazonian friends'. But they do not stop here as the following extracts display:

(15) Our duty is not towards the living but the dead. We must act and we must be prepared to testify. (TWT 07, May 15, 2018).

(16) [...] 2020 must be our year of total freedom and despite the pain we must increase the resistance... (FBK 35, February 22, 2022).

(17) [...] we must intensify the assault both internal and external (FBK 37, March 11, 2022).



- (18) [...] I urge our people to arm themselves to the teeth. Cameroon will succumb soon. (TWT 16, March 6, 2020).

From the instances above, the activists are fueling the negative aspect concerning this war. It could have been established through the use of modality 'must' that it is a must for readers to carry on the fight and keep it on. This confirms Tasah and Sawalda (2021) Cameroonian activists centered on the incitement of violence, following the Anglophone socio-political crisis which has been going on since November 2016. The expressions 'we must intensify the assault both internal and external' and 'I urge our people to arm themselves to the teeth' show that they are pregnant with high degree of bad feelings, showing therefore their impolite attitude through frequent posts on Twitter and Facebook.

### 4.3. Pointed criticism

Pointed criticism is the act of directing a critic towards a carefully selected target. The diaspora activists have raised a lot of criticism against the Bulu tribe in Cameroon. They are spirited by the motivation of identifying the ruling system as a bad system since inception. They put an etiquette on this ethnic group, considering this country as their vineyard. In this end, they qualify everything concerning the state as 'Bulu' properties. This is shown in the instances (19), (20) and (21) below:

- (19) [...] Armand Magloire Mvondo Mvondo, Biya's own nephew, **Bulu** soldier... (FBK 04, June 4, 2018).
- (20) on my way to Johannesburg. Love you all except the **Bulu** clique. (TWT 20, November 29, 2021).
- (21) Ambaland is a **Bulu** graveyard. (TWT 17, June 20, 2021).

The samples (19) to (21) clearly show that Bulu tribe is criticised a lot in Cameroon. This kind of selecting just a tribe amongst many others (at least 250) to portray is to show to the world that the country is in the hands of a minority.

### 4.4. Threats

Beyond any situation, all word choices and language used may influence public opinion and categories of thought. As such every sentence that can be harmful to the readers is considered a threat. Threat is also another form of impoliteness formula found in the data collected with percentage of 9.59%. Examples are shown in the following excerpts:

- (22) Cameroon is a pariah State whose demise will come soon. We will write the last chapter of its brutal existence. (TWT 03, August 15, 2017).
- (23) I will break Cameroon into two halves as the case before 1961... (TWT 06, May 16, 2018).
- In examples (22) and (23) the informants threaten Cameroon as state through overtly declared words of impoliteness such as 'Cameroon is a pariah State whose demise will come soon' and 'I will break Cameroon into two halves as the case before 1961'. They also target the head of state like the examples (24), (25) and (26) below display:
- (24) [...] You will have no peace Biya. We shall see where you will be buried. (TWT 54, May 16, 2023).
- (25) [...] that lunatic called Paul Biya. I will squeeze you. (TWT 36, May 16, 2022).
- (26) Biya we will not forgive. We will not forget. We will hunt you and others for accountability. (TWT 24, May 7, 2023).

Sentences (24), (25) and (26) above show an expression of anger by the speakers. All of them promise evil to the target through different threatening words. Expressions such as 'You will have no peace Biya', 'I will squeeze you' and 'we will hunt you and others for accountability' are not words that cherish the target at all.

#### 4.5. Unpalatable questions and presuppositions

Unpalatable questions and presuppositions described in Culpeper's (2010) formulae have also been used by Cameroon diaspora activists on Twitter and Facebook. Such kind of sentences are interrogative sentences that the speaker may know the answer to his/her own question but dare to ask it and the question remains unanswered. Consider the following examples:

(27) French: Tellement de cadavres Bulu! Commencer par lequel ? (FBK 66, March 18, 2023).

English: many Bulu corpses! With which one to start?

(28) A shaky tyrant is shaking to the bones by truth. Now what the Brits said will also be called 'allegations'? (TWT 45, June 12, 2022).

From the examples above, questions are asked by the participants without answers to them. Talking about example (27) for instance, it presupposes that there are corpses on the ground, but the speaker used an exaggeration by the quantifier 'many' and also counting them for 'Bulu corpses'. The speaker in example (28) also direct his abusive talk to the target and emphasizes with a question. It is undoubtedly part of their cultural background knowledge.

