TRABAJO DE FIN DE MASTER

The discursive formation of nationalism: A study of the Anglophone secessionist movements in Cameroon

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Master of Arts degree in English linguistics: New Applications and International Communication

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Resumen del trabajo

Este trabajo de fin de Máster es el resultado de la investigación del nacionalismo en la minoría Anglófona en Camerún. En esta investigación enmarcada dentro del Análisis Crítico del Discurso, se han analizado varios textos procedentes de grupos nacionalistas Anglófonos de Camerún. Los objetivos de este trabajo son analizar cómo los nacionalistas de "Southern Cameroons" (Nombre que se usa para llamar la parte de Anglófona de Camerún) construyen su identidad en distintos tipos de discursos., y las estrategias lingüísticas usadas para alcanzar dicho propósito. A continuación, se va a presentar Camerún y su contexto histórico y político, luego la metodología usada, y se va a terminar con una presentación de los resultados más importantes de la investigación.

Con respecto al contexto histórico y político de Camerun, hay que enseñar que es un país Africano que está en la parte oeste del continente, en lo que se llama el golfo de Guinea. Es un país multilingüe y multiétnico que fue dominado por tres distintas potencias imperialistas, Alemania, Inglaterra y Francia. Es por esta historia complicada que el país se encuentra en la situación descrita en este Trabajo de Fin de Máster, o sea la oposición entre las dos entidades lingüísticas del país. En realidad, Camerún fue primero una colonia alemana, pero cuando esta potencia imperialista perdió la Primera Guerra Mundial sus vencedores (las potencias aliadas) se llevaron sus colonias, incluida Camerún. Entonces, Camerún fue dividido en dos territorios que fueron administrados respectivamente por Francia e Inglaterra. Esta doble colonización duró hasta principios de los años 60, momento en que una vez conseguida su independencia, ambos territorios decidieron reunificarse y así formar un país con dos idiomas oficiales (francés e inglés). Al principio de los años 90, parte de la minoría anglófona del país al darse cuenta que estaba marginada por la mayoría francófona, una empezó a ver la unión con la parte

francófona como una colonización disfrazada. Así nació el nacionalismo anglófono cuyo propósito es la independencia de Southern Cameroons o al menos mayor autonomía para sus ciudadanos. Pero, desafortunadamente para estos nacionalistas anglófonos, el gobierno de Camerún que se opone al secesionismo declaró todos los grupos secesionistas ilegales. A pesar de esta restricción, los grupos nacionalistas anglófonos siguen estando activos en internet y en las redes sociales.

Este trabajo se enmarca en el área del Análisis Crítico del Discurso. Es un enfoque que fomenta el estudio del lenguaje en uso y cuyos centros de atención son la representación del poder en la sociedad y los problemas sociales que eso conlleva, como la inmigración y el antisemitismo (Véase, Wodak et al, 1999; Reisigl y Wodak, 2000). Al ser un conjunto de varias metodologías, el enfoque histórico-discursivo del Análisis Crítico del Discurso fue elegido porque había sido usada en otros contextos para investigar la construcción del nacionalismo. Cabe decir que el enfoque histórico-discursivo fue planteado por Ruth Wodak, Rudolf de Cillia, Martin Reisigl y Karin Liebhard en su publicación *the discursive construction of national identity* (1999) donde se analizó la representación del nacionalismo austriaco en diversos discursos de este país. Según los escritos de los fundadores de este enfoque, el análisis del discurso tiene que seguir una metodología con tres partes fundamentales: la selección de macro-estructuras semánticas o temas principales, la identificación de estrategias y la identificación de los recursos lingüísticos usados para fomentar esas estrategias. Además de la metodología característica de dicho enfoque, se tomó la decisión de usar herramientas de la lingüística de corpus para aportar datos cuantitativos a esta investigación que es fundamentalmente cualitativa.

Para llevar a cabo este trabajo, un total de 15 textos escritos por líderes de diversos grupos nacionalistas anglófonos de Camerún, incluyendo 5 discursos políticos, 5 cartas

abiertas y 5 artículos de propaganda, fueron seleccionados. El corpus tenía un total de 34601 palabras.

El análisis de estos textos ha permitido identificar dos temas principales: la construcción de la singularidad de Southern Cameroons y la justificación de la lucha por la independencia.

En lo que se refiere a la construcción de la singularidad de Southern Cameroons, los textos revelan que una de las metas principales de sus autores es demonstrar que su territorio es distinto del resto del territorio Camerunés dónde se habla francés. Por eso, usan dos tipos de estrategias: las estrategias de referencia y denominación y las estrategias predicativas. Una estrategia de referencia y denominación usada para presentar la singularidad de Southern Cameroons es la denominación topográfica. En realidad, los nacionalistas anglófonos usan dos nombres diferentes para llamar a los dos territorios: *Southern Cameroons* y *la Republique du Cameroun*. Además de identificar los territorios, esos nombres revelan sus distintos pasados coloniales e identidades lingüísticas. Cabe también añadir que las estrategias predicativas se caracterizan por el uso de adjetivos y otras palabras para presentar positivamente a aquellos que apoyan el nacionalismo Anglófono y negativamente a aquellos que lo rechazan.

El segundo tema principal es la justificación de la lucha por la independencia del territorio Anglófono de Camerún. Este tema tiene 2 componentes que son la presentación de la lucha como legal y su presentación como legítima. Estos se manifiestan mediante estrategias como la referencia a leyes o autoridades, la narrativización y *topoi*.

Uno de los principales objetivos de los nacionalistas anglófonos es demonstrar que su lucha está apoyada por diversos textos legales dentro y fuera de Camerún. Por eso en

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muchos textos hacen referencia a leyes de organismos internacionales como las Naciones Unidas, o la Union Africana, pero también a leyes Camerunesas para justificar su derecho a la autonomía o la independencia. Además de hacer referencia a textos legales, citan también personalidades cuya influencia da poder legal a sus palabras. Estas personalidades pueden ser internacionales o Camerunesas. En estos casos, se observó el uso del argumento de falsedad, cuando algunas declaraciones o textos legales son interpretadas fuera de su contexto para legitimar la independencia de Southern Cameroons.

Por otra parte, los nacionalistas anglófonos de Camerún insisten en la presentación de su lucha como legítima, o sea, justa y moralmente aceptable. Por eso usan estrategias como la intertextualidad, comparando su situación a acontecimientos bíblicos, como la historia de los israelitas, y así dando la impresión que Dios está por de su parte. Se usa también narrativización en estos textos, para contar historias de la opresión del pueblo de Southern Cameroons por el gobierno de Camerún y causar indignación en la comunidad nacional e internacional. Lugares comunes son también usados para expresar la legitimidad de la lucha por la independencia. El *topos* más usado es la igualdad de trato ante las mismas circunstancias. Para los nacionalistas Anglófonos, otras minorías fueron apoyadas en su lucha por la independencia, así que ellos también tienen que ser apoyados por la comunidad internacional para conseguir lo que los otros consiguieron antes.

Finalmente, es importante decir que pese a que los diferentes textos persiguieran los mismos objetivos, se observaron diferencias entre los géneros que formaban parte del corpus. Estas diferencias se referían a los destinatarios de los textos y a la posición ideológica de algunos textos. Específicamente, las cartas abiertas se dirigen a destinatarios internacionales mientras que los discursos se dirigen al pueblo de Southern

Cameroons. Los artículos de propaganda por su parte tienen diversos destinatarios, tanto locales como extranjeros. Con respecto a las posiciones ideológicas, el estudio ha revelado que mientras que el autor de las cartas abiertas piensa que Southern Cameroons sigue estando bajo la autoridad de las Naciones Unidas y les agradece su cooperación, los autores de los discursos y artículos de propaganda son muy críticos con las Naciones Unidas, a causa de su supuesta falta de postura clara en este conflicto.

En definitiva, esta investigación ha demostrado que a pesar de las restricciones que tienen, los líderes nacionalistas anglófonos de Camerún han conseguido dar a conocer su situación, la cual presentan como difícil situación a través de internet. Por eso, se puede decir que este medio de comunicación ha revolucionado la situación política de África al dar voz a partidos ilegales como los nacionalistas anglófonos de Camerún. Sin embargo, debido a limitaciones de tiempo y espacio, no se podía analizar todos los aspectos del discurso nacionalista anglófono de Camerún. Por eso en futuras investigaciones se podría estudiar aspectos cómo el discurso unionista y compararlo al discurso secesionista que fue estudiado en este trabajo.

Abstract

This dissertation investigated the discursive construction of national identity amongst the Anglophone minority of Cameroon. More specifically, this work studied the linguistic strategies used by the leaders of the different political parties advocating the independence of the former British Southern Cameroons to construct Anglophone nationalism and advocate self-determination. To achieve this purpose, a total of fifteen (15) texts from three different genres, namely, letters, speeches and opinion articles were collected from the Internet and analyzed using the Discourse-Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (Wodak et al, 1999). Besides, this approach was combined with Corpus linguistic analysis so as to give a quantitative facet to the study. The analysis of the different texts under study revealed that the leaders of Southern Cameroonian nationalist parties articulate their identity construction discourse in two parts or topics, namely, the presentation of the Southern Cameroonian distinctiveness and the presentation of the independence fight as legitimate and legal. The presentation of distinctiveness of Southern Cameroons is achieved mainly by nomination and predication strategies, whereas the presentation of the independence fight as legitimate and legal is accomplished through sub-strategies such as quoting authorities, intertextuality, storytelling and topoi. These strategies were found to have been successful in bringing the Anglophone fight to the spotlight and in consolidating a sense of common heritage amongst Southern Cameroons.

Keywords: Southern Cameroons, Nationalism, Discourse-Historical Approach.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

After having stuck to considering language as an abstract entity which had to be studied without any regard to its context of use, there has been a move on the part of linguistic researchers towards associating language to context, in order to better analyze the former and understand how it affects the latter. This tendency, which started in the 70´s, has been observed across the academia, that is, in fields of study such as political sciences, history, and also linguistics, and has led to the development of theories like Discourse Studies, be they centred on politics, communication, or any other social facets of life. In particular, as far as political Discourse Analysis is concerned, it aims at describing how language is used as a form of political action by the *political animals* (Aristotle, Book 1) that are human beings. This approach was designed and illustrated by the founding fathers of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1989; Van dijk, 1997; Wodak *et al* 1999; Chilton, 2004), and with the development of new technologies of information and communication, computer tools started being associated to discourse studies, which had previously been mostly manual (for more on the combination of CL and CDA, see Hardt-Mautner, 1995; Baker and McEnery, 2005). Recently, many CDA scholars have devoted their studies to Political Discourse Analysis. They include David and Dumanig (2011), who examined how former Malaysian head of Government Tun Dr. Mahathir constructed national unity in his speeches. In the same year, Horvath (2011) gauged the extent to which Barack Obama´s ideology can be perceived through the persuasive strategies he uses in his speeches. More recently, Sarfo and Krampa (2013) carried out a study whose bottomline is demonstrating that both Obama and Bush use emotionally appealing words to negatively present terrorism, while positively present attempts at waging war against it.   In the Cameroonian context, very few studies have been carried out on the role of language in politics, but it is worth paying

credit to Mforteh (2006), who discussed the linguistic strategies used by Cameroonian politicians in their speeches, and Tem Atanga (2010), whose work investigated the negotiation of gender identities amongst Cameroonian female parliamentarians. Nevertheless, the above works essentially talked about mainstream politicians, excluding others who still operate underground, especially Anglophone nationalists. As a result, the question of how language is used in fostering nationalist ideas amongst the English-speaking minority in Cameroon is still pending a scholarly answer. It is also worth mentioning that no Corpus-Linguistics-driven Critical Discourse analysis has been carried out on this issue.

In the following subsections, the objectives of this work and the research questions which underpinned it are going to be presented, then the dissertation structure shall be given.

1.1. Objectives and research questions

This work aims to investigate how the separatist ideology of Anglophone nationalists in Cameroon is reflected in discourse. This study focuses on the use of language by Anglophone separatists, so as to foster nationalist ideologies and achieve their goals, namely, greater consideration of their plight by the Francophone rulers of Cameroon, greater autonomy, and may be independence. It will be carried out in the light of various pieces of discourse (speeches, letters, opinion articles) analyzed manually and with corpus linguistics tools. Therefore, this research will attempt to demonstrate that language has been used, by Southern Cameroonian nationalist parties, as a form of political action, whose goal is the formation of the Southern Cameroonian identity, the legitimization of their fight, and a call on all Southern Cameroonians to join the fight. The questions which guided this research can be formulated as follows:

1. How is the Anglophone nation constructed in nationalist discourse? More specifically, what (social and political) features of the "ingroups" and "outgroups" are highlighted by nationalist leaders

2. What strategies do the leaders of Southern Cameroonian separatist groups use to present their claim as legitimate and legal?