#### 4.6. Message enforcers

These are words used to lay emphasis on the belief one has over something or someone. The following extracts illustrate message enforcers in the informants' threads of interactions:

(29) French: voilà l'armée du RDPC et de son dictateur! ... (FBK 22, March 12, 2021).

English: here is the CPDM army and its dictator! ...

(30) French: voilà ce que fait le dictateur Paul Biya dans mon pays Cameroun. Les veuves et les orphelins. (FBK 33, November 28, 2021).

English: here is what the dictator Paul Biya is doing in my Country Cameroon. Widows and orphans.

(31) French: alerte alerte alerte! Le dictateur assassin Biya Paul sera probablement en Suisse cette semaine... (FBK 06, November 28, 2018).

English: alert alert alert! The assassin dictator Biya Paul will probably be in Switzerland this week.

(32) French: voici le travail des soldats du régime criminel du dictateur Paul Biya dans nos régions anglophones. (FBK 16, April 15, 2019).

English: here is the work of the soldiers of the criminal regime of dictator Paul Biya in our Anglophone regions.

It is seen from examples (29), (30) and (32) above that the interactants use the place deixis 'here' to call the audience's attention on the civilian massacre in the Anglophone areas, thereby emphasising on the information that they want the world to be aware of. Their message here is full of impoliteness formulae towards the target in such a way that they are tarnishing his image and even his political party as shown in the following fragment 'here is the CPDM army'. Moreover, the threefold use of 'alert' in example (31) wants to say that there is an emergency to know the target's movement out of the country after his victory of the 7<sup>th</sup> October 2018 presidential election event. This message implicitly goes to other activists, calling them to be perhaps ready for the execution of their hidden agenda when the time comes.

#### 5. Conclusion

The current study has investigated the use of English conventionalized impoliteness formulae in the interactions of Cameroonian diaspora activists on Twitter and Facebook from 2017 to 2023. In order to account for all aspects of the phenomenon, Culpeper's (2010) impoliteness formulae was adopted. It is observed that the use of impoliteness formulae has reasonably invaded Cameroon social media



through the production of various forms in discursive contexts. Findings in this paper showed a significant number of conventionalized impoliteness formulae used by the informants. Insults (89 occurrences), explicitly associate with a negative aspect (52), pointed criticism (44 occurrences), threats (21), unpalatable questions and presuppositions (07) and message enforcers with 06 occurrences have been recorded. Some items like silencer, dismissal and negative expressive do not appear in the analysis simply because they did not occur frequently enough.

The findings revealed in this paper have shown total discrepancy with those of Saragi, Sidabutar and Saragih (2023) who talk about positive impoliteness as the strategy that has been mostly used by their informants. Elkholy and Ahsani (2023) results showed that negative impoliteness strategy was the most commonly used strategy. However, they can concur with 'a threat to the face' and 'great desire to provoke' which are two aspects drawn from the results of Aydinoglu (2013) related to impoliteness triggers and Mills (2005) impoliteness assessed as intending to threaten the hearer's face or social identity. Results of this study also fall in the same line with two aspects the study of Tasah and Sawalda (2021) which indicate that incitement of violence, ethnic group criticism, accusation, threat, and challenge are revealed in the corpus.

From the pragmatic perspective, findings from this study show that global security is threatened by impolite address on social media, which may lead to protest or conflicts in the society. Therefore, strong measures should be taken in order to reduce or limit impolite messages online. However, the Government should for instance implement codes of conduct about social media and internet governance to supervise their implementation. Preferably, a supervisory body should be created and established for supervising the implementation of these codes of conduct. In addition, the media and internet service providers should implement rules on the publication of materials which might be categorised as impolite. Finally, awareness raising campaigns on social media literacy should be conducted on the Internet, in schools and media. This research paper has limited the corpus to Cameroonian diaspora activists and the analysis of impoliteness formulae. Further research can be done, reconsidering all Cameroonian users of Social Media as the informants and use impoliteness strategies and their functions in data analysis.