Data analysis will be essentially guided by Wodak´s *et al* Discourse-Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis, and rely from time to time on Corpus Linguistic Tools. In other words, this dissertation has a two-fold nature, namely a qualitative nature and a quantitative one.

1.2. Dissertation structure

This work is thus divided into four chapters. After this introduction which presented that objectives and briefly accounted for the method to be resorted to, chapter 2 further set the stage of this study by presenting the different scholarly discussions of the Anglophone situation in Cameroon. Moreover, the methodological approach to be developed in this work will be comprehensively presented and illustrated in the light of previous studies. Then, Chapter 3 will pay a special attention at the data collection and analysis procedure. Here, the texts to be analyzed will be presented, and the way they were exploited elucidated. Chapter 4 will later on include the presentation and analysis of the findings of the investigation carried out. This dissertation will end with a summary of the main findings and a discussion their relevance to the field of political discourse analysis as a whole.

Chapter 2. Research Context, Literature Review and Theoretical Background

As mentioned before, the present work is an investigation of the construction of national identity amongst a minority group in Cameroon, namely the so-called Anglophones, that is, the natives of the former British Southern Cameroons territory, which, when granted independence, reunited with the former French Cameroun to form the current Republic of Cameroon. Discussing the history and the current implications of the union of the two colonial territories has been a choice topic amongst scholars, especially those hailing from Cameroon. Nevertheless, the studies which were hence produced mostly felt within the fields of History and Political Sciences (See 2.2.). On this record, the reading of the different pieces of Anglophone discourse made available on the Internet makes one wonder why so far, no Critical Discourse Analysis has been devoted to these groups, when many formal characteristics of the discursive formation of national identity can be seen in the online discourses. Therefore, this chapter is aimed at setting the current investigation against the backdrop of studies of Anglophone Cameroon nationalism and Critical Discourse Analysis, and especially the Discourse-Historical Approach (Wodak *et al*, 1999). Before getting into a review of literature proper, the research context, namely Cameroon will be presented. Then, some of the works which tackled the Anglophone movement in Cameroon will be explained, and this explanation will be followed by an overview of Critical Discourse Analysis and Wodak´s *et al* approach.

2.1. Research context

The Republic Cameroon is a country found in Central Africa, and whose coasts are located at the bottom of the Gulf of Guinea. It has a surface area of about 475,000 square kilometres and is bordered to the North by the Republic of Chad, to the East by

the Central African Republic, to the West by the Federal Republic of Nigeria, and to the South by the Republics of Gabon, Congo and Equatorial Guinea. Cameroon is known by many as "the Small Africa" or "Africa in miniature", by dint of its racial, ethnic, linguistic, and geographical diversity.

In fact, the country, which covers three geographical zones (the Forest, the Savannah, and the Coast), has been for years the target of numerous migrations which enriched it at all levels. According to the findings of the 2006 population census, Cameroon is home to about 20 million inhabitants, which belong to about 247 ethnic groups (Echu, 2003), with as many indigenous languages. Cameroonians may be Christians, Moslems or Animists. In addition to nationals, the country is home to communities of settlers from Nigeria, Mali, Senegal, Greece, Lebanon, etc. As a result of its complex colonial history (which shall be subsequently presented), Cameroon has two official languages, namely English and French. The current Head of State, President Paul Biya has been in power for over 30 years.

➤ Brief history

Though Cameroon has been inhabited from pre-historical times, the history of the country really begins in 1472, when the Portuguese explorer Fernando Poo docked in the country´s coast, thus opening the way to commerce Between Europeans and indigenes. On July 14th 1884, Gustav Nachtigal, a German trader and explorer raised the German flag in KamerunStadt (Douala), after having signed a treaty with Duala chiefs two days before. Hence, Cameroon became a German Protectorate.

The German colonial rule prematurely came to an end with the outbreak of World War I. In effect, when the conflict started, allied forces from French Equatorial Africa and British Nigeria began to target German positions in Cameroon, and successfully

drove the Germans out of the country. After the Germans had been evicted from Cameroon, the country was, under the mandate of the League of Nations, partitioned into two territories: British Cameroons –made up of Northern and Southern Cameroons- in the west, and French Cameroon in the East. Both colonial powers thus went on to apply their distinct colonial policies in the territories, which yielded linguistic and cultural differences that became clearer when French Eastern Cameroon and British Southern Cameroons reunited in 1961, as opposed to British Northern Cameroon which opted for integration into the Nigerian federation.

It is based on these historical happenings that early language policy makers thought it wise to make Cameroon a French-English officially bilingual country. The use of the two official languages shall be discussed subsequently.

  ➤ The country´s political system

Cameroon is a unitary Republic divided into 10 Regions at the helm of which are Governors who are directly appointed by the Head of State. Each Region is divided into Divisions and Sub-Divisions which are headed by Senior Divisional Officers (*Préfets* in French) and Divisional Officers (*Sous-Préfets* in French) respectively. Though the country has a bicameral legislative system, with a National Assembly and a Senate, powers overwhelmingly lie in the hands of the President of the Republic, who is the Head of State, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Army.

As Cameroon results from the reunification of two colonial territories, one ruled by the French, and another ruled by the English, the official languages are theoretically English and French. Nevertheless, due to the demographic superiority, economic supremacy, and political power of the so-called Francophones, the French language enjoys a more prominent status in the Country administration, and more pressure is put

on the citizens of the former British colony to learn French. Therefore, the administrative, as well as the legal systems of the country are calqued on the French system. This seems to be one of the reasons why some English-Speaking Cameroonians feel like second-class citizens.

Furthermore, though government officials have recently been expressing the desire to turn Cameroon into a decentralised country, so far, it remains a highly centralised state, with all decisions taken from the nation´s Capital, Yaounde.

2.2. The Cameroon Anglophone Identity in scholarly works

As mentioned earlier, there have been a pretty important number of studies devoted to the Anglophone movement in Cameroon, most of them investigating the origins and manifestations of the current antagonism between French-speaking and English-speaking Cameroonians. In the next sub-sections, in addition to presenting the major themes cutting across these different studies, personal comments based on experience shall equally be made so as to give a clear picture of the Anglophone situation in Cameroon.

2.2.1. Historical foundations of the Anglophone struggle

Though the title of this part suggests the events presented below are historical, it is worth noting that they could also be described as political. Therefore, this section can be seen as discussing the remote political causes of the Francophone-Anglophone divide in Cameroon. The Anglophone plight begins for sure after the First World War, when the German colony of Kamerun is partitioned into two territories administered by two distinct colonial masters, namely Britain and France. Nevertheless, as Konings and Nyamnjoh (1997) and Kam kah (2012), point out, it is at the eve of independence, when the former French and British colonies were about to reunify, that grudges amongst

some Anglophones started to emerge. In fact, Konings and Nyamnjoh (*ibid*.) make it clear that during the Foumban[1] Conference, in which the British and the French territory agreed on reunification after independence, the Francophones´ future numerical and ideological domination could already be felt.

Five years later, things became clearer when the Francophone president of Cameroon, Ahmadou Ahidjo dissolved all Anglophone political parties to enforce the one-party system he masterminded (Konings and Nyamnjoh, *ibid*.). During all these periods, political oppression and the absence of freedom of speech made Anglophone Cameroonians harbour resentment against Francophone Cameroonians, represented by President Ahidjo and his successor, Paul Biya. The grievances would become evident after the reintroduction of multiparty politics in Cameroon in the early 1990´s.

2.2.2. Current social economic and political reasons for Anglophone nationalism

Konings and Nyamjoh (1997) also provide in their paper a number of social, economic and political situations which have given flesh to Anglophone nationalism. For them, the most prominent of these reasons are the subordinate status of Anglophone Cameroonians when compared to their Francophone counterparts, as well as the alleged neglect of the territory which was formerly known as the British Southern Cameroons. The claims made by Konings and Nyamjoh (1997) are reproduced by Fochingong (2013), who lengthily discusses the marginalization of Anglophones, characterized by their low representation in decision-making organs, the exploitation of the natural resources of the British Southern Cameroons without any benefit for the local populations, the permanent branding of Anglophones as foreigners. Fochingong (2013) also indicates that the marginalization of Anglophones was preceded by a process of

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[1] A town in the Francophone West which borders the Anglophone territory

assimilation, which was characterized by a strong desire of the authorities from the French-speaking part of the country to *Francophonize* the Anglophones as well as the institutions they inherited from the British administration of the territory.

2.2.3. Internal dissension amongst Anglophones

Another theme which has been developed in scholarly works discussing the plight of Anglophone Cameroonians is the lack of cohesion between the members of the Anglophone elite in Cameroon. Though it is mentioned by Konings and Nyamnjoh (1997), and Fochingong (2013), this theme is mainly developed by Kam Kah (2012). According to the latter, the division, whose remote causes date from the German period, is mostly tribal or regional. In fact, the former British Southern Cameroons is made up of two broad tribal groups, namely the indigenes of the coast (found in the administrative region referred to as South West) and the people hailing from the hinterlands (known as Grassfielders or *Grafi* and concentrated in the North West region).

The rivalry between both groups is mainly caused by the fact that the Grassfielders have massively migrated to the coastal areas from the German period, thus dominating economically and demographically the native coastal tribes. Therefore, members of the latter have always felt that their wellbeing was threatened by the Grassfielders expansionism. As Konings and Nyamnjoh (1997) point out, the Francophone-dominated government of Cameroon has always taken advantage of these internal dissensions to destroy any attempt on the part of Anglophones to form a united front and claim their rights.

2.2.4. The current redefinition of the term Anglophone

Another theme related to the Anglophone problem in Cameroon has been the current ambiguity of the term *Anglophone*. In fact, until recently, it referred exclusively to the natives of the former British Southern Cameroons, and was therefore used as an ethnic marker. However, as Anchimbe (2005) notes, the spread of English made it that even people of French-speaking extract are increasingly trading the French language for English. The question that arises from Anchimbe´s work is whether the term Anglophone should also be applied to these people hailing from French speaking Cameroon, but whose English proficiency is as good as (if not better than) that of the traditional Anglophones.

What is sure is that the current interest in the English language from Francophones has been a serious blow to the Anglophone nationalist movement, because their English-speaking identity can no longer be the only reason brandished in order to lobby for autonomy or independence.

2.3. Theoretical Background

As a reminder, this work is an investigation of discourse-based identity building amongst Anglophone Cameroonians in the light of Wodak´s *et al* Discourse-Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis. Therefore, this section will be aimed at having a look at the discourse theory in general and determining its relationship to identity building, as well as discussing the Discourse-Historical Approach.

2.3.1 Post-structuralism and identity construction

As Jensen (2008) notes, studies of identity building fall within a broad movement known as post-structuralism. Current investigations of national or ethnic identity are

founded on a rejection of the traditional assumption that social groups are naturally established, and should be taken for granted (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002). In fact, as early proponents of the discourse theory indicated, social groups are constructed, shaped, deconstructed and reconstructed following societal happenings and arising needs.

Cultural Identities is the phrase often used by poststructuralists to refer to the different elements which make up our conceptualization of identity: race, ethnicity, gender, class, etc. According to all poststructuralists, identity is always constructed to mark difference in a given social setting. This is exactly what Clarke (2008:1) notes in the following words.

> Cultural identities are marked by a number of factors – 'race', ethnicity, gender and class to name but a few; the very real locus of these factors, however, is the notion of difference. The question of difference is emotive; we start to hear ideas about 'us' and 'them', friend and foe, belonging and not belonging, in-groups and out-groups, which define 'us' in relation to others, or the Other. From this we get ideas about communities, even imagined communities (Anderson, 1983) and ethno-national boundaries.

Personal identity cannot be effectively enforced without being opposed to another identity or culture, hence the constant opposition between the *self* and the *other* in identity building discourse, as evidenced in nationalist, racist and other supremacist communications.

2.3.1.1. The construction of the self as a performance

Poststructuralists view the whole of identity building as a performance, that is a conscious effort on the part of individuals to project a given image of them in society and make people take this image for granted. This idea, which was first expressed by Goffman (1968), is confirmed by Simon Clarke (2008), who goes further to note that in

such performances, "the performer can be completely immersed in his own act and sincerely believe that the version of reality he is projecting is actually correct" (2).

As a direct consequence of finding himself in a performance, the identity builder will definitely endeavour to highlight elements which consolidate the image they want to portray, while overlooking the features which do not foster their aimed image. In discourse, this can be achieved through occultation of agency in passive sentences, through the use of euphemisms or other figures of speech.

2.3.1.2. Consolidating *selfness* by constructing *otherness*

Poststructuralist scholars have also debated on the conceptualization of the *other* in society. According to Clarke (2008), this component is as important as the construction of the *self* in identity-building discourse. Constructing the other permits to consolidate and maintain homogeneity within one´s group. This is why difference, which is now known as a very subjective concept, was once presented as a scientific truth, in such discourses as supremacist propaganda, where the Caucasians were seen as biologically superior to other races (Miles, 1989). With the current rejection of racist discourse, this type of argument has been replaced by exclusionist discourse, which insists, not on racial superiority, but on cultural difference. Therefore, even the once overtly racist political groups in Europe now disguise their claims under the cultural incompatibility between the *self* and the *other* (Miles, ibid).

The above notwithstanding, it remains that constructing an alien is a very important part of every discourse aimed at building identity. In fact, it would be impossible for a given identity to be complete without being opposed to another one. This is why, in the investigation carried out in this dissertation, the *other* (the oppressor, annexationist, invader) is always clearly identified before being presented in negative terms. It can be

argued that the cultural difference between the French-speaking and English-speaking citizens of Cameroon is not a natural phenomenon, but rather a construction which is rooted in European imperialism. In fact, before colonialism, the territory presently known as Cameroon was inhabited by different indigenous tribes which virtually had nothing in common, if not distant origins and some few (and often conflictive) interactions. Then, when the Germans took control of the territory, they set out to bring together all these independent tribes under the same flag, thus creating the idea of Cameroon as a nation, which was enforced, not only by force, but also by discourses. Later, when the German colony was shared between both France and England, this led to the formation of two broad ethnic identities (Anchimbe, 2005), which are still alive after more than 50 years of independence.

Thus, the conflict between the French-speaking and English-speaking citizens of Cameroon is primarily the reflection of attempts at constructing and perpetuating an identity (be it a Cameroonian identity, or Anglophone Cameroonian) and resistance to it. This fight, which is true almost all nation states in the world, is always characterized by discourse production, aimed at enforcing one identity, while threatening another. This will be further explained below, before going to the approach which was used in this work, namely Critical Discourse Analysis.

2.3.2. Nation and identity

The representation of nation and identity has been the focus of many studies, especially in the field of sociology. As Maurice Halbwachs (1985) posits, national identity is mostly built on a "collective memory", which is no other thing than a set of historical events, which are seen by members of what Anderson (1983) refers to as "imagined communities" as their common heritage. Halbwachs goes further to indicate that

historical continuity of the memory is ensured, through constant reference to some past events or personalities in discourses of the community. As de Cillia *et al* (1999) put it, this explanation, which is mostly based on memory is helpful in trying to understand why some (versions of) national histories are told at the expense of others, and the reasons that motivate such choices.

While, as mentioned before, Halbwachs argues that the major factor defining national identity is memory, others like Hall (1994), and Ram (1994), rather think that more than just being conditioned by memory, the building of national identity is first and foremost fostered by culture as a whole which is expressed through discourse (or *narrative* for Ram. See de Cillia *et al*, 1999). Thus Hall (1994: 201) says:

> A national culture is a discourse, a way to construct meanings which influence and organize both our actions and our perceptions of ourselves. National cultures construct identities by creating meanings of `the nation´ with which we can identify; they are contained in stories that are told about the nation, in memories which link its present to its past and in the perceptions of it that are constructed. (Quoted in de Cillia *et al*, 1999: 155)

Nevertheless, despite the slight differences between the approaches presented above, they all concur that national identity is constructed, rather than being a naturally occurring phenomenon. This is clearly in line with Bourdieu´s claim that:

> Through classification systems (especially according to sex and age) inscribed in law, through bureaucratic procedures, educational structures and social rituals, (particularly salient in the case of Japan and England), the state moulds *mental structures* and imposes common principles of vision and division. (1994: 7. quoted in de Cillia *et al*, 1999: 156)

It may be added that it is not just the state as any ruling organ of a country which will construct this national identity, but also pressure group leaders. Hence, not having the tools of the state in hand, they will mostly rely on discourse, that is, text and talk, to achieve their goals, as it is the case of the groups being investigated here.

2.3.3 Discourse and identity construction

As Phillips and Jorgensen (2002) posit, discourse shapes our world in a way that we can hardly imagine. Actually, discourses often get so rooted in people´s minds that they forget that the discourses are mere abstract or theoretical constructions. This is what Phillips and Jorgensen (*ibid*) call *sedimentation*. These discourses, also known as hegemonic discourses, are preeminent in many spheres of life. They include discourses of nationality, ethnicity, religion, gender, etc. Nevertheless, given the fact that identity is never fixed, these discourses often get questioned, opposed and rejected.

As concerns the link between identity formation and discourse, Phillips and Jorgensen point out there is a kind of interdependence between the former (identity formation) and the latter (discourse). In other words, as Jensen (2008:14) indicates, "a group becomes constituted once someone articulates it: that is speaks of it, to it, or on behalf of it. (for more on this, see Howarth, 2000, Phillip and Jorgensen, 2002).

In constructing one´s group identity, it is unavoidable asserting its difference from other groups; what is referred to as *social antagonism* (Jensen, 2008). In addition to stressing the specificity of the expected in-groups, and thus excluding the supposed out-groups, social antagonism is often a way of explaining a group´s failure to achieve complete autonomy and full identity, by laying the blame on members of the other groups.

There have been a good number of studies trying to discuss identity from a purely Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, with the major one being Wodak´s *et al The Discursive Construction of National Identities* (1999), which shall be deeply discussed when describing the Discourse-Historical Approach. In addition to this, there have been a number of research works which discussed either ethnic (sub-national identities) or

national identities. Here, it is worth-mentioning Jensen´s (2008) investigation of the Post-Apartheid construction of Afrikaner identity in South Africa. This study relies on a series of talks, and is based on the Discourse-Historical Approach. It reveals that the end of racial segregation in South Africa has not totally dismantled the previous constructions of the Afrikaner identity in Discourse. In the same way as Jensen, Alameda Hernández (2006) set out to investigate the discursive construction and representation of the Gibraltarian identity by both insiders and outsiders (notably the British and the Spanish). This work, which mostly relied on a corpus of news editorials from various sources, demonstrates that Gibraltarians represent themselves as a united and politically mature people whereas the British and the Spanish mostly see them as potential subjects. To end this section, let´s mention the work of Huang Hoon (2004) who carried out a study of stamp texts to see how these reflected a tendency to construct a Singaporean identity. In her analysis, she demonstrates that the stamps all aim at creating a sense of pride in all Singaporeans by presenting some of the achievements of the country.

What can therefore be retained from the foregone is the fact that identity, be it national, ethnic or religious is not to be taken for granted, for it is constructed and enforced through discourse. Moreover, the construction of identity always involves the rejection of other identities, which gives way to what is known as social antagonism. Therefore, it is from this basis that the present investigation is carried out, as it seems that the current revamping of Anglophone nationalism in Cameroon is the result of the myriad of discourses which all aim at building this social group. To elucidate this, we set out to analyze different pieces of discourse including speeches, letters and opinion articles presenting the Anglophone plight. Nevertheless, before going to that, Critical

Discourse Analysis and more specifically the Discourse-Historical approach will be presented below.

2.3.4. Critical Discourse Analysis.

Commonly abbreviated as CDA, Critical Discourse Analysis is a domain of research whose origin can be traced to the early 1990´s, or more specifically in 1991, after a symposium which brought together, in the premises of the University of Amsterdam, the scholars who would later be known as its founding fathers. These were Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen, and Ruth Wodak. (see Wodak and Meyer, 2008)

Critical Discourse Analysts, whose common belief is that language is a form of social practice (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Wodak *et al*, 1999), were heavily influenced by Michel Foucault´s teachings. Thus, the latter is very often seen as the main precursor of this approach.

More practically, discourse analysis targets naturally occurring language, be it text or talk, with a view to understanding its relationship with its community of speakers and their daily interactions. In fact, for Critical Discourse Analysts, language shapes social relationships and is in return transformed, or modified by the latter (Wodak and Meyer, 2008).

2.3.4.1 Tenets of CDA

Critical discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary approach which advocates the study of language and context in order to understand relationships of power and resistance between a variety of social actors. Despite the presence of many approaches (discussed under 2.3.4.2), there are principles which bind all Critical Discourse Analysts.

According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-80) all CDA scholars agree on the following points:

- 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

Nevertheless, as CDA includes elements of history, political sciences, sociology, anthropology, just to name a few, it is not restricted to a single methodology. Rather, it is rather a combination of several approaches, which has made many praise it for its flexibility, while others criticize it for its lack of consistent patterning (Hidalgo-Tenorio, 2011).

2.3.4.2 Approaches to CDA

There are several approaches which have been developed by each and every Critical Discourse Analysts, depending on their academic background and intellectual inclinations. The most prominent of these approaches were designed by the main founding fathers, namely Fairclough, van Dijk and Wodak.

Fairclough´s approach, which he referred to as the Discourse as Social-Scientific Research, is an investigation of the expression of language and ideology in Discourse. This methodology, whose Marxist overtones are clear, includes the identification of a social problem, the analysis of its semiotic or linguistic dimension, the classification of

style differences that the analysis revealed, and the study of linguistic attempts at resisting dominant styles. In addition to this, contextual features that surround discourse production are also studied. According to Fairclough (2003), discourse, as it operates in social practice has three main features, namely, action, representation and identification.

Another CDA approach is van Dijk´s (2008) Socio-Cognitive approach, which is, as one might guess from its name, a combination of methodological features from sociology, psychology, and cognitive science in studying discourse. Van Dijk devoted his work to the discursive expression of domination and resistance and the reproduction of stereotypes and other types of prejudice. His underlying assertion is that the structures of society and of discourse are intersected in cognition. For him, the study of language in society should always be based on the following considerations:

- Member groups: Language users present in discourse always represent specific social groups.
- Action process: Social actors´ individual acts can are part of the actions of their social group.
- Context-social structure: Situations of discursive interaction are pervasive in the functioning of social organizations and part of their structure.
- Personal and social cognition: Language users have individual as well as collective memories, beliefs and experiences which can be resorted to at any time in discourse

The above approaches have often been too general and failed to particularly tackle national identity construction. Therefore, Wodak´s *et al* Discourse-Historical Approach is the one which is going to be used in this dissertation. Therefore, for a clearer and deeper look at this approach, it is going to be discussed in the next section.

2.3.4.3 The Discourse-Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis

This approach was developed by Ruth Wodak, Rudolf de Cillia, Martin Reisigl, and Karin Liebhart of the university of Vienna, when investigating the discursive formation of national identity in Austria (Wodak *et al*, 1999) as well as the discourses of discrimination and marginalization amongst natives or immigrants (Reisigl and Wodak, 2000; Wodak and Meyer 2001. More recent studies include Jensen, 2008; Abdul Razzaq, 2012).

From the outset, this approach has been used to investigate how power difference is reflected in discourse. Its major aim is deciphering how the powerful make use of language to consolidate their situation while enjoining the powerless to certain behaviours, and how the latter react to this through language, too. The Discourse-historical approach combines historical study, contextual analysis and linguistic analysis to achieve a better interpretation of pieces of discourse. This methodology is divided into three main steps, which consist in respectively identifying the contents or topics of any piece of discourse, then the type of strategies involved –having in mind the fact that an utterance can be constructive, perpetuating, transformational or destructive for instance- , and finally the linguistic means or forms of realization of the given strategies (Wodak *et al,* 1999: 30). These shall be discussed in detail in the subsequent lines.

➢ Contents

This is the first step of the methodological approach of Wodak and her colleagues (1999). The objective here is to identify macro-propositions or ideas that are pervasive in discourses of identity-formation or nationalism. Wodak and her colleagues note that in order to easily identify contents, it is necessary to carry out background research by getting to know information, not only from empirical works, but also other literature

related to the subject being investigated. In one of the theory designer´s words, "first, the discourse-historical approach attempts to integrate all available information on the historical background and the original sources in which discursive "events" are embedded" (de Cillia *et al*, 1999: 156).

In the study Wodak and her colleagues conducted, they came up with five contents for the discursive formation of national identity in Austria (Wodak *et al*, 1999: 31):

1. the linguistic construction of the `*homo Austraticus*´ and `*homo externus*´
2. the narration and confabulation of a common political past
3. the linguistic construction of a common culture
4. the linguistic construction of a common political present and future
5. the linguistic construction of a `national body´

The above contents make one understand that the evocation of a common history, destiny and culture are pervasive in discourses of nationalism or identity building. Thus, drawing inspiration from the above topics, and based on preliminary readings two contents were identified, namely, the construction of the Southern Cameroonian distinctiveness or uniqueness and the presentation of the independence fight as legitimate and legal through evocations of a common plight and suffering amongst others. These shall be further presented in the methodology section and developed in the results and analysis chapter.