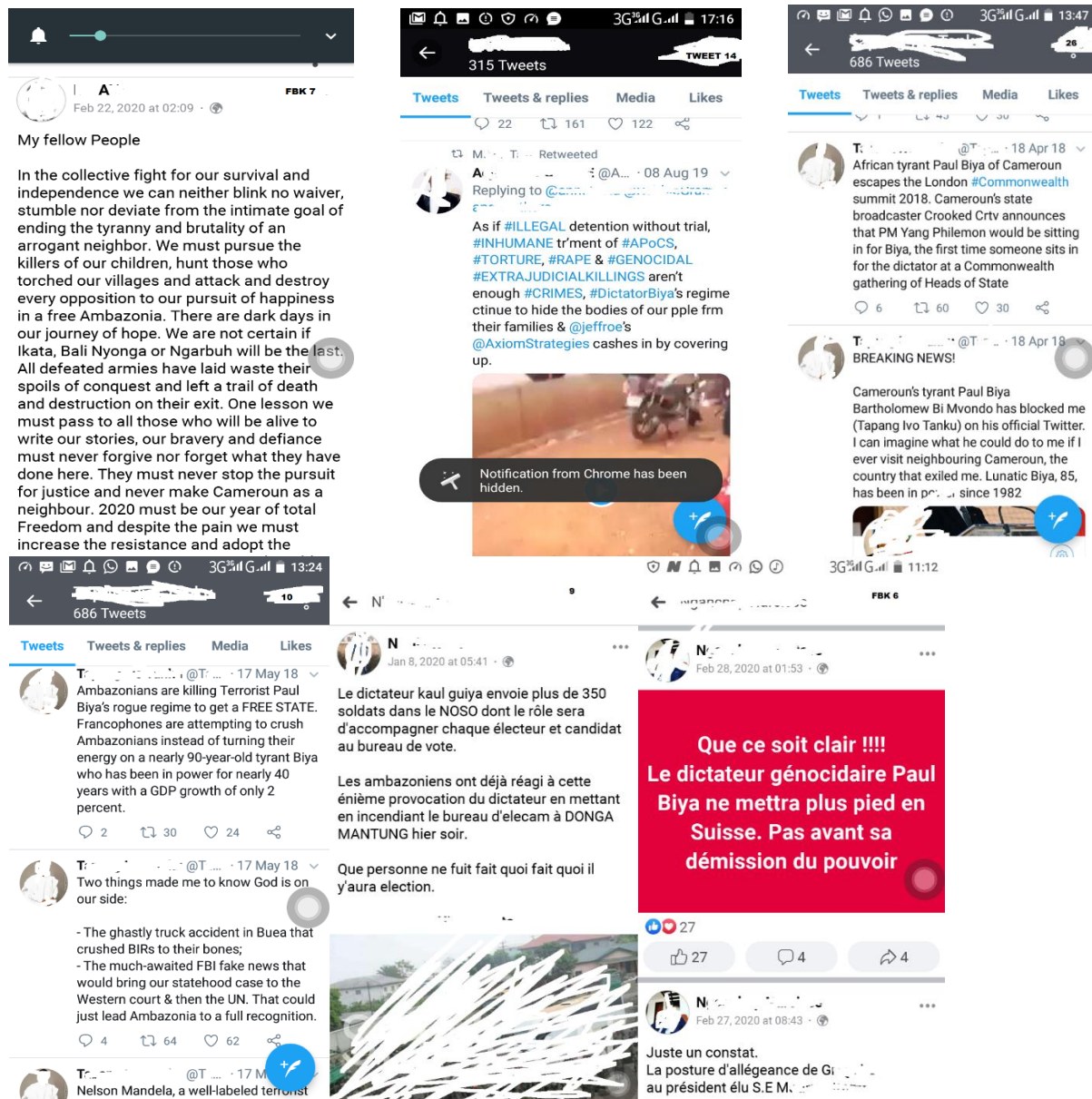
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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Some screenshots



## Appendix 2

### 1. Insults

- (1) So Macron is against the destabilization of Cameroon. Issa Tchirouma must be laughing. What an idiot! (TWT 02, July 6, 2018).
- (2) After the US, the Francophone tyrant can start agitating against the Brits too. (TWT 09, October 15, 2018).
- (3) Ambassador of the US marching in front of Biya's wife on March 9, 2018, in Yaounde. Biya is a tyrant who killed Anglophones. (TWT 13, November 18, 2018)
- (4) Paul Biya assassin (FBK 07, December 2, 2018).
- (5) French: les propos d'un soldat Joseph Akono appartiennent à la tribu du dictateur Paul Biya. (FBK 04, March 1, 2018).  
English: the words of a soldier Joseph Akono belong to the dictator's tribe.
- (6) French: finalement le président Macron a appelé le dictateur Paul Biya ce dimanche 1er mars... (FBK 18, March 1, 2020).

English: finally president Macron called the dictator Paul Biya this Sunday 1st March...

- (7) [...] for our brothers and sisters who are in the forests because of the violence of dictator Paul Biya's regime. (FBK 31, December 10, 2020).
- (8) Gruesome systematic killing of unarmed young children by terrorist leader and dictator Paul Biya ... (TWT 14, April 20, 2018).
- (9) African tyrant paul Biya escapes the London Commonwealth ... (TWT 17, April August 11, 2018).
- (10) Except Paul Biya dictator. (FBK 25, May 7, 2019).
- (11) Americans were shocked Tuesday to see African President & terrorist Paul Biya ... (TWT 05, February 6, 2018).
- (12) Ambazonians are killing terrorist Paul Biya's rogue regime to get a free State... (TWT 12, May 17, 2018).
- (13) There is one thing terrorist Paul Biya and his Francophones are afraid to do ... (TWT 12, May 18, 2018).
- (14) [...] the dictator will be toppled soon... (TWT 13, May 26, 2018).
- (15) [...] amid a war officially declared against us, civilians, by terrorist paul Biya of Cameroon... (TWT 28, January 11, 2019).

## **2. Explicitly associate with a negative aspect**

- (16) [...] they said they want 'bullets'. Give them 'bullets'. In other words, I am 100% a proponent of the ground game. (FBK 02, June 5, 2018).
- (17) [...] thank you Amba boys! Thank you! (FBK 21, December 16, 2018).
- (18) Chasing is the only solution. (FBK 15, September 29, 2018).
- (19) Fight! Fight! Fight! And don't forget. (TWT 26, November 16, 2023 ).
- (20) Ambazonians, fight! fight! fight! (TWT 15, November, 2023).
- (21) Each day, when I wake up I have only one word in my mind, it's a word to Amber fighters, fight! fight! fight! (TWT 11, May 27, 2018).
- (22) Revolt!revolt!revolt! (TWT 43, March 18, 2022).
- (23) I once hereby declare Ambazonia as an endangered people and I ask on all citizens home and abroad to join the defence forces. (FBK 34, January 3, 2020).
- (24) Lord strengthen our children ... give them more guns, rockets to defend our civilians and homeland to call their own. (FBK 38, March 3, 2020).
- (25) Today has been a particularly good day. Our forces will intensify operations. (FBK 42, March 8, 2020).
- (26) Rise up Ambalanders. You owe it to yourself and our people to fight... (TWT 26, January 13, 2020).
- (27) [...] we as people must rise up against tyranny of alian rule ... (TWT 28, February 26, 2020).
- (28) [...] so fight the bloody war to be recognized ... (TWT 33, March 6, 2020).
- (29) [...] we must bleed Cameroon military. (TWT 48, August 6, 2020).

- (30) [...] we shall still fight more than ever before. I watch your backs and we shall win. (TWT 52, January 30, 2023).

### 3. Pointed criticism

- (31) French: ce qui m'amuse avec les Bulu c'est qu'ils croyaient qu'ils pouvaient battre les Anglophones, quoi. (FBK 39, December 13, 2019).

English: What is amazing with Bulu is that they thought that they could defeat the Anglophones.

- (32) French: ce qui est beau dans cette affaire est que malgré le feu que les Bulu mettent partout... (FBK 63, December 16, 2019).

English: what is good in this affair is that despite the fire that Bulu are putting everywhere

- (33) French: 22 Bulu abattus au Noso en une semaine ... (FBK 65, December 18, 2019).

English: 22 Bulu killed in Noso in one week...

- (34) French: puisque selon les Bulu les absents ont tort, la France a-t-elle tort d'être absente au vote du conseil de sécurité sur le Cameroun? (FBK 56, December 21, 2020).

English: since according to the Bulu the absentees are to be blamed, does it mean that France should be blamed for its absence to vote for Security Council on Cameroon?

- (35) French: les Bulu commettent un génocide au Cameroun... (FBK 40, January 22, 2020).

English: the Bulu are committing genocide in Cameroon...

- (36) French: je comprends maintenant pourquoi les Bulu ont aligné les cadavres ambazoniens ... (FBK 44, March 10, 2020).