➢ Strategies

In explaining what they refer to as strategies, the founding fathers of the Discourse-Historical Approach note the following:

> On the macro-level, we can distinguish between different types of macro-strategies employed in the discursive formation of national identity. These macro-strategies correspond to the main social macro-functions we discussed earlier, namely construction, perpetuation or justification, transformation and demontage or dismantling. (Wodak et al, 1999:33)

As mentioned in Wodak *et al* (1999:33), discursive acts have four major functions. They can serve to "construct and establish a certain national identity by promoting unification, identification and solidarity", thus referred as constructive strategies. Linguistic acts can also "attempt to maintain and to reproduce a threatened national identity": perpetuation or justification strategies. Moreover, linguistic acts can be transformative, that is, aimed at attempting to "transform a relatively well-established national identity and its components into another identity the contours of which the speaker has already conceptualised". Finally, they can evidence destructive or dismantling strategies which "aim at dismantling or disparaging parts of an existing national identity construct".

The bottoline of Wodak´s *et al* argument is that all pieces of discourse aim to achieve one or more of four major goals, these goal being referred to as macro-strategies. The latter are thus purely semantic and are very close to topics or contents. They are way different from sub-strategies, which, as their other name (linguistic means of realization) suggests, are linguistic in nature. They are presented below.

➢ Linguistic means of realization (sub-strategies)

Each macro-strategy is enforced in discourse by some other features which can be referred to as sub-strategies. These sub-strategies are seen in the light of specific linguistic resources. For instance, Wodak *et al* (1999: 35) suggest that lexical, syntactic and semantic devices can all be used to construct "unification, unity, sameness, difference, uniqueness, origin, continuity, gradual or abrupt change, autonomy, hereronomy, and so on". These lexical items or syntactic structures can refer to a people, places or time. In such cases, they are used to enforce the strategies known as referential and predicational strategies (Wodak *et al*, 1999:35):

1. Personal reference (anthroponymic generic terms, personal pronouns, quantifiers).

2. Spatial reference (toponyms, geonyms, adverbs of place […])

3. Temporal reference (temporal propositions, adverbs of time […])

Therefore, constructive strategies are realized by nomination and predication strategies and their linguistic characteristics include the use of pronouns and other diction, resort to metaphor and metonymy, categorization, and positive self-presentation or negative-other presentation. Perpetuation and justification strategies may resort to legitimization sub-strategies such as storytelling and quoting credible sources. As concerns transformation strategies, they are often realized through argumentation strategies such as argumentation stereotypes known as topoi (Jensen, 2008), disclaimers and speech acts like complaining. Finally, destructive or dismantling strategies are achieved by the variants of the sub-strategies used for building national identities (Jensen, 2008), especially heteronomination (de Cillia *et al*, 1999: 161).

2.3.5. Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis

Corpus linguistics is a study of language that relies on large amounts of naturally processed bodies of text (corpora) which are analysed with the help of computer software programmes. Though Corpus Linguistics is nowadays tantamount to electronic Corpus Linguistics, Svartvik (2007), Meyer (2008), and Lüdeling and Kytö (2008) make it clear that it started far before the invention of computers, and was first of all manual before being aided by computer programmes. As its name entails, Corpus Linguistics enables linguists to have a better insight into some linguistic issues by going far beyond the study of limited sources, to that of very large amounts of text.

From the layman´s perspective, Corpus linguistics may just be a quantitative kind of study where computers do the whole work, while researchers sit on their armchairs and

relax. Corpus linguists have thus been likened to armchair research (see Svartvik, 2007:12). This is may be far from the truth. In fact, though computer software programmes help to retrieve information from corpora, it is impossible to analyse such information without the touch of researchers. Moreover, though corpus linguistics has a quantitative foundation, it does not stop there. Actually, the frequencies obtained should be analyzed and interpreted by the researcher in order to make sense of them and shift the frontiers of knowledge. In this sense, Corpus linguistics is not only quantitative, but also qualitative (see Reppen and Simpson, 2002).

Corpus Linguistics is not just an approach, but a tool which can be used in research across all fields of linguistics. This is why it has been described as multidisciplinary. In fact corpus linguistics can be used for analysis in fields of study such as syntax, semantics, Second Language Acquisition and Critical Discourse Analysis (for such studies see Facchinetti, 2007).

Reflections on the possibility of merging Corpus Linguistics with Critical Discourse Analysis started in the half of the 1990´s, when the need to improve the reliability of research in Critical Discourse Analysis arose and frequencies and other statistics needed to be included in support of other evidence. One of the first researchers who expressed the fact that it was not farfetched to fuse Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis is Hardt-Mautner (1995)[2], who in summarising the aims of her paper says:

> Finally and emphatically, I want to make the point that the approach discussed in this paper is intended to supplement, not replace the methods normally used in CDA. Qualitative and quantitative need to be combined, not played off against each other. (2)

This approach was followed more recently by Baker and McEnery (2005), Baker (2006), Mautner (2007), Baker et al (2008), just to name a few.

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[2] This author is one of the pioneers in studies combining CDA and CL, in subsequent publications, she dropped "Hardt", to sign simply as Gerlinde Mautner

Mautner (2007), who, as mentioned above, suggested Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis are not mutually incompatible, summarizes the importance of Corpus approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis as follows:

- Corpus linguistics allows critical discourse analysts to deal with the representativity issue by working with much larger data volumes.

- It also permits critical discourse analysts to overcome the bias criticism by broadening their empirical base.

- Corpus Linguistics softwares give access to both quantitative and qualitative perspectives on data.

To sum up, Corpus Linguistics has proven to be an appropriate tool in the hands of researchers in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis, and for this reason, this work follows this trend, so as to improve its "authority, plausibility and reliability" (Hardt-Mautner, 1995:2).

Chapter 3. Methodology

After having paid attention to the different background information which is theoretically related to this work, it is important now to get into describing the data, how it was selected, and the methods used to analyze it. Before getting into that, it is important to be reminded that this dissertation is an attempt at investigating the construction of nationalism amongst Anglophone citizens of Cameroon. In the subsequent lines, the research procedure will be described. In addition to this, the data which were used in this work will be presented, and then the concordance programme which guided data analysis will also be briefly described.

3.1. Data collection

As the aim of this research endeavour was to analyse pieces of discourse produced by Anglophone nationalists in Cameroon, only the Internet could provide the needed material, because, as mentioned before, Anglophone nationalist parties are still illegal in the country, and can only express their opinions online. So, this work started with the exploration of the World Wide Web, so as to identify potential sources of data. To optimize results, keyword searching on popular search engines such as http://www.yahoo.com and http://www.google.com was thought to be suitable. Some of the keywords or phrases used were "Ambazonia", "Southern Cameroons", "SCNC". The reason for choosing these keywords was that while "Ambazonia" and "Southern Cameroons" are two alternative names nationalists use to refer to their territory, the SCNC is for sure the most popular underground nationalist party. Therefore, these were for sure keys to websites which aimed at defending Anglophone nationalism, or provided materials from people having such objectives. Then, the websites that were suggested in the search entries were accessed and explored. Some of them in particular

were pregnant with materials that were likely to be interesting. The pieces of discourse that were used in this dissertation originated from a number of websites, which shall be subsequently given. Once on the websites, the materials thought relevant for this research were selected. In this regard, several manifestoes, open letters, news articles were put aside for further study.

3.2. Data description

In order to gain a wider perspective on the construction of Anglophone national identity in political discourse, three discourse genres, namely open letters, speeches (or messages to Southern Cameroonians) and propaganda articles were put together for further analysis. Each discourse genre was represented by five (5) texts. All the texts were published between 2010 and 2014, except for one of them whose publication is not indicated. Therefore this work was based on the study of a total of these fifteen (15) texts.

3.2.1 Open letters

All the open letters that were studied here were written by Reverend Father Andrew Ambeazieh, the Vice Chairman of the Southern Cameroons Liberation Movement, Reverend Father Andrew Ambeazieh, and published on the official Facebook page of the movement (SOCALIM-Southern Cameroons Liberation Movement), whose URL is http://facebook.com/southerncameroonsliberationmovement. Table 3.1 classifies the letters according to their respective titles, dates of issue and addressees.

Letter	Title	Date of issue	Addressee	Words
1	A memorandum of an earnest appeal for practical restoration of the statehood of Southern Cameroons	21st April 2011	Barack Obama, President of the United States of America	1.937
2	Message of congratulation and goodwill	28th April 2011	Goodluck Jonathan, President elect of the Federal Republic of Nigeria	399
3	An open appreciation of the destruction of terrorism in the world	3rd May 2011	The member states of the United Nations Organization	599
4	An open reaction by the council: SOCALIM to "Cameroon revolution´s letter	5th August 2011	President Barack Obama	569
5	Plot by President Paul Biya and Mr. Ni John Fru Ndi with his political cohorts and some misguided Southern Cameroonians to destroy the restoration of the nationhood of the Southern Cameroons	27th August 2011	His Excellency Ban Ki Moon, The Secretary General, United Nations	2.216

Table 3.1. Open letters under study

3.2.2. Speeches

Only speeches delivered by the main leaders of the movements under study were shortlisted and put aside for further study. Based on the dates that appear on them, the

five speeches were delivered between 2010 and 2013. The speeches basically address issues such as the constant suffering of the Southern Cameroonian people in the hands of the Francophone regime, and provide some hope of a bright future. They are listed below, according to their titles, publication year, and number of words[3].

- Address to All Ambazonians by HR Excellency Fon Fongum Gorji-Dinka On the Occasion of the Launching of the Ambazonian Nationality Campaigns. (2010; 2072 words).

- SCNC former National Chairman- Chief Ayamba Ette Otun´s Address to the Nation on the Occasion of the 49th anniversary of the Independence of Southern Cameroons. (2010; 1816 words)

- New Year Message to the Nation by the former National Chairman of the SCNC and Chancellor of the Provisional Administration of the Federal Republic of Southern Cameroons (the late Chief Ayamba Ette Otun). (2011; 1360 words)

- Speech on the Occasion of the 51st anniversary of the independence of Southern Cameroons by the current National Chairman of the SCNC Ngala Nfor Ngala. (2012, 1866 words)

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[3] The speeches were collected from the following websites. They were last accessed on July 16, 2014.
http://www.ambazonia.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=204:address-by-fon&catid=93:press-releases&Itemid=230

http://eliesmith.blogspot.com.es/2010/10/cameroons-speech-of-chair-of-southern.html

http://eliesmith.blogspot.com.es/2011/01/cameroon-new-year-message-of-chief.html

https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=357957504291816&id=145655312168312

http://www.google.es/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=4&ved=0CDIQFjAD&url=http%3A%2F%2Fxa.yimg.com%2Fkq%2Fgroups%2F2363310%2F949999405%2Fname%2F2014%2Bspeech.docx%3Fdownload%3D1&ei=XN_GU5ulOeLG0QX0g4HACg&usg=AFQjCNFd3b34WhldYgu0q3nRKd3N3AU7kQ

- Message of the SCNC to the people of British Southern Cameroons, end-of-year 2013, by the current National Chairman of the SCNC Ngala Nfor Ngala (2086 words).

3.2.3. Propaganda articles

The propaganda articles which are going to be studied here were published on three websites, two directly belonging to Anglophone nationalist organizations (the SCNC and the SCYL), and one being the online magazine (Postwatch), which is known to be very close to Anglophone nationalists. The five opinion articles include a history of the fight for the Independence of Southern Cameroon (not dated), and a series on the fate alleged betrayal of Southern Cameroons (2012), both written by Carlson Anyangwe the President of the US branch of the Southern Cameroons National Council. The other articles were written by Ngala Nfor Ngala, the then Vice Chairman of the SCNC, and discuss the visit of a British parliamentarian to Cameroon (2012), describe the sufferings of the Anglophone independence activists of Kumbo[4] and praise them (2013) and react to the Cameroon government´s allegation of ties between the SCNC and Boko Haram (2014). Their titles and source websites are presented in Table 3.2.

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[4] Kumbo is a town found in the North of the disputed territory of Southern Cameroons. It is found in the North West province of Cameroon and is the chief town of the Bui Division. This town is known to be one of the major bastion of Anglophone independence activists.

Title	Source website	Words
Historical and Political Background (of Southern Cameroons)	http://www.scylforfreedom.org/historical.html	11445
February 11 and the Betrayal of the Southern Cameroons	http://www.postwatchmagazine.com/2012/02/february-11-and-the-betrayal-of-the-southern-cameroons-by-prof-carlson-anyangwe.html	8116
Basking in the Vanity of the Yaounde Corridors of Power	http://www.scncforsoutherncameroons.net/new/index.php/2011-07-25-15-56-32/item/36-basking-in-the-vanity-of-yaounde-corridors-of-power	941
The Heros of Kumbo	http://www.scncforsoutherncameroons.net/new/index.php/component/k2/item/46-the-heros-of-kumbo	1458
Blackmail, not the solution	http://www.scncforsoutherncameroons.net/new/index.php/2011-07-25-15-56-32/item/61-blackmail-not-the-solution	1659

Table 3.2. Propaganda article titles and source websites

3.3. Procedure

For this research to be as reliable as possible, it was found appropriate to combine the manual and software-guided analysis, as suggested by Baker (2006). As concerns the computer-assisted part of the research, there were basically two choices at hand, namely Wordsmith Tools, 6.0 and Antconc 3.2.4 w. Given the author´s familiarity with the former, it was decided to use this software. Its characteristics are given below.