English: I understand now why the Bulu lined up the ambazonians corpses ...

- (37) French: [...] un fait est sûr: le gars Bulu que la sous-préfète a giflé hein... (FBK 49, March 23, 2020).

English: what is sure: the Bulu slapped by the DO hein...

- (38) French: ce sont les Bulu qui ont égorgé en premier lieu au NOSO... (FBK 30, December 26, 2019).

English: the Bulu were the first to kill in the NOSO...

- (39) French: [...] ou chassées de leur Pays par le régime Bulu ou qui ont perdu un être cher à cause de lui ... (FBK 55, December 24, 2020).

English: or chased from their Country by the Bulu regime or lost a dear relative because of him...

- (40) French: Bulu, Hutu, Ebutu. Ça rime, j'y peux rien. (FBK 56, December 22, 2020).

English: Bulu, Hutu, Ebutu. It rhymes, I can't do anything.

- (41) French: pour me contredire, les Bulu doivent ressusciter 12,022 Anglophones. Au minimal. (FBK 76, September 3, 2021).

English: to contradict me, the Bulu should resurrect at least 12,022 Anglophones.

- (42) the Bulu soldiers killed indiscriminately in Batibo yesterday ... (TWT 81, March 14, 2022).

- (43) [...] defeat as a Bulu name. (TWT 22, July 12, 2019).

### 4. Threats

- (44) French : Biya ... c'est ça même que je vais offrir à notre peuple après t'avoir chassé ... (FBK 71, August 30, 2020).

English: Biya ...this is what I will offer to our people after chasing you...

(45) French: note à Biya: finit vite le stade là car après toi, on va changer le nom de ça et l'appeler Multiplexe P. N. (FBK 73, June 15, 2021).

English: note to Biya: finish this stadium quickly because after you the name will be changed to Multicomplex P. N. Stadium.

(46) we will chase you people to the gate of hell ... (TWT 20, April 24, 2022).

(47) thank Biya for the special status. The death of lead terrorist Ekema Patrick ... appoint the next and see. (TWT 51, October 27, 2021).

(48) [...] steal my money but never kill my child. Dare it and see the black devil in me. (TWT 53, January 8, 2023).

(49) Those who badly want useless Presidential election 2018 will have just one option left after eternal terrorist Paul Biya wins...(TWT 35, May 17, 2019).

(50) As long as we exist as ambazonians, Bulu Cameroon will never host any African football tournaments. Not under our eyes. (TWT 36, July 27, 2019).

(51) [...] stay home and be save and safe. Ambazonians fighters will consider anyone seen out there as LR soldiers. (TWT 28, February 12, 2020).

(52) the world has a choice. Recognize Ambazonia and fill the gap ... or allow this gap be filled with by actors with huge international consequences. (TWT 38, February 23, 2020).

(53) those who doubted our strength and determination ... people must now recognize the inevitable. (TWT 40, September 6, 2021).

## 5. Unpalatable questions and presuppositions

(54) French: [...] qui n'hésite pas à tuer la jeunesse qui s'oppose à son régime chaotique. (TWT 39, March 13, 2019).

English: who does not hesitate to kill the youth that is against his chaotic regime?

(55) French : génération change prépare-t-il la rébellion à Yaoundé? La réponse est simple oui. (FBK 60, February 22, 2018).

English: is generation change preparing rebellion in Yaoundé? The answer is simply yes.

(56) French: pourquoi je bloque la bêtise? Pour élever le niveau vers l'action. L'action, l'action. (FBK 58, December 9, 2018).

English: Why do I block nonsense? To upgrade the level towards action. Action, action.

(57) French: qui commet le génocide des Anglophones? Les Bulu.... (FBK 57, October 23, 2019).

English: who is committing Anglophones genocide? The Bulu...

(58) French: Atanga Nji ta mamang, tu m'entends ?, ta maman. (FBK 56, October 27, 2018).

English: Atanga Nji your mother, are you following? your mother.

## 6. Message enforcers

(59) French: à cause du dictateur Paul Biya je suis ici au lieu d'être à Mokolo (FBK 24, March 12, 2019).

English: instead of being in Mokolo I am here because of dictator Paul Biya.

(60) In the holiday season, here is the treatment that the illegitimate and genocidal regime of the dictator Paul Biya ... (FBK 32, December 30, 2019).

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