3.3.1. On Wordsmith Tools

Wordsmith Tools is a corpus analysis software which was developed by Mike Scott and first released in 1996. Since then, six versions have been on the market, and to date it is one of the most popular software used amongst linguists.

Wordsmith Tools has three main features which enable linguists to decipher the texts they have in hand: Concord, Wordlist and Keywords. More specifically, this software enables one to search entries of a particular word in a corpus and its collocates (Concord), to come up with a possible exhaustive list of the words used in a corpus in addition to their individual frequencies (Wordlists), and to identify the most frequent or less frequent words in the Corpus (Keywords).

This software is thus very useful for linguists because it can be used to analyze large amounts of text within a short period of time, and is rather user friendly.

3.3.2. Search, interpretation and presentation of findings

Once the pieces of propaganda had been selected, the first thing to be done was reading them, so as to identify any striking features which could be used in discussions. Having a good knowledge of the Southern Cameroons secessionist movement, the author did not find it difficult to relate the speeches in hand to their context, and therefore understand them. While reading the texts, all categorizations and other strategies were highlighted so as to be easily identified later on. It was then found that the strategies which were mostly resorted to included nomination and predication strategies, in addition to argumentation strategies such as quoting sources or documentary evidence (they are discussed in detail subsequently). Their aim could be constructive, destructive or perpetuating, depending on the topic being discussed. It is also at this juncture that the keywords, which were to be used with Wordsmith Tools were selected, namely, adjectives such as *diabolical*, *fraudulent*, *colonial* and *peaceful*, and noun phrases like la *Republique du Cameroon*, *Southern Cameroons*, *West Africa* and *Central Africa*. The keywords would be used to get quantitative evidence that aided the qualitative analysiswhich was carried out. For instance, identifying the main collocates of the key

phrases *Central Africa* and *West Africa* quantitatively evidenced the fact that Anglophone nationalist leaders in Cameroon present their territory as geographically distinct from the rest of Cameroon.

Wordsmith Tools was helpful in identifying the tokens and collocates of the keywords. In order to do so, all the files had to be converted into plain text files (.txt) so as to be processed by the Software. After all that, the search for concordances could begin.

Finally, this work falling primarily within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, the findings that were obtained were analyzed with the help of the afore-mentioned approach. More specifically, the interpretation of findings was basically guided by the Discourse-Historical Approach of Critical Discourse Analysis, as developed by Ruth Wodak, Rudolf de Cillia, Martin Reisigl and Karin Liebhart (1999). Thus, following the Discourse-Historical Approach, the following features were identified: contents, strategies and linguistic means of realization. They are further explained below.

As explained in the Theoretical Background section, Contents, also called semantic macro-areas by Wodak *et al*, are ideas which are consistently developed in discourse.

The macro-strategies used by the producers of the different pieces of discourse on which we relied could be constructive, destructive, transformational or perpetuating ones, depending on the objectives they wanted to achieve

In accordance with Wodak´s methodology, there was not to be any separation between contents, strategies and linguistic means of realization, as they are all interwoven. Rather, the presentation of findings was organized according to topics and sub-topics. Moreover, though this research aimed at examining features which can be

said to characterize the whole Southern Cameroonian secessionist ideology, the evidence presented to back the claims might be taken from either the whole corpus (especially quantitative evidence), or from a particular discourse genre (letters for example), or from a specific piece of Discourse (Ayamba´s 2010 address for instance). This was made in an attempt to make this study not only a discussion of some general features of the corpus, but also the reflection of the specificity of any discourse genre or piece. It is also in a bid to take the investigation deep into the Southern Cameroonian secessionist discourse that the different genres making up the corpus were compared, so as to identify some differences between them.

3.3.3 Difficulties encountered

The major difficulty encountered in this research was methodological. In fact, the search for findings yielded very many results which had to be suitably organized. Moreover, it was not easy to dissociate some topics as they appeared to be overlapping, so handling this and avoiding repetitions was a major challenge. Another difficulty was related to the software exploitation of the pieces of discourse at hand. Actually, the letters to be studied could not be copied and pasted because they appeared in .jpeg format, therefore, it was necessary to look for an online Optical Character Recognition (OCR) software to exploit these data with Wordsmith Tools. As optical recognition is never perfect, the letters had to be re-read so that the mistakes made by the OCR software be corrected. Despite all these difficulties, the author managed to achieve the present work by also relying on his background knowledge of the theme discussed.

Chapter 4. Analysis

Having discussed the main theoretical features of this work, it is now time to get into the analysis of the texts proper. As mentioned before, this work aims to investigate the discursive manifestations of the Southern Cameroonian independence fight in the light of pieces of discourse which fall within three genres, namely open letters, speeches, opinion articles. Given that this analysis section aims to be both qualitative and quantitative, from time to time, quantitative evidence from Wordsmith Tools shall be resorted to in order to better explain the topics discussed. The analysis section of this work is threefold. In other words, in accordance with Wodak´s methodology, contents or topics, strategies and linguistic forms of realization will be analyzed, not separately, but in an interwoven manner.

The analysis reveals that there are two major semantic macrostructures or topics, namely the discursive construction of the Southern Cameroonian uniqueness and the legitimization of the independence fight are going to be discussed.

4.1. The construction of the Southern Cameroonian uniqueness

This semantic macrostructure is very close to Wodak´s *et al* (1999) first topic in their investigation of nationalism in Austria, that is, "the idea of a `*homo autriacus´* and a `*homo externus´*". As might be guessed, the first aim of the southern Cameroonian leaders is constructing a difference between the English-speaking and the French-speaking citizens of Cameroon. As will be shown in the subsections below, this is mainly achieved through nomination and predication strategies, where the different actors at stake are identified through personal and toponymic references, categorized and later on described mostly through adjectives which reveal ameliorative or pejorative stances depending on those who are being described.

4.1.1. Nomination strategies

To begin with nomination, the Southern Cameroons nationalist leaders under study resort to names with historical and linguistic implications to establish a distinction between their territory and the rest of Cameroon, and therefore identify the actors at stake.

The two major categories which are presented in the corpus are related to what Wodak *et al* (1999:35) refer to as "spatial reference". These are the toponyms *Southern Cameroons* and *la Republique du Cameroun*. These categories encompass references to the territories and their respective people in a bid to set a difference between both. This aim is clearly found across genres and authors, though there may be some differences in the way it is enforced in some genres or by specific authors.

Firstly, it appears across all genres that Anglophone nationalists keep using their territory´s historical name, namely, (British) Southern Cameroons when referring to it. Only Fon Gorji-Dinka´s speech is an exception to this fact, as he decides to coin a name for the territory: Ambazonia (this shall be discussed later). In all these pieces of discourse, Southern Cameroons is opposed to *La republique du Cameroun* (or *Cameroun Republic* in Anyangwe´s *February 11 and the betrayal of the Southern Cameroons*), which represents here the French Speaking country which allegedly annexed Southern Cameroon.

The name *Southern Cameroons* has the peculiarity of being written in English, thus overtly associating the territory with British rule, as opposed to *la République du Cameroun* whose French spelling is kept, so as to relate the territory to its colonial history and current linguistic choices, which are drawn from France. By making use of these categories, Anglophone nationalists want to clearly indicate that, given the distinct

colonial and linguistic choices of the two territories being mentioned, they should not have been united into a single country. Therefore, one can see not only a special reference, but also a historical reference in the distinction between *British Southern Cameroons* and *la Republique du Cameroun*.This distinction is clearly seen in the following examples:

(1) …the **Southern Cameroons** and **La Republique du Cameroun** are two very distinct Nations or Countries… (Ambeazieh, August 2011 Letter)

(2) Prison is **la Republique du Cameroun**'s flourishing industry in the Northern Zone of **British Southern Cameroons** for the mass unemployed youths where the dehumanized youths are decapitated and wasted away. (Ngala Nfor, 2013 Article)[5]

It may be noted that this spatial distinction is even taken further, in the sense that a clear regional separation between the so-called *la Republique du Cameroun* and *Southern Cameroons* is established in the pieces of discourse (especially the open letters) under study. The goal of this is to enforce the idea that the Southern Cameroons is a country in its own right.

The above claim is confirmed by the collocates for the phrases "Central Africa" and "West Africa" displayed by Wordsmith Tools. The search revealed that all of the nine (9) tokens of the phrase "Central Africa" are preceded by *La République du Cameroun* with a view to emphasizing its geographical position, whereas 15 instances of the phrase "West Africa", out of 17 directly describe *Southern Cameroon.* This is summarized in Table 4.1. below.

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[5] My highlights

Phrase	Tokens	Major collocate	Collocate frequency (%)
Central Africa	9	La république du Cameroun	9 (100)
West Africa	17	Southern Cameroons	15 (88)

4.1 Table Collocates of Central Africa and West Africa in the whole corpus

With regard to group identification, which falls within personal reference (Wodak *et al*, 1999:35), it was also noted that, the pieces of discourse have the peculiarity of overtly using the phrases *Anglo-Saxon*, or *British* to describe the Southern Cameroons and claim for its distinctive nature. In Anglophone nationalist discourse, heteronomination, that is nomination strategies aimed at bringing out the difference between the *homo francophonus* and the *homo anglophonus,* is a key element of his argumentation. This alleged Anglo-Saxon or British heritage of Southern Cameroon is evidenced by the high presence of *British* before the phrases Southern Cameroons (167 tokens), aiming at emphasizing this heritage as can be seen in example (3) below:

(3) The People of the Southern Cameroons, your immediate **Anglo-Saxon** neighbour in West Africa believe and hope that you and your Government will intervene for them at the UNO to let them be liberated from very illegal annexation of their Territory and the people by la Republique du Cameroun, Central Africa. (Ambeazieh, April 2011 letter)

When *Southern Cameroons* is not used, Amabazonia is the toponym which refers to the territory fighting for its independence. This word, which comes from Ambas, that is, a bay on the Southern Cameroonian coast, was coined by Gorji Dinka and only appears in the speech he authored. Gorji Dinka´s choice of using this appellation is aimed at further widening the difference between the two territories at stake by shunning the appellation *Southern Cameroons*, which may create confusions, given that the official English Appellation of the country Gorji Dinka does not recognize is the *Republic of Cameroon*.

One can therefore see in the use of the French appellation of Cameroon a destructive strategy which aims at shattering the common belief that *la République du Cameroun*, which is officially translated as the *Republic of Cameroon* refers to the current Cameroonian territory as a whole. The apparent preference for *la Republique du Cameroun* instead of *The Republic of Cameroon*, which would have better fit the texts, as they are written in English, is thus loaded with a strong meaning: the separation of Southern Cameroonians, who are English Speaking, from the rest of Cameroonians, whose first language is French.

Having set the difference geographically and historically between the two territories involved through the special referential categories mentioned before, the same categories are used to apply to the people of the two territories. In the case of *Southern Cameroons*, the adjective *Southern Cameroonian* is used to refer to the people, but for la *Republique du Cameroun* given the difficulty in deriving an adjective from this, the same concept is metonymically applied to its people and rulers. Hence, the name *la République du Cameroun* does not only refer to the country, but also to its people and rulers. This is clearly seen in example (4):

(4) **La Republique du Cameroun** apparently snubbed the request and we learnt not too long ago, that they (**la Republique du Cameroun**) asked for an additional 180 days to carry out the exercise. (Chief Ayamba, 2010 speech)

(5) **La Republique du Cameroun** should rise to the challenge of history and read the handwriting on the wall. (Ngala Nfor Ngala, 2012 Speech)

In the above examples, *la Republique du Cameroun* is discussed as if it were a person with capacities of acting for different purposes. In fact, this is the intended effect. This use is a Country-for-Residents metonymy, or better still, a stylistic construction whereby the country toponym is used to refer to its inhabitants.

The above notwithstanding, an exception was noted in Anyangwe´s article *Historical and political background* (of the Southern Cameroons), where the adjective *Camerounese*, is used to describe citizens of the French-speaking sector of Cameroon (example 6). This coining by Anyangwe suggests that *Cameroonian* should only be used when referring to the people of Southern Cameroons.

(6) In the same year a **Camerounese** gendarme murdered in cold blood two Southern Cameroons youths arbitrarily detained by the very gendarmes in the Southern Cameroons town of Bota. (Anyangwe, *Historical and Political Background*)

From the foregone, it is clear that referential strategies with constructive and destructive objectives are used to portray Southern Cameroonians as a distinct people. Not only do the authors emphasize the "Anglo-Saxon" or "British" nature of Southern Cameroons, but they also highlight, the Francophone nature of their political opponents by opting for keeping the French name of the country, as evidenced in all the pieces of discourse which were studied.

Having established the difference between the self and the other, other nomination strategies are used to give the type of relationship that the two actors have. In the corpus, some terms are used to describe the political leaders and citizens of French-speaking Cameroon, whereas totally distinct categories describe Southern Cameroonians. This is another instance of heteronomination, which, as mentioned before, aims at widening the gap between the self and the other through nomination strategies. The categories assigned to francophone Cameroonians are often negatively stanced, and include *annexationists, enemy*, and their variants, whose significance is discussed below.

To begin with *annexationist*, this terms stresses the distinctiveness of Southern Cameroons and the illegal nature of its current union with the so-called *Republique du*

Cameroun. When *annexationist* is not used, other similar terms like *occupier*, or *conqueror* are used to suggest that French-speaking Cameroonians are not compatriots, but foreigners, as seen in (7) and (8) below.

(7) We are right and the **annexationist** is wrong for we stand on the side of human freedom, equality, dignity and a fairer and just world as the guaranteed foundation of global peace. (Chief Ayamba, 2010 speech)

(8) This is intimidation par excellence which will yield no fruit for the **occupier** of our land. (Ngala Nfor, 2014 article)

(9) How can we welcome a **conqueror** who wants to wipe Southern Cameroons from the world map? (Chief Ayamba, 2010 speech)

Another peculiarity which can be noted at this juncture is the overt description of French-speaking Cameroonians as *enemies*. In fact, though this relationship is suggested in other discourse genres, it is only in speeches that the eight (8) tokens of the word *enemy* (which consistently describe the others) are found. This may reveal a more radical stance in speeches than in other genres.

(10) I take this opportunity to warn those of our compatriots who are fraternizing with our **enemy** and thereby jeopardizing our interest. (Ngala Nfor, 2013 speech)

(11) Yes, ours is a very resourceful **enemy**, but unlike in other cases, Cameroon has this very unique advantage of having taken full control of our peoples' minds thanks to the very important element we as the "several peoples" of Ambazonia have been negligent at appreciating. (Gorji Dinka, 2010 speech)

Moreover, it is worth-noting that even amongst Southern Cameroonians, a distinction is made between those backing the independence struggle and the ones advocating the continuation of unity with the French speaking territory. When searching for the collocates of the phrase *Southern Cameroonians*, the results yielded the identification of two categories, namely "patriotic Southern Cameroonians" (those who embraced the independence struggle) and "misguided or gullible Southern Cameroonians" (those who have been convinced that unity with Francophone Cameroon should be maintained. Examples (12) and (13) illustrate this.

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(12) We thank God that under the leadership of the SCNC, all **patriotic Southern Cameroonians** have mounted a stiff resistance to challenge and block their attempts to make our country their footstool. (Chief Ayamba, 2010 speech).

(13) Plot by president Paul Biya and Mr John Fru Ndi with his Political cohorts and some **misguided southern cameroonians** to destroy the restoration of the nationhood of the Southern Cameroons. (Ambeazieh, 27 August 2011 letter)

The highlighted categorizations above point to the presence of internal dissension amongst Anglophones and also reveal the general conflictive nature of the relationship between the two people at stake in the Southern Cameroonian independence struggle. By dint of this conflictive relationship, it is but normal that positive traits be applied to people backing the fight for independence and negative attributes attached to the others, as presented in the subsequent subsections.

4.1.2. Predication strategies: Positive self-presentation, negative other-presentation

The reading of the Southern Cameroonian nationalist pieces of discourse under study made the author notice the abundant use of negative diction when referring to the opponents of the independence of Southern Cameroons, be they from the Anglophone or the Francophone communities of Cameroon. Nevertheless, the major targets of the negative diction are the Francophones and their regime. Examples (14), (15), (16) and (17) below, drawn from the studied speeches, clearly exemplify this fact.

(14) Amidst massive **propaganda of falsehood** and serious manipulations as well as vicious **diabolic** intimidation and **barbaric** repression, you have remained steadfast and undaunted because of the faith you have in the goal that lies ahead, namely the restoration of the British Southern Cameroons sovereign statehood. (Ngala Nfor, 2013 speech)

(15) Since failing to kill the SCNC at birth in 1993 or at tender age, la Republique du Cameroun has over the years resorted to dubious **diabolic** tactics of giving the dog a bad name in order to hang it publicly. (Ngala Nfor, 2014 article)

(16) Ahidjo ordered in his troops and a **barbaric** act of collective revenge was exacted against the Bakossi people. (Anyangwe, *Political and historical background*)

(17) The SCNC struggle, albeit nonviolent, is against the most **barbaric inhuman** system that has held a peace-loving and law-abiding people captive and imprisoned them in their own land.(Ngala Nfor, 2013 speech)

As the examples above show, the nationalist leaders assign negative attributes to their opponents. These opponents are seen as people who carry out diabolic and barbaric acts. In fact, Wordsmith Tools revealed that all the eleven (11) tokens of the adjectives *inhuman* and *barbaric* directly or indirectly describe the actions of the so-called *la Republique du Cameroun*. In addition to the above characterizations which mostly apply to French-speaking Cameroonians, the English-speaking people who do not back the independence struggle are also assigned negative attributes. As evidenced in (18), (19) and (20) below, Anglophones who do not back secession are described as immature praise-singers of the occupier, or even betrayers.

(18) We call upon these **stooges** and **bootlickers** to join the freedom train early enough and contribute their quarter towards the liberation struggle or to be forever condemned by the court of history when the hour of reckoning comes. (Chief Ayamba, 2010 speech)

(19) Indeed, Mr. John Fru Ndi and President Paul Biya are playing an awful mafia of confusing the vulnerable and **gullible** Southern Cameroonians about the Presidential Elections this year, 2011, the Parliamentary and Council Elections, 2012. (Ambeazieh, 27 August 2011 letter)

(20) …history and posterity will judge you men and women of good conscience guilty of **betraying** British Southern Cameroons and humanity in general for remaining silent! (Ngala Nfor, 2014 article)

Furthermore, it was logically realized that, while negatively portraying and characterizing the others, the texts across genres give positive attributes to the Southern Cameroonian people, and especially those committed to the independence of the territory. They are described as *peace-loving*, *law-abiding*, and are being referred to as heroes, martyrs, patriots and freedom fighters.

(21) This means that the British simply transferred their authority over British Southern Cameroons to la Republique du Cameroun which has for 49 years

exercised iron fist rule over our **peace-loving** people. (Chief Ayamba, 2010 speech)

(22) The Council which is the necessary human Investigative Personnel will provide **honest**, **simple**, **God-fearing**, **Law-abiding** and devoted Southern Cameroonians to work with the American Personnel to be dispatched to take off the Political administration of the Southern Cameroons. (Ambeazieh, 21 April 2011 letter)

(23) While remaining grateful to God Almighty for sustaining us, we heartily congratulate the **heroes** and **heroines** of Kumbo for not bowing to the dictates of the colonizer. (Ngala Nfor, *The heroes of Kumbo*)

(24) So I trust that you the **diehard patriots**, and you those Ambazonians who would be convinced by these **patriots** would take the challenge and include your names in Ambazonian history as the few who made the sacrifice at this decisive moment to free our enslaved, subjugated and down trodden 6 million unsuspecting people. (Gorji Dinka, 2010 speech).

To sum up, it can be said that the Southern Cameroonian nationalist leaders do not move away from the general linguistic strategies attested in other pieces of nationalist or identity building discourse. In the same way as their counterparts elsewhere, they first present the actors at stake in the struggle, namely those representing their interests and their opponents. In so doing, they insist on the difference between the two parties, by resorting to nomination and predication strategies. A look at predication strategies reveals that positive characteristics are systematically attributed to their advocates whereas negative descriptions are assigned to the opponents of the fight. In all this, the goal is destroying the so-called unity of the Cameroonian people and constructing a distinct and positive Southern Cameroonian nation. The above goal being achieved, the authors of the secessionist texts under study make use of various argumentation strategies to legitimize their right for self determination.

4.2. The justification of the independence struggle

Southern Cameroonian nationalists see their plight as legitimate and legal, and therefore do everything possible to present it as such. In other words the southern Cameroonian nationalist leaders believe that their plight is backed by a high number of legal

documents and is ethical, fair and morally acceptable. As might be guessed, argumentation strategies are used for the purpose of enforcing this topic. Therefore, the argumentation strategies discussed under this section vary depending on the sub-topic discussed. The legal nature of the independence fight is backed by reference to physical authorities as well as documentary and historical evidence, whereas the legitimacy of the struggle is enforced through the use of intertextuality, storytelling and topoi. These shall be discussed in turn below.

4.2.1   The legal nature of the fight (quoting legal documents and human authorities)

The legal backing of the self-determination of the people of Southern Cameroons is definitely a very important theme in all the pieces of discourse which have been studied as evidenced by the high frequency of the terms *legal* and *illegal* in the corpus. It was particularly noted that in the overwhelming majority of cases (14 out of 16), the term *illegal* describes the current presence of the so-called *Republique du Cameroun* in Southern Cameroons, as seen in (25) and (26) below.

(25) The sufficient reason being that, La Republique du Cameroun is quite a different State which has annexed the Southern Cameroons, hence everything being done by La Republique du Cameroun in the Territory of the Southern Cameroons is absolutely **illegal.** (Ambeazieh, August 27 2011 letter)

(26) Would the conflict be resolved if Cameroun Republic were to renounce its unjust and **illegal** territorial pretensions to erstwhile British Southern Cameroons and accept and implement a two-state federal arrangement as conceived and agreed upon by the two parties before the plebiscite? (Anyangwe, *February 11*)

At this level, the use of lexical intensification strategies was noted. Actually, out of the eighteen (18) times it is used in the corpus, illegal is seven (7) times preceded by the lexical intensifiers *very* (6) and *absolutely* (7), which serve the purpose of stressing and

emphasizing the fact that Southern Cameroon has the right by law to claim independence.

In addition to the above the texts under study are full of references to legal texts or physical sources, including out-of-context statements from obvious opponents of the independence struggle. Quoting authorities is actually the most important legitimization strategy used here.

4.2.1.1. Quoting or referring to legal documents

The legal documents referred to include court rulings from the United Nations, the African Union or even Cameroon.

(27) Having already achieved full self-government status, the next and ultimate status the British Southern Cameroons was expected to emerge into could only have been that of independent sovereign statehood as contemplated by **Article 76 b** of the **Charter of the UN** and by the binding **UN 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples**. (Anyangwe, *February 11*)

(28) On July 3rd 2009, the AU published the ruling of the **ACHPR on Communication 266/2003** […] After admitting that Southern Cameroonians are a distinct people in many ways that Commission failed for obvious reasons to pronounce itself on the issue of our sovereignty and right to self determination. (Chief Ayamba, 2010 speech)

(29) Again, [according to] the U N General Assembly's Declaration on 14 December, 1960 for Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (**Resolution 1514(XV)**, the Southern Cameroons is supposed to be independent and no depending on a former U N Trusteeship Territory such as La Republique du Cameroun in Central Africa. (Ambeazieh, 21st April 2011 letter)

(30) They are the trailblazers to be counted on so that other Ambazonians would see for themselves the powers that can come to us as a united people conscious that they are operating from the position of strength already secured when **Restoration Law 84/001** dissolved the Federal Cameroon United Republics in 1984. (Gorji Dinka, 2010 speech)

In (27), Anyangwe suggests that the reunification of French Cameroon and Southern Cameroons at the latter´s independence was illegal, given that the United Nations

Charter stipulates that all colonial countries should achieve independence. Chief Ayamba later refers to a ruling of the African Union, which recognizes the people of Southern Cameroons as distinct from those of French-speaking Cameroon. By referring to the ruling of such an important organization on the African continent, the Southern Cameroonian leader obviously suggests that his fight is backed by the regulatory texts of the African Union, and is therefore legal. Gorji Dinka (30) goes further by quoting Cameroon Restoration Law 84/001 in an attempt to demonstrate that Cameroon texts themselves give flesh to the Southern Cameroonian independence right. This interpretation goes beyond the intended purpose of the cited law, which was simply aimed at changing the official appellation of Cameroon from the *United Republic of Cameroon* to *the Republic of Cameroon*. Actually, Gorji Dinka´s speech is characterized by an obvious aim at proving that even Cameroon legal documents back the Southern Cameroon´s independence struggle, as further demonstrated in (31) below.

> (31) When the Nigerian Ambassador to the UN in his preparation to reply, circulated the **Cameroon High Court judgment HCB/28/92** which declared Cameroon presence in Ambazonia as an act of continuing aggression, France saw that the Security Council could pass a resolution for both Nigeria and Cameroon to return to the coastal boundaries as obtained at their respective independence. (Gorji Dinka, 2010 speech)

Gorji Dinka´s suggesting that the High court of Cameroon has ruled against the union of Southern Cameroons and French Cameroun is also an appeal to fallacy, for the Cameroon High Court cannot deny the existence of a state under which it operates.

4.2.1.2. Quoting people

In addition to documentary evidence, human authorities are also often quoted to enforce the legal nature of the struggle. These people are always high profile statesmen from Cameroon or abroad. In (31) below, the UK high commissioner to Cameroon is quoted by Ngala Nfor.

(32) […] confirming the consistent SCNC Position and the historic and legal truth, **HE Bharat Joshi**, the UK High Commissioner to la Republique in his monthly Press Conference of June 2013 in Yaoundé, stated categorically that he "has never seen any official document that binds the former British Southern Cameroons and la Republique du Cameroun."(Ngala Nfor, 2013 speech)

Furthermore, it was noted that the appeal to fallacy strategy was used again here, by oversimplifying Cameroon authorities´ statements and interpreting them as backing the Anglophone self-determination cause, as seen in Ambeazieh´s quoting Paul Biya, the current President of Cameroon (33).

(33) …the southern Cameroons and La République du Cameroun are quite distinct and different Entities or Nations in Africa, as confirmed by **President Paul Biya** in his end of year speech on the 31/12/2010: the Two Parts of Our Territory were the French and the British Trusteeship Territories..." (Amebazieh, 11 August 2011 letter)

From the above, it can be seen that Southern Cameroonian independence fighters often refer to legal texts and judicial rulings and authoritative people to present the fact that their fight for independence is legal. For this purpose, some texts are taken out of their contexts in appeals to fallacy aimed at enforcing the independence struggle. In addition to presenting their fight as legal, Southern Cameroons secessionist also take pains to present it as legitimate.

4.2.2. The legitimate nature of the fight

Southern Cameroonian nationalists also insist their fight is legitimate, that is to say, it is fair and ethically acceptable. To better present this claim, they resort to legitimization strategies such as intertextuality, topoi and storytelling. These shall be considered in turn in the following examples. But before, it is important to note that these strategies are underpinned by sub-themes such as the fight as a divine mission, the consistent oppression and exploitation of the Francophone-dominated regime, and the necessity to be granted the same rights as other oppressed people.

4.2.2.1. Referring to the Bible to legitimize the fight

For Southern Cameroonians, the first reason why their fight is fair and morally acceptable lies in the fact that it is a divine mission. This association of the independence fight with religion is mainly achieved through intertextuality. Actually, it was realized that the Bible is usually referred to so as to present the fight for independence as a legitimate act. Actually, the opposition between the adjectives *god-fearing* and *diabolical* presented in nomination and predication strategies already gave an idea of the claim by independence activists that they have been assigned a divine mission to free Southern Cameroons from Francophone occupation. In fact according to them, the liberation of Southern Cameroons falls is in line with the Bible which teaches that all human beings were created equal. This is exactly what Ambeazieh and Ngala Nfor Ngala seem to imply in (34) and (35) below:

(34) The restoration of the sovereign statehood of British Southern Cameroons **has been ordained above** and no force or power can stop it. (Ngala Nfor, 2012 speech)

(35) **The human beings are created freely by God**, the Supreme Creator of all beings both physical and spiritual and placed in the World to live in Peace, administer their respective Nations or Territories with their inalienable Human Rights and Self-Determination of Governments (Ambeazieh, 3rd May 2011 letter)

Moreover, Southern Cameroonian independence fighters go further to liken their struggle to some Biblical stories. This is the case of Chief Ayamba and Ngala Nfor Ngala who, as seen in (36) and (37), make a direct comparison between the struggle for the liberation of Southern Cameroons and the Israelites´ struggle to take over the Promise Land.

(36) […] let us first **pay gratitude to God Almighty** who in His infinite mercy and in response to our constant prayers has guided and guarded us this far on **the long march to the Promised Land**. (Chief Ayamba, 2011 speech)

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(37) Here today 1st October 2012 in Buea, **we are crossing the Jordan to repossess our land, the only divine inheritance we have on planet earth**. (Ngala Nfor, 2012 speech)

In addition to presenting their fight as a religious battle between good and evil, the Anglophone nationalists present God as their driving force and the secret behind the political successes they have achieved in recent years. Moreover, the pieces of discourses are full of direct calls for more divine intervention in their struggle, as presented in (38) below.

(38) Finally, Fellow Compatriots, the year 2011 will be a successful year for our liberation struggle. **We continue to thank God for his guidance and sustenance**. **He will surely lead us through**. (Chief Ayamba, 2011 speech)

This position is not surprising, when one considers the degree to which the Christian religion is entrenched in the Anglophone Cameroonian culture, and the fact that one of the leaders whose texts are being used here is actually a Priest (Reverend Father Andrew Ambeazieh). The aim here is therefore to rally the deeply religious Anglophone population behind the secessionist movements. Apart from religious dogmas, stories of the domination of the English-speaking minority are used to legitimize the Anglophone independence struggle.

4.2.2.2. Telling stories of Francophone exploitation and oppression

Another strategy mostly used to present the Southern Cameroonian independence struggle as legitimate is storytelling, especially narrating the atrocities perpetrated by the Cameroon government against Southern Cameroonians. The stories are dotted with evaluative statements which enforce the ultimate goal of legitimizing the fight.

(39) Prior to that date, **the occupation forces of la Republique du Cameroun had orchestrated a diabolical plot in 1997** during which they **arrested several dozens of Southern Cameroonians** […] They were later transferred to Yaounde where they faced a military tribunal which tried them in French, an alien language they did not understand. **Some were sentenced to life imprisonment**

while **others received long jail/sentence for crimes they didn't commit**. (Chief Ayamba, 2010 speech)

(40) …Ma Monica Kongnyu Fokwen's compound, venue of the meeting, which by law is private premises, **was crudely invaded by heavily armed Gendarmes** and Police [...] **carried out the most crude and illegal search** […] **Threatening the teenage house-girl with guns** and brutalization doors were kicked open and **every room was ransacked and bags and boxes were looted and transported to their colonial offices**. (Ngala Nfor, *The heroes of Kumbo*)

(41) **Republique du Cameroun moved an entire battalion of its troops into the city of Bamenda** with a mission to forcibly prevent the launching of the party. On the day of the launch **the soldiers shot and killed six people and seriously wounded scores of others**. (Anyangwe, *Historical and Political background*)

Examples (39), (49) and (41) narrate the human right violations orchestrated by the Yaounde Regime against the Anglophone freedom fighters. These violations include arbitrary arrests, unfair trials, torture, looting, and shooting at civilians. The aim is to bring out the fact that the Anglophones are oppressed by the Francophones, and will remain at risk, so long as the union between the two Cameroons is not broken. The vivid and graphic descriptions in these stories fall within what traditional rhetorical device called pathos, that is, appealing to emotions so as to legitimize a cause. The message to the Southern Cameroonian people and the international community is clear: all should contribute to the end of these atrocities for humanity´s sake.

4.2.2.3. Making *topoic* comparisons

In addition to resort to storytelling, Southern Cameroonian nationalists make comparisons between their cause and that of other minorities or oppressed people in the world, especially those whose fight has been successful. These comparisons are underpinned by a topos: the idea that under the same circumstances, the same measures need to be taken. The foundation of this topos is that the government of Cameroon is not different from other colonial governments which have operated elsewhere in the world. Therefore, let´s first investigate this comparison.

According to Anglophone nationalists, the Francophone presence in Southern Cameroon is tantamount to mere annexation, colonialism and exploitation. For example, all the 38 tokens of the word *annexation* which were found in our corpus directly or indirectly describe the situation of Southern Cameroons. Moreover, as previously discussed under referential strategies (4.1.1), the government of Cameroon is overtly or covertly described as annexationist, in twelve (12) different sentences from the corpus. Furthermore, it is very surprising that in their majority, the instances of *colonial* do not describe the German, British or French colonial periods, but rather refer to the alleged occupation of Southern Cameroons by Francophone Cameroon. This is why in see Table 4.2), 34 tokens of the term colonial directly refer to the government of Cameroon and its policy-making in Southern Cameroons.

Countries	Tokens
Germany	3
France	6
Britain	8
Nigeria	2
General or unclear	30
La République du Cameroun	32
Total	**80**

Table 4.2. Associations of "colonial"

What can be seen from the above findings is the desire to shift the focus from British colonialism to the alleged Francophone colonialism. In fact, the leaders of the Southern Cameroons Liberation Movement believe that the British colonialism was followed by Francophone colonialism, this is why the so-called *République du Cameroun* is often described as successor colonialist in Anyangwe´s *February 11 and the betrayal of Southern Cameroons*. Example (42) further illustrates this point.

(42) The sovereignty that Britain had and exercised over the Southern Cameroons could only have been a colonial sovereignty. And since no one can give what he does not have the sovereignty Britain purported to have transferred to Cameroun Republic could only have been a colonial sovereignty. **It follows that the sovereignty exercisable by Cameroun Republic over the Southern Cameroons is a derivative sovereignty and that sovereignty has always been a colonial sovereignty**. The position of Cameroun Republic vis-à-vis erstwhile British Southern Cameroons is accordingly that of successor colonialist.

As seen in the above excerpt, Carlson Anyangwe uses deductive argument to make it clear that Cameroun is a colonial master in Southern Cameroons. According to him, the territory was transferred from a colonial master to another. Having succeeded in demonstrating that Cameroon is a colonial country, then the topoi card proper is played to advocate independence.

(43) Should the UN and international Community doubt the resolve of our people to free themselves from the shackles of annexation, colonialism and neo-apartheid, **it should, as was the case in East Timor, Namibia, most recently in South Sudan, to name a few, conduct a referendum in British Southern Cameroons**. (Ngala Nfor, 2012 Speech)

(44) The claim by Cameroun Republic is patently expansionist […] **Similar fanciful claims were unsuccessfully made by Morocco (to Mauritania and the Western Sahara), by Guatemala (to Belize), by Iraq (to Kuwait), by Somalia (to the Ogaden and to Djibouti), by Indonesia (to East Timor), and by Ethiopia (to Eritrea)**. (Anyangwe, *February 11*)

In (43) above, Ngala Nfor clearly brings out the fact that a self-determination referendum should be conducted in Southern Cameroons, as was the case in other countries such as East Timor, Namibia and South Sudan. This is clear topos calling for a kind of jurisprudence is also resorted to by Anyangwe (44), who, citing cases of former minority nations which became independent suggests that the same should happen with Southern Cameroon. For all of them, the peaceful war they are waging against Francophone occupation is therefore legitimate because similar wars have been fought elsewhere, and were often backed by the international community.

To sum up, in order to present their fight for independence as legitimate, Southern Cameroonian leaders resort to three major strategies, namely intertextuality, storytelling, and topoi. These strategies are skillfully and successfully used, as they add to the credibility of the speaker and contribute to widening the gap between Francophone and Anglophone Cameroonians in the reader´s minds.

Until now, the presentation of the Anglophone independence discourse has revealed a few or no difference across genres. Nevertheless, stopping at this level will give the false impression that the letters, speeches and opinion articles which have been studied here exhibit the same characteristics. Therefore, the next section will delve into a presentation of some of the differences which were noted when moving from one genre to another.

4.3. Differences between genres

Before further ado, it is worth-reminding that this dissertation studies three genres, namely open letters, speeches and propaganda articles from the leaders of the different groups advocating the independence of Southern Cameroons. The differences between the genres are found at various levels, including the target audiences and the stance taken, which are presented below.

4.3.1. Target audience

Reading the different pieces of discourse studied led to the remark that they do not all target the same audiences. The letters, which were written by Reverend Father Andrew Ambeazieh, the Vice National Chairman of the Southern Cameroons Liberation Movement (SOCALIM), mainly target the international community. In fact, we can see in these letters attempts at internationalizing the cold conflict between Southern Cameroons and Cameroon. The main targets are the United Nations Member States, the

powerful United States of America, and the closest neighbour, Nigeria. As opposed to the letters, the speeches which were analyzed are mainly directed at a local audience, that is, natives of the Southern Cameroons, in order to win the favours of those who have not yet joined the fight for independence, and encourage those who are already involved in the fight. This is clear when one considers the fact that the speeches always begin with expressions such as *Fellow Southern Cameroonians*. As concerns propaganda articles, it can be said that they target a variety of audiences, including Southern Cameroonians, the international community, and Francophone Cameroonians. By virtue of these differences in their main targets, the stance taken by writers and the topics emphasized vary across genres.

4.3.2. Stance and topic

As they mainly target the international community, and especially the United Nations, Reverend Ambeazieh´s letters are full of references to the fact that Southern Cameroons was and remains a United Nations Trust Territory. In fact, Ambeazieh makes it clear in all of the five (5) letters that, as the unification with la republique du Cameroun was illegal, the Southern Cameroons has remained under the protection of the UN. He even emphasizes it in four (4) of the five letters, as evidenced in (45)-(48) below

(45)…the Territory and the People of the Southern Cameroons in West Africa, **still under the United Nations Protection**… (august 11th 2011 letter)

(46) The Territory: Southern Cameroons in West Africa **is under the protection of the United Nations**. (May 3rd 2011 letter)

(47)…the Territory and the people of the Southern Cameroons **STILL UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS in WEST AFRICA**… (August 27th 2011 letter)

(48)…the Territory and the People of the Southern Cameroons, **still under the United Nations' Protection**… (April 28th 2011 letter)

As the August 27th letter demonstrates, Ambeazieh sees this fact so important to note that he decides to emphasize it by writing it in Capital letters. This contributes to destroying the common idea that Cameroons is a united country with Francophone and Anglophone parts, and fuels the idea that the Francophones are aliens in Southern Cameroons. Though presenting Southern Cameroons as a current UN administered territory aims at consolidating the common idea that Southern Cameroons is a distinct nation, it was found in none of the other genres, which do have the same purpose.

In addition to presenting the United Nations as the legitimate controlling entity of Southern Cameroons, Ambeazieh´s letters have the peculiarity of highly praising the "efforts" made by the United Nations and the international community to "liberate" Southern Cameroons, as shown in (49).

> (49) **The United Nations has done and is doing a lot of** work for the Restoration of the Nationhood of the Southern Cameroons through some Member States and Organisations. We are very grateful to her for it. (April 21st 2011 letter)

This is clearly opposed to other genres, where the international community and the United Nations are often criticized for their alleged passive handling of the Southern Cameroonian issue. In fact, opinion articles such as *Historical and Political Background of Southern Cameroons* or *February 11 and the Betrayal of the Southern Cameroons*, are rather critical of the international community´s handling of the Southern Cameroonian issue.

> (50) **The United Nations and the UK Government failed to honour their legal, political and moral obligations** to the people of erstwhile British Southern Cameroons who had put so much faith in them. **Both that Organization and that Power thereby violated the inalienable right of the people of the territory to be free from colonial bondage** by freely choosing to establish a sovereign independent state like other peoples of the world. (Anyangwe, *February 11 and the Betrayal of the Southern Cameroons*)

It was also realized that, as opposed to the letters, which mostly delve in a good number of general arguments aimed at illegitimating the union and attacking the institutions of the Republic of Cameroon, speeches and opinion articles go further by discussing specific stories of people who have suffered from the oppression of the Francophones. As a matter of fact, none of the five letters studied makes reference to particular stories of francophone oppression and torture, which are overwhelmingly present in opinion articles and speeches, as demonstrated earlier in this dissertation. In this sense, the speeches and opinion articles are generally more emotional and loaded with pathos than letters, which are by contrast factual and legalistic.

Furthermore, though internal dissensions amongst Anglophones can be seen in all the pieces of discourse studied, the propaganda articles and speeches do not attack other Anglophones who share their nationalist ideology. It is only in letters that direct attacks are launched against other secessionists. This difference lies in the ideological nuance between the letter writer, on the one hand, and speech or opinion article writers on, the other hand.

> (51) Serious notes should be taken of the negative role being played by his cohorts such as: **Mr. Nfor Ngalla Nfor**, **Chief Ayamba**, Dr. Kevin Ngumne, Government on Exile - **Dr. Carlson Anyangwe**, Mr. Thomas Nwachang, Mr. Njoh Litumbe. Mr. Feh Ndangam Augustine etc. […] who were clamouring for Constructive Dialogue, with the Government of La Republique du Cameroun, Human Rights and Decentralization. (August 27th 2011 letter)

Actually, Ambeazieh sees other secessionists, including Anyangwe and Ngala Nfor, whose texts were studied here, as puppets of the Francophone-dominated regime because they call for dialogue, whereas his movement says no negotiation should be carried out between Southern Cameroonian independence movements and the government of Cameroon.

To wrap up, though Anglophone secessionists in Cameroon all aim at pressing for the self-determination of their territory, they often fail to agree on several issues, as revealed by the search for difference between the three discourse genres which have been analyzed throughout this work. The main bones of contention are the role of the international community in the Southern Cameroonian issue and the attitude to adopt towards the Cameroonian government. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Southern Cameroonian secessionist movement as a whole has been gaining ground, and has been having a great impact on Cameroon politics, as evidenced by the government´s recent measures to improve living conditions in the English-speaking sector, and giving Anglophones the sense that they are a precious part of the Cameroon territory. In this sense, it can be asserted that the case of the Southern Cameroons Independence Movement is another evidence of how language can be used as a form of political action (van Dijk, 1997). Moreover, it confirms van Dijk´s claim that the political battleground in any given country does not include only mainstream or official politicians, but other pressure groups, or underground parties. Finally, it validates the assumption that the Internet has completely changed the dynamics of politics in Africa by giving a voice to people who in other contexts were voiceless.

Conclusion

This dissertation was aimed at deciphering the construction of national identity amongst the Anglophone minority of Cameroon. It was based on the assumption that the reading of pieces of discourse produced by Anglophone nationalists could reveal the intricacies of their political fight whose aim is constructing a separate Southern Cameroonian identity, and thus legitimizing the fight for independence or self-determination. Furthermore, this work attempted to describe the political and social situations which have contributed to the birth of Anglophone Nationalism and describe the discursive strategies used by Southern Cameroonian independence leaders to achieve self-determination for the minority they are part of. For this purpose, a total of fifteen texts amounting to 38539 words were used. The fifteen texts were organized into five letters, five speeches and five opinion articles, produced by the leaders of various Anglophone nationalist groups. These texts were exclusively collected from websites, given the fact that the Internet is the only source for getting texts from such parties which are still operating underground. To make sure that the texts would be well exploited and yield reliable and valid results, it was found suitable to combine Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus linguistics. More specifically, the Discourse-historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis, which was designed by Wodak *et al* and presented in the seminal work entitled the *Discursive Formation of National Identity* (1999), was the main paradigm used throughout this research endeavour. Additionally, in order to back the claims made by quantitative information, Wordsmith Tools, a corpus linguistic software was resorted to. Therefore, this work could be described as both qualitative and quantitative.

The exploitation of the texts yielded the identification of two major semantic macro-domains, namely the construction of the Southern Cameroonian uniqueness, and the

presentation of the independence fight as a legal and legitimate endeavour. As concerns the construction of the Southern Cameroonian uniqueness, this topic was found to be enforced in the texts by mainly nomination and predication strategies. The major nomination strategy revealing the desire to present Southern Cameroons as unique was the distinction between two toponyms, namely *Southern Cameroons* and *la republique du cameroun*. These two categories, and especially the languages in which they appeared (English and French) were found to be very illustrative of the fact that, by stressing the distinct colonial pasts of the two territories making up current Cameroon, Anglophone secessionists suggest that the current union between these territories should never have taken place. It was also revealed that in addition to stressing the distinct colonial and linguistic heritage between Southern Cameroons and *la republique du Cameroun*, the authors of the pieces of discourse under study suggested that the two territories were part of two different regions of Africa, namely West Africa for Southern Cameroons and Central Africa for *la Republique du Cameroun*. Consequently, it was found that the citizens of the French-speaking part of Cameroon are often conceptualized as the annexationists, the occupiers, or colonial masters of Southern Cameroons. The Southern Cameroonian uniqueness was also found in predicative strategies and specifically in the positive presentation of Southern Cameroons and its people, and the negative presentation of *La Republique du Cameroun* and its people, especially its leaders. The study of the texts revealed that positive adjectives like *law-abiding*, *god-fearing*, etc. always applied to Southern Cameroonians whereas negative ones such as *barbaric*, *diabolic*, etc. mostly targeted Francophone Cameroonians. These generalizations were found to be an attempt to widen the ditch between the Francophone and Anglophone citizens of Cameroons while presenting the former as the ones to blame in the conflict. Having presented Southern Cameroonians as different

from the rest of Cameroonians, the leaders of the Anglophone independence movement went further to justify the independence struggle through a number of argumentation strategies.

The justification of the independence struggle had two underlying ideas or sub-topics, namely, the legality of the struggle and its legitimacy. Each sub-topic was enforced by a number of strategies. To begin with the first idea, that is, presenting the independence struggle as legal, it was fostered by quoting sources, be they legal documents or physical authorities. The legal documents which were quoted or referred to included laws and rulings originating from the United Nations, the African Union or even Cameroon. As concerns the quoting of laws from Cameroon, it was seen as an appeal for fallacy (or fallacy argument), because most of these laws were taken out of context to support ideas that the laws could not actually back. When legal texts were not referred to, the words of prominent personalities were used as basis to present the fight as legal. At this level, fallacy arguments were often used too, in the sense that words from fierce opponents of secessionism could be taken out of their original context or interpreted in a way that would back the independence struggle. In addition to presenting their fight as legal, Southern Cameroonian nationalists presented it as legitimate, that is, fair, moral and ethically acceptable. To achieve this, they resorted to three strategies: intertextuality, storytelling and topos. In terms of intertextuality, the texts were full or references to the Bible, in attempts at demonstrating that the independence fight is a divine mission. The Biblical story of the Children of Israel´s repossession of the Promise Land was particularly liked by the authors of the pieces of discourse. For southern Cameroonian nationalists, their territory was given to them by God and it is legitimate for them to recover full control over it. Moreover, presenting the independence fight as legitimate was also achieved by telling stories which evidence

the systematic exploitation and oppression of the Southern Cameroonians by the Francophone-dominated government of Cameroon. These stories, which were characterized by graphic descriptions of the different human right abuses Southern Cameroonians have fallen victim of, appeal to the pathos of the readers or listeners and aim at making the latter embrace the fight of the discourse producers. Finally, topoi, that is, common place arguments were used to legitimize the independence fight. In the texts these common places took the form of comparisons between the plight of Southern Cameroonians to that of colonized people, and other minorities which succeeded in breaking away from their oppressors. The bottom-line is that if freedom was achieved elsewhere, it should also be achieved in Southern Cameroons.

Having looked at the ideas which ran across all genres, it was found unsuitable to complete the analysis section without trying to identify some differences which might exist between the genres. At that juncture, differences at the level of the target audience, which yielded some theme and stance differences, were identified. While the letters mainly target an international audience, the speeches´ main target was the people of Southern Cameroons. As for the propaganda articles, they were found to be having a variety of targets, be they local or international. As a consequence of this, the letters deal mostly with the legal nature of the fight, whereas the other pieces of discourse discussed other themes like the suffering of the Southern Cameroonian people. Finally, the differences between these genres could also reveal internal dissension amongst Anglophone nationalists.

Based on a firsthand knowledge of the Southern Cameroonian political scene, what is clear is that these pieces of discourse have had a tremendous effect on the people of Southern Cameroons by creating in them a greater sense of belonging to a separate nation which is facing oppression by the Francophone majority. This has led to more

activism, be it in on university campuses or in courts, thus pushing the Cameroon government to redefine some of the policies which had that far been applied to the so-called "Anglophone problem". Actually, in the last three years, the country Head of State has paid two official visits to the two major towns of the territory, which saw their infrastructure refurbished. However, the fight of Anglophone nationalists has not been totally successful in the sense that the longed-for independence or autonomy is still very far from their reach. As a matter of fact, they have before them opponents who use the political and financial power they have, as well as discourse, to slowdown the spread of secessionist ideas. Nevertheless, the achievements of these illegal secessionist parties evidence the fact that the internet has totally revolutionized politics in Africa, by giving a voice to people, who prior to its popularization could not express their opinions. The success of Anglophone nationalist parties also confirms van Dijk´s (1997) claim that the political life of a country is not only shaped by mainstream politicians but by other groups which may often operate underground.

That being said, it cannot be claimed that the present work is complete or has answered all questions related to Anglophone nationalism in Cameroon. Therefore, more research works can be carried out so as to add knowledge to this field of study. Thus, a possible area for investigation can be bringing together secessionist and unionist pieces of discourse to see how the battle between two groups is reflected in them. This may be carried out with the help of corpus linguistic tools or from a pure CDA perspective. Moreover, it is possible to study discursive signs of internal dissension between the nationalist groups, as this has often been seen as the main speed break in their move to independence.

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